

Chinese Dragon Names

Michael Carr¹
Otaru University of Commerce

Borrowings/loans of Asian dragon names are an unsolved "Chinese puzzle" in comparative linguistics. Despite consensus that 'dragon' loanwords are widespread, debate continues over transfer dates and directions. Chinese is crucially important because it has one of the oldest and largest 'dragon' lexical fields in any language. The purpose of this paper is collating Chinese dragon names in order to create a data base for future etymological studies.

1 INTRODUCTION

This section introduces the scope §1.1, sources §1.2, and linguistics §1.3 of the present study.² The major part analyzes over one hundred Chinese draconyms divided into seven sections: Rain-Dragons §2, Flying-Dragons §3, Snake-

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2. N.B.: The following abbreviations are used: '' = semantic meanings, "" = literal meanings (or quotes), → and ← = semantic changes, > and < = phonological changes, ~ = alternate names, pronunciations, or graphs. Two special terms are employed: the neologism *draconym* 'dragon name' and Brown's (1979) portmanteau *wug* (< *worm* + *bug*) meaning the class of 'insects, worms, spiders, and smaller reptiles'. *Wug* is used as the English name for the Chinese logographic radical 虫 (Carr 1983) found in many 'dragon' (e.g., 蛟 § 6.1) graphs.

Dragons §4, Wug-Dragons §5, Crocodile-Dragons §6, Hill-Dragons §7, and Miscellaneous Dragons §8. These arbitrary groupings were made for presentational reasons, and other taxonomies (cf. Diény 1987) are possible; for instance, *zhūpólóng* 豬婆龍 "pig woman dragon" 'gavial' §6.4 is listed as a crocodile-dragon zoologically, but is considered a rain-dragon mythologically. Subsections are organized by similarities, e.g., §3.5-.7 have 飛 'flying' names; and some, e.g., §8.9, include several synonyms or related words. Section 9 summarizes the Chinese 'dragon' lexical field, discusses universalities of draconym borrowings, and gives examples for utilizing the Sinitic data.

§1.1 Scope has been narrowed to draconyms attested in Han dynasty texts (v. §1.2) dating from the beginning of the Common Era. The original intent was to compile an exhaustive wordlist of Chinese dragon names that would be useful for comparativists; something on the order of the INDEX. However, an unexpectedly large semantic field was discovered, and the paper grew to more than twice its present length. "There are numerous dragons," Ball (1903:220) warned, "too numerous to enter even into a succinct account of them in the space of a short article."

For purposes of brevity, the range of this study generally excludes three sets: descriptive compounds not referring to mythic creatures (e.g., *qiánlóng* 潛龍 "submerged/hidden dragon" → 'concealed talent'), names for different colored dragons (e.g., *qīnglóng* 青龍 "blue-green dragon," *cānglóng* 蒼龍 "green dragon," etc.), and later foreign importations.³ Even though such figurative,

3. For instance, the (c. AD 1590) *Wuzazu* 五雜俎 (Visser 1913:101) lists nine ornamental dragons peculiar to Buddhist art:

The [*púláo* 蒲牢 "cattail pen"], dragons which like to cry, are represented on the tops of bells, serving as handles. The [*sìniú* 四牛 "four cows"], which like music, are used to adorn musical instruments. The [*chīwěn* 蚩吻 "sneer lips"], which like swallowing, are placed on both ends of the ridgepoles of roofs (to swallow all evil influences). The [*zhāofēng* 嘲風 "ridiculous wind"], lion-like beasts which like precipices [cf. §5.4], are placed on the four corners of roofs. The [*yáhuā* 睚眦 "corner of eye movement"],

chromatic, and imported draconyms are subsumed within the Chinese 'dragon' lexical field; for present purposes, they are excluded.

Finding Chinese dragon etymons involved several steps. First, the literature in the field (esp. works by Li, Yan, Hino, Mori, de Visser, Schiffeler, and Diény) was surveyed for prominent names. These draconyms were researched in dictionaries (e.g., Table 1), which led to additional synonyms. And when *loci classici* were checked, their indexes and commentaries revealed even more dragon names.

Yan (1988) divides previous studies into five fields, Chinese dragons as: foreign loanwords, dinosaurs, spirits, water gods, and totems. This paper will facilitate the first, presenting a linguistic digest of names. It presumes no knowledge of Chinese, explains terms, cites translations (including the contextual *terminus a quo* for each draconym), and notes additional references. For those who can read Chinese, logographs and original sources are given.⁴

which like to kill, serve as ornaments of sword-grips. The [bìxì 螭虎], which have the shape of the [chīlóng 虬龍 §7.1], and are fond of literature, are represented on the sides of grave-monuments. The [bìhān 扞], which like litigation, are placed over prison gates (in order to keep guard). The [suānní 璽], which like to sit down, are represented upon the bases of Buddhist idols (under the Buddhas' or Bodhisattvas' feet). The [bàxià 霸下 "hegemon below"], finally, big tortoises which like to carry heavy objects, are placed under grave-monuments.

A few salient draconyms from these excepted groups are listed, e.g., hēilóng 黑龍 "black dragon" §2.2 or Nāgā §4.7.

4. The initial citation of a Chinese text gives dates, logographs, and edition used (chosen in correspondence with standard sinological indexes). Classical sources are cited by title, and depending upon the edition, either page or juàn 卷 "chapter; section" (A = 上 1st and B = 下 2nd parts) and page (a = recto and b = verso) or line. Reference to a commentary is cited by author, juàn, and page. Modern sources (listed under REFERENCES) are cited by author, year, and page.

§1.2 Sources for early Chinese dragon names are primarily Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) texts rather than Zhou dynasty (1050?-221 BC) classics. This is true not only for dragons, but for mythical creatures in general. Pre-Han sources mention a few draconyms (e.g., 龍 §2.1), but for most early Chinese mythology, "All that we have are casual references and tantalizing fragments," explains Bodde (1961:376), "widely scattered among texts of diverse date and ideological orientation." The following three Han sources are especially relevant to dragons.

The *Chuci* 楚辭 "Elegies [from the State] of Chu" is an anthology of southern poems, the oldest of which are attributed to ("the father of Chinese poetry" Liu 1966:24) Qu Yuan (340?-278? BC). Liu Xiang (77-6 BC) edited this text and Wang Yi (AD 89?-158) wrote its first commentary. Many *Chuci* dragon descriptions are fabulously poetic, e.g.: They lined [T (cf. §7.1) 蟲象] water monsters up to join them in the dance: How their bodies [Ψ λ §8.2] coiled and writhed in undulating motion! Gracefully the [雌 P §2.2] woman-rainbow made circles round them; Phoenixes soared up and hovered overhead. (四部備要 ed. 5/10a, Hawkes 1985:198)

The *Huainanzi* 淮南子 is a philosophical miscellany compiled by Liu An (179?-122 BC), Prince of Huainan.⁵ Xu Shen (AD 55-144, also the editor of the *Shuowenjiezi*, v. Table 1) and Gao Yu (fl. AD 205) wrote the earliest extant *Huainanzi* commentaries. The *Huainanzi* frequently mentions several draconyms together, e.g., Fuxi and Nügua §8.9:

...rode the [雷車 cf. §2.4] thunder chariot, using [應龍 §2.4] winged dragons as the inner pair and [青δ §8.2] green dragons as the outer pair. ... preceded by [白 T §7.1] white serpents and followed by [奔蛇 §3.1] speeding snakes. (四部叢刊 ed. 6/7a, Le Blanc 1985:161-2)

5. Since the southern state of Chu 楚 is associated with the *Chuci* and *Huainanzi*, it would be worthwhile to study the linguistic/cultural geo-history of dragon borrowings (cf. Chamberlain's work on Tai reptilian names); e.g., crocodiles §6.3 are native to South China.

The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 "Classic of Mountains and Seas" (疏纂 ed.) is a heterogeneous record of Chinese geographic myths and legends (Mānchen-Helfen 1924). Liu Xin (c. 46 BC-AD 23) edited this text and Guo Pu (AD 276-324) wrote the first commentary to it.⁶ Karlgren mentions that many names (e.g., three draconyms in §2.7) are *hapax legomena* in the *Shanhaijing*:

The first five books give an enumeration of a long series of mountains and hills all over the "China" known to the Han people, and almost every such hill has some supernatural animal or tree or plant... In the said five books there are no less than 186 such weird animals and 48 magic trees or plants. 99 percent of them never occur in a single pre-Han text. To a certain extent these chapters undoubtedly contain Han-time folk-lore, but the critical reader cannot seriously accept it all as a *bona fide* representation of beliefs that were really current among the people. (1946:204-5, cf. Bodde 1961:379)

The *Shanhaijing* is a valuable source for early Chinese legends (Yuan 1960:21-4), and its unique mythical creatures cannot be considered *mala fide* simply because they do not occur in other texts--on the contrary, their names are possibly foreign importations.

These three texts provide a window on Chinese dragon mythology and terminology of two thousand years ago.⁷

§1.3 Linguistic aspects of draconyms include pronunciations, logographs, etymologies, and meanings.

Pronunciations in Modern Standard Chinese (*pǔtōnghuà* 普

6. Guo was an extremely erudite scholar, and wrote the first commentary on the *Erya*. Comparing dragons in Guo's commentaries with those in his prose-poem "Jiang Fu 江賦, Rhapsody on the Yangzi [Yangtze] River" (tr. Obi 1974, Knechtges 1987) is another means of elucidating draconyms.

7. A later wealth of information about reptiles, snakes, and dragons is the 鱗部 'scaly' animals chapter (43, 國學 ed. 1336-59, tr. Read 1934) of the (AD 1596) *Bencaogangmu* 本草綱目 "Outline of Roots and Plants" by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (AD 1518-1593), cited from the 國學名著珍 ed.

通話, "Mandarin") are romanized in Pinyin, with diacritics depicting the tones; viz., first (high, level) tone = ā, second (high, rising) tone = á, third (low, falling-rising) tone = ǎ, and fourth (high, falling) tone = à. Karlgren's (1957) reconstructions are given for (c. 7th cent. BC) Old/Archaic Chinese, and (c. AD 7th cent.) Middle/Ancient Chinese (n.b.: in terms of usual phonetic symbols, Karlgren's *ng* = *ŋ* and ' = ?). Middle tones are indicated as follows: 上聲 "rising" tone = :, 去聲 "departing" tone = -, 入聲 "entering" tone = -p, -t, or -k, and 平聲 "level/even" tone unmarked. Proto-Tai tones A, B, C, and D are shown in superscript.

Chinese characters are referred to as *logographs*, and their component elements are described in the usual terms of *radicals* and *phonetics*. For example, the bā 巴 'giant snake' §4.3 phonetic is semantically differentiated with radicals in this *phonetic series*: bā 'a bamboo; fence' 笆 ('bamboo' radical); bà 'harrow' ~ pá 'rake' 耙 ('plow' radical); pá 'rake' 杷 ('wood; tree' radical, cf. pípa 枇杷 'loquat'); pá 'crawl, creep' 爬 ('claw' radical, cf. páchóng 爬虫 'reptile'); bǎ 'hold; grasp; control' ~ bà 'grip; handle' 把 (with the 'hand' radical); pá 琶 ('jade; valuable' radical) in pípa 琵琶 'a stringed instrument'; and bā 芭 ('plant' radical) in bājiāo 芭蕉 'banana'. *Pictograph* and *ideograph* are limited in reference to logographs which picture things (e.g., 日 'sun' or 月 'moon') or which represent ideas (e.g., 上 'up' or 下 'down'), respectively. Chinese logographs not included within the JIS computer font are represented with Greek and Cyrillic graphs, as shown in the APPENDIX.

Etymological proposals are cited from two disparate sources: traditional Chinese philology and modern comparative linguistics. Many of the former "etymologies" are little more than guesswork, e.g., alleged jiāo 蛟 dragon §6.1 derivations from jiāo 交 meaning 'join' (head and tail to capture prey), 'twisting' movement, or 'united' eyebrows. The latter are more reliable, but are occasionally contradictory, e.g., Table 2.

Meanings of dragon names are linguistically difficult because they are often vague or contradictory (Diény 1987:ix). When polysemy exists, different meanings are labeled (1), (2), (3), etc. Semantic uncertainties, as

shown in Table 1, exemplify what Smith (1919:97) calls "those remarkable contradictions that one meets at every step in pursuing the dragon."⁸

Table 1--Early Dragon Definitions

DICTIONARY [date c.]	DEFINITIONS 蛟(龍)	T(龍)	δ(龍)	Λ	應龍
<i>Shuowen</i> [AD 100]	hornless dragon	yellow or hornless dragon	hornless dragon	flying snake	--
<i>Guangya</i> [AD 230]	scaled dragon	hornless dragon	horned dragon	--	winged dragon
<i>Guangyun</i> [AD 1010]	a dragon alligator?	yellow or hornless dragon	hornless dragon	divine snake or big frog	--
<i>Piya</i> [AD 1080]	aquatic dragon or dragoness	hornless dragon	horned dragon	--	winged dragon

The (AD 100-122) *Shuowen(jiezi)* 說文(解字) (上海古籍 ed. 13A/54a-55b) has the first Chinese dragon definitions: but why would any language encode two/three names for 'hornless' and none for 'horned dragon'?⁹ The (AD 227-232)

8. Many names were switched between mythical and actual creatures. For instance, Han texts use *fēishǔ* < **piwərsjio* 飛鼠 "flying rat" in two different ways: the *Shanhaijing* (3/14b, Schiffeler 1978:39) says **piwərsjio* 飛鼠 is a legendary beast resembling a rabbit with a rat's head, and able to fly by means of the hair on its back; while the *Fangyan* 方言 (Centre franco-chinois ed. 8/10) lists it as an eastern dialectal 'bat' name. In modern Chinese terminology, *fēishǔ* 飛鼠 means a giant 'flying squirrel, *Petaurista leucogenys*' (mythologically associated with the 雷公 thunder god §2.6, Hino 1979:240-2).

9. Some commentators changed these definitions. One of the most widely quoted is the interpretation of Zhu Junsheng (AD 1788-1858) that male 龍 dragons are horned while females are

Guangya 廣雅 (畿輔 ed. 1409-10) lists a more predictable lexicalization of different kinds of 龍 'dragons', yet this is explicable by the -*lóng* 龍 suffixation (e.g., *Guangya* 蛟龍 vs. *Shuowenjiezi* 蛟, etc.). The (AD 1007-1011) *Guangyun* 廣韻 (古音大字典 ed. 1015, 25, 916, 277) follows the *Shuowenjiezi* definitions--except for defining 蛟 as "a kind of dragon," probably 'alligator' because it cites the *Hanshu* §6.1 that one was caught in the Yangzi, and graphically distinguishing B 'divine snake' from A 'giant snake-eating frog'. And the (AD 1078-1085) *Piya* 雅 (五雅 ed. 1-4) follows the *Guangya* definitions--except for describing 蛟 as 'an aquatic dragon resembling a four-legged snake' and adding a 'dragoness' definition.

In the final analysis, some Chinese names can only be glossed as meaning 'a dragon'. Kroll (1989:327) warns that ultimately the Chinese dragon (Diény's 1987:205-51 "symbol of universal dynamism"), "cannot be explained, defined, or delimited in unequivocal, explicit fashion, once for all."

2 RAIN-DRAGONS

The first, and largest, group of draconyms are associated with rainfall: *lóng* 龍 'dragon' §2.1, *hóng* 虹 'rainbow' §2.2, *lún* ~ *lǐ* 𪛗 'black rain-dragon' §2.3, *yīnglóng* 應龍 'winged rain-dragon' §2.4, *féiyí* 肥遺 'rain-dragon' §2.5, *léishén* 雷神 'thunder god' §2.6, *tiáoyóng* 蜃 'drought dragon' §2.7, *míngshé* 鳴蛇 'drought dragon' and *huàshé* 化蛇 'flood dragon' §2.8, and *tuán* 𪛗 'drought dragon' §2.9. These water creatures were believed to cause rain when they flew up into the clouds, or to cause drought when they flew away (Smith 1920, Shiratori 1934, Cohen 1978). Wu (1934) proposed the dragon's status as a water god was the original reason for Chinese dragon worship. Due to similar descriptions, some flying-dragons in §3 could be rain-dragons as well, but they are not specifically said to control rainfall.

§2.1 *Lóng* < **liung* 龍 is the primary and most salient Sinitic draconym, in effect, "the Chinese dragon."

not, and for young male dragons, 蛟 means 'one horned', 𪛗 'two horned', and 𪛗 'hornless'.

Early graphs for **liung* 龍 (Zhang 1978) pictured a menagerie of dragons with serpentine bodies, many with horns/ears/hair? on the head, and some with legs.¹⁰ Creel (1937:237-8) reasons that since 龍 graphs on Shang oracle bones were "unmistakable reptilian, if not snakelike," the dragon partially originated from some aquatic animal. Oracle and bronze dragon pictographs were transformed almost beyond recognition into 龍 combining: 立 ('stand') for the original 'head', 月 'moon' (= 肉 'meat; flesh') for the 'body', and a lineated 彡 'feather; hair' for the 飛 'wings'. This graphically cumbersome sixteen-stroke 龍 was abbreviated (sometime prior to the Tang dynasty, Tollef As. p.c. of 89/8/21) into the ten-stroke 竜 (with a 電 'lightning' tail) which is favored in modern Japanese, and simplified into the modern Chinese five-stroke 龙.

The original pronunciation of *lóng* 龍 was more manifold than **liung*.¹¹ Karlgren (1957, no. 1193) conservatively reconstructed most words in the 龍 phonetic series with a simple **l*- initial, e.g., *lóng* < **liung* 瀧 (with the 'water' radical) 'falling rain; moisten; rapids' or *lóng* < **liung* ~ **lung* 龍 (with 'plant') 'prince's feather; *Polygonum orientale*'. However, the necessity for some velar/labial consonantal cluster is shown by the 龍 reading *máng* < **mlung* 'variegated; dappled' interchangeable with *máng* < **mǔng* 彪 'shaggy dog; motley; dappled' (both 龍 and 彪 have 彡 'feather; hair'), the alternate 瀧 pronunciations *shuāng* < **ɕiang* ~ *liāng* < **gliang* 'river names', and two special words in the 龍 phonetic series: *páng* < **b'ang* I (with the 'shelter' radical) 'great; thriving' and *chǒng* < **t'liung* 寵

10. Shima's (1971) concordance of Shang oracle inscriptions lists over two hundred occurrences of differing 龍 pictographs. Their wide variations (Zhang 1978:8-11 identifies over 120 metamorphoses) has led some scholars (Shima 1958:277-9, Li 1965:3477-84) to see 虯 §7.1 and 𪛗 §8.2 dragons as well.

11. There are a few binomes with this phonetic: e.g., *línglóng* 玲瓏 (with the 玉 'jade' radical) 'exquisite; elegant' (jade dragons were especially used in rain magic, Na 1978, Diény 1987:43). 龍 is sometimes used as a radical, e.g., *kān* < **k'əm* 龕 (with a **g'əm* 含 'hold in the mouth' phonetic) 'young dragon? (cf. §7.1); victory; shrine; contain'.

(with 'roof') 'favor; esteem' (esp. 'heavenly benediction' Diény 1987:177, cf. §3.2).¹² Compare Karlgren's **ljung* with these Old Chinese 龍 reconstructions: **KLung* (Boodberg), **ljun* (Li), **bljun* (Benedict), *(b)-*ròng* (Bodman), and **mrjun* (Schuessler).

Lóng < **ljung* 龍 'dragon' is etymologically related (Hopkins 1931b:793) with 'lofty; being/rising aloft' (cf. Japanese *tatsu* 竜 'dragon' <? *tatsu* 起つ 'rise up'). There are semantic connections with rain-dragons 'flying up' in the clouds, and social symbolism with the ruler being the "lofty/exalted one." This Old Chinese 'lofty' word family includes: **ljung* 龍 'dragon', *lóng* < **ljung* 壘 ~ 隴 (with 'earth' ~ 'mound' radicals) 'high land; edifice; ridge', *lóng* < **ljung* 隆 'high; exalted',¹³ and *jiàng* < **kòng* 降 'go/send down (esp. from heaven, Carr 1987:56-7)'.

Divergent borrowings/loans of *lóng* < **ljung* 龍 have been proffered by comparativists. Liétard (1909) made the earliest: Lolo *lo* 'dragon' as a loanword from Chinese *lóng* 龍. Other proposals are mentioned in §8.1: Coedès (1935) thought Cambodian *roh* ~ *rôn* and Siamese *mahroh* ~ *mărong* were imported from Chinese, but Benedict (1967) reversed the direction of the loan. Norman and Mei (1970) suggested additional 龍 lendings to Siamese *maroon*, Muong *hông* ~ *rôn*, and Vietnamese *rông*.

Sino-Tibetan origins are the most common notion.

12. See Benedict (1976a:73, 98; 1986:43.) There is possible evidence of **d'l*- in the *Shuowenjiezi* (11B/31a) statement that the upper left of the 龍 graph pictures an abbreviated *tóng* < **d'ung* 童 'child; bare' (cf. 竜). Two other phonetically irregular words written with 龍 are *tà* < **d'əp* M (with two 'dragons', Carr 1986a:82-3) 'dragon's flight' and *xí* < **dzjəp* 襲 (with 'clothing') 'double garment; lining; hereditary; raid'; but their *-*p* rather than *-*ng* finals came from a different phonetic series mistakenly written with 龍.

13. Cf. 隆隆 'sound of thunder' and 豐隆 'thunder dragon' § 2.6. Benedict (1986:31) thinks **ljun* < **gliôn* 隆 is a loan from Proto-Tibeto-Burman **grun* 'thunder', comparable with Tamang *mu-gurun* 'thunder'.

Laufer (1916:33-6) hypothesized *lóng* < **liung* 龍 into a Sino-Tibetan **lu* ~ **ru* 'dragon, thunder; wug' family with numerous Tibeto-Burman cognates, e.g., Tibetan *sbrul* 'snake', *a-bu-riŋ* 'snake', *k-lu* 'cobra; serpent-demon', and *abrug* 'dragon; thunder'; Xi Xia *mòlǔ* 沒魯 'wug' and *wéi* 鬼 (with 山 'mountain' and 鬼 'demon', cf. §7 hill-dragons) 'dragon'; Balti *blug* 'dragon; thunder'; Moso *lu* 'worm'; Manyak *bru* 'snake'; and Burmese *k'rū* 'serpent'. He conceives:

...Chinese *luŋ* "dragon" as *lu-ŋ*, that is, stem *lu* + affix *ŋ*; this opinion, from the viewpoint of Chinese is confirmed by the form *lòe* for *lu-ŋ* in the dialect of Wen-chou. (1916:34-5)¹⁴

Boodberg (1935, 1979:165-7) proposed a Sino-Tibetan **s-brong* "insect; reptile" (i.e., 'wug') root based upon words like Chinese **liung-t'lia* 龍蜺 'dragon' §7.1, **g'ung* 虹 'rainbow' §2.2, and **t'a* 它 ~ **d'ia* 蛇 'serpent'; Tibetan *sbrang* 'worm', *brug* 'dragon', and *k'lu* 'Naga' §4.7; and Tangut *mo-lu* 'reptile' and *mang* 'serpent'.

