



Research into the Lexical Differences of Chinese between the North and South of the Northern and Southern Dynasties from the Commonly-used Words in *Weishu* (魏书) and *Songshu* (宋书)

LI Li^[a]*

^[a]College of Humanities and Law, Yanshan University, Qinhuangdao, Hebei Province, China

*Corresponding Author.

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Abstract

In the Northern and Southern Dynasties, there existed differences in the Chinese language between the North and the South of China. It is considered one of the important tasks in the Chinese language history to reveal these differences. We carried out a study on the lexical differences between *Songshu* and *Weishu* from the different commonly-used words: “*ta-jian*”, “*mang-xia*” and “*shi-zhu*”. Based on historical documents in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, we preliminarily found “*ta*” “*mang*” and “*shi*” were chosen in the North of China, while “*jian*” “*xia*” and “*zhu*” were chosen in the South of China.

Key words: *Songshu*; *Weishu*; Lexical differences; the Northern and Southern Dynasties; commonly-used words

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INTRODUCTION

In the Northern and Southern Dynasties, there existed lexical differences in the Chinese language between the North and the South of China. It is considered one of the important tasks in the Chinese language history to reveal these differences. Many scholars have conducted research and achieved certain results,¹ but it remains the one of the most difficult tasks (Lu Guo-yao 2003), and the results of the present study is very difficult to reveal completely the regional differences of Chinese between the South and the North of China in the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Commonly-used words belong to the basic lexicon of the lexical system and possess certain stability. Different commonly-used words in different regions of China are concrete manifestations of the Chinese regional differences. We take *Songshu* and *Weishu* as the object of study to reveal the differences of lexicon in Chinese between the North and the South in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. In this research the historical documents of the same period are taken into account.²

¹Wang Dong & Luo Ming-yue(2006), Wang Wei-hui(2007), Li Li(2007a), Li Li(2007b), Li Li(2011), Li Li(2012).

²The southern documents: *Southern Dynasty Proses* (南朝文) (including *Prose of Whole Song* 《全宋文》, *Prose of Whole Qi* 《全齐文》, *Prose of Whole Liang* 《全梁文》, *Prose of Whole Chen* 《全陈文》), *Gaosenzhuàn* (《高僧传》) (by Hui Jiao of Liang Dynasty), *Shishuoxinyu* 《世说新语》 (by Liu Yi-qing of Song Dynasty), *Zhoushimingtongji* 《周氏冥通记》 (by Tao Hong-jing of Liang Dynasty), *Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sūtras* (《菩萨善戒经》) (translated by Qunabomo of Song Dynasty, Volume 9), *Hundred Buddhist Parables Metaphors* (《百喻经》) (translated by Qunapidi of Qi Dynasty, Volume 4), *Ayuwangjing* (《阿育王经》) (translated by Sengjiapoluo of Liang Dynasty, Volume 10).

The northern documents: *Northern Dynasty Proses* (北朝文) (including *Prose of Northern Wei* 《全后魏文》, *Prose of Northern Qi* 《全北齐文》, *Prose of Northern Zhou* 《全北周文》), *Notation on Waterways* (《水经注》) (by Li Dao-yuan of Northern Wei Dynasty), *Record of Buddhist temples in Luoyang* (《洛阳伽蓝记》) (by Yang Xuan-zhi of Northern Wei Dynasty), *Qiminyaoshu* (《齐民要术》) (by Jia Si-xie of Northern Wei Dynasty), *Xianyujing* (《贤愚经》) (translated by Hui Jue of Northern Wei Dynasty, Volume 13), *Zabaozangjing* (《杂宝藏经》) (translated by Ji Jia-ye & Tan Yao of Northern Wei Dynasty, Volume 10), *Jinsewangjing* (《金色王经》) (translated by Boreliuzhi of Northern Wei Dynasty, Volume 1).

