

The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad “Southeast Fly the Peacocks”

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Introduction

Language and literature are two closely allied fields of study. But progress in one has not always kept pace with developments in the other, and perfect co-operation between the two is a dream of the future. One large area where mutual enlightenment is still deficient, to the detriment of both disciplines, involves the basic distinction between spoken and written language. Linguists have long been aware of this fundamental dichotomy, but they have just barely begun to explore the language of literature as a special kind of language. Students of literature, on the other hand, are only now coming to grips with the essential distinction between the oral and the written tradition in literature. “Oral tradition” is a more precise term than the romantic notions of “folk literature,” “popular literature,” and “traditional literature” that we have inherited from Johann Gottfried Herder and other 18th-century theorists.

In China, pioneers such as Hu Shih 胡適 and Yang Yin-shen 楊蔭深 have noted the crucial role of oral transmission in many phases of China's long literary history.¹ In the West, Matija Murko, Milman Parry, Albert B. Lord, and others have defined and described oral poetry as observed in the living tradition of epic and ballad singing in 20th-century Yugoslavia.² From these observations and studies, we know that oral poetry is poetry created and transmitted in oral performances by unlettered singers. Many Western poems, including classics such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are now understood to be fairly faithful transcriptions of oral performances. How do we recognize oral poetry in old texts? One of the criteria, according to Parry, Lord, and others, is the preponderant use of formulas and formulaic expressions (two terms to be defined shortly). If

1. 胡適, 白話文學史, passim; 楊蔭深, 中國俗文學概論 (reprinted Taipei: 世界書局, 1965), p. 5.

2. See Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York; Atheneum, 1965), and his article “Oral Poetry” in *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger (Princeton, N.J., 1965), both with bibliographical references to other studies.

these scholars are right, formulaic language must also be present in the oral poetry of languages not treated by them, such as Chinese. In this essay I propose to take as a test case the longest of the early Chinese ballads, "K'ung-ch'üeh tung-nan fei" 孔雀東南飛 ("Southeast Fly the Peacocks"), which is believed to have originated in an oral tradition.³

This anonymous ballad, also entitled "Chiao Chung-ch'ing ch'i" 焦仲卿妻 ("Chiao Chung-ch'ing's Wife"), is based, according to its prose preface, on a true event that occurred during the Chien-an era (A. D. 196-220) at the end of the Later Han dynasty. Anonymous ballads are notoriously hard to date. Those that live in an oral tradition are continuously recreated, often with changes, in successive performances. I do not know how reliable the preface is. (It does not appear until more than three centuries after the alleged event, and I am skeptical of many attempts to link works of fiction to actual happenings, though there *are* ballads that deal in their own way with historical events.) But there are other indications that the poem dates from about the third century of the Christian era. It was first recorded, preceded by the preface, in the sixth-century anthology *Yü-t'ai hsin yung* 玉臺新詠. I use the text printed in Chi Jung-shu's 紀容舒 critical edition of *Yü-t'ai hsin yung*.⁴ I follow this text throughout, except in lines 28, 177, 209, 221, 226, 264, and 290, where I prefer the readings of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 edition of *Yü-t'ai hsin yung*,⁵ and in line 22, where I adopt Wen I-to's 聞一多 emendation, reading 上堂 in place of 堂上.⁶

"Southeast Fly the Peacocks" is a moving narrative poem with universal human appeal.⁷ But a discussion of this poem as a work of literature must be reserved for another occasion. This essay deals only with its formulaic language. I will explain now my procedure for testing its formulaic language. I number the 355

3. See for instance 顧亭錄, 南北兩大民歌箋校 (世界書局, 1945), p. 10; 余冠英, 樂府詩選 (Hong Kong, 1954), p. 75.

4. 玉臺新詠考異 (綴輔叢書 ed.), 1.17a-21b.

5. 五雲溪館活字本, 1.16a-21a.

6. 樂府箋 (appended to 宋本樂府詩集 [Taipei: 世界書局, 1961]), p. 34.

7. Some of the available translations are, in English, Arthur Waley, "A Peacock Flew," *Chinese Poems* (London, 1946), pp. 89-100; Robert Payne, "Southeast the Peacock Flies . . .," *The White Pony* (New York, 1947), pp. 132-143; in French, L. Arousseau, "Deux paons se sont envolés . . .," *Études Asiatiques*, 1 (= *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 19) (1925), 1-36; in German, Chiang Hsüeh-wen 江雪雯, "Die Pfauen flogen nach Südosten," *Simica*, 14 (1939), 213-220; in Japanese, Uchida Sennosuke 内田泉之助, 古詩源, 上 (漢詩大系, Vol. 4, Tokyo: 集英社, 1964), pp. 171-194.

lines of the poem consecutively. As the entire poem is in five-syllable lines, and the caesura normally falls between the second and the third syllable, I refer to the first two syllables of a line as A, and to the last three syllables as B. (For example, 3A refers to the first two syllables of the third line.) The half-line (A or B) is usually a metrical and syntactical unit, and also the basic unit of formulaic language, of which I distinguish two kinds, formulas and formulaic expressions.⁸ Whenever a given formula is used, it is identical not only in wording but also in its metrical position. A formulaic expression (unlike a formula) contains one or more words that differ from occurrence to occurrence, but the metrical and syntactical configuration is the same in each occurrence of a given formulaic expression, and at least one of the words is always identical. Each formula and each formulaic expression constitutes a half-line or a whole line; some even extend beyond a single line. I subdivide each of the two kinds (formulas and formulaic expressions) into two groups, according to whether they recur in the same poem or in other poems.⁹ Thus I get four types of formulaic language (or more precisely, four criteria for formulaic language), which I mark in the text of the poem with four kinds of underlining, as follows:

- (1) ○○○○ The same phrase is used elsewhere in the same poem.
- (2) △△△△ The same phrase is used in another poem.
- (3) - - - - A similar phrase is used elsewhere in the same poem.
- (4) A similar phrase is used in another poem.