Benedict switched from Sino-Tibetan to Austro-Tai 龍 origins, first (1976a:73; 1976b:189) positing **liung* < **bliuŋ* 龍 'dragon' and Tibetan '*brug* 'thunder; dragon' as derivations from Proto-Sino-Tibetan **'bruŋ* < *(*a-*)*bruŋ*. This **b-* prefix could come from Proto-Tibeto-Burman **bew* 'snake' affixed to **ruŋ*, while the Northern Tai root **bro(ɔ)ŋ* (cf. Dioi *śoŋ* 'rainbow') seemed to be an early back-loan from Chinese. However, he admitted doubts about this root because the "possibility of an ancient loan into these two languages really cannot be excluded." Instead of being borrowed from Chinese **liung* 龍, Benedict (1967:321) thought Coedès' Proto-Muong **ron* 'dragon' §8.1 was the probable source for **liung* < **bliuŋ* 龍; and later (1975:274) added **g'ung* < **g'[r]uŋ* ~ **k[r]uŋ* 虹 'rainbow' as a transfer from an Austro-Tai **ruŋ* 'dragon; rainbow' root with two branches: Proto-Miao-Yao **roŋ* 'dragon' (cf. Chiengrai Yao *cuŋ* 'dragon; rainbow') and Proto-Tai **ruŋ* 'rainbow; sky dragon' (cf. Khamti *huŋ kin nam* "dragon drink water" 'sky dragon').¹⁵ Bodman (1980:84, 1985:154) reconstructs **rjong*

14. Lew Ballard (p.c. of 88/6/26) notes a similar situation in Wu dialects that regularly lose nasal finals.

15. Benedict (p.c. of 88/9/10) thinks the basic **ruŋ* 'dragon' root was not of Sino-Tibetan origin, and the velar

< **b-ròng* 龍 'dragon' and compares Vietnamese *ròng*, Sino-Vietnamese *long*, Khmer *rong*, Thai *piimarong* 'year of the dragon' (< *pii* 'year'), and Proto-Yao **rong*² 'dragon'. Schuessler (p.c. of 89/8/17) suggests a Chinese borrowing from Austro-Asiatic **rjoŋ* or the like.

Table 2--Proposed **Ljung* 龍 Derivations

PROTO-SINO-TIBETAN

**luŋ* ~ **ruŋ* 'wug; dragon' (Laufer)

**s-brong* 'wug; dragon' (Boodberg)

*(*a-*)*bruŋ* 'dragon; thunder' (Benedict)

PROTO-AUSTRO-TAI

**ruŋ* 'dragon; rainbow' (Benedict)

Lóng < **ljung* 龍 is connected with 'wug', 'dragon', and 'rainbow' words in many Asian languages (cf. Tables 3 and 6), and its borrowings are more widespread than previously imagined; e.g., Okinawan *duu* ~ *ruu* 'dragon' (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1969:449).

**Ljung* 龍 had three meanings attested in ancient texts and inscriptions: (1) 'dragon', (2) 'king', and (3) 'a name'. This relatively limited semantic development for such a common word was conceivably owing to either imperial taboo for (2) or early dragon totemism (Wen 1956:32-3). A zoological sense (4) developed through draconic 'wug' and 'dinosaur' names, e.g., *lóngxiā* 龍蝦 "dragon shrimp" 'lobster'.

(1) *Lóng* < **ljung* 龍 originally meant the revered 'dragon' believed to live underwater and bring rain when it flew into the sky. In the earliest (c. 1000-800? BC) stratum of the *Yijing* 易經 (e.g., 1, Whincup 1986:23-4) 龍 symbolizes good fortune. From this and other ancient Chinese texts, Visser concludes:

He was in those days, just like now, the god of water, thunder, clouds and rain, the harbinger of blessings,

cluster may relate with the widespread **qa* ~ **ka* prefix for animal names, suggesting a possible long medial vowel (cf. 1976b, fn. 11) comparable with Proto-Sino-Tibetan *(*a*)*bru-ŋ* 'sky'.

and the symbol of holy men. As the Emperors are the holy beings on earth, the idea of the dragon being the symbol of Imperial power is based upon this ancient conception. (1913:42)

This idea led to the second sense.

(2) With dragons representing Chinese rulers §8.9, 龍 symbolized 'king; emperor' in art (Li 1978) and 'royal; imperial' in language (e.g., *lóngyán* 龍顏 "dragon's face" 'imperial countenance'). This symbolism dates back to two of the oldest (c. 1000-600 BC) Chinese texts: the *Shujing* 書經 (5/4) mentions 龍 "dragon" > 'royal' figures on robes, and the *Shijing* 詩經 refers to "dragon(-figured)" banners (283/1, 300/3, 303/3) and shields (128/2). These show dragons to have been powerful images during the early Zhou period. Paper explains:

At the end of the [Zhou] period, among the titles given the "First Emperor" was [Zulong] 祖龍 "Original" or "Ancestral Dragon." By the early Han at least, the [long] was among the symbols of the emperor. (1978:29)

In addition, dragons were a political symbol (Diény 1987:167-72), and stories about sightings were common before a dynastic change.

(3) Long < *Ljung 龍 was an ancient proper name recorded on Shang oracles and Zhou bronzes (Zhang 1978:20-2). The personal name (cf. the Miao clan name, Eberhard 1968:233-4) textually dates back to Shun's legendary Communications Minister *Ljung mentioned in the *Shujing* (2/23, 25; along with the "dragon" Music Director *G'ijwər ⑤ §7.6). Long 龍 was frequently used in place names, e.g., Longmen 龍門 "Dragon Gate" where myths (§4.6 and §7.3) said fish transformed into dragons.

(4) *Lóng* 龍 is employed in Chinese zoological nomenclature in much the same way that English *dragon* is used in *dragonfly* or *dragonfish*.¹⁶ First, *lóng* names life-forms thought to resemble dragons, e.g., *dìlóngzǐ* 地龍子 "earth dragon child" 'earthworm', *hǎilóng* 海龍 "sea dragon"

16. 龍 is also used in botanical nomenclature, e.g., 龍 above; *lóngdǎn* 龍膽 "dragon gall bladder" 'gentian', *lóngshélán* 龍舌蘭 "dragon tongue orchid" 'century plant', or *lóngyǎn* 龍眼 "dragon eye" (loaned into English) 'longan'.

'sea otter; pipefish', or *lóngluòzi* 龍落子 "dragon fall child" 'sea horse'. These are not actually 'dragons', but are classified within the *lónglèi* 龍類 "dragon class" 'wugs; reptiles; etc.'. Second, *lóng* 龍 is closely associated with dinosaurs (Xu 1940, Yan 1988:100). The Chinese pharmacopoeia includes "dragon" medicines (Visser 1913:90-8, Read 1934:302-5) such as *lóngnǎo* 龍腦 "dragon brain" 'a limestone; Borneo camphor', *lóngxián* 龍涎 "dragon saliva" 'ambergris' (cf. §8.6), and *lóngchǐ* 龍齒 "dragon tooth" 'fossilized teeth'. Fossils affiliated Chinese dragons with dinosaurs, *lónggǔ* 龍骨 "dragon bone" was an early name for 'oracle bone' inscriptions. Although English *dragon* has no zoological meaning (other than *Draco* lizards, §9.2.), Read (1934:297) suggests *lóng* 龍 referred to a definite entity: "animals which yielded large fossilized bones." The modern Chinese 'dinosaur' term is *kǒnglóng* 恐龍 "fearful dragon," a calque from *dinosaur* < Greek *deinos* 'fearful; monstrous' + *sauros* 'lizard'.

Many dragons (e.g., *yúnlóng* < **giwenliung* 雲龍 "cloud dragon" 'rain-dragon' in the AD 320 *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, 平津 ed. 13/1b, Ware 1966:213) are named with *lóng* 龍 compounds and a few (e.g., §5.1-.3) with *lóng* 虫 (虫 'wug' radical and 龍 'dragon' phonetic). These draconic names could be related with the myth, first recorded by Wang Fu (76-157 AD), that the *lóng* 龍 bore likenesses to nine different animals (Ball 1903:219, Visser 1913:70, Doré 1917:681) having: a camel's head, deer's horns, hare's eyes, bull's ears, snake's neck, [蟹 §8.1] clam's belly, carp's scales, eagle's claws, and tiger's paws.¹⁷ Mythological hybrids are a common aspect of Chinese tradition (Loewe 1978). Hornblower (1933:80) supposes "composite animals were pictured to represent concretely the special qualities attributed to each of them" and thus symbolized divine powers.

17. Compare 龍's physical composition with the Greek *chimera* (lion's head, goat's body, and serpent's tail) or *manticore* (human head, lion's body, and dragon's/scorpion's tail). Smith (1919:81) suggests this Chinese myth about the *lóng* being blended from fierce animals was influenced by Middle/Near Eastern legends (cf. §9.2), because: "An association of anatomical features of so unnatural and arbitrary a nature can only mean that all dragons have the same ultimate ancestors."

The origins of **ljung* 龍 'dragon' are clearly linked with **g'ung* ~ **kǔng* 虹 'sky dragon' below.

§2.2 *Hóng* < **g'ung* 虹 'rainbow' has always represented a dragon to the Chinese, from Shang oracle pictographs of dicephalous sky-serpents (Diény 1987:180-2) to the modern 虹 graph with the 'wug' radical. From this ideography, Hopkins infers:

...the early Chinese must have seen in the Rainbow one avatar of the wonder-working Dragon as conceived by their animistic mentality. That would likewise explain why to the arching bow seen with their bodily eyes they added the Dragon heads beheld only by the eye of faith. (1931a:606)

Although many ancient cultures believed rainbows were good omens,¹⁸ the Chinese saw them as meteorological disasters. Unlike the auspicious 龍 dragon symbolizing forthcoming rain, the two-headed rainbow 虹 dragon was inauspicious because it appeared after a rain shower. Rainbows and comets were sometimes seen as heavenly warnings (e.g., *Huainanzi* 3/2b, Schindler 1923:322).

The Chinese rainbow combines two legends: rainbow-serpents and double(-headed) snakes symbolizing rain-dragons (Eberhard 1968:385, Yuan 1978:42-3, cf. §2.5). The *Bencagangmu* (43/2, Visser 1913:71, Read 1934:301) quotes the Buddhist *Shidian* 釋典 that "in mating, dragons change themselves into two small snakes." Loewenstein (1961) discusses similar rainbow-serpent legends throughout Southeast Asia, the Pacific, Australia, Africa, and South America; and concludes:

Myths of a giant rainbow-serpent are common among primitive tribes inhabiting the tropics. Outside the tropical belt the rainbow-serpent concept is hardly to be found. This points to the fact that the myth must

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18. For the Greeks and Romans, the rainbow was the sign of messenger of the gods; for the Hebrews, it was a divine mercy (e.g., *Genesis* 9.13); and for the , a gift from the sun god. Clerke (1887:98-9) analogous British myth: the rainbow was the old of King Arthur Pendragon (< "chief/head

be intimately connected with the occurrence and geographic distribution of a particular family of snakes, the Boidae, which includes the largest specimens in existence, namely the Pythons and the Boas. (1961:37)

This 'boa' → 'rainbow' hypothesis suggests the ancient Chinese adopted the idea from some southern culture, but linguistic evidence is lacking, unless *g'ung 虹 is related with *mwāng 蟒 'python' §4.5.

(I) Hóng < *g'ung ~ jiàng < *kǔng 虹 'rainbow' combines a *kung 工 'work' phonetic (Chen 1936:523 compares *g'jungkung 共工 §8.9) with the 虫 'wug' radical. The probable *terminus a quo* for 虹 is the (c. 3rd cent. BC) Erya 爾雅 (Harvard-Yenching ed. 8/7) definition of *tiadtung E Z being called yú < *giwo 雨 'rain sacrifice' and meaning *g'ung 虹 'rainbow', and *ngiat P 'rainbow' being called qièèr < *k'iatńjēr 挈貳 "lift two." Guo notes *giwo was used for 'rainbow' in Jiangdong (present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang), gives a colloquialism of měirén < *miernjēn 美人 'beautiful person', and cites the name *k'iatńjēr 挈貳 from the Shizi 尸子. However, the present Shizi text (湖海 ed. 2/1b) has xīyǐ < *siek'ier 析翳 "split cover/screen" instead of *k'iatńjēr, which could indicate some *k- protoform (cf. Table 8).

(II) Dǐdōng < *tiadtung (cf. *tiats-, Schuessler 1987:123) O Z ~ E Z is a second ancient 'rainbow' name written with the 虫 'wug' radical. The logographs O (with a *tād 帶 'girdle; sash' phonetic) and Z (with *tung 東 'east') were only used to write *tiadtung 'rainbow', while zhuǒ < *tjwat E 'spider' (with a *tjwat 'connect' phonetic picturing four 又 'hands') was a graphic loan for *tiad-'rain-[bow]'. The earliest E Z is a bad omen in the Shijing:

The rainbow is in the east; nobody dares to point to it; when a girl makes her journey, she goes far away from father and mother and brothers. (51/1, Karlgren 1950a:33)

Waley (1937a:61, 328; 1937b:12) translates E Z as "girdle," taking *tjwat E 'spider' as a loan for *tiad O = *tād 帶 'girdle' because of cross-cultural parallels for 'girdle' (of a pregnant woman) → 'rainbow'. This Chinese superstition that pointing at easterly rainbows is unlucky has persisted to the present.

(III) *Niè* < *ngiat or *ní* ~ *yí* < *ngieg can be written 霓 (with the 雨 'rain' radical) or P (with 虫 'wug', also meaning 'a cicada; *Meimura opalifera*'). The earliest textual usage of *ngiat 霓 is found in the (3rd cent. BC) *Mengzi* 孟子 (十三經注疏 ed. 1B/8a, Legge 1895:171); people looked up to the legendary Tang "as we look in a time of great drought to the clouds and rainbows."

Yin/Yang 陰陽 cosmology dichotomized between *ngiat ~ *ngieg 霓 'Yin/female rainbow'¹⁹ and *g'ung ~ *k'ung 虹 'Yang/male rainbow'. Both terms meant originally meant 'rainbow', but were specialized to distinguish the Yin 霓 'secondary/supernumerary/outer rainbow' versus the Yang 虹 'primary/inner rainbow'. Since Yin and Yang are necessarily 50/50, rainbows were theoretically limited to half the year; the 月令 "Monthly Ordinances" in the (1st cent. BC) *Liji* 禮記 (十三經注疏 ed. 15/10a, 17/9b; Legge 1885:1:263, 297) claims 虹 rainbows only appear from the last month of spring to the first month of winter [when 晨 §9.1 transform]. Granet (1929:272-7, 1939:181-2) interpreted the rainbow as a sexual symbol of Yin-Yang union, and a duel between male and female river gods/dragons.

Like rainbows, dragons were explained as Yin/Yang combinations (Gieseler 1917:117-20, Diény 1987:174-7, 217-39). Rain-dragons had Yin powers since they controlled water.

In China, dragon essence is woman essence. The connection is through the mysterious powers of fertilizing rain, and its extensions in running streams, lakes, and marshes. In common belief as in literature, the dark, wet side of nature showed itself alternately in women and in dragons. The great water deities of Chinese antiquity were therefore snake queens and dragon ladies: they were avatars of dragons precisely because they were equally spirits of the meres and mists and nimbus clouds. (Schafer 1973:28-9)

19. Cf. another female dragon, *ní* < *ngieg 蜺 (with the 魚 'fish' radical) 'giant salamander; female whale §8.6'. Instead of *ní* ~ *ér* < *níěg 兒, the *Shuowenjiezi* (11B/15b) notes 霓 had a phonetic of *síěn 申 'stretch', i.e., *diàn* < *d'ien 電 'lightning' (cf. *ǎ'jěnn 神 'god' §7.1).

Besides Yin, the dragon, as the symbol of powerful rulers (Visser 1913:44), was Yang (cf. 燭陰 §3.5), because (Werner 1922:208) "He controls the rain, and so holds in his power prosperity and peace."

The *Chuci* has more *ngiat occurrences (ten 霓 and five P) than any other early text.²⁰ It occasionally specifies *ngiat as the 雌 'female' rainbow (e.g., 4/24b, Hawkes 1985:182 "woman rainbow"), and frequently uses it with other dragons, for instance:

To hang at my girdle the coiling [蒼龍] Green Dragon,
To wear at my belt the sinuous [虹] rainbow serpent...
A great [霓] rainbow flag like an awning above me, And
pennants dyed in the hues of the sunset. (16/12b,
Hawkes 1985:290)

This mythical 蒼龍 "Green Dragon" ruling the eastern sky and the 朱雀 "Scarlet Bird" ruling the southern sky both reoccur in the *Chuci* with 白霓 "white (Yin-)rainbows" (e.g., 8/14b, Hawkes 1985:217 "Bright rainbows"). "White rainbow" may seem contradictory since the spectrum is a refraction of white light, but *bái* ~ *bó* < *b'āk 白 'white' can mean either 'bright; clear' or 'light; pale' rainbows. Wang glosses 白P (3/13a, Hawkes 1985:130 "halo of white light") as a 'rainbow colored cloud shaped like a dragon'.²¹

20. The *Chuci* graphically interchanges 霓 and P (e.g., both are used with 白 'white' rainbows), except 霓 (with the 'cloud' radical) is exclusively used with 雲 'clouds' in 雲霓 'clouds and rainbows': 1/22b, 1/24a, 17/9a, 17/15a; Hawkes 1985:73, 77, 313, 318.

21. This 白 'white' (cf. 白蛇 §3.6) → 'bright' was applied to 虹 'rainbows' in other texts. A "白虹貫日 bright rainbow piercing the sun" is a portent of military defeat in the *Zhanguo* 戰國策 (士禮居 ed. 297, Crump 1979:454) "a white halo pierced the sun." The reason why jade is highly valued, according to the *Liji* (48/11, Legge 1885:II:464), is because it "...is like good faith; bright as a [白虹] brilliant rainbow."

Table 3--Proposed *G'ung ~ *Kǔng 虹 Derivations

PROTO-SINO-TIBETAN

*s-brong 'wug; dragon' (Boodberg)

PROTO-AUSTRO-TAI

*ruŋ 'dragon; rainbow' (Benedict)

*g'[l]uŋ 'red; rainbow' (Benedict)

The etymology of *g'ung ~ *kǔng 虹 'rainbow' is related with *liung 龍 'dragon' (Table 2). Boodberg (1935, 1979:167) thought *g'ung < *glung 虹 'rainbow (dragon)' and *liung-t'lia 龍魃 'dragon' descended from a Proto-Sino-Tibetan *s-brong 'wug' root §2.1. Benedict originally (1967, 1975:274) saw *liung 龍 and *g'ung 虹 as early Chinese borrowings from Proto-Austro-Tai *ruŋ 'dragon; rainbow'; but later (1976a:73, 1986:58) realized *g'ung < *g'[l]uŋ ~ *k[l]uŋ 虹 'rainbow' (and *tiadtung < *tiad-[sk]lung E Z 'rainbow' with a *tung 東 'east' phonetic → 'red part of the sky') was semantically specialized from *g'ung < *g'luŋ 紅 'red'. His *g'luŋ 'red' → 'rainbow' hypothesis is supported by three 'dragon'-'rainbow' data: the *lung 龍 "dragon plant" 'prince's feather' §2.1 was called *g'ung 紅 'red' or *lungko 龍古 (Erya 13/78, 96); 虹's alternate jiàng pronunciation is identical with jiàng 絳 'dark red'; and 'rainbow' had a *g'ungg'iog 紅橋 'red bridge' literary name.

§2.3 Lún < *liwən B or lì < *liəd ~ *lier A was a 'dark rain-dragon' also meaning a 'snake-eating bullfrog'. B (虫 'wug' radical and *liwən 侖 phonetic) is defined in the *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/54a) as 'a kind of black and yellow snake that hides in the [神淵] divine depths, and can cause rain by rising up into the clouds'; and it notes the *Huainanzi* (below) variant A (虫 'wug' radical and *liəd ~ *liet 戾 phonetic). The *Guangyun* (277) glosses lì < *lier (cf. Table 8) for A 'a large frog/toad' and adds lún < *liwən for B 'divine snake; large frog/toad which eats
 人'.

liet A occurrence is hēilún < *Xmekliwən 黑侖 'black rain-dragon' in the *Huainanzi* (11/3a, Wallacker "The red hair of a victim ox is fitting in temple

sacrifice; for bringing rain it is not as good as a black snake." Gao paraphrases the *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/55a) defining 黑龙 as "a [神蛇 §4.6] 'divine snake' which hides in the divine depths and can fly up into the rain clouds." This *hēilǚ* 黑龙 'black rain-dragon' was sometimes used in poetry, e.g., (雜詩 by Zhang Xie, AD 3rd cent.) "the 'black *lǚ* dragon' leaps about in the depths, the *shāngyáng* 商羊 'one-legged rain-bird' [Eberhard 1968:65] dances in the fields."

This dark *liwen ~ *lied ~ *lier meteorologically compares with the hēilóng < *Xmekliung 黑龍 "black dragon" which was killed to stop rain (Huainanzi 6/6b, Le Blanc 1985:159; Mozi 47/48, 52, Mei 1929:228-9).

Guo's "Yangzi Rhapsody" has **liwen* A 'rain-dragon; frog' as a name (l. 123, Knechtges 1987:331 "bullfrogs") and cleverly uses *shénlún* < **ʃ'jěnljwen* 神 A 'divine rain-dragon' with **liwen* B in a wordplay on **jwen* B in *yúnyún* < **jwen jwen* B B 'wriggling; twisting'²² (l. 147 神 A B B, Knechtges 1987:337 "Divine serpents, twisting and twining, dive and frolic"). Knechtges follows Zhu Jian's commentary that these two A's should be different, but Obi (1974:145, 147) translates them the same.

§2.4 *Yǐnglóng* < **iəŋgliuŋ* 應龍 was a 'winged rain-dragon' mentioned in several early texts.²³ Since 應 is distinguished between fourth tone *yǐng* 'respond; answer; comply' ~ first tone *yīng* 'proper; suitable; necessary', 應龍 could mean either "responsive dragon" or "proper dragon." The former is surely correct (Diény 1987:213, 216 "le dragon-écho"), and Lothar von Falkenhausen (p.c. of 88/9/28) notes bronze motifs with two symmetrical dragons intertwined (like Fuxi and Nügua §8.9), and suggests a possible ritual connotation like the 應鐘 'responding bell'.

22. The (AD 1067) *Jiyun* 集韻 (上聲 5) lists a ㄛ pronunciation of wěnwěn < *'iwen'iwen, and the *Guangyun* (354) additionally defines it as wò < *'iwen 'a wug which eats the brains of corpses'.

23. Based upon Shang oracle inscriptions, Chen (1936:517-20, cf. 句龍 §8.9) hypothesizes the 應龍 was originally associated with the *nīqīū* < **nīerts*'iōg 泥鰐 'mud loach'.

The *Shanhaijing* (17/5a-6b [cf. §7.6]; Schiffeler 1978:124, Yuan 1960:116) records a legend that the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 ordered a *yǐnglóng* 應龍 dragon to kill the rebel Chi You 蚩尤, and then banished it to the South Pole, causing a drought. A repetition (14/7b, Karlgren 1946:284, cf. 土龍 §6.2) refers to sympathetic rain magic, and says when a drought occurs, fashioning a 應龍 image will cause rain (Shiratori 1934:110-3). In reference to the mythical Yu §8.9 working to control floods, the *Chuci* (3/5b, Hawkes 1985:128) asks, "What did the winged dragon trace on the ground?"; and Wang comments it traced lines to show where channels should be dug (Bodde 1961:400).

Yǐnglóng 應龍 'winged dragon' occurs three times in the *Huainanzi*. First, (4/10a, Visser 1913:65) an explanation of animal evolution alleges the *máodú* < **mogd'uk* 毛犢 "hairy calf" (Eberhard 1968:351 suggests 'water buffalo') gave birth to the *yǐnglóng*, and it subsequently gave birth to all other quadrupeds. Second, (6/7a [cf. §1.2], Le Blanc 1985:161-2) Fuxi and Nügua §8.9 are depicted riding in a 雷車 "thunder chariot" pulled by 應龍 'winged dragons' and 青 蛇 'green dragons' §8.2, and accompanied by 白 虎 'white dragons' §7.1 and 奔 蛇 'speeding snakes' §3.1. Gao's commentary says 應龍 is a 'winged' and 蛇 a 'hornless dragon'. Third, (9/5b, Ames 1981:176, cf. 74) *yǐnglóng* is contrasted with *téngshé* 騰蛇 'flying-dragon' §3.1: "The [teng] snake springs up into the mists; the flying ying dragon ascends into the sky mounting the clouds." Wu (1978:186-7) notes the *yǐnglóng* 應龍 is usually pictured with four wings (cf. its role as the quadruped ancestor), like the next dragon.