The reason of choosing *Songshu* and *Weishu* as the object of study is that the two books are official historical documents, and belong to the same genre and have similar word number. *Songshu* recorded the history of the rise and fall of the Liu-Song Dynasty in late fourth century to early sixth century. *Weishu* recorded the history of the Northern Wei Dynasty in the same period. *Songshu* has 1100000 words without two additional volumes³ and *Weishu* has 1000000 words without twenty-eight additional volumes⁴. At the same time, the author and the finish time of *Songshu* and *Weishu* are definite. *Songshu* was written on the basis of the previous revision and supplement by Shen Yue(沈约) between AD 502 and 513. Shen Yue (441-513), also named Shen Xiu-wen(沈休文), was a person of Wukang in Wuxing (now in the west of Deqing County in Zhejiang Province) in the Song, Qi and Liang Dynasties. *Weishu* was written by Wei Shou(魏收) in the Northern Wei, Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Dynasties in AD 554. Wei Shou(505-572), also named Wei Bo-qi(魏伯起), was a person of Julu(now Pingxiang County in Hebei Province). In addition, *Songshu* and *Weishu* were written by the common language of Chinese of the South and the North and thus have a strong comparability.

1. STUDY ON COMMONLY-USED WORDS

1.1 Ta(蹋/踏/躪)-Jian(踐)

In the pre-Qin period, people used the word "jian"(踐) with the meaning "trample", instead of using the word "ta"(蹋/踏/躪). Jing Sheng-xuan and Wu Bo(2008:294-295) stated that "ta"(蹋/踏/躪) was used more and more after the Han Dynasty.

We investigated exhaustively the use of "jian"(踐) and "ta"(蹋/踏/躪) in *Weishu* and *Songshu*. There are 2 "ta's"(蹋) including transitive verbs and intransitive verbs in *Weishu*. Example:

《高祖孝文帝紀》：又詔漢、魏、晉諸帝陵，各禁方百步不得樵蘇踐躪。
(Weishu, p.179)

《咸陽王禧傳》：可憐咸陽王，奈何作事誤。金床玉几不能眠，夜躪霜與露。
(Weishu, p.539)

With the removal of fixed phrases such as "jian-zuo"(踐阼/祚/胙), "jian-wei"(踐位) and "jian-ji"(踐極), there are 19 "jian's"(踐) in *Weishu* including 8 parallel constructions and 11 single syllable structures. The parallel constructions are "teng-jian"(騰踐), "jian-ta"(踐蹋), "shang-jian"(傷踐), "jian-jie"(踐藉), "ling-jian"(凌踐), "jian-hui"(踐穢) and "jian-zhi"(踐陟). The single syllable structures include 7 transitive verbs and 4 intransitive verbs. Example:

《韓麒麟傳》：今始踐偽境，方圖進取，宜寬威厚惠，以示賊人，此韓信降范陽之計。
(Weishu, p.1311)

《徒何慕容廆附超傳》：但令度峴，我以鐵騎踐之，此成擒也。
(Weishu, p.2072)

《段承根傳》：徇兢爭馳，天機莫踐。
(Weishu, p.1158)

《崔光傳》：步騎萬餘，來去經踐，駕輦雜選，競驚交馳，縱加禁護，猶有侵耗，士女老幼，微足傷心。
(Weishu, p.1496)

There are 6 "ta's"(蹋/躪) in *Songshu* including 3 transitive verbs and 3 intransitive verbs. Example:

《禮志五》：獵車，輞轆，輪畫繆龍繞之。一名躪猪車。魏文帝改曰躪虎車。
(Songshu, p.496)

《樂志一》：加以四海朝覲，言觀帝庭，耳聆雅頌之聲，目睹威儀之序，足以躪天，頭以履地，反兩儀之順，傷彝倫之大。
(Songshu, p.546)

《晉平刺王休佑傳》：吾與驃騎南山射雉，驃騎馬驚，與直閣夏文秀馬相躪，文秀墮地，驃騎失鞍，馬驚，觸樹墮地，落硎中，時頓悶，不識人，故馳報弟。
(Songshu, p.1880)