(1) and (2) are formulas, (3) and (4) are formulaic expressions. To illustrate the four types and to clarify my code, let me give four examples (one of each type) from the sections "Text" and "Documentation of Formulas and Formulaic Expressions" below.

(1) A formula recurring in the same poem. The second half of line 53 of the text reads 默無聲, "silent, without a sound." The corresponding documentation says "53B=255B." This means that the second half of line 53 is identical with the second half of line 255.

8. My terminology and procedure are adapted from Parry and Lord. For their definitions of "formula" and "formulaic" see Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 30 and 44-48.

9. My corpus of "other poems" is limited to anonymous poems (mostly *yüeh-fu* 樂府) which I suspect to belong to the same oral tradition as "Southeast Fly the Peacocks." I exclude poems whose authors are known. Chronologically I go back as far as the beginning of the Han dynasty (third century B. C.) and forward to the end of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (sixth century of our era). The traditional datings of these poems are in many cases uncertain. Most of the poems cited in this essay probably range from the second to the fifth century of the Christian era.

(2) A formula recurring in another poem. Line 79 of the text reads 紅羅複斗帳, "a double-layered red gauze canopy." The corresponding documentation says "79 = 長樂佳 (樂府詩集, 45.9b), 1." This means that line 79 is identical with line 1 of a poem titled 長樂佳 as printed in 宋本樂府詩集,¹⁰ *chüan* 卷 45, folio 9, verso.

(3) A formulaic expression recurring in the same poem. The first half of line 140 of the text reads 君當, "you should." The corresponding documentation says "140A cf. 290A." This means that the first half of line 140 is comparable to the first half of line 290, which reads 卿當, "you should."¹¹ (When comparable passages differ from each other, I separate them by a semicolon; when they are identical, I use a comma. See 9B in the documentation for an example of both types.)

(4) A formulaic expression recurring in another poem. The second half of line 333 of the text reads 人定初, "as soon as people had settled down." The corresponding documentation says "333B cf. 人定後 (華山畿 [樂府詩集, 46. 3a], 2B)." This means that the second half of line 333 is comparable to the phrase 人定後 ("after people had settled down"), which is the second half of line 2 of a poem titled 華山畿, as printed in 宋本樂府詩集, *chüan* 卷 46, folio 3, recto.¹²

When I find corresponding phrases only in neighboring lines and not elsewhere, I do not count them as formulaic expressions because the resemblance may be due to parallelism rather than formulaic language. Examples are 馬在前……車在後 (lines 125B-126B) and 朝成……晚成 (lines 262A-263A).

Since an identical prosodic pattern is one of the characteristics of each formula and formulaic expression, nearly all my citations from other poems are taken from five-syllable lines. I have allowed a few exceptions, such as an occasional seven-syllable line (e. g., documentation for line 169) whose last five syllables may be considered as A+B, and the first two syllables (A) of some

10. My quotations from 樂府詩集 refer to the photolithographic reprint of a Sung edition, 宋本樂府詩集 (Taipei: 世界書局, 1961).

11. 君 is a more respectful second-person pronoun than 卿. In the post-Han period, 君 was the proper term of respect used by a wife speaking to her husband, while 卿 was the standard pronoun for a husband addressing his wife. See 許世瑛, 世說新語中第二身稱代詞研究, 中央研究院, 歷史語言研究所集刊, Vol 36, Part I (Taipei, 1965), pp. 185-235, especially pp. 190-212. In our text, the formulaic expression 君當 fits the context in line 140 where the wife is addressing her husband; the variant 卿當 appears in line 290 where the husband is addressing the wife.

12. 人定後 does not fit line 333 but the variant 人定初 does, for two reasons. first, because line 333 must end with a word that rhymes with 廬 (line 331), and second, because 後 had already been used at the end of line 332.

four-syllable lines (e. g., documentation for line 69A). If I had limited myself strictly to five-syllable lines, the results of my test would not be seriously affected.

Text

	孔雀東南飛		22	上堂啓阿母		42	遣之慎莫留
			○ ○ ○ ○ ○			-----
2	五里一徘徊			兒已薄祿相			府吏長跪答
	△△△△△△△			-----			○ ○ ○
			-----			-----
	十三能織素		24	幸復得此婦		44	伏惟啓阿母
	○ ○ ○			-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○
4	十四學裁衣			結髮同枕席			今若遣此婦
	○ ○ ○			-----			-----
	-----			-----			-----
	十五彈箏篋		26	黃泉共爲友		46	終老不復取
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			○ ○ ○			-----
6	十六誦詩書			共事二三年			阿母得聞之
	○ ○ ○			-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
	-----			-----			-----
	十七爲君婦		28	始爾未爲久		48	搥牀便大怒
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			-----			-----
8	心中常苦悲			女行無偏斜			小子無所畏
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ △△△△△			-----			△△△△-----
	-----			-----			-----
	君旣爲府吏		30	何意致不厚		50	何敢助婦語
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ -----			○ ○ ○		
10	守節情不移			阿母謂府吏			吾已失恩義
	-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			-----
	-----			-----			-----
	鷄鳴入機織		32	何乃太區區		52	會不相從許
	○ ○ ○			-----			-----
	-----			-----			-----
12	夜夜不得息			此婦無禮節			府吏默無聲
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
	-----			-----			-----
	三日斷五匹		34	舉動自專由		54	再拜還入戶
			-----			-----
14	大人故嫌遲			吾意久懷忿			舉言謂新婦
	-----			-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
	-----			-----			-----
	非爲織作遲		36	汝豈得自由		56	哽咽不能語
	-----			-----		
16	君家婦難爲			東家有賢女			我自不驅卿
	△△△△			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			△△△△
	-----			-----			-----
	妾不堪驅使		38	自名秦羅敷		58	逼迫有阿母
	-----			○ ○ ○			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
18	徒留無所施			-----			-----
	-----			-----			-----
	便可白公姥			可憐體無比			卿但暫還家
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ -----			△△△△			-----
20	及時相遣歸		40	阿母爲汝求		60	吾今且赴府
	-----			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
	-----			-----			-----
	府吏得聞之			便可速遣之			不久當歸還
	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○			○ ○ ○			○ ○ ○
	-----			-----			-----