§2.5 *Féiyi* < **b'iwərgiwcd* 肥遺 "fertile/rich remains" was a rain-dragon (Tan 1976) with contradictory *Shanhaijing* descriptions. Two mountains have *féiyi* 肥遺 snake-dragons foreboding severe droughts, described as having: six feet and four wings (2/2a, Schiffeler 1978:123) or one head and two bodies (3/8a, Schiffeler 1978:101).²⁴ And a third

24. Guo compares **b'iwərgiwcd* 肥遺 with *wēiyi* < **iwardia* 逶蛇 "winding snake" 'meandering; compliant' (Karlgren 1964, no. 401). Four-winged dragons are mentioned in §2.8 and §3.8, and two bodies were seen for Yin/Yang rainbows in §2.2. Read (1934:347) and Yuan (1978:39-41) discuss two-headed

Shanhaijing mountain (2/4a) describes a *féiyí* 肥遺 creature that appears like a 鶉 'quail; eagle' with a yellow body and a red beak. Hao Yixing (AD 1757-1825) believed these three *féiyí* 肥遺's were identical despite their different descriptions and habitats.

The *fēi* < **b'iwər* 肥 'fat; fertile; rich' in **b'iwərgiwəd* 肥遺 could signify 'rich; prosperous' crops ← 'abundant' rainfall, or could be cognate with *fēi* < **piwər* 飛 'flying' dragons. Both 肥 and 遺 in **b'iwərgiwəd* have variant writings with the 虫 'wug' radical, comparable with *fēi* < **b'iwər* 蜚 'roach' which was a graphic loan for *fēi* < **piwər* 飛 'fly'; e.g., 飛龍 "flying-dragon" §3.5 is written 蜚龍 in the (c. AD 90) *Lunheng* 論衡 (四部叢刊 ed. 6/13a). In addition, there was a *fēilián* < **piwərgliam* 蜚廉 ~ 飛廉 'wind god' (Maspero 1924:56, Karlgren 1946:317-9) said to have a deer's body, bird's head, and snake's tail. *Fēi* < **b'iwər* 蜚 names a *Shanhaijing* (4/11a, Schiffeler 1978:38) drought demon resembling a white-headed ox with one eye and a snake's tail. Yuan (1960:91) characterizes **b'iwər* 蜚 and **b'iwərgiwəd* 肥遺 as typical disaster demons.²⁵

§2.6 *Léishén* < **lwerǎ'jǐn* 雷神 "thunder god/spirit" was a deification of the rain-dragon's association with lightning and thunder (Yuan 1978:42-3). *Léishén* is reported in the *Shanhaijing* (13/2a, Schiffeler 1978:125) to live in a 雷澤 "thunder mere/marsh," and have a dragon's body, human's head, and drum-like (cf. §7.2) stomach. Guo compares a *shénlóng* < **ǎ'jǐnliung* 神龍 "divine dragon" (cf. 神蛇 §4.6) which the *Huainanzi* (4/9a) says has a human's head, a drum-like stomach, and lives in this same 雷澤 (Ikeda 1953). The (AD 426) *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (同文 ed. 79/6b, Diény 1987:21) mentions **d'əngǎ'ja* 螭 §3.1 losing scales and **ǎ'jǐnliung* 神龍 losing horns.

snakes.

25. Compare the four-winged *fēizhì* < **b'iwertjǐt* 蜚螭 "roach/flying leech" (cf. **liungtiǐt* 蜃 §5.1), mentioned in the *Shanhaijing* (17/2a) with the *qínchóng* < **g'jǐmd'jǐng* 琴蟲 "harp wug," a creature with a beast's head and snake's body. These could be dragons, but nothing is known besides their names.

This Chinese Thor **lwərǎ'jǎn* 雷神 "thunder god" has also been depicted (Eberhard 1968:255-6, 290, Hino 1979:240-8) as a winged and clawed creature resembling a pig, ape, monkey, or raven.²⁶ Moreover, it has names of *léigōng* < **lwərkung* 雷公 "thunder lord" in the *Huainanzi* (2/8a, Morgan 1934:45, Werner 1922:199-200), or *léishī* < **lwərsjɛr* 雷師 "thunder master" (cf. 雨師 §8.7) and *fēnglóng* < **p'jōnggliōng* 豐隆 "abundant thundering" in the *Chuci* (1/22b, 24b; Hawkes 1985:73, 74; Maspero 1924:56-7).

§2.7 *Tiáoyóng* < **d'iōgdjɔng* ɛ ㄗ is a 'drought dragon' written with the 虫 'wug' radical plus phonetics of **djōg* 攸 and **djɔng* 庸. The *Shanhaijing* describes it similarly with the *huáyú* 魚 'flying fish' which was graphically confused with *wèiyú* 魚 'snake fish' because 魚 and 魚 have similar 骨 and 胃 phonetics.

The *Shanhaijing* (4/3a, Schiffeler 1978:114) says the *tiáoyóng* is a drought-demon that looks like a yellow snake (cf. A §3.1) with fish's 翼 "wings" ('fins?'), and claims that "出入有光 when entering and leaving [the water] it gives off light." This same luminous 出入有光 description is given for two other *Shanhaijing* fish, the **d'ar* 魚 §6.2 and the *huáyú* < **g'wctngio* 魚. This **g'wctngio* 魚 is a drought-demon (4/10b, Schiffeler 1978:122) said to resemble a fish with bird's wings, and to call like a Mandarin duck--also said of the **kōg* 蛟 §6.1 and the *Shanhaijing*'s (2/34b) *luōyú* < **lwāngio* 魚 "wasp/shell fish," a flood-demon with a fish's body and bird's wings. **G'wct* 魚 (魚 'fish' radical and **kwet* 骨 'bone' phonetic) was interpreted as a miscopy of the *Shanhaijing*'s (2/23a, Schiffeler 1978:118) **giwcd* 魚 (魚 'fish' radical and **giwcd* 胃 'stomach' phonetic) which is described as a fish-eating creature like a snake with four feet. Despite graphic and phonetic similarities, descriptions of the creatures are quite different, **g'wctngio* 魚 is a luminous flying-dragon §3 and **giwcdngio* 魚 some kind of crocodile-dragon §6. Guo's "Yangzi Rhapsody" (ls. 107 and 146 [followed by A §2.3]) lists 魚 and ㄗ, translated (Knechtges 1987:329, 337) as "Bonefish"²⁷ and "Luminous snakes."

26. Cf. 猪婆龍 "pig woman dragon" §6.4 and a non-poisonous snake called *léigōngmǎ* 雷公馬 "thunder lord horse."

This *d'iōgdjung ε ζ 'drought dragon' has a probable yōngyōng < *djungdjung III III (reduplicating "bleak," 魚 'fish' radical and same *djung 庸 phonetic) variant. The *Shanhaijing* (4/1a; cf. §7.4) notes the *djungdjung fish resembles a brindled calf and squeals like a pig (cf. *d'wān π §2.9).

§2.8 *Mingshé* < *miēngǎ'ia 鳴蛇 "singing/calling fish" is a drought dragon portrayed (like 酸與 §3.8) in the *Shanhaijing* (5/4b cf. §5.1, Schiffeler 1978:113 "Hissing snakes") as a four-winged snake which makes a sound like a 磬 'musical stone'. This context (5/5b-6a, Schiffeler 1978:117) contrasts the *miēngǎ'ia 鳴蛇 with the *huashé* < *Xwǎd'ia 化蛇 "transforming snake," described as a flood portent with a human's face, wolf's body, bird's wings (cf. §3.7 and §7.4), and making serpentine movements.

§2.9 *Tuán* < *d'wān π (魚 'fish' radical and *tjwan 專 phonetic) is a mythical 'drought dragon' described in the *Shanhaijing* (1/12a) as resembling a 鮒 'crucian carp'? with pig bristles, and squealing like a piglet. These porcine associations and the drought symbolism denote a rain-dragon. When pronounced *zhuān* < *tjwan, π means some kind of 'carp'? in the (early Han) *Yili* 儀禮 (四部叢刊 ed. 12/14a, Steele 1917:62 "pike").

Other rain/drought demons could be considered dragons. For instance, the *bóyú* < *b'ākngio 薄魚 "despise fish" is mentioned in the *Shanhaijing* (4/10a, Schiffeler 1978:110) as a drought demon (cf. *bá* < *b'wāt 魃 'drought demon', Diény 1987:104-5) that looks like a sturgeon with one eye, and makes a sound like vomiting. Gieseler (1917) thought sturgeons were the prototype for Chinese dragons, and *b'āk 薄 is pronounced similarly with the *p'jok 蝮 snake §4.5 and the *pók 駁 beast noted in §6.1.

3 FLYING-DRAGONS

Besides the above creatures supposed to cause rain when they flew in clouds, Chinese lexicalizes other flying

27. Noting (1987:328) "I have invented the name bonefish for it (not to be confused with *Albula vulpes* bonefish, ladyfish)."

dragons: *téng* A §3.1, *pánlóng* 蟠龍 §3.2, *bānlóng* 班龍 §3.3, *lóngyú* 龍魚 §3.4, *fēilóng* 飛龍 §3.5, *fēishé* 飛蛇 §3.6, and *fēiyú* 飛魚 §3.7 (the last three are literally *fēi* < **pjwer* 飛 "flying," cf. §2.5). There are numerous myths (Diény 1987:126-35) about gods riding and/or harnessing flying dragons.

§3.1 *Téng* < **d'eng* A means 'flying-dragon' or (2) 'locust' when pronounced *tè* < **d'ek*. The *téng* A dragon had a semantically more transparent name of *téngshé* < **d'engd'ia* 騰蛇 "rising/ascending snake."²⁸ **D'eng* A (with the 虫 'wug' radical) and **d'eng* 騰 (with 馬 'horse') 'rise: ascend' are etymologically identical with *téng* < **d'eng* 騰 (with 水 'water') 'gush up'. The *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/41b) glosses the pronunciation of A 'divine snake' with its phonetic **d'iem* ~ **d'ien* 朕 'I; omen', while the *Guangyun* (1132) glosses it as *téng* < **d'eng* 'flying snake; locust' or *tè* < **d'ek* ~ *zhèn* < **d'iem* 'flying snake'.

(1) The (c. 4th cent. BC) *Xunzi* 荀子 (Harvard-Yenching ed. 1/23, Dubs 1928:35) refers to **d'engd'ia* A 蛇 as a footless dragon which is able to fly because it concentrates. The *Erya* (16/40) defines **d'eng* A as *téngshé* < **d'engd'ia* A 蛇 "d'eng snake" rather than 騰蛇 "ascending snake," and Guo glosses "a [飛龍 §3.5] flying-dragon that drifts in the clouds and mist, called *mǎngshé* < **mǎngd'ia* 蟒蛇 'python; boa' [§4.5] in the *Huainanzi*." This is a misquote (or miscopy of 蟒 for 蟒 in the following [16/40] **mǎng* 蟒 'giant snake' definition). The *Huainanzi* (6/7a [with 應龍 §2.4], Ames 1981:176, Le Blanc 1985:162 "speeding snakes") describes a *bēnshé* < **pwēnd'ia* 奔蛇 (not 蟒蛇) "rushing snake,"²⁹ and Gao circularly glosses **pwēnd'ia* 奔蛇 as **d'engd'ia* A 蛇. The (3rd cent. BC) *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 (世界 ed. 44, Liao 1939:77 "rising serpents," Wen 1956:19) similarly uses **d'engd'ia* in describing the Yellow Emperor riding in a carriage drawn by 龍 dragons.

28. A 蛇 ~ 騰蛇 'flying-dragon/-snake' has three specialized senses: 'an asterism of twenty-two stars' (associated with lightning, a.k.a. 天蛇 "heavenly snake"), 'a battle formation', and (in physiognomy) 'lines circling the mouth'.

29. The *Huainanzi* (9/5b, 17/1b, 20/2b) has A 蛇 and (15/7a) *lóngténg* < **ljungd'eng* 龍騰 'dragon ascending'.

A meaning of 'scaled dragon' is implied by the *Hou Hanshu* §2.6 reference to the *d'əngdja A 蛇 losing its scales; and Eberhard (1968:385-6) suspects A 蛇 "rising snake" was a substitute for the imperially tabooed lóng 龍 'dragon' §2.1 because "one can hardly speak of scales in the case of a real snake, but a dragon was believed to be scaly."

(2) The earliest A usage means tè < *d'ək (cf. Schuessler 1987:603 *glak) 'locust; grasshopper' along with míng < *mieng 螟 'an insect that damages grain; caterpillar' in the *Shijing* (212/2, Karlgren 1950a:166) "we remove the [螟 A] noxious insects from the ears and leaves." The *Erya* (15/53) defines (graphic variants of) *d'ək A as 'an insect that eats leaves of plants' and *mieng 螟 as 'one that eats the core'. The (c. AD 10) *Fangyan* 方言 (11/7) lists (an additional graphic variant of) A and měng < *mǎng 蟒 (usually mǎng < *mwāng 蟒 'giant snake' §4.5) as southern dialectal words for *g'wāng 蝗 'locust; grasshopper'.

§3.2 Pánlóng < *b'wānliung 蟠龍 "coiled/curled dragon"³⁰ is defined in the *Fangyan* (12/105, Diény 1987:67) as 未陞天龍謂之蟠龍 "a dragon which has not ascended to heaven." Since pán < *b'wān 蟠 (with the 虫 'wug' radical) 'curl; coil; wind' is graphically used for pán < *b'wān 盤 (with 皿 'tray') 'basin, dish' (cf. 盤古 §8.5), 蟠龍 has a graphic 盤龍 variant. This 蟠 logograph has an alternate fán < *b'iwān 蟠 'wood-louse' reading,³¹ and dragon names typically have 'wug' meanings §5, cf. the 地龍 'centipede' below. The (AD 2nd cent.) *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 (古經

30. The reverse of 蟠龍 'coiled dragon' is lóngpán < *liungb'wān 龍蟠 'dragon coiled/coiling'. The (AD 1st cent.) *Fayan* 法言 (4/1a, 漢魏 ed. 13) immortalized lóngpán 龍蟠 as a literary expression for 'person of unrecognized talent' in saying: "a dragon coiled in the mud will be insulted by a newt," meaning 'a sage will be ridiculed by a fool'.

31. Owing to the 'wood-louse' names of shǔfù 鼠婦 "rat's wife" and shǔfù 鼠負 "rat's shoulder/responsibility," the *Shuowenjiezi* (10A/37a) writes *b'iwān 'wood-louse' with the 鼠 'rat' radical instead of the 'wug'.

ed. 1/28) says "the 蟠龍 'coiled dragon' was greatly trusted in its lair, the 蛟魚 'dragon; crocodile' [§6.1] leaped in its pool." *Pánlóng* 蟠龍 'Coiled Dragon' was the proper name of: a bronze decorative style (e.g., *Huainanzi* 8/9a [with 山龍], Morgan 1934:95), mountains (e.g., in Honan, Jiangxi, Hunan, and Sichuan),³² and people (e.g., the *nom de plume* of Huan Xuan, AD 369-404).

This *Fangyan* definition mentions *tiānlóng* < **t'ienliung* 天龍 "heavenly dragon," a draconym with five meanings: (1) literally "celestial dragon" guarding the heavenly mansions of the gods (Doré 1914:683), and opposed to the *dílóng* < **d'ialliung* 地龍 "earth dragon" (cf. 地龍子 'earthworm' §2.1 and 土龍 'alligator' §6.2) that was first recorded in the (early AD 7th cent.) *Nanshi* 南史; (2) a name for the constellation *Draco* "Dragon," which (Read 1934:306-7) "has the appearance of guarding and encircling the northern pole which is the centre of the movement of the fixed stars"; (3) an alternate name for *wúgóng* 蜈蚣 'centipede'; (4) a mountain in Shanxi (cf. 蟠龍); and (5) 'heaven's favor' with **liung* 龍 as a graphic loan (e.g., *Shijing* 304/5; Karlgren 1964, no. 1137) for **t'liung* 寵 'favor; esteem'.

§3.3 *Bānlóng* < **pwanliung* 斑龍 "dappled/mottled dragon" is cognate with **mlüŋ* < **'blung* 彪 'dappled; variegated' §2.1 and perhaps with the above **b'wānliung* 蟠龍 'flying-dragon'.

The *Baopuzi* (20/5a, Ware 1966:325) mentions *bānlóng* 斑龍 in a story about shepherding a herd of dragons: "A dappled, variegated one was the best and the one which Lao Tan normally rides." In the *Bencaogangmu* (51/17, Read 1931,

32. "Coiled Dragon" place-names could simply be descriptive, or could be owing to dragons symbolizing water in Chinese geomancy (Visser 1913:59-61), e.g., *lóngmài* 龍脈 "dragon pulse" 'geomantic influence; geomagnetic currents'. Dragons and tigers symbolize water and fire in geomancy, e.g., *lóngtán-hǔxué* 龍潭虎穴 "dragon's pool and tiger's den" 'dangerous spot'. The *Huainanzi* (15/8b, Morgan 1934:199) lists a 龍蛇蟠 "dragon snake coiling" 'serpentine defile' as a good place for an ambush. Tollef As (p.c. of 89/8/21) notes place names (e.g., Longquanguan 龍泉關) with historical (military), and not geomantic, explanations.

no. 364), *bānlóng* 斑龍 is listed as an alternate name for *lù* 鹿 'deer', supposedly because dragons have deer-like horns and enjoy playing with deer. Smith (1919:130-4) chronicles deer/dragon associations across Africa, Egypt, Babylonia, America, and India.

§3.4 *Lóngyú* < **liungngio* 龍魚 "dragon fish" is a 'flying-dragon' identified with the *bàngyú* < **b'üngngio* H魚 "clam fish."

In the *Shanhaijing* (7/4b), the **liungngio* 龍魚 "dragon fish"³³ is noted to "resemble a 狸 'wildcat' [Hao Yixing emends 狸 to 鯉 'carp'] and is ridden everywhere by a divine shaman." Guo describes **liungngio* as resembling "[鯉] carp with one horn" and cites the *Huainanzi*'s (4/8a) assertion that *bàngyú* < **b'üngngio* H魚 "clam fish" is found in the south. Gao's *Huainanzi* commentary rewords the *Shanhaijing*; H魚 "resemble 鯉 'carp', and is ridden everywhere by a divine 聖 'sage' [rather than 巫 'shaman']." This *bàng* < **b'üng* H (石 'stone' radical and **mlung* 彪 'dappled' §2.1 phonetic) is a graphic variant of *bàng* < **b'üng* 蚌 'mussel; giant clam (i.e., 蟹 §8.1)'. The *Shanhaijing* (2/4a [cf. § 2.5], Schiffeler 1978:108) writes **b'üng* with a 魚 'fish' radical variant, says it looks like a turtle and bleats like a goat. These **liungngio* and **b'üngngio* variants suggest some original **b'liung*? 'flying dragon' (cf. Table 7).

Guo's "Yangzi Rhapsody" (l. 141 龍鯉一角, Knechtges 1987:335 "One-horned dragon-carps") mentions a *lónglǐ* < **liungliæg* 龍鯉 "dragon-carp," identified by commentators as this *lóngyú* 龍魚 "dragon-fish" or the *línglǐ* 鯉魚 'pangolin' §7.3. The (AD 1607) *Sancaituhui* 三才圖會 defines 龍魚 as 'a delicious boneless fish that looks like a dragon with whiskers'.

§3.5 *Fēilóng* < **piwerliung* 飛龍 "flying dragon" was first mentioned in the *Yijing* (1, Whincup 1986:24, cf. § 2.1): "The dragon flies in the sky." The *Hanfeizi* (297, Fung 1952:318) contrasts **piwerliung* 飛龍 with **d'engāia* A

33. The text has **liung* 龍 variants of *xiá* < **g'a* 蝦 'giant salamander' and *áo* < **ngog* 鼈 'turtle' (oddly glossed by Guo as *wǎng* < **wāng*). In the *Liji* (31/24, cf. §6.2) 龍魚 is a coordinate compound meaning 'dragons and fish'.

蛇 "ascending snake" §3.1: "A flying dragon rides on the clouds, and a floating snake travels on the mist." The *Huainanzi* (4/10a, cf. §2.4; Visser 1913:65) gives an "evolutionary" explanation for why dragons have wings: The *yǔjiā* < **giwoka* 羽嘉 "winged excellence" gave birth to the **piwerliung* 飛龍 'flying-dragon', which gave birth to phoenixes, which subsequently gave birth to all birds. Zhang Heng (AD 78-139) poetically (西京賦) used 飛龍 as the name of a mythical bird; also called *lóngquè* < **liungtsiok* 龍雀 "dragon sparrow." Jiao Hong (AD 1541-1620) describes (筆乘) the 飛龍 as having a dragon's head, phoenix's tail, and multicolored patterns; and equates it with the **piwergliam* 飛廉 'wind god' §2.5.

According to Wang's *Chuci* (1/33b, Hawkes 1985:77 "winged dragons") commentary, **piwerliung* 飛龍 symbolized 'enlightened wisdom'. This probably refers to the (3rd-2nd cents. BC) *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Harvard-Yenching ed. 1/29, Watson 1968:33) description of a 仙人 'transcendent; holy person' who: "climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas."

Fei Long 飛龍 "Flying Dragon" was the name of a legendary music master. The (3rd? cent. BC) *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (四部叢刊 ed., Fauvel 1879:13) mentions King Zhuang Xu (25th? cent. BC) commanding Fei Long to construct a ceremonial mouth organ, and when Fei first played it, a *tuó* N 'alligator' §6.2 "which was near the place kept measure with the melody by striking his tail against his body." The *Baopuzi* uses *fēilóng* 飛龍 in its basic meaning (6/2a, Ware 1966:111 "flying dragon"), and as a graphic variant for the *fēifei* < **piwerpiwer* 飛飛 "fly fly" mountain spirit (17/6a, Ware 1966:287; with draconic music master Kui 葵 §7.6) "like a dragon, variegated in color and with red horns."

§3.6 *Fēishé* < **piwerd'ia* 飛蛇 'flying snake' is mentioned in context with 白蛇 'white snake' in the *Shanhaijing* (5/53a), Guo glosses 飛蛇 as A 蛇 'flying-dragon/snake' §3.1.³⁴ Swinhoe (1870:240, quoted by

34. In a further *Shanhaijing* (2/9b) context, he glosses 白蛇 "white snake" as 水蛇 "water snake." Baishe 白蛇 "White Snake" is the heroine of a popular folktale (Eberhard 1986:269) about a serpent that turns itself into a beautiful woman.

Chamberlain 1977:76) mentions the *fēishé* "called *Fei-shay*, or 'flying snake'," on Hainan Island. Chinese *fēishé* 飛蛇 "flying snake" 'dragon' contrasts with Western *Draco volans* < "flying-dragon" 'lizard'.

§3.7 *Fēiyú* < **piwerngio* 飛魚 "flying fish" is said (*Shanhaijing* 5/9a, Schiffeler 1978:119) to look like a suckling pig with red stripes, the meat of which is claimed to cure fear of thunder; or (5/3b) to look like a 鮓 'crucian carp'?, the meat of which will cure hemorrhoids and dysentery. This **piwerngio* combines draconic elements of pigs §6.4 and thunder §2.6. Another *Shanhaijing* (2/19a, Schiffeler 1978:98) 'flying fish' called *wényáo* < **miwendioŋ* 文𪚩 supposedly resembles a 鯉 'carp' (cf. §7.3) with a fish's body, bird's wings, grey-green stripes, white head, and red snout.

§3.8 *Suānyú* < **swānzio* 酸與 "sour gift/help" is a final 'flying-dragon' calamity demon. The *Shanhaijing* (3/16b, Schiffeler 1978:91) describes 酸與 as a fearsome bird that looks like a snake with four wings [cf. 鳴蛇 §2.8], six eyes, and three feet. Guo notes the **swānzio* name imitates the cry of this beast, and that eating its meat would prevent drunkenness, but nothing else is known about it. These serpentine **swānzio* 酸與 and **piwerŋ'ia* 飛蛇 §3.6 are related to the following reptilian draconyms.