《王景文傳》：夫千仞之木，既摧於斧斤；一寸之草，亦瘁於踐躪。
(Songshu, p.2183)

With the removal of fixed phrases such as "jianzuo"(踐阼/祚/胙), "jianwei"(踐位), "jianji"(踐極) and "jianjing"(踐境), there are 45 "jian's"(踐) in *Songshu* including 22 transitive verbs and 18 intransitive verbs. Example:

《武帝紀》：彼遠來疲勞，勢不能久，但當引令過峴，我以鐵騎踐之，不憂不破也。
(Songshu, p.15)

《符瑞志中》：含仁而戴義，音中鍾呂，步中規矩，不踐生蟲，不折生草，不食不義，不飲洿池，不入坑穽，不行羅網。
(Songshu, p.791)

《五行志二》：無幾而孫恩作亂，再踐會稽
(Songshu, p.918)

《樂志一》：敦彼行葦，猶謂勿踐，矧伊生民，而不惻愴。
(Songshu, p.546)

《符瑞志上》：以為不祥，棄之阨巷，羊牛避而不踐。
(Songshu, p.764)

《自序附璞傳》：若宜避賊歸都，會資舟楫，則更相蹂踐，正足為患。
(Songshu, p.2463)

From the documents we have investigated, we can find that "jian"(踐) is still dominant and "ta"(蹋/踏/躪) is at a disadvantage in the written materials such as *Northern Dynasty proses*, *Shuijingzhu*, *Southern Dynasty proses* and *Gaosengzhuan*. But in the spoken language literature such as the Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures materials, "ta"(蹋/踏/躪) has an absolute advantage. In a concrete manner, in the spoken language literature the position of "jian"(踐) is gradually replaced by "ta"(蹋/踏/躪) in the North of China in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. For example, in northern documents

³46th, 76th

⁴12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 18th, 19th(a), 20th, 22th, 25th, 33th, 34th, 81th, 82th, 83th(a), 83th(b), 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 89th, 90th, 101th, 102th, 103th, 104th, 105th(3th), 105th(4th).

such as *Qiminyaoshu*, *Xianyujing*, *Zabaozangjing* and *Jinsewangjing*, the ratio of “jian”(踐) and “ta”(蹋/踏/躪) is 28:32. But in the South of China, “ta”(蹋/踏/躪) has replaced “jian”(踐). For example, in southern documents such as *Zhoushimingtongji*, *Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sūtras*, *Hundred Buddhist Parables Metaphors* and *Ayuwangjing*, there was only “ta”(蹋/踏/躪) and not “jian”(踐).

Northern documents	jian 踐	ta 蹋/踏/躪	Southern documents	jian 踐	ta 蹋/踏/躪
<i>Weishu</i> (魏书)	19	2	<i>Songshu</i> (宋书)	45	6
<i>Northern Dynasty proses</i> (北朝文)	60	8	<i>Southern Dynasty proses</i> (南朝文)	154	5
<i>Notation on Waterways</i> (水经注)	10	1	<i>Shishuoxinyu</i> (世说新语)	2	0
<i>Record of Buddhist temples in Luoyang</i> (洛阳伽蓝记)	3	0	<i>Gaosengzhuàn</i> (高僧传)	13	1
<i>Qiminyaoshu</i> (齐民要术)	20	18	<i>zhoushimingtongji</i> (周氏冥通记)	0	0
<i>Xianyujing</i> (贤愚经)	6	5	<i>Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sūtra</i> (菩萨善戒经)	0	0
<i>Zabaozangjing</i> (杂宝藏经)	2	9	<i>Hundred Buddhist Parables Metaphors</i> (百喻经)	0	13
<i>Jinsewangjing</i> (金色王经)	0	0	<i>Ayuwangjing</i> (阿育王经)	0	2

1.2 Mang(盲)-Xia(瞎)

In ancient times of China, “mang”(盲) is the leading term in the semantic field of “blind” which has “mang”(盲), “miao”(眇), “gu”(瞽), “meng”(蒙), “sou”(瞶) and so on.⁵ According to the textual research of Bao Jin-hua(2008), from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty, the new term “xia”(瞎) began to appear. In the Tang and Song Dynasties, the use of “xia”(瞎) became increasingly popular, and “xia”(瞎) has replaced “mang”(盲) and became the leading term in the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties.