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|----|---------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|---------------------------------------|
| 62 | 還必相迎取
以此下心意
-- -- | | 留待作遺施 | | 今日還家去
○○○○○○○ |
| 64 | 慎勿違吾語
○○○
新婦謂府吏
○○○○○○○ | 88 | 於今無會因
時時爲安慰
△△△ | 112 | 念母勞家裏

却與小姑別 |
| 66 | 勿復重紛紜
○○○
往昔初陽歲 | 90 | 久久莫相忘
○○○ | 114 | 淚落連珠子
○○○
新婦初來時
○○○----- |
| 68 | 謝家來貴門
○○○○○○○
奉事循公姥
△△△----- | 92 | 新婦起嚴妝
○○○ | 116 | 小姑始扶牀
○○○
今日被驅遣
○○○○○○○ |
| 70 | 進止敢自專
晝夜勤作息
△△△ | 94 | 事事四五通
----- | 118 | 小姑如我長
○○○
勤心養公姥
----- |
| 72 | 伶仃縈苦辛
謂言無罪過
○○○○○○○ | 96 | 足下躡絲履
△△△-----
頭上玳瑁光
△△△----- | 120 | 好自相扶將
△△△△
初七及下九 |
| 74 | 供養卒大恩
仍更被驅遣
○○○ | 98 | 耳著明月璫
△△△△

指如削葱根 | 122 | 嬉戲莫相忘
○○○
出門登車去
△△△
----- |
| 76 | 何言復來還
妾有繡腰襦
----- | 100 | 口如含朱丹
纖纖作細步
△△△ | 124 | 涕落百餘行

府吏馬在前
○○○ |
| 78 | 葳蕤自生光
△△△△△△△
紅羅複斗帳
△△△△△△△ | 102 | 精妙世無雙
○○○
上堂拜阿母
○○○○○○○ | 126 | 新婦車在後
○○○
隱隱何甸甸
----- |
| 80 | 四角垂香囊
○○○

箱簾六七十 | 104 | 母聽去不止
昔作女兒時 | 128 | 俱會大道口
下馬入車中
△△△ |
| 82 | 綠碧青絲繩

物物各自異
----- | 106 | 生小出野里
本自無教訓
△△△ | 130 | 低頭共耳語
△△△

誓不相隔卿 |
| 84 | 種種在其中
人賤物亦鄙 | 108 | 兼愧貴家子

受母錢帛多 | 132 | 且暫還家去
○○○○○ |
| 86 | 不足迎後人
----- | 110 | 不堪母驅使
○○○ | | 吾今且赴府
○○○○○○○ |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 134 | 不久當還歸
誓天不相負
△△△△ | 十六知禮儀 | 180 | 徐徐更謂之
阿母白媒人 | |
| 136 | 新婦謂府吏
感君區區懷
..... | 158 | 十七遣汝嫁
謂言無誓違 | 182 | 貧賤有此女
始適還家門 |
| 138 | 君既若見錄
不久望君來 | 160 | 汝今無罪過
不迎而自歸 | 184 | 不堪吏人婦
豈合令郎君 |
| 140 | 君當作盤石
妾當作薄葦 | 162 | 蘭芝慙阿母
兒實無罪過 | 186 | 幸可廣問訊
不得便相許
△△△△△△△△ |
| 142 | 薄葦紐如絲
盤石無轉移
△△△△△△△ | 164 | 阿母大悲摧
還家十餘日 | 188 | 媒人去數日
尋遣丞請還 |
| 144 | 我有親父兄
性行暴如雷 | 166 | 縣令遣媒來
云有第三郎 | 190 | 說有蘭家女
承籍有宦官 |
| 146 | 恐不任我意
逆以煎我懷 | 168 | 窈窕世無雙
年始十八九
..... | 192 | 云有第五郎
嬌逸未有婚 |
| 148 | 舉手長勞勞
二情同依依
△△△ | 170 | 便言多令才
阿母謂阿女 | 194 | 遣丞爲媒人
主簿通語言 |
| 150 | 入門上家堂
進退無顏儀 | 172 | 汝可去應之
阿女含淚答 | 196 | 直說太守家
有此令郎君 |
| 152 | 阿母大拊掌
不圖子自歸 | 174 | 蘭芝初還時
府吏見丁寧 | 198 | 既欲結大義
故遣來貴門 |
| 154 | 十三教汝織
十四能裁衣 | 176 | 結誓不別離
今日違情義 | 200 | 阿母謝媒人
女子先有誓
△△△ |
| 156 | 十五彈箏篋
自可斷來信 | 178 | 恐此事非奇
自可斷來信 | 202 | 老姥豈敢言
阿兄得聞之 |