4 SNAKE-DRAGONS

The "Snake-Dragon" taxonomy includes two "long snakes" *xiūshé* 脩蛇 §4.1 and *chángshé* 長蛇 §4.2; three giant serpents *bā* 巴 §4.3, *rán* 𪚩 §4.4, and *mǎng* 蟒 §4.5; and two snake gods *shénshé* 神蛇 §4.6 and *nàgā* 那伽 §4.7. Legends about these great serpents are frequently analogous, and Eberhard (1968:84) remarks they "were typical for the South."

Various scholars (Johnston 1910:386, Shiratori 1934:117-9, Wen 1956:26-7, Wu 1978:189-91) posit snakes to be the mythic prototype for Chinese dragons.³⁵ Doré

35. Similar beliefs are found in other cultures; Read (1934:297) says "The Greek word *drakon* [§9.2] was originally used of any large serpent, so that the dragons of mythology were essentially snakes." The *Hanfeizi* (22, Liao 1939:232-

(1914:690) claims "The religious mind of China has never made a scientific distinction between snake and dragon." Their nomenclature was likewise interrelated; e.g., *shétuī* 蛇蛻 'snake slough' has synonyms of *lóngtuī* 龍腿 "dragon leg," *lóngzǐyī* 龍子衣 "dragon child coat," and *lóngzǐpí* 龍子皮 "dragon child skin."

§4.1 *Xiūshé* < **siōgǎ'ia* 脩蛇 "long/adorned snake" is synonymous with *chángshé* < **djangǎ'ia* 長蛇 "long snake" below.³⁶ Both are combined in a "big-pig giant-snake" metaphor meaning 'voracious, insatiable'; two texts similarly quote Shen Baoxu (fl. 500 BC) from Chu criticizing his rival state Wu as: 封豕長蛇 "a great pig and a long snake" (c. 300 BC *Zuozhuan* 定公 4, Legge 1872:757) or 封豨脩蛇 "a great boar or mighty snake" (*Huainanzi* 19/10a, Morgan 1934:236; cf. §6.4).³⁷

3) parable about a 大蛇 "big snake" (cf. § 4.2 and §9.3) and a 小蛇 "small snake" reveals this ancient Chinese notion. In order to protect themselves from being killed, these snakes held each other's mouths as they crawled together, and people who saw them said in fear: "It's the ruler of spirits." Snakes were the quintessential "creepy-crawly" wug, and according to the *Shanhaijing* (6/1b, Read 1934:349): "the people to the Southwest beyond the seas consider [蟲 'wugs'] worms to be [蛇] snakes, and real snakes are called [魚] fish."

36. Since *xiū* < **siōg* 脩 (with the 月 'meat' radical) 'dried out; dried meat; long' was a variant of *xiū* < **siōg* 修 (with 彡 'feather; hair', cf. the "hairy" 巴 §4.3) 'adorn; arrange; elaborate', 脩蛇 could mean 'adorned snake' (Eberhard 1968:83 translates "the speckled snake").

37. 脩蛇 is used with *fēngxī* < **piungxiēr* 封豨 "big pig" and 長蛇 with *fēngshǐ* < **piungsiēg* 封豕 "big pig" (Kui's son § 7.6). Both porcine names use *fēng* < **piung* 封 'mound; bank; boundary' as a loan for *fēng* < **p'iōng* 豐 'great, large'. The *Fangyan* (8/5) says 豨 was a Southern Chu dialect word for 豕 'pig, swine'. "Big Pig" 封豨 ~ 封豕 is a name for the constellation Kui 奎 "crotch; stride" in Andromeda and Pisces. Werner (1922:106-7) discusses confusion between the 奎 and 斗 斗 constellations §8.2.

**Sjôgǎ'ia* 脩蛇 "long snake" and **pjungχjɛr* 封豕 "big pig" are mentioned in the *Huainanzi* (8/5a-b, Morgan 1934:88 "great boars and pythons", Werner 1922:181 "a serpent, a thousand feet long... wild boars of enormous size") in connection with *yâyŭ* < **'atzju* 𪚩 𪚩 (Morgan, *ibid.*, "ferocious dragon-like beasts"). This **'atzju*,³⁸ written with the 豸 'wild animal' (or 穴 'hole' ~ 犬 'dog') radical and **k'iad* ~ **k'iat* 契 and **dju* 𪚩 phonetics, is defined in the *Erya* (18/1) as 'a man-eating beast that runs fast, like a lynx with tiger's claws'. The *Shanhaijing* gives three different **'atzju* descriptions (Karlgren 1946:269): a man-eating beast that cries like a child, and looks like a red ox with a human's face and horse's hooves (3/7a; with 長蛇 §4.2); a man-eating beast with a dragon's head, and that lives in fresh water (10/4b with 巴蛇 §4.3); and a beast with a dragon's head and snake's body (11/6a [cf. 1a], Yuan 1960:107). Gao's *Huainanzi* commentary follows the second and glosses **'atzju* as "a man-eating, western beast with a dragon's head." Yuan (1960:181) attempts to reconcile these contradictory descriptions by claiming the 𪚩 𪚩 could transform into different beasts. Eberhard cites the (AD 6th cent.) *Shuyiji* 述異記 depiction of the *yâyŭ* as:

...the biggest of all animals with the head of a dragon, tail of a horse, claws of a tiger. It was 400 feet long and ate men. (龍威 ed. 1/4b, 1968:84; cf. § 8.3)

The second syllable of **'atzju* 𪚩 𪚩 reappears in the *Shanhaijing* (4/10a) name *héyŭ* < **g'ɛpʒju* 合 𪚩 "join defective"; a flood-demon said to look like a yellow pig with a red tail and human face, and which cries like a child, and eats both people and wugs.

§4.2 *Chángshé* < **djangǎ'ia* 長蛇 "long snake," equivalent to the above **sjôgǎ'ia* 脩蛇, is the name of a *Shanhaijing* mythic beast (3/6a, Schiffeler 1978:109 "Long Snake") that has hair like a pig's bristles and makes a drumming sound. Hao notes the *chángshé* "grows up to [百尋] 100 meters long, has bristles in between stripes, flies in groups, is extremely poisonous, but cannot swallow when

38. Guo glosses *yâyŭ* < **'atzju* 𪚩 𪚩 as *yâyŭ* < **'ătdju*, but **z/dju*? 𪚩 has also been reconstructed with a *-g final.

rubbed." The 長蛇's bristles compare with the ψ 's §4.4 whiskers, and its (thunder?) drumming correlates with Gu 鼓 "drum" §7.2 and Kui 𪛗 §7.6 dragons.

The descriptive/nomenclative $*djangd'ia$ 長蛇 "long snake" is similar with $*d'ad'd'ia$ 大蛇 "big snake." While $dashé < *d'ad'd'ia$ 大蛇 "big snake" is frequently used as a general description in the *Shanhaijing* (e.g., 4/5b, 6a, 8a), in one context (3/26a) $*d'ad'd'ia$ 大蛇 is the proper name (cf. 大蛇 *orochi* §9.3) of a red-headed, white drought demon that moos like a cow.

§4.3 $Bā < *pā$ 巴 was a legendary giant snake that ate elephants. 巴 is simplified from an original pictograph of a snake.³⁹ The *Shanhaijing* (10/5a-b, Schiffeler 1978:97) states the $bāshé < *pād'ia$ 巴蛇 eats elephants, taking three years to disgorge the bones; and describes it as either a colorful snake with motley azure, yellow, red, and black colors, or as a black snake with an azure head. Its meat was said to cure, through sympathetic magic, stomach disorders. Guo notes the $bā$ 巴 was akin with the $rán \psi$ below, and (cf. above) could grow up to [百尋] one hundred meters.

The *Chuci* (3/9a, Hawkes 1985:128) asks "How does the snake that can swallow an elephant digest its bones?" Instead of $bāshé$ 巴蛇, the standard text has 一蛇 "one snake," or a graphic variant of $lingshé < *liengd'ia$ 靈蛇 "divine snake." Wang's commentary quotes the *Shanhaijing*, but with 一蛇 (used 8/2a with 相柳 §8.9) instead of 巴蛇.

§4.4 $Rán < *ńiam \psi$ (虫 'wug' radical and a $*ńiam$ 冉 'gradual' phonetic) is the 'python; *Python molurus*; *P. reticulatus*'.⁴⁰ With legends saying $*ńiam \psi$ grew up to one hundred feet long, there are two possibilities: stories about pythons were exaggerated, or a mythical $rán < *ńiam$

39. $Bā < *pā$ was an ancient place name (Yuan 1960:51-2) located in present day Sichuan. $Bā$ 巴 is the phonetic in $pá$ 爬 (with the 爪 'claw' radical) 'crawl, creep', esp. used in the term $páchóng$ 爬虫 'reptiles'.

40. *Python bivittatus* (Read 1934:333) is usually called $línshé$ 鱗蛇 "scaled snake" or $jùmǎng$ 巨蟒 "great python."

name was applied to the southern snake.

Since early 冉 logographs pictured hair hanging down, a graphic etymology was that 𧈧 depicted a snake 'hanging' from a tree. Two phonetic etymologies for 𧈧 are a snake that crawls 𧈧 冉 'gradually, slowly' or has 𧈧 髯 'whiskered; hairy' scales. 𧈧 髯 'whiskers' are characteristic of Chinese dragons (esp. 龍 and 𧈧).

Compare the pronunciations of this 𧈧 < *ńjam 𧈧 'snake-dragon' and the féiyí < *b'iwergiwcd 肥遺 'rain-dragon' §2.5 with a creature named rányí < *ńjamgiwcd 冉遺 'gradual remains.' The *Shanhaijing* (2/33b [with 神 𧈧 §7.5], Schiffeler 1978:112) depicts the *ńjamgiwcd as having six feet, a fish's body, a snake's head, and eyes like horse's ears.

The *Huainanzi* (7/12a, Morgan 1934:77 "python") has the earliest *ńjamč'ia 𧈧 蛇 reference, written 髯蛇 "whiskered snake," saying that the people of Yue 越 (present day Vietnam and Guangxi), but not the Chinese, valued this serpent as a delicacy. Gao reports the 髯蛇 to be a giant snake several dozen feet long, but Read (1934:332) notes maximum lengths of ten feet for *P. molurus* or twenty for *P. reticulatus*. The (AD 9th cent.) *Luyiji* 錄異記 (秘冊 ed. 5/8a, Read 1934:331) describes the 𧈧 蛇 as growing up to sixty feet long and five feet wide, having skin mottled like old embroidery (cf. Japanese *nishiki-hebi* 錦蛇 "embroidered snake" 'python'), and preying upon deer which it takes one year to digest. This myth about the 𧈧 蛇 eating one deer every year was connected with the constipated 巴蛇 eating one elephant every three years. Guo classifies this deer-eating *ńjamč'ia 𧈧 蛇 'giant snake' with the *Shanhaijing*'s (15/1b) stag-eating 𧈧 蛇 < *ng'iwānd'ia 元蛇 "head/primary snake" ~ xuānshé < *g'iwēnd'ia 玄蛇 "dark snake" graphic variant (*ng- rather than *ń-?).

The *Bencaogangmu* (43/13, Read 1934, no. 112) identifies the 𧈧 蛇 as the 蟒 蟒 'python' below, and lists synonyms of 南蛇 "southern snake" and 埋頭蛇 "bury [its] head snake."

§4.5 蟒 < *mwāng 蟒 'python; boa?' was considered a dragon. This could be seen from the 蟒袍 蟒袍 ~ 蟒衣

蟒衣 official's robe embroidered with dragons.

This 蟒 logograph combines the 虫 'wug' radical with a phonetic of *mwāŋ⁴¹ 莽 (犬 'dog' within 艹 'grass' →) 'weeds; jungle', graphically signifying 'jungle' snake. 蟒 is sometimes written 蟒 with a *pwen 奔 (simplified < three 牛 'cows') 'run away' phonetic, cf. the *pwen⁴² 奔蛇 "speeding snake" §3.1.

The earliest *mwāŋ 蟒 usage is an *Erya* definition (16/40) as wāngshé < *giwāŋ⁴³ 王蛇 "king snake." Guo explains the apt "king" means the 'biggest' of snakes; cf. English *king snake* and *king cobra*. *Giwāŋ⁴⁴ 王蛇 has a "king snake" synonym of wānghuī < *giwāŋ⁴⁵ 王𧈧 in the *Chuci* (10/2b, cf. §8.5, Hawkes 1985:233 "python"). This same *Erya* definition describes fūhuī < *p'ioŋ⁴⁶ 蝮𧈧 'viper; python' as "a snake three inches thick, with a head as big as a person's wrist." In modern usage, fūshé 蝮蛇 is the 'pit viper'; but rather than an Old Chinese *p'ioŋ⁴⁷ 蝮𧈧 compound, there could have been a dialectal distinction. *Erya* commentators assert *p'ioŋ 蝮 was a southern 'snake' word and *Xiwēr 𧈧 a northern one.

Huī < *Xiwēr (cf. Table 8) 𧈧 (虫 'wug' radical and *ngwēt 兀 'cut the feet' phonetic⁴⁸) 'python; viper' was recorded long before *mwāŋ 蟒 'boa'. The *Shijing* (189/6) uses *Xiwēr 𧈧 with *d'ia 蛇 'snake'; Karlgren (1950a:131 "there are snake-brood and snakes") follows Wei Zhao's (AD

41. The *Fangyan* (11/7 cf. §3.1) lists a different 蟒 pronunciation in the Southern Chu term zhēměng < *tjāgmāŋ 𧈧 for huāng < *g'wāŋ 蝗 'locust'.

42. The gap between *Xiwēr and *ngwēt has never been adequately explained. Could it have been a 'footless wug' → 'snake' ideograph? Schuessler (1987:252) reconstructs 𧈧 as possibly *hjuej?, *hnjuej?, *hmjuej?, or *hmjuej?. One hypothesis takes this odd 兀 phonetic as a mistake for yuán < *ngiwan 元 'head', but that can not explain *Xiwēr either. Guo's *Shanhaijing* (1/2b [cf. 6b]) commentary glosses 蝮虫 with a 元 phonetic, taken to be a miscopy of 𧈧. The *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/42b, with 𧈧) notes huī < *g'wōd 𧈧 (虫 'wug' radical and *kiwēr 鬼 'ghost' phonetic) 'chrysalis' (*Erya* 15/34) to be an old graphic variant of *Xiwēr 𧈧.

204-73) *Guoyu* 國語 (Research Aids ed. 13395) commentary that **Xiwər* is a 'small snake', but since it refers to the giant 'python', another contrast (e.g., 'poisonous') with the usual 蛇 'snake' word is more likely (cf. Waley 1937a:283 "Snakes and serpents").⁴³ The *Chuci* (9/3a [with 蝮蛇], Hawkes 1985:224) mentions a mythical *xiónguī* < **giǔngXiwər* 雄龜 "male [cf. 雌 "female" rainbows §2.2] *hui*": "And the great nine-headed serpent, who darts swiftly this way and that, And swallows men as a sweet relish."⁴⁴

**Mwāng* 蟒, **Xiwər* k, and **p'io̯k* 蝮 were all large snakes, but it remains uncertain whether their original referents were 'python', 'boa', or 'viper'.

§4.6 *Shénshé* < **ǵ'iǣnǵ'ia* 神蛇 "divine snake" is the *Guangyun*'s definition of B 'dark rain-dragon' §2.3 and the *Shuowenjiezi*'s of A 'flying-dragon' §3.1 (Table 1). Two early texts mention **ǵ'iǣnǵ'ia* 神蛇 with divinatory 龜 'tortoises': (*Huainanzi* 16/2b) "The divine snake can magically separate and reassemble itself, but cannot prevent people from chopping it up"; (*Mozi* 墨子 Harvard-Yenching ed. 1/12, Mei 1929:3) "the snakes that show more magic power are more sacrificed."

The reverse of 神蛇 "divine snake" is *shéshén* < **ǵ'iaǵ'iǣn* 蛇神 "snake god,"⁴⁵ the spirit of Mt. Longmen 龍

43. *Huǐshé* < **Xiwərǵ'ia* 蝮蛇 occurs in the *Chuci* (17/10b, Hawkes 1985:314 "serpents") and the *Huainanzi* (8/5a, Morgan 1934:88 "viper"). Three other *Shijing* usages are: **Xiwərǵiǣk* 蝮 (192/6) 'snake and lizard' (Legge 1871:317 "cobras and efts") ~ 'lizard' (Karlgren 1950a:136 "lizards" [the *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/42b) defines 蝮 as a 鳴 'speaking' lizard, cf. 鳴蛇 §2.8]); **XiwərXiwər* 蝮蝮 'roar of thunder' (30/4; some bronze graphs for 蝮 pictured 田 = 雷 'thunder', cf. §2.6); and (3/2, cf. *Erya* 1B/18) 蝮 is pronounced *huī* < **Xwər* in the binome **Xwərǵ'wər* 蝮類 'exhausted, weary' (esp. horses, e.g., *Chuci* 17/2b).

44. In the "Heavenly Questions" (3/8b), Hawkes (1985:128) translates this same phrase differently: "Where is the great serpent with nine heads and where is the Shu Hu ['sudden; lightning demon' (Carr 1986b:102)]?"

45. The Japanese *dashin* 蛇神 'snake god' is mythologically

門 "dragon gate" in Honan §2.1 who gave jade tablets to the fabled Yu §8.9. Later stories (Visser 1913:86, Gieseler 1917:112-5) concern fishes (esp. carp) that can swim upstream through the Dragon-gate and transform themselves into dragons.

§4.7 *Naga* 那個 'a water-snake demigod' aptly illustrates the pervasiveness of dragon myths (Visser 1913, Przyluski 1938, Yan 1987c). The origins of *Naga* ophiolatry are said (Read 1934:306) to go back to "Egyptian, Babylonian and Vedic cults," and the *Naga* image has been hypothetically identified (Smith 1919:85) in Mayan and Aztec art.

The name *Nāga* (< Sanskrit 'serpent; cobra') originally referred to a serpentine god of rain (cf. §2) and water (cf. §6) in Hindu myths. Buddhists developed tales (Werner 1922:210-1) about *Nāgārāja* 'Naga kings' who lived in splendid underwater castles and were the guardian angels of Buddhism (cf. Isa. 13:22 "dragons in their pleasant palaces"). In Chinese texts, *Nāga* is transcribed as *nàgā* 那伽, but in stories, is usually translated with *lóng* 'dragon' §2.1 compounds such as *lóngwáng* 龍王 "dragon kings" and *lónggōng* 龍宮 "dragon palaces." *Lóngwángbīng* 龍王兵 "dragon king's soldiers" was a taboo name for 'fish'. Hirth (1908:88) adopted Chavannes' idea that Chinese 龍 representations were imported from Western legends, and "the dragon itself could well be related to the *nagas* of India."

Cults along Chinese rivers worshipped *Naga* 龍王 "Dragon King" rain-gods. Eberhard (1968:239) contrasts the benevolent *lóng* 龍 dragon providing rain (and thus fertility) with the *naga* originally representing an evil crocodile-dragon *jiao* 蛟 §6.1. The *Naga* dragon is a clear example of Sinitic borrowing and subsequent loaning to Japanese (Ideishi 1934:146-8), v. §9.2.

There are numerous other supernatural Chinese snakes, but they are without clear dragon associations; for example, the two-headed *shuàirán* < **sliwətnjan* 率然 "hastily" snake (AD 3rd? cent. *Bowuzhi* 博物志 指海 ed. 3/3a), or the *gōushé* < **kuǎ'ia* 鉤蛇 "hook snake."⁴⁶

more important (Yoshino 1979, Abe 1981) than the Chinese *shéshén* 蛇神.

5 WUG-DRAGONS

The smallest class of Chinese draconyms are wugs (< worm + bug, n. 2): *lóngzhǐ* 虺 'a beast' §5.1, *wālong* 蛙 'a demon' §5.2, *juélóng* 𪚩 'a sea-dragon' §5.3, and *diāoshé* 𪚩 'cicada; dragon?' §5.4. In the same manner that *lóng* 龍 is frequently suffixed (e.g., §3.2) and occasionally prefixed (e.g., §3.4), the first three 'wug' draconyms use *lóng* < **liung* 虺 (虫 'wug' radical and 龍 phonetic).⁴⁷ The dragon was the boss wug; the *Shuowenjiezi* §2.1 defines *lóng* 龍 as the "鱗蟲之長 chief of the scaly wugs." Many draconyms had 'wug' meanings, e.g., *nǐ* 霓 'rainbow; cicada' §2.2, *pánlóng* 蟠龍 'coiled dragon' and *fán* 蟠 'wood-louse' §3.2, or *mǎng* 蟒 'giant snake' ~ *mèng* 蟒 'cicada' §4.5.

§5.1 *Lóngzhǐ* < **liungd'jǐēt* 虺 "wug-dragon niece" and/or *lóngzhǐ* < **liungtiēt* 虺 "wug-dragon leech" are/is mentioned in the *Shanhaijing* (cf. **b'iwertjǐēt* 蜚虺 §2.5). The "Eastern Mountains" section (4/6b, Schiffeler 1978:61, 1980:56) describes **liungd'jǐēt* 虺 (with 'niece; nephew') as a man-eating beast that resembles a fox with nine tails, nine heads (cf. §3.9 and §4.5), tiger's claws, and makes a sound like an infant crying. The "Central Mountains" (5/6a) describes **liungtiēt* 虺 (with 'leech') as resembling a horned pig that makes a sound like a person crying. Owing to the different pronunciations, Guo doubts 虺 and 虺 are the same creature. Even though the descriptions (cf. §2.6) are dissimilar, except for crying like humans, most commentators take them to be identical. The *Guangyun* (852)

46. The **kuā'ia* 鉤蛇 is described in Guo's *Shanhaijing* (5/35b [cf. §7.6]) commentary as a water-snake several meters long, able to divide itself in two, and use its hook to pull cattle and horses into a river in order to eat them (cf. his "Yangzi Rhapsody" l. 123 [with §6.1], Knechtges 1987:330 "hook-snakes").

47. *Lóng* "wug-dragon" was used in a few uncommon 'wug' names: 虺 'an ant' (*Erya* and *Shuowenjiezi*), 苦 虺 'a frog' and 虺 虺 'a lizard' (*Guangya*), and 虺 蜂 'a wasp' (*Bencaogangmu*).

defines *lóngzhǐ* 𪚩 as *lóngzhǐ* 𪚩 and notes reversibility as *zhǐlóng* 𪚩.

§5.2 *Wālóng* < **wagliung* 𪚩 "porpoise/frog wug-dragon" is a rare name for a demon. This *guī* < **kiweg* 𪚩 (with 魚 'fish') 'porpoise' was a graphic loan for *wā* < **wag* ~ *huā* < **g'wǎg* ~ *xié* < **g'ég* 蛙 (with 虫 'wug') 'frog'.⁴⁸ In a discussion about whether 鬼 'ghosts; demons' exist, the *Zhuangzi* (19/42 [in context with ㊦ §7.6], Graham 1981:191) lists: "Under the north-east corner [Beia 倍阿] and [Walong 𪚩] go hopping about." The commentary of Sima Xiangru (c. 179-117 BC) specifies 𪚩 as "a demon with a voice like a child, one foot four inches tall, with black robes, a red crown, a sword, and a lance."

§5.3 *Juélóng* < **kiwetliung* 𪚩, according to the (91 BC) *Shiji* 史記 (中華 ed. 108/16, Diény 1987:68, 142-5), is a sea-dragon which hides the 明月珠 "moon-bright pearl" in oysters. The logograph 𪚩 combines the 虫 'wug' radical with a **kiwet* 夬 phonetic. Since the usual legend (Laufer 1915:55-63, Schafer 1963:237-8, Eberhard 1968:382) alleges these luminous "moon-bright pearls" were found in the brains of dragons (cf. *lóngnǎo* 龍腦 §2.1), later commentaries discounted **kiwetliung* 𪚩 as a miscopy of **kōgliung* 蛟龍 §6.1.