We investigated exhaustively the use of “mang”(盲) and “xia”(瞎) in *Weishu* and *Songshu*. There are 5 “xia’s”(瞎) in *Weishu*.

《董紹傳》：蕭寶夤反于長安也，紹上書求擊之，云：“臣當出瞎巴三千，生噉蜀子。”肅宗謂黃門徐紇曰：“此巴真瞎也？”紇曰：“此是紹之壯辭，云巴人勁勇，見敵無所畏懼，非實瞎也。”^(Weishu, p.1759)

《臨渭氏苻健附生傳》：生無一目，年七歲，洪戲之，問侍者曰：“吾聞瞎兒一淚，信乎？”^(Weishu, p.2074)

《臨渭氏苻健附生傳》：百里望空城，鬱鬱何青青。瞎人不知法，仰不見天星。^(Weishu, p.2076)

There is 1 “xia”(瞎) in *Songshu*.

《五行志二》：元康中，天下商農通著大鄣日，童謠曰：“屠蘇鄣日覆兩耳，當見瞎兒作天子。”^(Songshu, p.915)

There is 1 “mang”(盲) respectively in *Weishu* and *Songshu*.

《刁雍傳》：逮乎秦皇，剪棄道術，灰滅典籍，坑燼儒士，直天下之目，絕象魏之章，簫韶來儀，不可復矣。^(Weishu, p.870)

《魯爽傳》：近係南雲，傾屬東日，蓋猶痿人思步，直者顯明。^(Songshu, p.1923)

In the documents of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, “xia”(瞎) had a low frequency, much less than “mang”(盲) and we can conclude that it was a new word. In the materials of our survey, there are few “xia’s”(瞎) in the southern documents. There is only 1 in both *Songshu* and *Shishuoxinyu*.⁶ With the research on the Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures materials, we find that “xia”(瞎) only appears in the northern Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures materials, and does not appear in the southern Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures materials. We speculate that “xia”(瞎) may be a word in the northern dialect.⁷

Northern documents	mang (盲)	xia (瞎)	Southern documents	mang (盲)	xia (瞎)
<i>Weishu</i> (魏书)	1	5	<i>Songshu</i> (宋书)	1	1
<i>Northern Dynasty proses</i> (北朝文)	11	1	<i>Southern Dynasty proses</i> (南朝文)	16	0
<i>Notation on Waterway</i> (水经注)	1	0	<i>Shishuoxinyu</i> (世说新语)	1	1
<i>Record of Buddhist temples in Luoyang</i> (洛 阳伽蓝记)	2	0	<i>Gaosengzhuàn</i> (高僧传)	1	0
<i>Qiminyaoshu</i> (齐民要术)	1	0	<i>Zhoushimingtongji</i> (周氏冥通记)	0	0
<i>Xianyujing</i> (贤愚经)	30	1	<i>Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sūtra</i> (菩萨善戒经)	2	0
<i>Zabaozangjing</i> (杂宝藏经)	29	3	<i>Hundred Buddhist Parables Metaphors</i> (百 喻经)	4	0
<i>Jinsewangjing</i> (金色王经)	0	0	<i>Ayuwangjing</i> (阿育王经)	6	0
Total	75	10	Total	31	2