	人事不可量		恨恨那可論		府吏再拜遷 ○○○.....
278	果不如先願	302	念與世間辭 △△△	326	長歎空房中 ---△△△△
	又非君所詳		千萬不復全 -----		作計乃爾立 ○○○
280	我有親父母 ○○○ -----	304	府吏還家去 ○○○	328	轉頭向戶裏 -----
	逼迫兼弟兄 ○○○		上堂拜阿母 ○○○○○		漸見愁煎迫
282	以我應他人 -----	306	今日大風寒 ○○○	330	其日牛馬嘶
	君還何所望 -----		寒風摧樹木 △△△		新婦入青廬 ○○○
284	府吏謂新婦 ○○○○○○○ -----	308	嚴霜結庭蘭 △△△	332	菴菴黃昏後 ○○○
	賀卿得高遷		兒今日冥冥 -----		寂寂人定初
286	盤石方且厚 ○○○	310	令母在後單 -----	334	我命絕今日
	可以卒千年		故作不良計 -----		魂去尸長留
288	薄葦一時紉 ○○○ △△△	312	勿復怨鬼神 ○○○	336	攬裙脫絲履 △△△-----
	便作旦夕間		命如南山石 △△△.....		舉身赴清池 -----
290	卿當日勝貴 -----	314	四體康且直	338	府吏聞此事 ○○○
	吾獨向黃泉		阿母得聞之 ○○○○○○○		心知長別離 -----
292	新婦謂府吏 ○○○○○○○	316	零淚應聲落	340	徘徊庭樹下 △△△.....
	何意出此言 ○○○		汝是大家子 -----		自掛東南枝
294	同是被逼迫	318	仕宦於臺閣	342	兩家求合葬
	君爾妾亦然		慎勿爲婦死 ○○○.....		合葬華山旁
296	黃泉下相見 ○○○	320	貴賤情何薄	344	東西植松柏 △△△.....
	勿違今日言		東家有賢女 ○○○○○○○		左右種梧桐
298	執手分道去 △△△	322	窈窕豔城郭 ○○○	346	枝枝相覆蓋
	各各還家門 △△△-----		阿母爲汝求 ○○○○○○○		葉葉相交通
300	生人作死別	324	便復在旦夕	348	中有雙飛鳥 △△△

	自名爲鴛鴦 ○○○	352	行人駐足聽 △△△	戒之慎勿忘 -----
350	仰頭相向鳴 △△△		寡婦起彷徨 △△△	
	夜夜達五更 ○○○	354	多謝後世人 △△△△△△△	

Documentation of Formulas and Formulaic Expressions

2A = 豔歌何嘗行 (樂府詩集, 39.6a-b), 7A.

2B = 豔歌何嘗行, 8B.

1-2 cf. 黃鶴參天飛, 中道鬱徘徊 (襄陽樂 [樂府詩集, 48.6b], 1-2, 黃鶴曲 [樂府詩集, 45.8a], 1-2).

3A, 4A, 5A, 6A, 7A=154A, 155A, 156A, 157A, 158A.

4 cf. 155.

5=156.

7B cf. 爲君門, 爲君堂 (相逢行 [樂府詩集, 34.6a-b], 7B, 8B).

8A=229A.

8B = 塘上行 (樂府詩集, 35.7a), 8B, 11B.

9A=138A.

9B cf. 207B; 65B, 136B.

11A=91A.

12A=351A.

12B cf. 得眠 (子夜歌 [樂府詩集, 44.5a (2 instances)], 1B).

13 cf. 一日行千里 (梁末童謠 [全梁詩, 卷 14], 2); 三刀治一魚 (華山畿 [樂府詩集, 46.2b], 2).

16A = 相逢行 (樂府詩集, 34.6a-b), 5A; 長安有狹斜行 (樂府詩集, 35.1a), 5A.

17A cf. 77A; 141A; 253A.

18B cf. 49B.

19A=41A, 222A.

19B cf. 225B; 69B; 119B.

21A=43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.

21B=47B, 203B, 228B, 315B.

22A=103A, 305A.

22B=44B.

22 cf. 103, 305.

23A cf. 309A; 163A; 51A.

- 24A cf. 186A.
24B cf. 45B.
26A=296A.
27B cf. 268B.
30A=293A.
31A=40A, 47A, 152A, 164A, 171A, 181A, 200A, 250A, 315A, 323A.
31B= 65B, 136B.
31 cf. 65, 136, 292; 171, 250; 284.
32A cf. 253A.
33A cf. 353A.
37=321.
38A=349A.
37-38 cf. 秦氏有好女，自名爲羅敷。 (陌上桑 [樂府詩集，28.3b-4b]，3-4, 25-26).
39A = 捉搦歌 (樂府詩集，25.6b)，3A.
40 = 323.
41A=19A, 222A.
41 cf. 172; 235.
42 cf. 355.
43A=21A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A. 338A.
44B=22B.
45B cf. 24B.
46B cf. 303B.
47=315.
49A = 長安有狹斜行 (樂府詩集，35.1a)，9A.
49B cf. 18B.
50A cf. 不敢 (孤兒行 [樂府詩集，38.9a-b]，12A).
51A cf. 60A; 23A.
53A=21A, 43A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.
53B=255B.
55A=205A.
55B=284B.
55 cf. 205.
56B cf. 不能言 (豔歌何嘗行 [樂府詩集，39.6a-b]，18B).
57A = 子夜變歌 (樂府詩集，45.3a)，2A; cf. 107A.
58A=281A.