§5.4 *Diāoshé* < **tiogǎ'iat* 𪚩 is an obscure draconym associated with dialectal 'cicada' names. 𪚩 and 𪚩 combine the 虫 'wug' radical with **tog* 刀 'knife' and **tā* 多 'much' phonetics. 𪚩 is similar with the *Guangya* (Table 1) graphic variant (combining 多 and 它) for 𪚩 §7.1; and the pronunciation of *shé* < **ǎ'iat* 𪚩 is not unlike *shé* < **ǎ'ia* 蛇 'snake'. The *Fangyan* (11/1) lists *diāoliáo* < **tiogliōg* 𪚩 and *shéjué* < **ǎ'iatkiwat* 𪚩 (cf. 𪚩 above) as dialectal 'cicada; mole-cricket' terms.

In the (c. AD 1490) *Shuyuanzaji* 菽園雜記 (墨海 ed. 60) and later dictionaries, the *Bowuzhi* (cf. §4.7) is quoted to

48. Cf. *wā* < **wǎg* 蛙 'frog' (𪚩 is a textual variant for this 𪚩) and *wā* < **wag* ~ *huā* < **g'wǎg* 𪚩 'frog'. Based upon some Shang oracle inscriptions, Chen (1936:522-5, cf. §2.4) proposes dragons (esp. the 句龍 §8.9) were anciently associated with *hámá* < **g'ámǎg* 蝦蟆 'frogs'.

say *tiogǎ'iat 𪛗 "resembles a small dragon, and likes narrow places," but this line is not found in the present *Bowuzhi* text. Because this *tiogǎ'iat is an unattested "dictionary word," it might have originally been a 'cicada' rather than a 'dragon' name.⁴⁹

6 CROCODILE-DRAGONS

Crocodilians were viewed as Chinese "dragons": jiāo 蛟 'aquatic dragon; crocodile; etc.' §6.1, tuó 鼉 'alligator' §6.2, è 黿 'crocodile' §6.3, zhūpólóng 猪婆龙 "pig woman dragon" 'gavial' §6.4, and yánlóng 塩龍 "salt dragon" 'monitor lizard?' §6.5. "The dragon in China," says Clerke (1887:117), "in a form probably originally suggested by the crocodile, is not only the Imperial cognizance, but the all-pervading motive of every branch of decorative art."

§6.1 Jiāo < *kǒg 蛟 is defined with more meanings than any other Chinese draconym: (1) 'aquatic dragon', (2) 'crocodile; alligator', (3) 'hornless dragon', (4) 'dragoness', (5) 'scaled dragon', (6) 'shark' [= 蛟], and (7) 'mermaid'.

Most etymologies for jiāo < *kǒg 蛟 are unsupported speculations upon meanings of its phonetic *kǒg 交 'cross; mix with; contact', e.g., the *kǒg 蛟 dragon can *kǒg 交 'join' its head and tail in order to capture prey, or moves in a *kǒg 交 'twisting' manner, or has *kǒg 交 'continuous' eyebrows.⁵⁰ The only corroborated hypothesis takes *kǒg 交

49. One of the most common, and least understood, motifs on Zhou period bronzes is a monster mask that came to be called (esp. during the Song dynasty) tāotiè < *t'ogt'iet 饕餮 'glutton'. The tāotiè was frequently pictured with dragons (e.g., Rawson 1980, figs. 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 54). Paper (1978:26-30) says tāotiè cannot be considered either a lóng < *liung 龍 or Kui < *G'iwər 𪛗 §7.6 dragon; but the close similarity between *t'ogt'iet 饕餮 and *tiogǎ'iat 𪛗 'dragon; cicada' suggests a new possibility.

50. 蛟's phonetic is combined with the 馬 'horse' radical to write the fabled animal called bó < *pǒk 駮 ~ 駮, described in the *Shanhaijing* (2/33b, 8/5b Schiffeler 1978:34) as resembling a horse with a white body, black tail, one horn, tiger's teeth and claws, and making a sound comparable to

'breed with' to mean *kōg 蛟 indicates a dragon 'crossbreed; mixture'. Eberhard (1968:378) notes from an early time, 蛟 was considered an embodiment of the fish, snake, and rhinoceros; or (like 龍 §2.1) the tiger--cf. 虎蛟 below. Wen (1956:18-9) notes 交龍 'crossed dragons' were an early emblem of Fuxi and Nügua §8.9; and Diény (1987:22, 191) mentions early texts using 交龍 as a 蛟龍 graphic variant.

(1) 'Aquatic dragon' ←? 'crocodile' is a 蛟 meaning first found in Guo's *Shanhaijing* commentary.⁵¹ This text (1/10b, Visser 1913:76) mentions an aquatic beast called *hūjiāo* < *Xokōg 虎蛟 "tiger *jiāo*" that has a fish's body, a snake's tail, and makes a sound like a Mandarin duck (cf. 魚 §2.7); and Guo glosses 蛟 as "a [龍] dragon resembling a four-legged snake."⁵² In a different *Shanhaijing* section (5/40a [cf. 44a, 44b, 46a]) mentioning *jiāo* living in the Han River, Guo repeats his 虎蛟 gloss and adds that the 蛟 "has a small head, narrow neck, white scales,"⁵³ is

that of a drum. Although the description is not draconic, dragons are associated with making drum (thunder) sounds, cf. §7.2.

51. Commentators contrast 蛟 'large aquatic snake' vs. 蟒 'large terrestrial snake' §4.5, cf. Wang's interpretation in (5) below.

52. Guo's "Yangzi Rhapsody" mentions this *Xokōg 虎蛟 (1. 123 虎蛟釣蛇 A [cf. §2.3 and §5.1], Knechtges 1987:331 "Tiger-krakens, hook-snakes, bullfrogs"), and Hao Yixing identifies it as the *jiāocù* < *kōgts'āk 蛟錯 "dragon mix" 'shark; dragon?', cf. (6). Kroll (1989:328) discusses this "kraken" 'giant sea dragon' translation popularized by Schafer (1973), but suggests "lamia" 'serpentine monster with the head and breast of a woman' would be a better choice because, like the 蛟, it was "a shape-changer with the ability to take on alluring feminine form in order to beguile young men." In addition, he notes lamia is the name given to a genus of sharks (as well as a family of beetles).

53. 嬰 'infant' is taken as a graphic loan for 'scales', 'rub', or 纓 'tassel; necklace'. Cf. the expression 嬰鱗 "rub the scales (of the dragon the wrong way)" → 'offend the emperor' (coming from *Hanfeizi* 66, Liao 1939:112).

Old Chinese *-r, rather than *-n, final is tuó < *d'ār 驢 'black horse flecked with white spots' ←? like 'alligator scales'. A 'winding; twisting; serpentine' etymology has been advanced for tuó < *d'ār N 'Chinese alligator', tuō < *t'ā 它 'snake; another' ~ shé < *d'ia 蛇 'snake', tuó < *d'ā 沱 'flow; river', and tuó < *d'ā 駝 'hunchback; camel'.

The tuó 'alligator', mythologically associated (Fauvel 1879:3) with the lóng 龍 '(rain-) dragon' §2.1, has two synonyms of tuólóng < *d'arljũng N 龍 "alligator dragon" and tǔlóng < *t'oljũng 土龍 "earth/dirt/clay dragon" 'rain fetish' (used in sympathetic rain-magic §2.4, Diény 1987:40-1; cf. Japanese mogura 土龍 'mole'). The tuó inherited the lóng's rain-making abilities, and Read (1934:317) quotes Chen Cangqi (AD 7th cent.) that the tuó: "is shaped like a dragon, making a fearful noise, it grows up to ten feet long, it can give out clouds which descend like rain." Tuó mythology (Eberhard 1968:364) includes the tradition that their eggs hatched into snakes, turtles, tortoises, fish, and jiāo 蛟 dragons §6.1.

Chamberlain (1977:66-7) proposes a Proto-Tai *da:⁴³ 'giant water beetle, *Belostome*' root branching into Chinese tuó < da < *d'ār N ~ Cantonese t'ò < t'ān N 'alligator' and Tai names for 'giant water beetle; aquatic wugs': Black Tai and Muang Vat Tai mɛŋ⁴⁴ da:⁴², Lao and Siamese mɛ:ŋ⁴⁴ da:⁴², and Ahom klang nā 'aquatic insect'; Western Nung ti:⁴² da:⁴² and Nung tu dā 'lucane'; Yay neŋ⁴⁴ da:⁴² and Dioi souap¹ ta:1 'aquatic insect'; and perhaps Tay tu mɛŋ dā 'Hydrophile'. Even though tuó N 'Alligator sinensis' and è 鱉 '*Crocodylus porosus*' were confused in Chinese, he (1977:65) comments "the distinctions remained clear in Tai languages that had either borrowed them from or donated them to Chinese at an early date." This Tai female/*Belostome* association correlates with the Chinese Yin/rainbow-dragon §2.2 (cf. lóngshī 龍虱 "dragon louse" 'predacious diving beetle; *Cybister japonicum*').

For possible contact words with tuó N 'alligator', Chamberlain (1977:67) cites: Mon kəna' ~ kana' 'lizard with protuberant eyes' and kəna' ~ khəna ~ sna 'earth lizard'; Vietnamese kỳ dā 'Varanus salvator' (cf. §6.5), Souei tpaə and Chrau dapa 'soft-shell turtle'; Day dā 'toad'; and perhaps (1977:71, 95) Thô tua ca tăn 'crocodile'. The -n(a) finals indicate some early *d'ān 'alligator' term, and

oviparous, can grow up to ten meters long, and eats people." The (AD 11th cent.) *Mohehuixi* 黑客擇犀 (Read 1934:315) gives a most detailed description of the 蛟 as a man-eating creature shaped like a snake, with a tiger's head, reaching several meters in length, bellowing like a cow, and lurking in rivers and pools. *Jiāo* 蛟 is sometimes translated as "flood dragon" (cf. §2.8); the (c. AD 1105) *Yuhu qinghua* 玉壺清話 (Visser 1913:79) says people in Wu (present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang) called it *fāhóng* < **piwätg'ung* 發洪 "start flood" because they believed flooding resulted when *jiāo* hatched. A variant of *shuǐjiāo* < **šiwərkög* 水蛟 "water jiao" (Diény 1987:22, 246) is mentioned in the *Chuci* (13/16a, Hawkes 1985:255) "Henceforth the water-serpents must be my companions, And [神龍 §2.6] dragon-spirits lie with me when I would rest."

(2) *Jiāo* 蛟 anciently designated a four-legged water creature, 'crocodile?', and not a mythical dragon. The "Monthly Commands" (*Liji* 6/56, Legge 1885:I:277; cf. *Huainanzi* 5/7a and *Lüshi chunqiu* 6/1b) says at the end of summer, orders should be given "to attack the [蛟] alligator, to take the [N] gaval, to present the [龜] tortoise, and to take the [X] great turtle." From this N 'alligator' §6.2--not 'gaval' §6.4--contrast, 蛟 probably meant 'crocodile'. This is consistent with Eberhard's (1968:257, 379) hypothesis that *jiāo* myths were typical of the coastal cultures in southern and eastern China, and is confirmed by early historical descriptions. The (c. 78 AD) *Hanshu* 漢書 (同文 ed. 6/196, quoted in §1.3) records a *jiāo* 蛟 being caught in 106 BC (interpreted by Williams 1838:252 as the Indian cerastes or "horned snake"). Visser (1913:79) cites the (AD 4th cent.) *Shiyiji* 拾遺記 that one was caught in 86 BC which was: "three *chang* [ten meters] long, which resembled a big snake, but had no scaly armour.... Its flesh was purple, its bones were blue, and its taste was very savoury and pleasant."

(3) 'Hornless dragon' is the *Shuowenjiezi* (Table 1) definition of 蛟, described as "the leader of the 3600 kinds of aquatic wugs, it chases fish away, and is able to fly (cf. §3)." Wang's *Chuci* (17/14b) commentary, cf. his 'small dragon' in (5), repeats this 'hornless dragon' interpretation.

The pronunciation similarity between *jiāo* < **kög* 蛟 and

jiǎo ~ *jué* < **kūk* 角 'horn' (cf. 角龍 "horned dragon" §8.3) seems to indicate this particular dragon was 'horned' not 'hornless'.⁵⁴ 蛟龍 has this meaning in the *Baopuzi* (10/4a, Ware 1966:170) "the horned dragon can no longer find a place to swim."

(4) 'Dragon mother; female dragon, dragoness' is the least attested meaning. The (c. AD 810) Buddhist dictionary *Yiqie jingyinyi* 一切經音義 (海山 ed. 5/9b) defines 蛟 as "a fish with a snake's tail," notes a Sanskrit name of *guānpilúo* 官毘羅, and misquotes? (copied in the *Piya* 19) the *Baopuzi* to say 蛟 means 'dragon mother, dragoness' and δ § 8.2 'dragon child, dragonet'. None of the nine *Baopuzi* 蛟龍 usages (e.g., 17/10b, 2a; Ware 1966:294 "crocodiles and dragons") in the Harvard-Yenching index has this meaning.

(5) 'Scaled dragon' is the *Guangya* (Table 1) definition of *jiǎolóng* < **kōgliung* 蛟龍. *Jiǎolóng* 蛟龍 can morphologically be parsed as either 'jiao and long dragons' or 'jiao dragon', but the difference is not always clear (Diény 1987:xi; cf. 1987:91 *lóngshé* < **liungd* 'ia 龍蛇 "dragon snake" meaning 'dragons and snakes' → 'reptiles'). For instance, in the *Chuci* (1/35a), Wang glosses 蛟龍 as two kinds of dragons: 蛟 'small' vs. 龍 'large', but Hawkes (e.g., 1985:78) translates 蛟龍 as one kind: "water-dragons." The former 蛟龍 meaning of 'jiao dragons and long dragons' is clear from contrastive contexts; e.g., *Zhuangzi* (17/63,⁵⁵ Watson 1968:185): "the sea serpent or the dragon," paralleled by "the rhinoceros or the tiger." And the latter 'jiao dragon' is evident from 蛟龍 usages such as *Guanzi* 管子 (國學基本叢書 ed. 1/4, Visser 1913:77) "If a [*jiaolong*] gets water,⁵⁶ his soul [神 'divinity', cf. Diény 1987:28]

54. The *Bencaogangmu* (43/3) lists *lóngjué* 龍角 "dragon horn" (identified by Read 1934:305 as "horns of the *Chalicotherium sinense*") as a cure for fevers.

55. Yan (1987a:132) compares this *Zhuangzi* passage with the *Xunzi* (1/17 [cf. §3.1], Dubs 1928:34) "by gathering water and making a pool, the [蛟龍] crocodile and dragon are brought forth."

56. This expression 蛟龍得水 "jiao dragon gets water" is a literary metaphor for 'bold person getting a good opportunity'.

can be in full vigour."

(6) 'Shark' is a *jiāo* < **kōg* 蛟 meaning now written 蛟 (with the 魚 'fish', rather than 虫 'wug', radical). 蛟 and 蛟 were anciently interchangeable (cf. §3.2), and 蛟革 means 'sharkskin' rather than 'dragonskin' in the *Huainanzi* (15/5b, Morgan 1934:192). Knechtges (1987:330) cites the *Bowuzhi* (3/4a) mentioning a *jiāocù* < **kōgts'āk* 蛟錯 'shark; dragon' noted above in (1).

(7) 'Mermaid' is the final *jiāo* < **kōg* 蛟 ~ 蛟 sense. Later stories (Eberhard 1968:378) centered around a mythical *jiāorén* 蛟人 'south seas mermaid who spins silk underwater, and sheds pearls for tears', comparable with the 人魚 §7.3. Hino (1979:12) thinks Naga myths §4.7 affected the snake-like 蛟 dragon or fish-like 蛟人 mermaid.

§6.2 *Tuó* < **d'ār* N 'Chinese alligator, *Alligator sinensis*' is a small crocodilian native to the rivers and lakes of central China. Based upon some Zhou carvings, Hopkins (1913) suggests alligators were the prototype for Chinese water-dragons.

The modern logograph N combines the 龜 'turtle; frog' radical with a **dān* 單 phonetic, but its early forms were alligator/dragon pictographs.⁵⁷ **D'ār* α (combining this **dān* 單 phonetic with two 虫 'wugs') is used in the *Shanhaijing* (5/30a, Schiffeler 1978:137) spirit name *tuówéi* < **d'ārgiwer* said to have a human's face, goat's horns, tiger's claws, and to give off light (cf. §2.7) when it swims. Guo glosses α as a 魚 N 'fish ['actual'? not 'mythical'] alligator."

Owing to N's **dān* 單 phonetic, **d'ār* N is sometimes glossed with an alternate *tán* < **d'ān* pronunciation. Schuessler (1987:620) reconstructs **dal* > **daj* ~ **dar* > **dan*. One other word in the **dān* 單 phonetic series with an

57. These resemble early 單 pictographs showing antenna (of a *chán* < **ājan* 蟬 'cicada'?) and the two 口 'mouths' in 𪚩 'crocodile' §6.3. N has a graphic variant with the 魚 'fish' radical and the **dān* 單 phonetic, but that properly specifies *shàn* < **ājan* 'eel' (usually written with a **tān* 𪚩 phonetic).

Chamberlain concludes:

Assuming our connection of [Proto-Tai] *[?]da:⁴³ 'Belostome' with [Middle Chinese] [*da⁴] 'Alligator sinensis' is correct, the ancestor of [Proto-Tai] and [Proto-Kam-Sui] must have inhabited the valley of the lower Yangtze, as the alligator is a Palearctic animal, not recorded south of the Yangtze. (1977:189-90)

The present habitat of *A. sinensis* is indeed limited to the Yangzi basin and Taihu Lake (30-31° N.L.), but excavations from the Wangyin neolithic site in Shandong (Zhou 1982:257-8) prove that around 6000 years ago, alligators were found in the Huang-Huai Plain (36° N.L.).

As mentioned by Chamberlain (cf. Schafer 1962:198-203, Zhang 1979), there is a long-standing confusion between the two Chinese crocodilians: fresh-water tuó < *d'är N 'Chinese alligator, *Alligator sinensis*' of the Yangzi basin and salt-water è < *ngāk 鱷 'estuarine crocodile, *Crocodylus porosus*' (below) of the South China coast. Many dictionaries confuse them, and in modern usage éyú 鱷魚 generally means 'crocodilians; crocodile; alligator' and yángzǐ 扬子鱷 "Yangzi crocodile" means the tuó 'alligator'. Translations of "tuó[-skin] drum"⁵⁸ N 鼓 in the *Shijing* (242/4) illustrate the semantic jumbling: "lizard-skin drums" (Legge 1871:457), "drums of iguana-hide" (Jennings 1891:290), "tambour de peau de crocodile" (Couvreur 1896:342), "fish-skin drums" (Waley 1937a:260), and "alligator-skin drums" (Karlgren 1950a:197). Even Fauvel (1879), who coined the *Alligator sinensis* nomenclature, interchanged tuó 'alligator' and è 'crocodile'.

§6.3 È < *ngāk 鱷 'crocodile' (魚 'fish' radical and *ngāk 𪔐 'beat a drum' phonetic) has possible 'drum' or 'fear' etymologies. First, *ngāk 鱷 'crocodile' could

58. Although most commentators interpret this as a drumhead made from tuó skin, the *Piya* (30) says N 鼓 refers to the cry of the crocodile. Cf. tuó N and tuò 柝 'watchman's clapper' with N 更 'strike watches with a drum'. Zhou (1982:258-9) notes these alligator drums were found in 1934 excavations at Anyang, and Lothar von Falkenhausen (p.c. of 88/9/28) mentions them at recently excavated late Neolithic sites at Taosi in Southern Shanxi.

literally mean *ngâk 𪛗 'sound of a drum' because drumming was mythically associated with thunder and dragons, e.g., 鼓 §7.2 or 𪛗 §7.6. Second, the two 口 'mouths' in *ngâk 𪛗's phonetic 𪛗 may have signified 'shout' ← 'scared (by a crocodile)'.⁵⁹

The *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/59a) has the earliest known *ngâk 𪛗 usage (written with 虫 'wug' radical and the *ngiâk phonetic in 逆), defined as "an [水蟲] aquatic wug/animal [cf. Japanese *mizumushi* 水蟲 'athlete's foot'] resembling a lizard, more than ten feet long, which eats people, and comes from Southeast Asia."⁶⁰ Han Yu (AD 768-824) immortalized the 𪛗 in Chinese literature. During his exile as governor of Chaozhou, he wrote an elegant "Proclamation to the Crocodile" poem (Fauvel 1897:10, Rideout 1965:253-5).

Schafer (1962:202) cites the (AD 8th cent.) *Xiawenji* 洽聞記 record of crocodiles in Bnam (present day southern Cambodia) transcribed *hūléi* < *Xuətluài* [< **Xmwetlwər*] 忽雷 'sudden thunder' ~ *gūléi* < *kuətluài* [< **kwetlwər*] 骨雷 'bone thunder',⁶¹ and suggests these names could be related with Ceramese *huwai* 'crocodile'. Chamberlain (1977:70) thinks "the most likely cognate" for *Xuətluài* ~ *kuətluài* is Northern Khmer *tku:t* (~ Mon *həkot*, etc.) 'monitor lizard' (cf. §6.5); and mentions other possible contacts of: Khmer *krepā:* and Souei *həbəə* 'crocodile', Amoy *boāh-á* and *bāh*

59. Probable cognates include: è < *ngâk 𪛗 (with the 心 'heart' radical) 'scared; stunned', è < *ngâk 𪛗 (four 口 'mouths' inside 王, an old variant phonetic for 𪛗) 'shocking, upsetting', and è < *'ak 惡 'evil; bad' ~ wū < *'âg 惡 'hate'.

60. Contrast the *Shuowenjiezi* (13B/11b) definition of N as "an aquatic animal resembling a lizard, more than ten feet long."

61. According to Eberhard (1968:365): "As this is the transcription of a non-Chinese word, the concept 'thunder' surely came into this word by accident." However, since thunder was associated with dragons (Eberhard 1968:253-8, cf. 雷神 §2.6), *luài* < **lwər* 雷 'thunder' presumably had semantic significance.

'crocodile; alligator'. From Lung Ming Tai *tuu⁴⁴ 𩶛⁴⁴* *yii⁴⁴* 'crocodile', Chinese **ngâk* 鱷 'crocodile', Cantonese *ngok*, and Amoy *gók-hî*, he (1977:70) reconstructs a Proto-Tai **ŋwak^{DL}* 'mythical water creature' root.

Benedict (1967:256-60, 1976:376, 259) puts forth Proto-Austro-Tai roots of **[ma]ŋi[w]ak* 'shark; crocodile' and **[(m)b]uqay(/a)* 'crocodile'. **[Ma]ŋi[w]ak* resembles **ngâk* 鱷 'crocodile', and was based upon Southeastern Papua **pa/iwak* 'shark', and Indonesian **maŋiwak* 'shark'. Benedict (p.c. of 88/9/10) hypothesizes assimilation from **baŋ'wak* > **haniwak* > **waniwak*; and (p.c. of 89/8/4) posits a trisyllabic Austro-Tai **[(m)ba]ŋiwak* 'shark; crocodile' root (< **[q,?]iwak* 'fish' 1990:193) which split into **ŋiwak* > **ŋwiak* > **ŋiak* (cf. F.K. Li's **niak* 'mythological sea monster, dragon') > Japanese *wani* 鰐 §9.3 'shark; crocodile', and **iwak* (cf. Dempwolff's **iwak* 'fish' root) > **iwək* > Japanese *iwo* > *uwo* > *uo* 魚 'fish'.

Table 4--Proposed **Ngâk* 鱷 Derivations

PROTO-AUSTRO-TAI

**[(m)ba]ŋiwak* 'shark; crocodile' (Benedict)

PROTO-TAI

**ŋwak* 'mythical water creature' (Chamberlain)

§6.4 *Zhūpólóng* < **tiob'waliung* 豬婆龍 "pig old-woman dragon" 'gavial, *Gavialis gangeticus*' is a large crocodile inhabiting India and Burma. While the crocodile-dragon association is obvious, there are differing interpretations for this name's "pig" and "old woman."