⁵According to the textual research of Huang Jin-gui(1995:605-610), in ancient times of China, “gu”(瞽) means having eyeballs but the eyes are closed so eyes can not see, “gou”(瞶) means not having eyeballs but the eyes are closed so eyes can not see, “meng”(蒙) means the pupils of eyes are obstructed so the eyes go to blind, “mang”(盲) means the pupils of eyes are unable to see, “miao”(眇) means two eyes can see a little bit before Wei & Jin Dynasties and two eyes can not see after Wei & Jin Dynasties. After Qin Dynasty, “mang” became the blanket term of “blind”. “Xia”(瞎) means not having eyeballs but the two eyes are closed. But Fang Yi-xin(1991) reckons that “xia”(瞎) means one eye is unable to see.

⁶《世說新語·排調》：殷有一參軍在坐，云：“盲人騎瞎馬，夜半臨深池。”

⁷The study of Bao Jin-hua(2008) also illustrates this point.

⁸According to the research of Huang Jin-gui(1995:417-421).

1.3 Shi(豕)-Zhu(猪)

“Shi” (豕) is the common name of “pig” in the pre-Qin period. But in the Eastern Han Dynasty “zhu”(猪)became the common name in spoken Chinese.⁸Luo Xiao-ping (1996) said that during the Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, “zhu”(猪) instead of “shi”(豕)and become the main term of pig.

We investigated exhaustively the use of “zhu”(猪) and “shi”(豕) in *Weishu* and *Songshu*. There are 19 “zhu’s”(猪) in *Weishu* including 5 proper nouns and 14 common nouns. The proper nouns are the names such as “An Zhu”(安猪), “Zhao Zhu”(赵猪)and “Xue Ye-zhu”(薛野猪). The common nouns are “zhulu”(猪鹿), “zhuniu”(猪牛), “zhugou”(猪狗), “zhuayu”(猪鱼)and so on.

《古弼傳》：行百餘里而弼表至，曰：“今秋穀懸黃，麻菽布野，猪鹿竊食，鳥雁侵費，風波所耗，朝夕參倍，乞賜矜緩，使得收載。” (Weishu, p.692)

《房法壽傳》：後以母老，不復應州郡之命。常盜殺猪牛，以共其母。(Weishu, p.969)

《羯胡石勒附虎傳》：翌日，有人告之，虎大怒，以鐵鑲穿宣頰而鎖之，作數斗木槽，和以羹飯，以猪狗法食之。……殺其妻子二十九人，誅其四率已下三百人、宦者五十人，皆車裂、節解，棄之漳水，滄其東宮，以養猪牛。(Weishu, p.2053)

《島夷劉裕附子業傳》：彧、休祐形體肥大，遂以籠盛稱之，彧尤肥，號曰“猪王”。(Weishu, p.2146)

《勿吉傳》：多猪無羊。(Weishu, p.2220)

《失韋傳》：頗有粟麥及稌，唯食猪魚，養牛馬，俗又無羊。(Weishu, p.2221)

《靈征志上》：高祖延興元年九月，有司奏豫州刺史、臨淮公王讓表，有猪生子，一頭、二身、八足。(Weishu, p.2919)

There are 10 “zhu’s”(猪)in *Songshu*. Example:

《禮志五》：獵車，輞轆，輪畫繆龍繞之。一名蹋

猪車。魏文帝改曰蹋虎車。(Songshu, p.496)

《符瑞志上》：先是秦穆公時，陳倉人掘地得物，若羊非羊，若猪非猪，怪，將獻之。(Songshu, p.771)

《五行志三》：吳戍將鄧嘉殺猪祠神，治畢縣之，忽見一人頭往食肉，嘉引弓射中之，咋咋作聲，繞屋三日。(Songshu, p.945)

《五行志五》：晉武帝咸寧中，司徒府有二代蛇，長十許丈，居聽事平椽上，數年而人不知，但怪府中數失小兒及猪犬之屬。(Songshu, p.1002)