- 58B cf. 22B, 44B; 103B; 162B; 305B; 有阿誰 (十五從軍征 [樂府詩集, 25.4a], 4B).
- 59A cf. 290A.
- 59 cf. 歡但且還去 (讀曲歌 [樂府詩集, 46.6a], 1).
- 60 = 133.
- 61A = 134A, 139A.
- 61 cf. 134.
- 63A cf. 282A.
- 64A = 319A.
- 65 = 136, 292.
- 66A = 312A.
- 68A = 215A.
- 68B = 199B.
- 69 A = 滿歌行 (樂府詩集, 43.7b-8a), 26A.
- 69B cf. 119B; 19B.
- 71A = 作蠶絲 (樂府詩集, 49.7a), 2A.
- 73A = 159A.
- 73B = 160B, 163B.
- 75B = 117B.
- 77A cf. 143A, 280A; 17A; 141A.
- 78 A = 孟珠 (樂府詩集, 49.3b), 3A.
- 78 B = 相逢行 (樂府詩集, 34.6a-b), 16B; 長安有狹斜行 (樂府詩集, 35.1a), 12B.
- 79 = 長樂佳 (樂府詩集, 45.9b), 1.
- 80A = 239A.
- 80 cf. 四角垂朱璫 (長樂佳, 2).
- 82B cf. 245B.
- 83B cf. 各自媚 (飲馬長城窟行 [樂府詩集, 38.1a-2a], 11B; 各自去 (烏夜啼 [樂府詩集, 47.10a], 2B).
- 86 A cf. 何足 (那呵灘 [樂府詩集, 49.3b], 2A).
- 89 A = 華山畿 (樂府詩集, 46.3b), 3A.
- 90B = 122B.
- 91A = 11A.
- 91 B cf. 天欲曙 (懊儂歌 [樂府詩集, 46.1b], 1B).
- 92A = 65A, 115A, 126A, 136A, 270A, 292A, 331A.
- 93 A = 木蘭詩 (樂府詩集, 25.10a-11a), 52A; cf. 258A.

- 93B = 262B.
94B cf. 248B.
95A = 孤兒行 (樂府詩集, 38.9a-b), 23A.
95B cf. 336B.
96A = 陌上桑 (樂府詩集, 28.3b-4b), 9A.
96B cf. 瑤瑁簪 (有所思 [樂府詩集, 16.6b-7a], 4B).
98B = 子夜四時歌, 春歌 (樂府詩集, 44.6a), 2B.
98 cf. 耳中明月珠 (陌上桑, 10).
101A = 迢迢牽牛星 (樂府詩選, 余冠英選註, Hong Kong, 1954, pp. 57-58), 3A.
102B = 168B.
103 = 305.
107A = 雁門太守行 (樂府詩集, 39.3b-5a), 3A; 豔歌行 (樂府詩集, 39.8a), 17A.
108B cf. 317B.
110A = 184A.
111A = 117A, 177A, 306A.
111B = 132B, 304B.
112A cf. 310A; 念君 (塘上行 [樂府詩集, 35.7a], 7A, 11A).
114A = 257A.
115A = 65A, 92A, 126A, 136A, 270A, 292A, 331A.
115B cf. 174B.
116A = 118A.
117A = 111A, 177A, 306A.
117B = 75B.
118A = 116A.
119B cf. 69B; 19B.
120B = 木蘭詩 (樂府詩集, 25.10a-11a), 44B.
122B = 90B.
123A = 十五從軍征 (樂府詩集, 25.4a), 15A; 西洲曲 (樂府詩集, 72.4b-5a), 12A;
木蘭詩, 55A; cf. 150A.
124A cf. 114A, 257A.
124B cf. 165B; 百餘尺 (壽陽樂 [樂府詩集, 49.6b], 1B).
125A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.
126A = 65A, 92A, 115A, 136A, 270A, 292A, 331A.
127B cf. 何田田 (江南 [樂府詩集, 26.9a-b], 2B).
129A = 折楊柳枝歌 (樂府詩集, 25.7b), 3A.

130A = 西洲曲 (樂府詩集, 72.4b-5a), 15A; cf. 350A; 328A.

132B = 111B, 304B.

133 = 60.

134A = 61A, 139A.

134 cf. 61.

135B = 月節折楊柳歌, 七月歌 (樂府詩集, 49.9a), 61.

136 = 65, 292.

137A cf. 感郎 (上聲歌 [樂府詩集, 45.3a], 4A).

138A = 9A.

139A = 61A, 134A.

140A cf. 290A.

141A cf. 17A; 77A; 290A.

142A = 288A; 戰城南 (樂府詩集, 16.5a), 9A.

143A = 286A.

143B = 子夜歌 (樂府詩集, 44.5a), 2B.

144A = 280A.

144 cf. 280.

146A cf. 178A.

146B cf. 217B.

148A = 274A.

149A = 平西樂 (樂府詩集, 49.5b) 2A.

150A = 相逢行 (樂府詩集, 34.6a-b), 19A; 婦病行 (樂府詩集, 38.8b), 22A; 飲馬
長城窟行 (樂府詩集, 38.1a-2a), 11A; cf. 123A.

150B cf. 上高堂 (長安有狹斜行 [樂府詩集, 35.1a], 16B).

152A = 31A, 40A, 47A, 164A, 171A, 181A, 200A, 250A, 315A, 323A.

152 cf. 164.

153 cf. 161.

154A, 155A, 156A, 157A, 158A = 3A, 4A, 5A, 6A, 7A.

155 cf. 4.

156 = 5.

159A = 73A.

160A cf. 60A, 133A; 309A; 172A; 36A.

160B = 73B, 163B.

161 cf. 153.

162A = 174A, 213A.

- 162B cf. 22B, 44B; 58B; 103B; 305B.
163A cf. 23A; 309A.
163B=73B, 160B.
164A=31A, 40A, 47A, 152A, 171A, 181A, 200A, 250A, 315A, 323A.
164 cf. 152.
165A cf. 225A; 68A, 215A.
165B cf. 124B.
167A=192A.
167 cf. 192.
168A=322A.
168B=102B.
169 cf. 女兒年幾十五六 (東飛伯勞歌 [樂府詩集, 68.2b], 7).
171=250.
172 cf. 41; 235.
172A cf. 235A; 41A; 160A; 36A.
173A=255A.
174A=162A, 213A.
174B cf. 115B.
175A=21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.
176A cf. 約誓 (懊儂歌 [樂府詩集, 46.1b], 2A).
176B cf. 339B; 不相離 (白頭吟 [樂府詩集, 41.2a], 12B).
177A=111A, 117A, 306A.
178A cf. 146A; 197A.
181A=31A, 40A, 47A, 152A, 171A, 200A, 250A, 315A, 323A.
181 cf. 200.
181B cf. 225B.
182B cf. 37B, 321B; 24B.
183B cf. 111B, 132B, 304B.
184A=110A.
185B=197B.
186A cf. 19A, 41A, 222A; 24A.
187A = 讀曲歌 (樂府詩集, 46.7a), 2A.
187B = 華山畿 (樂府詩集, 46.3a), 1B.
188A=223A.
189A cf. 199A.