Zhū 豬 'pig' can be explained by the artistic (Sun and Guo 1984:15-6) and mythical (Smith 1919:216-21) associations between swine and dragons.⁶² For example, 雷公 §2.6 and v

62. Sun and Guo discuss a jade dragon figurine with a pig's head, discovered in 1971, from the (6th millennium BC) Hongshan culture, and Diény (1987:iii) suggests Chinese dragon myths were originally associated with pigs. Compare the porcine 'porpoise' names of *jiāngtún* < **küŋd'wən* 江豚 "Yangzi/river piglet" and *hǎixī* < **XmægXjɛr* 海豬 "sea pig" used in Guo's "Yangzi Rhapsody" (l. 106, Knechtges 1987:329

蛭 §3.2 are described as "pig-headed" (not necessarily pig-headed) dragons (cf. §4.1). 'Swine' and 'dragon' can be semantically opposed → 'low and high animals'; Han Yu (cf. §6.3) poetically used *zhūlóng* 豬龍 "pig [and] dragon" as a 'fool and sage' metaphor. Expanding the 龍 'dragon' → 'emperor' §2.1 meaning, the (AD 11th cent.) *Yangtaizhen waizhuan* 楊太真外傳 (顧氏 ed. 2/4a) employed 豬龍 "piggish dragon" to mean 'drunken incompetent' in criticizing the foreign rebel An Lushan who overthrew the Tang emperor in AD 755. Another possibility is a graphic "pig" = "pool" lending; since *zhū* < **tjo* 豬 was a loan character (e.g. *Shujing* 6/30) for *zhū* < **tjo* 潴 'marsh, pool; drain', the 豬婆龍 name could have referred to the gaviel's habitat.

Pó 婆 '(old) woman; mother-in-law' in *zhūpólóng* is employed in wug names such as *shépó* 蛇婆 "snake woman" 'sea-snake' and *zhūpóshé* 豬婆蛇 "pig woman snake" 'lizard'. Chinese dragons were typically represented as females §2.2, and the 龍女 "Dragon Woman" was a mysterious Shang goddess (Creel 1937:180, Mori 1976:152-6).

Eberhard discusses two southern myths about the *zhūpólóng* 豬婆龍 'gaviel'. The former (1968:241-2) legend is typical for a *lóng* 龍 dragon §2.1, and the latter (1968:257) one about gaviel meat only being eaten by the Chen and Ke families sounds like a variation of the story about the Dong and Liu dragon-tamers §8.9.

§6.5 *Yánlóng* 鹽龍 "salt dragon" is noted in the *Bencaogangmu* (43/11), tentatively identified by Read (1934:328) as 'monitor lizard; *Varanus salvator*', a large lizard inhabiting bodies of fresh water throughout Southeast Asia. It cites the (early AD 12th cent.) *Chunqiu jiwen* 春秋紀聞 account of General Xiao Zhu capturing a *yánlóng* 鹽龍 on an expedition south of China:

These animals were over a foot long, which when put in a silver dish with a jade drinking cup and fed seasalt with a pair of jade chopsticks, from each scale there was a salty exudation which people collected and used as an aphrodisiac. (Read, *ibid.*)

Li Shizhen notes the 鹽龍 "was not native to China and even as brought in by southern tribes it was quite rare." Since

"River pig, sea swine").

stories about draconic beasts are usually exaggerated §9.2, this description of "over a foot" seems too small for a monitor lizard which can reach nine feet in length. Chamberlain (1977:95) remarks, "a large salvator would certainly attract more attention than it is given here," and instead compares *yánlóng* with Ahom *Khring* and Nung *khing gi* 'crocodile'.

In modern Chinese, 'monitor lizard, *V. salvator*' is called *zhùxī* 巨蜥 "giant lizard," but this designation is not recorded in early sources. Big lizards are called "dragons" in many languages, for instance, the Indonesian *Varanus komodoensis* is *Komodo Dragon* in English. This association is evident in zoological terminology; *Draco* and *Basiliscus* genera were named after Greek 'dragons'.

Chamberlain (1977:59) says: "Lizards have traditionally been considered as transformations of dragons in East and Southeast Asia." The general Chinese term for 'lizards' is *shílongzǐ* 石龍子 "rock dragon child," so named because (Read 1934:322) "it lives in hill valleys, can spit out hail stones, and is used to petition rain." Some lexical examples are: *shānlóngzǐ* 山龍子 "mountain dragon child" ~ *quánlóng* 泉龍 "fountain dragon" 'Sauria lizards' and *shílong* 石龍 "rock dragon" 'skink'. Eberhard (1968:149) notes "The lizard occasionally replaced the dragon"; and a mythic south seas *nuòlóng* < **nākliung* 諾龍 (<? **t'nākliwong* Serruys 1952:492) "consenting dragon" supposedly resembled a lizard.

7 HILL-DRAGONS

In contrast with the mainstream sky and water dragons above, others were said to live on elevations: *chī* 魑 'mountain demon; a dragon' §7.1, *gǔ* 鼓 "drum" 'mountain dragon' §7.2, *línglǐ* 鯉 "hill-fish carp" 'pangolin' §7.3, *lù yú* "land-fish" 'a dragon' §7.4, *shānxiāo* 山妖 'mountain demon' §7.5, and *Kuí* 𪚩 'a one-legged dragon' §7.6. Mythic mountain gods were often said to resemble dragons (Diény 1987:156), especially in Naxi 納西 legends (Yan 1986:8-10).

§7.1 *Chī* < **t'lia?* ~ **xlia* ~ **xliěg* means (1) 'a man-eating demon' or (2) 'a hornless dragon'. The first is especially written 魑 (with the 鬼 'ghost; demon' radical and 巛 'mountain demon' radical) and the second T (with 虫 'wug' and the same radical). The *Shuowenjiezi* (14B/17b)

defines *t'lia? Σ as a 'mountain spirit resembling a wild beast', and says the graph pictures its head, legs, and tail (cf. §7.6). On the other hand, it (13A/54a-b) defines *t'lia? T as either 'a northern wug like a dragon and yellow' called *dīlōu* < *d'iuglu 地蠪 "earth cricket," or 'a hornless dragon' (Table 1).⁶³ *D'iuglu 地蠪 was synonymous with the *tūlōu* < *t'oglu 土蠪 "earth cricket," described in the *Shanhaijing* (2/21b, Schiffeler 1978:52) as a man-eating beast resembling a goat with four horns. Guo notes this 土蠪, like the 山 3 §7.5, laughs at itself.

(1) *T'lia? 'mountain demon' only occurs in *chīmei* < *t'liamjēr 魑魅 'man-eating mountain hobgoblin'⁶⁴ which is coupled with *wāngliāng* < *miwangliang 魍魎 'aquatic demon' into *t'liamjēr-miwangliang 魑魅魍魎 meaning 'demons, monsters' generally or 'mountain and water demons' separately. The *Zuozhuan* has the earliest textual usages of 魑魅 (昭公 9, 文公 18; Legge 1872:283, 625) "sprites and (other) evil things";⁶⁵ and of 魑魅魍魎 (宣公 3, Legge 1872:293) "the injurious things, and the hill-sprites, monstrous things, and water-sprites." Since the *Hanshu* commentary of Wei Zhao portrays 魑魅 as a 'demon resembling a tiger with scales', this could explain the *Shuowenjiezi*'s 'like a dragon and yellow' definition, perhaps denoting some kind of "tiger-dragon" like *Xokōg* 虎蛟 §6.1.

It seems unlikely that T meant 'yellow dragon' because early texts describe it in other colors (Wu 1978:189). The *Chuci* (5/10a, 4/8a; Hawkes 1985:275, 160) mentions 玄 T "black dragons" and 白 T "white serpents"; and Sima Xiangru's (cf. §5.2) "The Shanglin Park" (Watson 1965:143)

63. Some commentators think 'hornless dragon' is an interpolation since the *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/54a-b, cf. Table 1) gives the same definition for the preceding 蛟 and the following 𪚩.

64. The second term *mèi* < *mijēr 魅 '(sc. old?/mischievous) demon' is used separately from the binome, e.g., *mèilì* 魅力 "demon power" 'enchantment; charm'.

65. The *Lunheng* (22/15b, Diény 1987:175-6) quotes this *Zuozhuan* passage and says 魑 are definitely a dragon and 魅 sort of a dragon.

lists "[蛟龍 §6.1] horned dragons and [赤 T] red hornless dragons."

(2) The **t'lia?* T 'hornless dragon' *Shuowenjiezi* definition is interpreted by later dictionaries in two ways: 'young dragon' or 'female dragon' (cf. §6.1). *Chīshǒu* T 首 "hornless dragon head" was a style of traditional (esp. palace/temple) roof adornment. Owing to this decoration, Kroll (1989:329) translates *chī* as *wyvern(e)*, "a footed winged dragon with a serpent's tail, becoming in medieval times an oft-pictured heraldic beast."

The Old pronunciation of T ~ 魃 was mistakenly reconstructed as **t'lia*. Following the *Guangyun* (25, cf. Table 1) pronunciation gloss of "呂支切," Karlgren (1957, no. 23) reconstructed *lí* < *ljie* < **lia* for every word in the Σ phonetic series (e.g., 離 'separated', 籬 'hedge', 滴 'drip'), except *chī* < *ʔ'ie* < **t'lia* for T ~ 魃. However, the earliest sources (*Shuowenjiezi* 13A/54a; Wang's *Chuci* commentary 2/18b, 5/10a), as well as the *Guangyun* itself, all gloss T ~ 魃 as being pronounced "丑知切" which would be *chī* < *ʔ'ie* < **t'niĕg* in Karlgren's system. Instead of deriving from Old Chinese **t'n-*, Middle *t'-* ~ *ʔ'-* initials have been analyzed (Bodman 1980:49-71, Benedict 1986:44-53) as coming from prefixed **sl-* or perhaps (Bodman 1985:161-4) from **k-l* clusters. According to Benedict (p.c. of 88/9/10), Karlgren's *ʔ'-* < **t'l-* reconstruction is a mistake and should be *t-* < **xl* < **s-l* < Proto-Sino-Tibetan **s-r* ~ **s-l*. In addition, he thinks the **-ia* and **-iĕg* rimes represent two different roots, and with **-ia* regularly corresponding to Proto-Tibeto-Burman **-i*, it conforms to his **s-ri* + the *-n* 'collective plural suffix' (1972:157) etymology below. The two pronunciations could have distinguished two demons; perhaps **xliĕg* T 'a dragon' and **xlia* 魃 'hill demon', with **-ia* related to (or a dialectal variant of?) **d'iuglu* 地蠃 ~ **t'oglu* 土蠃 names.

Table 5--Proposed 魃 **Xlia* Derivations

PROTO-SINO-TIBETAN

**bri* 'female dragon' (Boodberg)

**sri(-n)* 'demon; wug' (Benedict)

**s-ri* 'to be' ~ **s-ri-n* 'demon' (Matisoff)

Boodberg (1935, 1979:165-7) propounded the doubtful idea that *t'lia 𪛗 'hornless dragon' meant 'female dragon' contrasting with *liung 龍 'male dragon' §2.1 < *brong-bri 'male and female wugs'.⁶⁶ But unlike the male and female rainbows §2.2, there are no texts, other than dictionaries, which use 𪛗 as 'female dragon'.

Benedict (1976b:190) reconstructs a Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sri(-n) 'demon' from Chinese *xlia 𪛗, Tibetan sri 'devil; demon; vampire', srin-po ~ srin-mo 'demons', and Lushai hri (< *sri) 'sickness demon'. He hypothesized that the phonetic *xlia Σ < *s-l was further suffixed into shén < *ǎ'jǎn < *[ly]jǎn < *[s-]rin 神 'spirit; god; divine; supernatural'. His and Paul Yang's forthcoming *Glossary of Archaic Chinese* reconstructs T ~ 𪛗 as *xlia, and notes a cognate of lì < *liad 癘 'epidemic; evil; demon'.

Matisoff (1985:63) split Benedict's *sri(-n) 'demon' root into *s-ri 'to be' and *s-ri-n 'demon'. *S-ri (> 𪛗, sri, and hri) was linked with the *s-ri-t copula (cf. Benedict's 1972:62 *s-ri), comparable with Tibetan srid-pa 'existence' and sri-ba 'retain', and Burmese hri 'to be'. *S-ri-n (> srin-po ~ srin-mo and *ǎ'jǎn 神) was expanded to include Tibetan hdre-srin 'goblins and demons' (< hdre 'goblin; demon; evil spirit' < *'-d-ray), as well as Tibetan srin-bu <? hbu 'wug'.

§7.2 Gǔ < *ko 鼓 "drum" was a 'hill-dragon' (Diény 1987:235) said to live on the same *Shanhaijing* (2/18a, Schiffeler 1978:129, Yuan 1960:106-7) mountain (Zhong Shan 鍾山 "Mt. Bell") as the 燭陰 "Torch Dragon" §8.5. Gu is depicted as having a human's face and a dragon's body, and able to transform into a giant. This 鼓 "drum" name corresponds with Kui 𪛗 §7.6 and thunder dragons §2. Guo compares *ko 鼓 with the gǔzào < *kodz'òg 鼓造 "drum maker" spirit which the *Huainanzi* (17/4b) reports opposed war. Little is known about the *kodz'òg myth, and it has been

66. Boodberg suggests a possible 'black' 𪛗 connection with lí < *lieg ~ *liěg 𪛗 'black (esp. horse)'. The *Zhuangzi* (32/44, Watson 1968:360) mentions a lilóng < *lieglijung 𪛗龍 "black dragon" with a priceless pearl under its chin. 𪛗 has a graphic variant (Diény 1987:96) written with *lieg 𪛗 and *sem? 𪛗 'hair; feather' (cf. 龍 §2.1).

identified (Eberhard 1968:162, 203) as either an owl (cf. *kiôg 梟 'owl') or a frog (cf. §2.3 and §5.2).

§7.3 *Línglǐ* < *liəngliəŋ x 鯉 "hill-fish carp" is the Chinese name for the Southeast Asian 'pangolin; scaly anteater; *Manis dalmanni*', but it has been confused with the ancient *língyú* < *liəngngio x 魚 ~ 陵魚 "hill fish" 'merman, mermaid' and the modern *língyú* x 魚 'dace'.

In *línglǐ*, *líng* x (魚 'fish' radical and *liəng 陵 'hill, mound' phonetic) refers to the pangolin's habitat and *lǐ* 鯉 'carp' refers to its scales (cf. the English *scaly anteater* name). The *Bencaogangmu* describes the *línglǐ* as:

Shaped like a small [N] alligator, with a back like a very broad carp, head like a toothless rat, the belly is hairy without scales, tongue long in a tapered snout, the tail is as long as the body, the scales on the tail are thick and triangular in shape. (43/6, Read 1934:319)

Besides Fukien *lali* and Annamese *Váy-con-tè-tè*, Read cites three *línglǐ* x 鯉 synonyms: *lónglǐ* 龍鯉 "dragon carp" §3.4 is associated with the myth (Hornblower 1933:86, Yuan 1960:218, Xia 1977) about carp which succeed in climbing the rapids at Longmen 龍門 "Dragon Gate" §4.6 and transform into dragons, *chuānshānjiǎ* 穿山甲 "penetrate mountain scale" refers to folk-medicinal usages (Read 1934:318-21) of pangolin scales, and *shílinglǐ* 石 x 鯉 "stone hill carp" distinguishes 'pangolin' from *língyú* x 魚 below.⁶⁷

The *língyú* < *liəngngio "hill fish" 'merman, mermaid' (compared with 蛟人 §6.1 by Yuan 1960:61) is written x 魚 in the *Chuci* and 陵魚 in the *Shanhaijing*. The *Chuci* (3/9b, Hawkes 1985:129) asks, "Where does the man-fish live?" And the *Shanhaijing* (12/6a, Schiffeler 1978:96) answers that it lives in the sea (commentators say near the mythical Penglai 蓬萊 Island), has a fish's body, with a human's face, arms, and legs. Wang identifies this *língyú* x 魚 as a *línglǐ* x 鯉

67. Doré (1914:693-4) lists legends about people being rewarded for setting free a carp that was in reality a 龍王 dragon-king §4.7, and Gieseler (1917:151-5) discusses the carp-dragon as a variant of the sturgeon. Pangolin scales are said to be 'rhomboid' like the *líng* 菱 (same phonetic) 'water chestnut'.

'pangolin', but Hao reasons that since the pangolin is not mythical, the *Chuci* refers to the *rén yú* < **ñiēnnǰio* 人魚 "person fish" 'merman, mermaid' described in the *Shanhaijing* (3/13b [on Mt. 龍侯 "Dragon Lord"], Schiffeler 1978:95 "Man fish") as resembling a fish with four feet, and crying like an infant (cf. §5.1).

In modern Chinese usage, *rén yú* 人魚 "person fish" means the *nǐ 鮓* 'giant salamander, *Cryptobranchus japonicus*' (~ 'female whale' §8.6); and *líng yú* 鯨 names the foreign 'dace'.

§7.4 *Lù* < **liōk* 𪚩 (魚 'fish' radical and the phonetic in *lù* < **liōk* 陸 'dry land'; cf. Japanese *mutsu* 𪚩 'bluefish') was a mythic "land-fish" graphically resembling the 𪚩 above. The *Shanhaijing* (1/3b, Schiffeler 1978:104) claims the **liōk* 𪚩 looks something like an ox, with a snake's tail, wings (cf. 肥遺 §2.5), and feathers beneath its ribs; and says it "dies" [hibernates] in the wintertime and "lives" in the summertime. Guo's commentary notes **liōk* 𪚩 refers to **liōk* 陸 'land' where it dwells, and mentions a variant name of *yú niú* < **ngiongǰūg* 魚牛 "fish ox/cow" (cf. 𪚩牛 §7.6). His "Yangzi Rhapsody" uses 𪚩 and 𪚩 together (l. 199, Knechtges 1987:341) "Pangolins and fish-oxen hop and hobble on margin and bank." Yuan's *Shanhaijing* (4/1a) commentary for **diungdiung* 𪚩 𪚩 §2.7 compares the **ngiongǰūg* 魚牛 'land fish' §7.4 with the mythical *yú yú* < **ngiungǰiu* 禺禺 (cf. *yǔ* < **giwo* 禹 §8.9), which Guo describes as a kind of yellow and black fish with hair.

§7.5 *Shānxiāo* < **sǎnsǰog* 山 𪚩 was a mythical monopode "mountain demon" usually written with 𪚩 (鬼 'ghost' radical and *sǰog* 肖 phonetic).⁶⁸ This short **sǎnsǰog* was said to resemble a monkey, and Eberhard (1968:57) describes it as "more like an imp or good-natured goblin than truly malicious." In modern zoological usage, *shānxiāo* 山 𪚩 denotes the African 'mandrill'.

68. Cf. this same phonetic and 虫 'wug' in *xiāo* < **sōg* 蛸 'spider'. This **sǰog* 'hill-dragon' is sometimes written with *xiāo* < **siōg* 蕭 'artemesia' as a graphic loan, or with graphs combining the 月 'flesh' ~ 犬 'dog' radicals and the phonetic in **sog* 燥.

Two *huī* < **Xiwer* mountain demons are described in the *Shanhaijing* similarly with **sioŋ* 3 above. The monkey-like *shānhuī* < **sānXiwer* 山 Y (犬 'dog' radical and **kiwən* 軍 phonetic) is said (3/7b, Schiffeler 1978:28) to have a human's face, a dog's body, be skillful at throwing, and to laugh (cf. 土樓 §7.1.) when it sees people. The musical *shénhuī* < **ǎ'jǐnXiwer* 神 M --with **ǎ'jǐn* 神 'divine' instead of **sān* 山 'mountain' and M combining the 鬼 'demon' radical and **kwāŋ* 光 'light' phonetic, cf. 曜 'light' below--is said (2/33a, Schiffeler 1978:143) to have a human's face, a beast's body, one leg, one arm, and to make a 欬 'clanging' [amended by Hao to 吟 'humming'] sound. These one-legged **Xiwer* M ~ Y 'hill demons' were confused with the similarly pronounced **G'iwər* ㊦ below.⁶⁹

§7.6 *Kuī* < **G'iwər* ㊦ was a one-legged dragon drum master. The pictograph ㊦ depicts *Kui* with: a 首 'head; ghost-mask' (~ 頁 'head' with 升 'horns'), 止 and 已 representing his 'arms; hands' (or a 'drum'?) on the sides, and 攴 ('walk slowly' cf. 彳) 'one leg'. Both ㊦ and ㊦龍 were common on Zhou dynasty bronzes (Zhang 1978:24-5, Yuan 1978:48-50).

The *Shujing* (5/23-4, Karlgren 1950b:7)⁷⁰ says *Kui* was appointed Shun's Music Minister (along with Communication Minister Long 龍 "Dragon" §2.1) because of his mystic music which brought spirits and humans into harmony and caused animals to dance. The *Zuozhuan* (昭公 28, Legge 1872:726-7) records a story about *Kui*'s raven-haired wife 玄妻 "Dark Consort" and their swinish son 封豕 "Big Pig" (§4.1).

Since Confucianists were disgusted with the tradition

69. The *Shuowenjiezi* (9A/40b) commentary of Duan Yucai (1735-1815) says *chǐ* < **tjieg* (~ *shī* < **śjět*?) ㊦ (鬼 'ghost' radical and **śjět* 失 phonetic) 'destructive ghost' (cf. ㊦ below) is a variant of M. See 山鬼 "The Mountain Spirit" poem (*Chuci* 2/19b-22a, Hawkes 1985:115).

70. Cf. the (5/10, Karlgren 1950b:12) repetition. A Zhou bronze inscription (Schuessler 1987:357) uses ㊦ to mean 'be reverently fearful', and a forged *Shujing* section (3/21, Legge 1865:66) has **g'iwərg'iwər* ㊦ ㊦ meaning 'grave, dignified' in appearance.

that Music Master Kui was a dragon monopode, they discussed it away. Karlgren (1946:258, cf. Bodde 1961:374) gives an "amusing illustration" of their revisionism: because *zú* < **tsju* 足 'foot' means 'enough, sufficient', the *Hanfeizi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* phrase 一足 "Kui [had] one foot" was read as "Kui, one [person like him], was enough."⁷¹

This ancient Kui myth developed differing descriptions (Nakano 1982:9 compares 一 with 一 §4.5 and 一 §7.1). In the *Shuowenjiezi* (5B/37a), it is defined as a kind of anthropoid monkey. The *Zhuangzi* (19/43 [with 一 §5.2], Watson 1968:203) describes Kui as a hill demon, and (17/53, Watson 1968:183) metaphorically as a one-legged creature which "envies the millipede." In the *Guoyu* (魯 2, Visser 1913:110, Schindler 1923:323), Confucius says 怪 'wondrous beings; demons' in the water are called *lóng* 龍 §2.1 or *wǎngxiàng* 罔象, while those in trees and rocks are called *kui* 一 or *wǎngliǎng* 魍魎; and 一 is glossed as having "one leg, a human's face, a monkey's body, and able to speak." The word *xū* < **Xio* 兪 (鬼 'ghost' radical and **Xio* 虛 phonetic) 'destructive ghost' (cf. 一 above) is used in the compound *kuixū* < **g'iwərXio* 一 兪 'mountain demons'.

The *Shanhaijing* (14/8a [cf. §2.4], Schiffeler 1978:47, Karlgren 1946:282) says Kui resembles a hornless ox⁷² with a dark green body, one leg, is accompanied by wind and rain, and makes a sound like thunder. Its skin is noted to be usable for making drum-heads and its bones (cf. 雷神 §2.6) for drumsticks. This "dark green body" depiction can be interpreted as a §6 crocodile-dragon with its tail seen as "one leg." Kui's resemblance to a drum, according to Granet (1930:507) is owing to drumming in music and dancing.

71. Cf. the *Xunzi* (21/59, Fung 1952:367) replacing 一 'one' with the (esp. anti-forgery) graphic variant 壹 'one': "Many liked music, but only [Kui] could hand it down, because of his singleness."