《始安王休仁傳》：休仁及太宗、山陽王休祐，形體並肥壯，帝乃以竹籠盛而稱之，以太宗尤肥，號為“猪王”，號休仁為“殺王”，休祐為“賊王”。……太宗嘗忤旨，帝怒，乃僕之，縛其手脚，以杖貫手脚內，使人擔付太官，曰：“即日屠猪。”休仁笑謂帝曰：“猪今日未應死。”帝問其故，休仁曰：“待皇太子生，殺猪取其肝肺。” (Songshu, p.1871-1872)

《沈慶之傳》：慶之每朝賀，常乘猪鼻無轆車，左右從者不過三五人。(Songshu, p.2004)

The frequency of occurrences of “shi”(豕) in *Weishu* and *Songshu* were 19 and 24 respectively. If not including the fixed ideas such as “shitu”(豕突) and “fengshi”(封豕), the frequency of occurrences were 11 and 20.

《匈奴劉聰傳》：有豕著進賢冠，犬冠武弁帶綬，並昇聰座，俄而鬪死，宿衛之人無見入者。(Weishu, p.2046)

《五行志二》：明帝泰始中，秣陵張僧護家犬生豕子。(Songshu, p.923)

By investigating the literature of Northern and Southern Dynasties, we find that 31:143 is the use ratio of “shi”(豕) and “zhu”(猪)and that “zhu”(猪)occupies absolute advantage in the literature of the Northern Dynasty. In contrast, in the Southern Dynasty the frequency literature “zhu”(猪) is not very high and 44:21 is the use ratio of “shi”(豕) and “zhu”(猪).

Northern documents	shi(豕)	zhu(猪)	Southern documents	shi(豕)	zhu(猪)
<i>Weishu</i> (魏书)	11 ¹	19	<i>Songshu</i> (宋书)	20 ²	10
<i>Northern Dynasty proses</i> (北朝文)	9 ³	5	<i>Southern Dynasty proses</i> (南朝文)	24 ⁴	4
<i>Notation on Waterway</i> (水经注)	5	20	<i>Shishuoxinyu</i> (世说新语)	0	4
<i>Record of Buddhist temples in Luoyang</i> (洛阳伽蓝记)	0	1	<i>Gaosengzhuan</i> (高僧传)	1	3
<i>Qiminyaoshu</i> (齐民要术)	6	97	<i>Zhoushimingtongji</i> (周氏冥通记)	0	0
<i>Xianyujing</i> (贤愚经)	0	1	<i>Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sūtra</i> (菩萨善戒经)	0	0
<i>Zabaozangjing</i> (杂宝藏经)	0	0	<i>Hundred Buddhist Parables Metaphors</i> (百喻经)	0	0
<i>Jinsewangjing</i> (金色王经)	0	0	<i>Ayuwangjing</i> (阿育王经)	0	0
Total	31	143	Total	44	21

CONCLUSION

From the above three groups of common words, we can find that there are regional differences of Chinese lexicon

between the North and the South of China in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The regional differences are that new forms of “ta”(踏) in southern Chinese was selected while the old saying of “jian”(踐) was used in northern

⁹There are 3 “shitu”(豕突) and 5 “fengshi”(封豕)in *Weishu*. There are 3 “shitu”(豕突) and 1 “fengshi”(封豕)in *Songshu*.

¹⁰“Shitu”(豕突)3 and “fengshi”(封豕)5 are not included

¹¹“Shitu”(豕突)3 and “fengshi”(封豕)1 are not included.

¹²“Shitu”(豕突)19 and “fengshi”(封豕)1 are not included.

¹³“Shitu”(豕突)13 and “fengshi”(封豕)6 are not included.

Chinese to express "trample underfoot"; the common word of "mang"(盲) was chosen in southern Chinese while the dialect word of "xia"(瞎) was used in northern Chinese to express "blind"; the formal word of "shi"(豕) was selected in southern Chinese while the common word of "zhu"(猪) was chosen in northern Chinese to express "pig".

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