- 190A cf. 167A, 192A.
192A = 167A.
192 cf. 167.
194B cf. 181B; 200B.
197A cf. 178A.
197B = 185B.
199A cf. 189A; 311A.
199B = 68B.
200A = 31A, 40A, 47A, 152A, 171A, 250A, 315A, 323A.
200 cf. 181; 使君謝羅敷 (陌上桑 [樂府詩集, 28.3b-4b], 30).
201A = 折楊柳枝歌 (樂府詩集, 25.7b), 2A.
203A cf. 31A, 40A, 47A, 152A, 171A, 200A, 250A, 315A, 323A; 173A, 255A.
203B = 47B, 228B, 315B.
204A = 272A.
204B cf. 心中惻 (平陵東 [樂府詩集, 28.3a-b], 9B).
205A = 55A.
205B cf. 171B, 250B.
205 cf. 55.
206A = 327A.
207A cf. 211A.
207B cf. 65B, 136B; 9B.
208A cf. 211A.
208B cf. 185B, 197B.
211A cf. 207A; 208A.
213A = 162A, 174A.
215A = 68A.
215B cf. 識夫婿 (陌上桑 [樂府詩集, 28.3b-4b], 38B).
216A = 襄陽樂 (樂府詩集, 48.6b), 2A.
216B cf. 299B.
217B cf. 146B.
218A = 折楊柳枝歌 (樂府詩集, 25.7b), 4A; 子夜四時歌, 冬歌 (樂府詩集, 44.8a),
4A.
220B cf. 227B.
222A = 19A, 41A.
223A = 188A.

- 225A cf. 165A.
225B cf. 181B.
227B cf. 220B.
228A cf. 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.
228B=21B, 47B, 203B, 315B.
229A=8A.
233B = 武平中童謠 (全北齊詩) , 2B.
234A = 子夜四時歌 , 秋歌 (樂府詩集 , 44.7a) , 2A.
235 cf. 172.
235A cf. 41A; 172A; 59A; 290A.
237 B = 讀曲歌 (樂府詩集 , 46.4a) , 2B.
239A = 80A.
239 = 襄陽樂 (樂府詩集 , 48.6b) , 3.
240A = 子夜四時歌 , 春歌 (樂府詩集 , 44.6a) , 2A.
240B cf. 隨風舒 (古詩「穆穆清風至」 [全漢詩 , 卷 3] , 4B); 隨風散 (子夜四時歌 , 春歌 , 2B).
244B cf. 246B.
245B cf. 82B.
246B cf. 244B.
248B cf. 94B.
249A = 悲歌 (樂府詩集 , 62.1b-2a) , 4A.
250 = 171.
252A cf. 111A, 177A, 306A.
252B cf. 來迎接 (桃葉歌 [樂府詩集 , 45.9a] . 4B).
253A = 西門行 (樂府詩集 , 37.3a) , 16A.
253B cf. 裁衣裳 (月節折楊柳歌 , 八月歌 [樂府詩集 , 49.9b] , 1B).
254A = 那呵灘 (樂府詩集 , 49.3b) , 4A.
255A = 173A.
255B = 53B.
257A = 114A.
258A cf. 93A.
260 A = 烏生 (樂府詩集 , 28.2a-b) , 7A.
261A cf. 左手 (烏生 , 7A).
262B = 93B.
264A = 332A.

264B cf. 309B.

265B cf. 出門倚 (前溪歌 [樂府詩集, 45.4b], 1B); 出門望 (黃生曲 [樂府詩集, 45.7b], 3B).

266A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 284A, 304A, 325A, 338A.

266 cf. 338.

268B cf. 27B.

270A = 65A, 92A, 115A, 126A, 136A, 292A, 331A.

271A = 子夜四時歌, 冬歌 (樂府詩集, 44.8a), 1A.

272A = 204A.

272B = 青青陵上柏 (樂府詩選, 余冠英選註, Hong Kong, 1954, pp. 56-57), 13B.

273A = 三洲歌 (樂府詩集, 48.9a), 4A; 讀曲歌 (樂府詩集, 46.5a), 2A.

273B cf. 故人事 (黃督 [樂府詩集, 49.5a], 4B).

274A = 148A.

275A cf. 326A.

276 cf. 自從別歡後 (子夜四時歌, 春歌 [樂府詩集, 44.6a], 1).

277 cf. 人命不可續 (怨詩行 [全漢詩, 卷4], 6).

277B cf. 不可思 (飲馬長城窟行 [樂府詩集, 38.1a-2a], 3B); 不可見 (飲馬長城窟行, 8B).

280A = 144A.

280 cf. 144.

281A = 58A.

282A cf. 63A.

283A cf. 9A.

283B cf. 何所之 (鷄鳴 [樂府詩集, 28.1a-b], 3B).

284A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 304A, 325A, 338A

284B = 55B.

284 cf. 31; 65, 136, 292; 171, 250.

286A = 143A.

287B cf. 解千年 (讀曲歌 [樂府詩集, 46.4b], 3B).

288A = 142A; 戰城南 (樂府詩集, 16.5a), 9A.

290A cf. 59A; 235A; 140A; 141A.

291B cf. 通黃泉 (豫章行 [樂府詩集, 34.1a-b], 4B).

292 = 65, 136.

293A = 30A.

295 cf. 君愁我亦愁 (西洲曲 [樂府詩集, 72.4b-5a], 30).