72. Guo's *Shanhaijing* commentary (5/34b) mentions *kuīniú* < **g'iwərngiũg* 一牛 (cf. **ngiongĩũg* 魚牛 "fish cow" §7.4) as a large ox found in Shu; cf. his "Yangzi Rhapsody" (l. 203, Knechtges 1987:341 "Yak calves"). Read (1931, no. 356) identifies it as the Tibetan Yak.

In the *Baopuzi* (17/6a [followed by 飛飛 §3.5], Ware 1966:287, Yuan 1960:117), *kui* 𪛗 is described as a mountain spirit with one foot, shaped like a drum, and colored red, with a variant name *huī* < **Xiwer* 暉 'light, brightness' (~ *huī* < **Xiwer* 揮 'shake; wave' in some texts). Eberhard (1968:57-8) said *huī* is "without doubt phonetically related" to *kui*, and proposes there were two series of names for one-legged mountain imps (i.e., 'hill-dragons'): *xiāo* < **sioŋ* 宵 §7.5 "which is called *chao*" in the southeastern languages of Yue and Yao, and *kui* < **g'iwər* 𪛗 ~ *huī* < **Xiwer* 暉 ~ 揮 in some western language.

The early pronunciation of *kui* 𪛗 is uncertain. Karlgren (1957, no. 1237s) gives Middle Chinese *g'jwi* and avoids reconstructing Old but it would be **g'iwər* according to the *Guangyun* (288). An initial **g'-* (**Xiwer*?) instead of **g'-* is suggested by the alternate name *huī* < **Xiwer* 暉 and 𪛗's graphic variant 𪛗 above with a **Xio* 虛 phonetic.

8 MISCELLANEOUS DRAGONS

Some remaining Chinese draconyms do not clearly fit into previous categories of Rain-, Flying-, Snake-, Wug-, Crocodile-, or Hill-Dragons. These include: *chén* 辰 'dragon star; (calendrical) five; sea-serpent; shellfish' §8.1, *qiú* 虬 'horned?/hornless? dragon' §8.2, *jiǎolóng* 角龍 "horned dragon" §8.3, *lóngmǎ* 龍馬 "dragon horse" §8.4, *zhúyīn* 燭陰 "illuminate darkness" §8.5, *jídiào* 吉吊 'whale' §8.6, *rùshōu* 蓐收 §8.7 and *jíméng* 計蒙 §8.8 'dragon spirits', and what can be called "dragon people" §8.9.

§8.1 *Chén* < **ɕiən* 辰 has a complex semantic history meaning: (1) 'the "dragon" star, an asterism in Antares and Scorpio' ~ 晨 with the 日 'sun; star' radical, (2) 'five (in the duodenary cycle); dragon (in the "year/hour of the dragon")', (3) 'a sea-serpent', and (4) 'a shellfish'. The latter two marine names are pronounced *shèn* and esp. written 蜃 (with the 虫 'wug' radical).

The 辰 phonetic series distinguished **ɕiən* 'dragon' from **tɕiən* 'thunder'. The former **ɕi-* included the aquatic *shèn* < **ɕiən* 蜃 and celestial *chén* < **ɕiən* ~ **ɕ'ien* 晨 dragons above (Schuessler 1987:68 reconstructs **djen* 辰 vs. **mdjen* 晨); and, through 'dragon' → 'king; emperor' association (§2.1), *chén* < **ɕiən* 宸 (with the 'roof'

radical) 'imperial (palace)'. The latter *ʔ- 'thunder' (cf. §2.6) is seen in *zhèn* < *ʔiɛn 震 (with 雨 'cloud') 'thunder; shake; excite', *zhèn* < *ʔiɛn 振 (with 手 'hand') 'shake; rouse; scare', and perhaps (Boodberg 1935, 1979:169) *tíng* < *d'ieng 霆 'thunderbolt'.⁷³

(1) *Chén* < *ʔiɛn 辰 ~ 晨 is "the Dragon Star," an Oriental constellation with its 心 "Heart" and 尾 "Tail" equivalent to the Occidental Antares and (the tail of) Scorpio.⁷⁴ Chinese dragons were closely identified with rainfall §2, and thus with heaven/god (Diény 1987:221-4). Eberhard (1968:243) explains "When the dragon star appeared in the sky it was customary to make a sacrifice supplicating for rain." This 辰 constellation was distinguished from the duodenary 辰 '5; dragon' with the (日 'stellar') graph 晨 or with the names *dàchén* 大辰 "Big Dragon" and *chénxīng* 辰星 "Dragon Star."⁷⁵ Wang Yi described the *ʔiɛn 辰 as "an

73. In Yin/Yang theory §2.2, the third month of the lunar calendar was called the 辰月 "*chén* month," and the *Shuowenjiezi* (14B/30a) defines *ʔiɛn 辰 as *ʔiɛn 震 'thunderclap; excite' meaning animals get all 'excited' in the third month. Boodberg connects (cf. §2.1) *pīlǐ* < *brekbrek 霹靂 'thunder-bolt/-clap' and Tibetan 'brug 'dragon; thunder'. Lothar von Falkenhausen (p.c. of 88/9/28) says in the background of Boodberg's hypothesis, there is a relationship with *ʔiɛn 神 'spirit; god' and *d'iɛn 電 'lightning'.

74. The twenty-eight (*chénxiù* 辰宿) houses/mansions of the Chinese zodiac have animal correspondences. The fifth and sixth houses, 心 "Heart" and 尾 "Tail" (of the 辰 dragon, Diény 1987:61-3) are correlated with the 狐 "Fox" and the 虎 "Tiger"; while the first and second, 亢 "High" and 角 "Horn" [cf. 角龍 §8.3] (in Spica and Virgo) correspond with the 龍 "Dragon" §2.1 (Gieseler 1917:115-7) and the 蛟 "Aquatic Dragon" and §6.1.

75. 大辰 first appears in the *Erya* (8/8). Fu Yue 傳說, the patron saint of shamans, was supposedly a minister of Shang king Wu Ding (14th? cent. BC), who transformed into the "Dragon Star" after his death. Cf. *Chuci* (5/2b, Hawkes 1985:194) "Fu Yue lived on in [辰星] a star" and *Huainanzi* (6/4b, Le Blanc 1985:121, cf. 129-30) "This is how Fu [Yue] straddled the [Chen 辰] and [Wei 尾] constellations."

easterly star, called the Heart and Tail, which is shaped like a 蒼龍 Green Dragon" (associated with the eastern sky §2.2, and thus 'early morning' below).

The **džen* 辰 "Dragon Star" was extended out to mean 'stars; planets; constellations' (e.g., *Shujing* 24/8);⁷⁶ 'timely; seasonal' (e.g., *Shijing* 256/2); 'morning star; early morning; time' (e.g., *Shijing* 182/3). A hypothetical semantic development is: 'a star' → 'stars; heavenly bodies' → 'timely; seasonal' → 'a point in time'. The temporal *chénshí* 辰時 "morning time" '7:00-9:00 A.M.', i.e., the 'fifth of Twelve Hours' resulted from using the Twelve Branches as horary characters in (2).

Since the earliest 辰 graphs bear some resemblance to dragons, 辰 probably pictured the (1) "Dragon Star" before being used to write (2) **džen* '5; dragon'. Hopkins puts forward an etymology that the 厂 in 辰 was a contracted dragon head (Antares), and concluded:

This seems a more likely explanation than the inverse one, that the ancient Chinese having already an appropriate character figuring a Dragon, saw, as it were, its counterpart in the sky, and made the mundane picture the namesake of a stellar group. (1932:97)

(2) 'Cyclical 5' is the oldest meaning of 辰, frequently seen on oracle and bronze inscriptions, the fifth of the twelve *dìzhī* 地支 "earthly branches" in the sexagenary cycle used, along with the ten *tiāngān* 天干 "heavenly stems," to enumerate days and years within the traditional Chinese calendar.

Since the duodenary cycle probably has non-Chinese origins, *chén* 辰 has drawn more interest as a loanword than any other draconym. The Twelve Branches were correlated with the Twelve Animals, including **džen* 辰 '5; dragon' and **dziæg* 巳 '6; snake'. The fact that the cyclical terms are so different from the usual Chinese animal names (cf. **tsiæg*

76. Hopkins (1932) calls this a "star of reference" or "Beacon-star." The "Dragon Star" was associated with the North Star, and *běichén* 北辰 "north *chén*" (e.g., *Chuci* 16/29a, Hawkes 1985:301) was an additional name for the 'Big Dipper', cf. 天龍 §3.2.

子 '1; rat' and **śjo* 鼠 'rat', or **djen* 寅 '3; tiger' and **Xo* 虎 'tiger')⁷⁷ demonstrates the Shang adapted some foreign calendrical system. The inherent advantage of studying *dīzhī* borrowings, Li (1945:334) explains, is that definitely "being a series of terms, they are homogenous in regard to the date of the loan."

Hypothetical sources for the duodenary cycle names include: Proto-Muong (Coedès 1935), Chinese (Li 1945), Austro-Tai (Benedict 1967), Austroasiatic (Norman and Mei 1970), and even Semitic (Pulleyblank 1979).⁷⁸

Coedès analyzed early Southeast Asian calendrical inscriptions, and proposed the duodenary cycle originated in Cambodia. From Ahom *shi*, Laotian *si*¹, Shan *hsi* ~ *si*, and Dìoi *chi*², he (1935:317) reconstructed an "Old Muong" **sī* for 辰 '5'. While Chinese *chén* < **djen* 辰 bears no resemblance to **sī*, he noted (1935:320) *lóng* 龍 resembled Cambodian *roñ* ~ *rôn* and Siamese *mahron* ~ *mārong* (*maroon*) 'dragon' names. Benedict explains:

The entirely unanticipated finding by Coedès was that the Cambodians had borrowed this set of terms from the lowly Muong, the unsophisticated "country cousins" of the Vietnamese! (1967:321)

Li (1945) sought to establish the Tai cyclical names as early loanwords from Chinese. He added Lù *si*¹ to Ahom *shi* and Dìoi *chi*² calendrical 辰 terms, but could not find any phonological link with *chén* < Middle *ziēn* < Old **djen* 辰. Li (1945:339) admitted the Tai initials "do not seem to tally well" with the Chinese; and in trying to explain the lost final -*n*, (1945:341) had to "assume an alternate reading" of Middle *zi* < Old **djer* "although such a reading is not recorded in ancient dictionaries." And lacking any correspondence to Modern rising second tone *chén* < Middle "level" tone (平聲) *ziēn*, admitted (1945:337) "辰 with a

77. One phonetic similarity is between **t'niōg* 丑 '2; ox' and *niú* < **ngiūg* 牛 'ox; cow'. The oracle graphs for 辰 '5' and 亥 '12' vaguely resemble the corresponding dragon and pig.

78. Pulleyblank (1979:34) suggests an original fricative *ɣ* initial for 辰, from Early Middle Chinese *džin*, but failed to find any connection with the Phoenician alphabet.

voiced initial in Chinese should be A2 in LU as well as in Dìoi, but is A1 in LÜ."

As discussed in §2.1, Benedict (1967:320-1) reinterpreted Coedès' "Proto-Muong" **ron* 'dragon' as being not imported from--but rather to--Chinese, "more likely the source of the regular Chinese term: *liu* 'dragon'." He (p.c. of 88/9/10 and 89/8/4) reconstructs **ḍien* < **sgien* 辰 with a palatalized **śg-i* initial, comparing (with the 'collective' plural -*r* ~ -*n*) its 'dragon' meaning to *qí* < **g'ier* Δ 'dragon banner/flag' (Diény 1987:190-1) and its 'time; season' with *jiān* < **kən* 董 'distress' as a loan for *jín* < **g'icn* 'time; season'.⁷⁹

Norman (1985, cf. Norman and Mei 1970:20-8)⁸⁰ found similarities between some of the Twelve Branches and Austroasiatic names for the animals which they represent. To the 辰 terms cited by Coedès and Li above, he added cyclical Pu-yi *tí*², Sino-Vietnamese *thìn* and modern Muong *sin*; plus 'dragon' names of Muong *hông* ~ *ròn* and Vietnamese *rông*. While **ḍien* 辰 does not resemble the Vietnamese or Muong 'dragon' words, Norman suggests:

We should, however, consider the possibility that this originally represented the name of a real animal. And indeed, Austroasiatic provides us with a good candidate, namely the word for 'python'. The pertinent forms are the following: [Vietnamese] *trăn*, Mon (Written) *kian* (Spoken) *klon*, Chrau *klăn*. These all clearly point to a velar plus liquid cluster; since the Chinese initial is voiced, we can assume that the word at the time of borrowing had an initial **gl*-. (1985:88, cf. 1970:25)

He cites the *Shuowenjiezi*'s (14B/30a) **Xan* 𪛗 pronunciation gloss for **ḍien* 辰 (cf. **ńiam* 𪛗 'giant snake' §4.4), and asserts *shèn* < **ḍien* 蜃 'aquatic dragon' "which seems to

79. Benedict additionally thinks **sgien* 辰 may be connected with a different cyclical character: *yín* < **ḍien* ~ **dier* < **sgien* ~ **sgier* 寅 '3; tiger'.

80. Since the possibility of Austroasiatic origins for the cycle seemed too speculative, it was omitted from the published version (1976) of their paper, but Norman subsequently revised (1985) the deleted section.

preserve the original meaning," indicates "a solid ancient connection between 辰 and a serpent"; but this seems unlikely in light of Benedict's *sgi-*.

Table 6--Proposed **ḍien* 辰 Derivations

PROTO-AUSTROASIATIC
**gl-* 'python' (Norman and Mei)

OLD-MUONG
**sī* 'dragon' (Coedès)

PROTO-AUSTRO-TAI
**sg-ḍien* 'dragon' (Benedict)

The Sino-Vietnamese and Muong borrowings of 辰 with *-n* finals are more phonologically explicable than the Ahom, Laotian, Shan, Dioi, Lü, or Pu-yi which were the basis for the "Proto-Muong" **sī*. However, these could be loans from **xlia* 𪛗 §7.1.

(3) The **ḍien* 蜃 'sea serpent; aquatic dragon' miraculously transformed from a bird (Hino 1979:440-4 lists many cross-cultural parallels). The "Monthly Commands" (*Liji* 6/98; Legge 1885:I:297) claims that in the first month of winter, "[雉] Pheasants enter the great water and become [蜃] large mollusks.⁸¹ [虹] Rainbows are hidden and do not appear." Comparing similar myths, Eberhard (1968:293) concludes *shèn* 蜃 can "be equated with" the *jiāo* 蛟 dragon §6.1. Many dictionaries define *shèn* as *jiāoshèn* 蛟蜃, described in the *Bencaogangmu* as:

A kind of crocodile shaped like a huge serpent.
Horned like a dragon, with a red mane. Below the
middle of the back it has scales inversely arranged.
It lives on swallows. (43/5, Read 1934:315 [with 蜃

81. Cf. the *Liji* (6/84, Legge 1885:I:292) parallel saying that in the last month of autumn, "[雉] Small birds enter the great water and become [蛤] mollusks." This developed into a legend that dragons like to eat the flesh of swallows, and (Read 1934:301) "Hence if people eat swallow's flesh they should not go out and cross a river (dragons will eat them if they do)."

instead of 蜃])

Owing to its magically changeable shape, the 蜃 dragon was associated with 'waterspouts; mirages'; e.g., *shènqìlóu* 蜃氣樓 "sea-dragon breath pavilion" (Schafer's [1985] "clam castles") and *shènjǐng* 蜃景 "sea-dragon scenery" mean 'mirage'.⁸²

(4) The **ǎi* 蜃 was a 'large shellfish', identified as 'oyster', 'mussel', or 'great *Chama*, giant clam'. Since the earliest dictionaries (*Erya* and *Shuowenjiezi*) define 蜃 as a large *gé* < **kep* 蛤 'shellfish', **ǎi* may have been a general term for 'shellfish; bivalves' rather than the name of a particular one.⁸³

The ancient economic importance of these "dragon" shellfish is evident from the official called 掌蜃 'Manager/Prefect of Shen' who is mentioned in the (early Han) *Zhouli* 周禮 (四部叢刊 ed. 4/38b-39a, Biot 1881:1:382). *Shèn* 蜃 was a food (e.g., *Zuozhuan* 昭公 20, Legge 1872:683 "cockles"), and its shells were used to make hoes (*Huainanzi* 3/39) or charred into *shèntàn* 蜃炭 'a kind of lime'. "Shèn lime" was especially used to mortar mausoleum walls; first recorded in the *Zuozhuan* (成公 2 [589 BC], Legge 1872:347 "mortar made of (burnt) frogs [sic]"). The traditional explanation that 蜃炭 prevented moisture in tombs has been verified by recent archaeological excavations (Pokora

82. Compare the "dragons" seen in *lóngjuǎn* 龍卷 "dragon roll" 'waterspout' and *lóngjuǎnfēng* 龍卷風 "dragon roll wind" 'tornado'. Hornblower (1933:86) says: "In Northern Persia waterspouts are also termed dragons, but with a sense of lively terror, the opposite of the welcome given them in China."

83. Schafer proposes 蜃 in Pre-Han literature designated "a large bivalve mollusc," and,

Beginning as an unassuming marine invertebrate, the *ch'en* was later imagined as a gaping, pearl-producing clam, possibly to be identified with the giant clams of tropical seas, for instance *Tridacna*. Finally, by early medieval times, it had become a monster lurking in submarine grottoes, and was sometimes endowed with the attributes of a dragon--or, more likely, under influence, a *nāga*. (1989:395)

1985:352 calls it "white clay" mortar and cites Ecsedy's "oyster-lime"). In a different vein, Eberhard (1968:292-3) connects *shèntàn* 蜃炭 with sacrifices to earth/fertility gods because of the cognate *shèn* < **ǵjen* T (with the 肉 'meat' radical) 'sacrificial meat' (e.g., *Zuozhuan* 閔公 2, Legge 1872:130). His hypothesis is confirmed by the *Zhouli* (5/28a, Biot 1881:I:469) *shèn* 蜃 name for a 'lacquered wine barrel' (with a dragon figure?) used in sacrifices to earth spirits.⁸⁴

Early **ǵjen* 蜃 references are often ambiguous between 'dragon' and 'shell'. For example, a 'royal hearse' called the 蜃車 "*shèn* carriage" has been interpreted to mean 'shaped like a dragon/shell', 'painted with dragons', 'decorated with shells', or 'big-wheeled'.⁸⁵ The first 蜃車 sense of 'dragon-shaped' correlates with the imperial 龍舟 "dragon boat" mentioned in the *Huainanzi* (8/8b, Morgan 1934:94) and with the modern Dragon Boat Festival (Chao 1943, Eberhard 1968:394-7).

§8.2 *Qiú* < **g'iōg* ~ *jiú* < **kiōg* δ is contradictorily defined as (1) 'hornless dragon' and (2) 'horned dragon', and it means (3) 'wriggling; twisting' in the binomial **iōgg iōg*.

**G'iōg* ~ **kiōg* is written δ ~ λ with the 虫 'wug' radical and the same alternate phonetics as *jiū* < **kiōg* 糾 ~ 紕 (with the 糸 'silk' radical) 'twist; entangle; unite'. These two allofams are part of a 'twist; coil; wrap' word family (cf. *Boa constrictor* §4.5) which includes: **mliōg* 縶 'bind up/round' ~ **kliōg* 縶 'twist', **liog* 縶 'wrap';

84. The *Zhouli* (10/9a, Biot 1881:II:390) additionally describes *shèntàn* being used to keep insects out of walls; and (4/39a, 11/32b; Biot 1881:I:383, II:518) using *shèn* 蜃 (lime?/powder?) for whitening silk and sacrificial objects.

85. Biot translates the *Zhouli* (4/27a, I:348) as "*la char aux grandes roué*" following Guo Po's *Erya* (16/38) commentary that a 大貝 'large shell' resembles a 車渠 'cartwheel rim' (cf. his "Yangzi Rhapsody" [l. 132, Knechtges 1987:333 "Purple cowries like wheel rims"). Compare the *Zhouli* (4/38b, 1881:I:382) *shènqì* 蜃器 'shell/dragon (decorated?) objects'.

entangle', *gliōg ~ *gliōk 勑 'join forces', *klōg 膠 'glue; unite', *gliōg ~ *kliōg 摺 'tie around; strangle', and *kliōg 樛 'curved branch'. This 'twisting; coiling' etymology explains meaning (3) 'wriggling' and perhaps (2) 'horned dragon' ← 'twisted horn'.

(1) 'Hornless dragon' is first cited for δ in the *Shuowenjiezi* (Table 1), usually interpreted as 'young dragon' (Wu 1978:187). Wang's *Chuci* commentary (1/20a, 3/8a; Hawkes 1985:73, 128) contrasts δ 'hornless dragon' with 龍 §2.1 'horned dragon'; as does Gao's *Huainanzi* (6/7a) commentary (cf. §2.4).

(2) 'Horned dragon' is the *Guangya* (1409) definition of qiú δ (written with a 黽 'frog' radical variant) in qiúlong < *g'iōgliung δ 龍.⁸⁶ Excepting dictionaries copying the *Guangya*, there is no textual attestation for δ meaning 'horned dragon'. But as a 'twist' allofam, *g'iōg ~ *kīōg δ could be cognate with a *Shijing* word: jiū < *kīōg ~ qiú < *g'iōg 'horn-shaped; long and curved', written with the 角 'horn' radicals and the same phonetic as δ (odes 215, 292, 299), or with the 'horn' ~ 手 'hand' radicals and a *g'iōg 求 phonetic (203, 291).

(3) 'Wriggling; writhing; twisting; coiling' is a reduplicative meaning of *g'iōg ~ *kīōg δ.⁸⁷ The earliest examples are *Chuci* compounds with yōu < *iūg Ψ and yōu < *iōg Ω. Yōujiū < *iugkiūg Ψ δ describes T dragons §7.1 (5/10a, Hawkes 1985:198 "How their bodies coiled and writhed in undulating motion!"), and yōuqiū < *iōgg'iōg Ω δ refers to a 蒼龍 §2.1 (11/2a, 16/12b; Hawkes 1985:240, 290 "the coiling Green Dragon"). Since these are the sole *Chuci* occurrences of *iūg Ψ and *iōg Ω, it seems *g'iōg ~ *kīōg δ only meant 'wriggling; writhing' in *iōgg'iōg (<? the *k-/g-liōg 'twist; coil' word family above).⁸⁸

86. Some *Shuowenjiezi* commentators accept the *Guangya* and change the δ (1) definition of 龍無角者 'dragon without horns' to read 龍子有角者 'young dragon with horns'.

87. Written in the *Shuowenjiezi* (13A/57a) with the 'wug' radical 虫 and an *iōg 幽 phonetic. δ frequently means 'curled' in poetic expressions such as qiúrán δ 髯 'curly whiskers' or qiúxū δ 鬚 'curly beard'.

Dǒuniǔ < **tungjǔg* 斗牛 "ladle [and] cow" means the 'Big Dipper' and 'Altair', the eight and ninth houses of the Chinese zodiac (cf. §8.1; Visser 1913:129-30 discusses myths about cows transforming into dragons). During the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644), *dǒuniǔ* 斗牛 became the name of a *qiú* ~ *jiú* δ dragon decoration on official clothing (cf. §4.5). Even though the earliest known *dǒuniǔ* reference in the 'dragon' sense is the (c. 1770) *Chenyuanshilu* 宸垣識略, Wu (1978:189) suggests **tungjǔg* 斗牛 was anciently considered a dragon.