- 296A = 26A.
298A = 讀曲歌 (樂府詩集, 46.6b [2 instances]), 1A; 石城樂 (樂府詩集, 47.9a), 3A.
299A = 豔歌何嘗行 (樂府詩集, 39.6a-b), 19A.
299B cf. 111B, 132B, 304B; 216B.
302A = 豔歌何嘗行, 17A.
303B cf. 46B.
304A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 325A, 338A.
304B = 111B, 132B.
305 = 103.
306A = 111A, 117A, 177A.
307A = 子夜四時歌, 冬歌 (樂府詩集, 44.8a), 2A.
308A = 子夜四時歌, 冬歌, 1A.
309A c^f. 23A; 163A.
309B cf. 264B.
310A cf. 112A.
311 cf. 分作兩死計 (讀曲歌 [樂府詩集, 46.6b], 4).
312A = 66A.
313 A = 滿歌行 (樂府詩集, 43.7b), 46A.
313B cf. 南山松 (豔歌行 [樂府詩集, 39.8a], 17B).
315 = 47.
317A cf. 172A; 36A.
317B cf. 108B.
319A = 64A.
319B cf. 爲儂死 (華山畿 [樂府詩集, 46.2b], 2B).
321 = 37.
322A = 168A.
323 = 40.
325A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 338A.
325B cf. 再拜跪 (隴西行 [樂府詩集, 37.1a-b], 11B).
326A cf. 275A.
326B = 淳于王歌 (樂府詩集, 25.6a), 3B.
327A = 206A.
328A cf. 130A; 350A.
331A = 65A, 92A, 115A, 126A, 136A, 270A, 292A.

- 332A = 264A.
333B cf. 人定後 (華山畿 [樂府詩集, 46.3a], 2B).
336A = 子夜歌 (樂府詩集, 44.4b), 1A.
336B cf. 95B.
337A cf. 148A, 274A.
338A = 21A, 43A, 53A, 125A, 175A, 266A, 284A, 304A, 325A.
338 cf. 266.
339B cf. 176B.
340A = 婦病行 (樂府詩集, 38.8b), 24A; 傷歌行 (樂府詩集, 62.1a), 10A.
340B cf. 柏樹下 (子夜四時歌, 冬歌 [樂府詩集, 44.8b], 2B).
341B cf. 東南隅 (陌上桑 [樂府詩集, 28.3b-4b], 1B).
344A = 傷歌行, 9A.
344B cf. 比松柏 (子夜歌 [樂府詩集, 44.5a], 4B).
348A = 飲馬長城窟行 (樂府詩集, 38.1a-2a), 16A.
348 cf. 上有雙鴛鴦 (古絕句 [全漢詩, 卷 3], 2).
349A = 38A.
349 cf. 自名爲羅敷 (陌上桑 [樂府詩集, 28.3b-4b], 4, 26).
350A = 子夜四時歌, 秋歌 (樂府詩集, 44.7b), 1A; cf. 30A; 328A.
351A = 12A.
352A = 咸陽王歌 (全北魏詩), 6A.
353A = 懊儂歌 (樂府詩集, 46.1b), 1A.
354A = 豫章行 (樂府詩集, 34.1a-b), 18A.
354B = 王明君 (樂府詩集, 29.1b-3b), 29B.
355 cf. 42.

Conclusion

The extent of formulaic language in the poem can now be tabulated. This tabulation ignores the fact that some half-lines of the text are marked and documented for more than one type of formulaic language. For every marked half-line, only one type is counted in the tabulation, choosing the one which ranks highest in my list of four types. For example, half-line 57A is counted only as a "formula recurring in another poem," not as a "formulaic expression recurring in the same poem," though it is marked and documented for both. Percentages are figured on the basis of syllables. (The whole poem consists of 1775 syllables.)

The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad "Southeast Fly the Peacocks"

	Half-lines	Syllables	Percentage of whole poem
(1) Formulas recurring in the same poem	A 115	230	
	B 45	135	
	Total 160	365	21%
(2) Formulas recurring in other poems	A 46	92	
	B 15	45	
	Total 61	137	8%
(3) Formulaic expressions recurring in the same poem	A 47	94	
	B 65	195	
	Total 112	289	16%
(4) Formulaic expressions recurring in other poems	A 13	26	
	B 37	111	8%
	Total 50	137	53%

The tabulation shows 29% of the poem to consist of formulas, and 24% of formulaic expressions. More than half (53%) of "Southeast Fly the Peacocks" may thus be said to be formulaic in language. The proportion of formulaic language is actually likely to be much higher than I have demonstrated, for two reasons. First, the extant corpus of comparable poetry is too small to reveal the full extent of formulaic language. Second, even in the small available corpus I have undoubtedly missed many formulas and formulaic expressions.

What does all this signify? Does the high proportion of formulaic language mean that "Southeast Fly the Peacocks" was created and transmitted orally before being set down in writing? I should say it makes orality rather likely, though taken by itself it is not conclusive proof.¹³ Speaking more generally but without sufficient evidence, I can report my impression that anonymous *yüeh-fu* poems of the entire pre-T'ang period are far more formulaic than their imitations by known men of letters. The anonymous *yüeh-fu* are known to have been songs. Is it not plausible to assign them to an unlettered, oral tradition? But such problems go beyond the limits of this essay, whose primary aim is to demonstrate the extent of formulaic language in one poem.

The formulas and formulaic expressions which "Southeast Fly the Peacocks" shares with other poems should not be thought of as imitations or borrowings one way or the other. Rather, they belong to a common stock of living entities, large and small, suited to each other and capable of an infinite number of combinations and new creations. They are instantly available to the singer, to be fitted into a

familiar or novel context. Thus formulaic language, as found in this poem, is neither rigid nor monotonous. It is flexible, richly varied, and very much alive. The distinction between formulas and formulaic expressions is useful for purposes of analysis, but to the Chinese ballad singers and their audiences it would be as meaningless, I am sure, as the very concept of formulaic language.

The fixed formula and the varying formulaic expression are marvelously adapted to meet recurring and varying situations. There is a standard formula to make clear who is speaking to whom in the many dialogues (e. g., lines 31, 65, 171). But this can be varied to fit the relative status of the two speakers and the nature of the speech (e. g., lines 21-22, 304-305, 181, 200). Or a dialogue may open *without* saying who is addressing whom (e. g., line 3), gradually revealing the personages in the course of the first speech. Formulaic expressions are in constant flux to fit the linguistic, prosodic, aesthetic, and social requirements of the context, as we have already observed (footnotes 11 and 12). Let me add another example where a slight variation makes for dramatic contrast. When the heroine dresses up with great care to take leave of the hostile mother-in-law, "she steps into her silk shoes" (躡絲屨, line 95B). Near the end, when she prepares to drown herself, the expression becomes "she takes off her silk shoes" (脫絲屨, line 336B).

The subtle relationships between formulaic language and prosody could be further explored. Most formulas and formulaic expressions are shaped to fit a single half-line, or a sequence of half-lines. But my device of dividing *every* line between the second and the third syllable (necessary for my present analytical and statistical needs) fails to do justice to special formulas which seem to go with *deviations* from the normal pattern of 2+3 syllables (A+B). For example, weighty words such as 恐 "I fear lest ..." at the beginning of the line (lines 146, 178) may be associated with a shift in the caesura, similar to what has been found in the Homeric hexameter.¹⁴

13. Larry D. Benson has shown, for example, that Anglo-Saxon poems which meet Lord's test for being formulaic were nevertheless composed in writing. See Benson, "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," *PMLA*, 81 (1966), 334-341.

14. Meaningful connections between prosodic, syntactic, and semantic structure have been found by my father in the Greek hexameter, with formulaic language playing an important role. See Hermann Fränkel, "Der homerische und der kallimachische Hexameter," in his *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (Munich, 1955), pp. 100-156 (revised version of an article first published in 1926). In Homer, formulaic expressions and weighty words are co-ordinated with shifts in the caesuras.

We may view formulaic language as part of a larger process of thinking in living, fluid, traditional patterns. Just as the wording of an oral poem is subject to variations from performance to performance, so there is a huge variety of changing and recurring motifs, themes, and situations. Indeed, the grand theme of this ballad--the conflict between family authority and a young couple's faithful love--is cast in strikingly similar patterns in a great many ballads, not only in China but in other countries as well. Speaking of English ballads, Albert B. Friedman observes: "Family opposition to the course of true love accounts for the conflict in dozens of song-stories, tragic or otherwise. In such contests the Freudian paradigm holds: fathers oppose the marriage of their daughters; mothers attempt to frustrate their sons, or, if overridden, torment their unwelcome daughters-in-law."¹⁵ "Southeast Fly the Peacocks" diverges from Friedman's general pattern in one detail: the father's role is taken over by the elder brother. For this, too, there are parallels in British and other European ballads.¹⁶

Having experimented with matters and methods that have not, as far as I know, been inflicted on Chinese poetry before, I have undoubtedly made many mistakes, both of substance and of detail. I should be grateful to have them pointed out.

15. Albert B. Friedman, *The Viking Book of Folk-Ballads of the English-Speaking World* (New York: Viking Press, 1956), Introduction, p. xxi.

16. See Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 11, "The Cruel Brother."

The Formulaic Language of the Chinese Ballad "Southeast Fly the Peacocks"

孔雀東南飛中套語

傅 漢 思

文學在基本上分兩類，一是文人寫出來的，一是不識字人口傳下來的。在中國方面有胡適等注意到這個問題，西洋也是近數十年來才做口傳文學的初步研究。我們最近才知道所謂荷馬的作品，就是口傳故事詩，同現在猶哥斯拉夫還在創作的長篇故事詩有幾個同樣的特點，其中重要的一個，就是套語 (formulaic language)。

我現在試把中國比較早而長的孔雀東南飛一首故事詩拿來分析一下看有沒有套語，如果有，有多少？爲了統計的方便用四種符號來標出它們：

(1) ○○○○○ 同樣的辭句見於本詩中，例如「府吏默無聲」(句53)，「阿女默無聲」(句255)。

(2) △△△△ 同樣的辭句見於漢魏晉南北朝無名氏詩中，例如本詩「紅羅複斗帳」
△△△△△△△△
(句79) 也是長樂佳的第一句。

(3) - - - - 相像的辭句見於本詩中，例如「共事二三年」(句27)，「未至二三里」(句268)。

(4) ……… 相像的辭句見於漢魏晉南北朝無名氏詩中，例如本詩「寂寂人定初」
……………
」(句 333) 與華山畿「黃昏人定後」相像。

這四種辭句我覺得都可以算是套語。第一、二種就是西洋所謂 formulas，第三、四種就是所謂 formulaic expressions。

本詩中套語長短不等，有時一句中上二是套語，有時下三是套語，有時一句或不只一句是套語。

統計的結果如下：第一種佔全詩百分之二十一，第二種佔百分之八，第三種佔百分之十六，第四種佔百分之八，一共佔全詩百分之五十三。因爲我所見不廣，一定還

有很多沒有發現的，更說不定有很多錯誤處。

我的印象覺得這種無名氏樂府所用的套語比文人樂府所用的多得多，而套法不同。它不是典故也不是死用的，是同句法、文法、場合、詩義都有密切的關係。這類樂府詩可想像在唱時一面仍在創作，套語的方便是順口就來，有的現成拿來就用，有的變化着用，按情形配合出無數生動的詩句。

這種套法不限於辭句。譬如本詩母題是婆媳間問題，是郎舅間問題，是不轉移的夫婦間感情問題，在歐洲這類的母題也很多，而且套來套去，因而故事也同套語一樣變化無窮。