§8.3 *Jiǎolóng* < **kǔklijung* 角龍 "horned dragon" is akin with **g'jǒg* ~ **kjǒg* δ above meaning (2) 'horned dragon'. *Jiǎolóng* first occurs in a *Shuyiji* "evolutionary" cycle (cf. §4.1):

A water snake [*shuǐhuǐ* < **śiwərxiwər* 水Φ, cf. §4.5] after five hundred years changes into a *jiāo* 蛟 ['aquatic dragon' §6.1], a *jiāo* after a thousand years changes into a *lóng* 龍 ['rain-dragon' §2.1], a *lóng* after five hundred years changes into a *jiǎolóng* 角龍 'horned dragon', and after a thousand years into a *yìnglóng* 應龍 ['flying-dragon' §2.4]. (adapted from Visser 1913:72)

Most dictionaries do not gloss the horny *jiǎolóng* 角龍.⁸⁹

88. This binome was later specialized to the 'wriggling; coiling' locomotion of dragons and snakes; e.g., a poem (靈光殿賦) by Wang Yanshou (fl. AD 124-148) mentions a **jǒg'jǔg* ΩΨ 'wriggling' A 蛇 'flying-dragon' §3.1.

89. Besides meaning *jiǎo* 角 'horn', *jué* 角 is one of the 五音 Five Tones (宮, 商, 角, 徵, 羽), and *juélóng* 角龍 one of five do-re-mi-type draconyms. Like Yin and Yang dragon-rainbows §2.2, the 五行 Five Phases/Elements (cf. §8.7) correspond with 五龍 "Five Dragons." These Five Dragons are usually said to represent the Five Colors or Five Directions, but the *Wenxuan* (四部叢書 ed. 21/2b, Diény 1987:57) commentary quotes a *Dunjia kaishantu* 遁甲開山圖 list of five mythical draconic brothers with human faces and dragon bodies representing the Five Tones [and thus not included in the final INDEX]: *juélóng* < **kǔklijung* 角龍 the god of Wood, *zhīlóng* < **tiæglijung* 徵龍 of Fire, *shānglóng* < **śianglijung* 商龍 of Metal, *yǔlóng* < **giwoliung* 羽龍 of Water, and *gōnglóng* < **kjōnglijung* 宮龍 of Earth.

§8.4 *Lóngmǎ* < **ljungmǎ* 龍馬 "dragon horse" was part of the legendary 河圖 "[Yellow] River Plan" which inspired Fuxi §8.9 with the idea of Eight Trigrams for the *Book of Changes* (Wilhelm 1968:309, 320). Gieseler hypothesizes Chinese dragons originated with sturgeons, and says (1917:132) *lóngmǎ* 龍馬 was a giant sturgeon. In addition to legends about celestial horses (Diény 1987:116-7, 199-203), dragons were thought to have horse's heads (Wu 1931), and wonderful horses were considered (Schafer 1963:59) "avatars of dragons."⁹⁰

The first **ljungmǎ* occurrence (*Zhouli* 8/23b, Biot 1881:II:261-2) means 'outstanding horse; huge (esp. over 8 ft. tall) horse'.⁹¹ Later 龍馬 occurrences were in association with the "Yellow River Plan" myth. Commentaries to the *Shujing* (42/19, Karlgren 1950b:71 河圖 "drawing-tablet of the River") and the *Liji* (9/36, Legge 1885:I:392-3 馬圖 "the horse with the map [on his back]") described the *lóngmǎ* 龍馬 as having a horned dragon's head, a scaly horse's body, wings, and the River Plan marked on its back/side (Visser 1913:56-9, cf. §9.3). The *Bamboo Books* 竹書紀年--supposedly 3rd cent. BC, but clearly (Creel 1970:483-5) a later forgery--give two different 龍馬 descriptions (Legge 1865:113, 117): "a dragon-horse" and "a tall man, with a white face and fish's body."

§8.5 *Zhúyīn* < **tiuk'jɛm* 燭陰 "illuminate darkness" ~ *zhúlóng* < **tiukljung* 燭龍 "torch dragon" embodied light

90. Cf. *hémǎ* 河馬 "river horse" 'hippopotamus', *hǎimǎ* 海馬 "sea horse" 'sea-horse', and *mǎjiāo* 馬蛟 "horse dragon/shark" 'mackerel'. Note the similarity to Hippocampus, one of Neptune's horses, with two front legs and the hind quarter of a dragon/fish.

91. 龍馬 euphemistically means 'aged but vigorous', cf. *lóngjū* 龍駒 "dragon colt" 'excellent colt; talented young scholar'. The *Zhouli* (8/21a, Biot 1881:II:256) mentions a spring sacrifice to the 馬祖 "Horse Ancestor" which is glossed as an asterism in Scorpio, a.k.a. 龍馬.

(Diény 1987:88-90). Since dragons were believed to have Yang powers §2.2, *zhú* 燭 'torch' means 'illuminate; brighten' the *yīn* 陰 'darkness'. Yuan (1960:33) suggests **tiuk'iem* developed along with the creation myth of Pángǔ < *B'wānko 盤古 (cf. 盤龍 §3.2), legendary creator of the universe, who, according to later legends (Werner 1922:76-8, Diény 1987:214), had a dragon's head and a snake's body.

The *Shanhaijing* (8/1a-1b, Schiffeler 1978:126; Visser 1913:62-3 "Enlightener of the Darkness") locates the 燭陰 on Mt. Zhong along with the Gu 鼓 "drum" dragon §7.2, and portrays it as having a human's face, red snake's body, and being 1000 *li* [approx. 500 km.] long. Day and night were supposedly caused by the opening and closing of its eyes, and the seasons by its wind-like breathing.⁹² Guo glosses 燭陰 as "a [龍] dragon named on account of brightening the darkness at the nine points of the compass," and quotes the *Huainanzi* (4/9a [with H 魚 §3.4], Wu 1978:187) that the **tiuk'iem* 燭陰 is a legless god with a human face and a dragon's body, who lives on an eternally dark northern mountain.

This **tiuk'iem* 燭陰 is called *zhúlóng* < **tiukliung* 燭龍 "torch dragon" in the *Shanhaijing* (17/9a) and the *Chuci* (3/7a, Hawkes 1985:128): "What land does the sun not shine on and how does the Torch Dragon light it?" This **tiukliung* is equated with *zhuōlóng* < **t'ōkliung* 卓龍 "distant [~ with the 'motion' radical] dragon" which is also mentioned in the *Chuci* (10/3a, Hawkes 1985:234): "In the north are the Frozen Mountain, and the Torch Dragon, glaring red."

§3.6 *Jídiào* 吉帛 'whale' was considered to be a kind of sea-dragon with a turtle's body and a serpent's head. "Whales were akin to dragons," explains Schafer (1963:174-5) "since both were great sea spirits." For instance, 'ambergris' is called *lóngxián* 龍涎 "dragon drool/saliva."

The usual Chinese 'whale' name *jīng* < **g'liang* 鯨 dates back to the *Zuozhuan* (宣公 12, Legge 1872:321) metaphor

92. Chang (1962:59, 82) thinks **tiuk'iem* 燭陰 and **tiukliung* 燭龍 represent the Eastern Zhou "Transformation Thesis" in which natural elements transform out of the bodily parts of mythical creatures.

jīngni < **g'liang-ngieg* 鯨鯢 "whales; giant fish"⁹³ → 'big states which swallow little ones'. The *Huainanzi* (6/2b, Le Blanc 1985:117-8; cf. *Bowuzhi* 2) records a myth that "When a whale dies, [彗星] brush-stars (comets) appear," using the suffixed name of *jīngyú* < **g'liangngio* 鯨魚 "whale fish."

Jídiào 吉弔 "lucky grief/condolence" ~ *diào* 弔 "grief; mourn; condolence" is a rare term for 'whales', and Smith (1871:89) proposes it "is singularly like the Greek name [*hydra* §9.2] for a sea-monster." There are two reasons why *jídiào* 吉弔 appears to be a loanword: "lucky condolence" hardly describes whales, and it was not recorded for more than a thousand years after the common word *jīng* 鯨 'whale' above. *Jídiào* 吉弔 first occurs in the (AD 10th cent.) *Beimengsuoyan* 北夢瑣言 fishermen's tale that "the sea-dragon lays three eggs, one of which hatches into the whale." In reference to medicinal uses of *diàozhī* 弔脂 "whale fat" 'cetaceum', Su Song (AD 1020-1101) said *diào* 弔 were born from dragons.⁹⁴

§8.7 *Rùshōu* < **rijuksjōg* 辱收 "ample catch/harvest" was a western dragon spirit mentioned in several early texts (Yuan 1960:78-9). The *Zuozhuan* (昭公 29, Legge 1872:731) dragon-tamer story §8.9 lists hereditary officials corresponding to the Five Phases/Elements, including *Rushou* 辱收 ~ 辱收 "the chief officer of metal." It explains the reason dragons were no longer (in 513 BC) caught was because: "The dragon is a creature of the water; there is no longer an officer of the water, and therefore it is not got alive." The "Monthly Commands" (*Liji* 6/63, Legge 1885:1:286-7) gives spiritual correlations for the second month of autumn: "Its divine ruler is [Shao hao 少皞] and the (attending) spirit is [Rushou]." A *Chuci* poem (5/7b, Hawkes

93. Although *ní* < **ngieg* 鯢 (cf. **ngieg* 霓 'Yin/female rainbow' §2.2) is glossed as 'female whale' (~ 'giant salamander' *Erya* 16/41, §7.3), **g'liangngieg* 鯨鯢 could be a binomial. Smith (1919:89) compares the Mayan *itzam-kab-ain* 'female whale with alligator-feet'.

94. Li Shizhen says the 弔 graph was miscopied as *yǔ* < **djo* 予 'give' (cf. *yù* 豫 'big elephant'). Read (1934:312) suspects that "Apparently in transcribing the books about dragons various errors crept in, particularly concerning this one."

1985:197) says "Then we met Ru Shou in the western heaven," and Wang glosses 蓐收 as the "Tutelary spirit of the west. He has a human shape, white hair, and tiger's claws and holds an axe in his hand." The *Shanhaijing* mentions **ñiukšjōg* 蓐收 living on a western mountain (2/28a); and describes him (7/6a cf. §3.4, Schiffeler 1978:127) as "the spirit of the west, he has a snake in his left ear, and rides upon two dragons."⁹⁵ The *Shanhaijing* (2/25b) mentions **ñiukšjōg* 蓐收 living with another spirit called *hóngguāng* < **g'ungkwāng* 紅光 "crimson light." **G'ungkwāng* is similar with names in Table 7 (e.g., **g'iungkung* 共工 §8.9), but nothing is known about it.

§8.8 *Jiméng* < **kiedmung* 計蒙 "calculated ignorance" was a dragon spirit who supposedly caused wind (cf. §8.5) and rain (cf. §2). The *Shanhaijing* (5/31a, Schiffeler 1978:139) depicts it as having a human's body and a dragon's head. No other information is given by commentators, but this **kiedmung* 計蒙 name could derive from **k'liung* (Table 7). These **ñiukšjōg* 蓐收 and **kiedmung* 計蒙 dragons are said to have "human" shapes, and are thus related with the final draconym taxonomy.

§8.9 Dragon People include legendary personages said either to be dragons or to administer them (esp. in flood-control, Diény 1987:149-52): (I) Minister of Works Gonggong 共工 and (II) his nine-headed dragon magnate Xiangliu 相柳, (III) Xia dynastic founder Yu 禹, and (IV) the Dong 董 and Liu 劉 dragon-tamers.

Several dragon-people have been previously discussed: Shun's legendary Communications Director Long 龍 'dragon' § 2.1 with his one-legged dragon Music Master Kui 夬 §7.6, and King Wu Ding's (14th? cent. BC) minister Fu Yue 傅說 who purportedly transformed into the 辰星 "dragon star" §8.1. Many dragons are said to have human faces: **Xwād'ia* 化蛇 § 2.8, **'atzju* § 4.1, **d'ār* § 6.2, **ko* 鼓 §7.2

95. This "乘兩龍 rides two dragons" occurs five other times (e.g., 6/7a), and Wen (1956:24) interprets double dragons as sexual symbolism. The *jiē* < **ts'iap* 妾 'concubine, consort' of the *yǔshī* < **giwošjær* 雨師 "rain master" is similarly described in the *Shanhaijing* (9/4b, Schiffeler 1978:132) as a black personage holding snakes and turtles.

liəngŋio* 陵魚 §7.1 **sǎŋxiwər* 山 Y and **ǎ'jǐnxiwər* 神 H §7.5, (sometimes) **G'iwər* §7.6, and **ʈiuk'jəm* 燭陰 §8.5. A few others have human heads (lwərǎ'jǐn* 雷神 and **ǎ'jǐnliung* 神龍 §2.6; Wen 1956:13-7) or bodies (**njuxsiōg* 蓐收 §8.7 and **kiedmung* 計蒙 §8.8).

(I) *Gònggōng* < **G'jungkung* 共工 "work together; Minister of Works" was a rain-dragon potentate with multifaceted myths (Maspero 1924:54-5, Yuan 1960:55-7, Sun 1960, Bodde 1961:387). He supposedly had a son (Karlgren 1946:240) named *Gòulóng* < **Kjuliung* 句龍 "curved dragon," and was served by a nine-headed dragon called *Xiāngliǔ* < **Sjāngliōg* 相柳 (II). *Gòulóng* is first mentioned in the *Zuozhuan*:

[Gonggong] had a son called [Goulong], who became the [Houtu 后土 'earth god'; cf. *Shanhaijing* 18/10a]. ... From the Shang dynasty downwards, they have sacrificed to him. (昭公 29 [after the dragon tamers (IV) story], Legge 1872:731)

His name **G'jungkung* 共工 resembles *Gònggǔ* < **G'jungko* 共鼓 "together drum" (cf. §7.2), the legendary inventor of ships and transportation (Eberhard 1968:397). **G'jungkung* 共工 (cf. **g'ungkwāng* 紅光 §8.7), **kjuliung* 句龍, and **g'jungko* 共鼓 could all derive from **g-/k-liung* 龍 'dragon' (Table 7).⁹⁶

The *Shujing* has the earliest **G'jungkung* 共工 references, but they are ambivalent between a proper name "Gonggong" or an official title "Minister of Works." And when the mythic Yao wants to appoint someone to manage his 采 'regulations?; measures?' (Karlgren 1970, no. 1217), *Huāndōu* < **Xwāntug* 驩兜 "joyous helmet"⁹⁷ recommends

96. Yuan (1978:50) sees a similarity between **g'jungko* 共鼓 and **kjung* K (graphically combining 龍 and 共) 'respectful'. Based upon some Shang oracle inscriptions, Chen (1936:522-5, cf. §2.4) associates **Kjuliung* 句龍 with the *hama* < **g'amāg* 蝦蟆 'frog' (cf. §5.2).

97. Although *Huāndōu* < **Xwāntug* 驩兜 is not described as a dragon, 驩頭 is a variant (Karlgren 1946:253) for *Huāntōu* < **Xwānd'u* 謹頭 "cheer head," a mythical personage who the *Shanhaijing* (6/2a, Schiffeler 1978:8) depicts as having a human's face, wings, a bird's beak, and liking to eat fish.

*G'iungkung 共工, but the emperor complains:

Alas, he (quietly =) smoothly speaks but his actions are perverse. He is in appearance respectful, but he [滔天] swells up to Heaven. (1/10, Karlgren 1950b:3)⁹⁸

When Yao's successor Shun is appointing ministers, including "dragons" Long 龍 §2.1 and Kui 鯀 §7.6, he asks who should take care of his 工 'work', and,

All said: "[Chui < *Dwia 垂]!" The emperor said: "Yes. Oh, you [Chui], you shall be Master of [W]orks." (2/21, Karlgren 1950b:7)

From the 汝 pronoun in this 汝共工 phrase 'you [be] Master of Works!', *g'iungkung is definitely used as a title. Commentators tried to explain the *Shujing* inconsistencies by reading *g'iungkung 共工 as a personal name during Yao's reign which was made into a title during Shun's. Another possibility is that *g'iungkung originally meant *g'liung 龍 '(work?) dragon' and was subsequently demythologized into a (typical Confucianist) bureaucrat.

Several *Huainanzi* chapters refer to an official called the *g'iungkung 共工 (e.g., 19/1b, Morgan 1934:221 "Superintendent of works"), but in one passage (4/10a describing 共工 being produced from a 景風 'gentle breeze', cf. §3.5, Karlgren 1946:233, 253), Gao notes Gonggong was a "[天神] heavenly spirit with a human face and a snake's body." "Heavenly" could mean a divine 'rain-dragon' §2 or the 天龍 §3.2.

(II) The *Shanhaijing* (Karlgren 1946:309, Schiffeler 1978:128) elaborates the Gonggong 共工 legend with two versions of a story about his minister called Xiāngliǔ < *Sjangliōg 相柳 "mutual willow" (8/2a) ~ Xiāngyáo < *Sjangdiog 相尤 "mutual abundance" (17/5a-b) who fought Yü (below) in deluge myths. It describes Xiāngliǔ as having a blue snake's body and nine heads (cf. §4.5 and §5.1).

98. Karlgren assumes (1970, no. 1236) textual corruption, and figuratively translates 滔天 'overflowing heaven' as "[but he] swells up to Heaven." Legge's (1865:24) literal translation "See! the floods assail the heavens" makes more sense because the following context concerns flood-control and commentaries say Gonggong was appointed 水官 "Water Official." Yao subsequently (1/10, Karlgren 1950b:5) banished both ministers.

Various interpretations of the nonacephalous Xiāngliǔ have been proposed: Yuan (1960:23-4) thinks "nine heads" means 'nine people'; Eberhard (1968:350) guesses either the nine dragons myth of southern cultures or (following Sun 1960:15-9) eels in the flood tales of Formosan aborigines.

(III) Yǔ < *Gǐwo 禹 was the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty (22nd?-18th? cents. BC). Kominami (1985:17) says Yu was originally a snake-fish combination, and the lower graphic element of 禹 pictures a wug's tail, comparable with those in *chī* < *t'lia? 魑 'dragon' §7.1, *qín* < *g'jəm 禽 'bird; animal', and *yú* < *ngju 禺 'monkey' (cf. 禺禺 §7.4). Both Yu and his father Gǔn < *Kwən 鯀 'giant fish' (also described as a tortoise or bear, Granet 1930:207-8) were assisted at flood-control by mythological animals. A *yǐnglóng* < *'iəngliung 應龍 'winged rain-dragon' §2.4 showed Yu where to dig canals, and a *chīgūi* < *t'jærkiwəg 黿龜 "owl turtle" showed Gun where to build dams. Yu is said to have received gifts from dragons: jade tablets from the *shéshén* 蛇神 "snake god" §4.6 and the "River Chart" from the *lóngmǎ* 龍馬 'dragon horse' §8.4. There are two versions (*Huainanzi* 7/7a, Morgan 1934:69; *Bamboo Books*, Legge 1865:118) of a legend about Yu not fearing yellow dragons in the Yangzi River.

(IV) The *Zuozhuan* (昭公 29, Legge 1872:731, Visser 1913:82-3, Granet 1930:181, Yan 1987a:133-4) records a myth about two families of hereditary dragon-tamers: Huanlong 豢龍 "dragon rearer" and Yulong 御龍 "dragon ruler." Dong Fu 董父 tamed dragons for legendary Emperor Shun (23rd? cent. BC), who gave him the clan-name of Huanlong 豢龍. Liu Lei 劉累, who learned the art of rearing dragons from the Huanlong family, took care of two pairs of dragons belonging to King Kong Jia 孔甲 (19th? cent. BC), who gave him the Yulong clan-name. When one of them died, Liu presented pickled dragon mincemeat to the king who "greatly enjoyed" it (cf. the "savory and pleasant" taste of 蛟 §6.1).⁹⁹

99. A slightly different version of the dragon-tamers story is retold in the *Shiji* (2B/21b, Visser 1913:50-1), and an abbreviated one in the *Bamboo Books* (Legge 1865:124). The *Zuozhuan* version says Kong Jia was given the dragons because he was "obedient and acceptable to God," while the *Shiji* says he loved spiritualism, "and was disorderly (in his behavior, i.e. he disturbed the Tao)."

Both the dragon-tamer myth and its names have been interpreted as foreign borrowings. The Chinese story has been connected with Indian Brahmins (Clerke 1887:107) as well as the lions of Gilgamesh (Hornblower 1933:85). There is a close parallel with the Chen 陳 and Ke 柯 families who tamed and ate *zhūpólóng* 豬婆龍 'gavials' §6.4. The terms in the myth are of interest as draconyms. Huaniong < *G'wanliung 豢龍 "dragon rearer" and Yulong < *Ngioliung 御龍 "dragon ruler" families are named from their occupations; Dong and Liu (in Dǒng Fù < *Tung B'iwo 董父 and Liú Léi < *Ljôg Liwər 劉累) are common present-day surnames (esp. in South China, Eberhard 1968:240).

Owing to 'dragon; king' associations of the primary *lóng* 龍 §2.1, this last category of dragon-people could be extended to include many of China's legendary rulers. The prehistoric sage-kings Fuxi, Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun (above) all have dragon legends (Diény 1987:188). Fuxi 伏羲 ~ Baoxi 庖犧 (associated with the 龍馬 §8.4) and his sister/wife Nügua 女媧 are central to Chinese (Karlgren 1946:229-32) and Miao (Wen 1956) creation myths, some (Yuan 1960:40-4) involving the thunder god 雷公 §2.6. During the Zhou dynasty (Yuan 1978:34-9), Fuxi and Nügua were depicted as having human heads and intertwined snake/dragon bodies. According to the *Bamboo Books* (cf. §8.4, Legge 1865:108, 114), the Yellow Emperor's 黃帝 "countenance was dragon-like," and Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 were conceived after their mothers "saw" (had intercourse with) divine dragons.¹⁰⁰

100. Cf. the similar legend (Visser 1913:123) about Emperor Gaozu (r. 206-195 BC), the founder of the Han dynasty, whose mother dreamed about a 蛟龍 §6.1. The *Shiji* (Visser 1913:122) tells a story about Yellow Emperor and seventy ministers ascending to heaven on a dragon. The remaining lower ministers tried unsuccessfully to fly with some fallen dragon whiskers, and *lóngxū* 龍須 "dragon's whiskers" is a name for 'rush, *Juncus batticus*'. Cf. 鬚蛇 "whisker snake" §4.4. The *Hanshu* (22/1059, Diény 1987:201) asks "Why does the *zīhuáng* < *tsjǎng'wāng 咎黃 "alas [~ with 言 'speech' rather than 口 'mouth' radical] yellow" no longer descend to earth?"; Ying Shao notes *tsjǎng'wāng or *chénghuáng* < *ǎ'jǎngg'wāng 乘黃 "ride yellow" was a flying-horse with dragon wings, was ridden into heaven by the Yellow Emperor.

These apocryphal legends about dragons, kings, and dragon-kings are not corroborated by early textual or linguistic evidence, like the dragon-people above.

9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Chinese dragon names are linguistically synopsized in §9.1, general patterns of draconym borrowings are discussed in §9.2, and some comparative examples are given in §9.3.

§9.1 Summary. The Chinese 'dragon' lexical field is remarkable for its size and antiquity. The final INDEX lists 155 draconyms (including variants) and draconic names, most of which (shown with * Old Chinese reconstructions) were textually attested two thousand years ago. Other appellations have been noted, and if they, especially ones for colored dragons, were included, the list would include more than two hundred names.¹⁰¹

Among the linguistic aspects of draconyms §1.3, pronunciations have the soundest basis. Few Chinese dragon names have feasible etymologies, and many have doubtful (e.g., §6.1) or contradictory (e.g., §8.2) meanings. By Han times, numerous names were known to mean some kind of 'dragon', but their mythical origins had been forgotten.

Chinese draconyms have two phonologically prominent subsets: **liung* and **liwer* in Tables 7 and 8. Both common 'dragon' etymons show evidence of consonant clusters; possibly from **gliung* and **gliwer* contrast sets. Table 7 is divided between basic 'dragon' names and *-*liung* 龍 compounds. The latter terms do not necessarily bear upon the original pronunciation of 龍 (i.e., **kükljung* 角龍 "horned dragon" does not evidence a **k'l*- etymon).

101. Compare this number with Conrad Gesner's sixteenth century "descriptions of more than 250 varieties of dragons" seen in the Alps by early mountain climbers (cited by Houston 1987:39, suggesting altitude hallucinations). Thanks to John Emelin and Jane Hazen for acquainting the author with high-altitude dragons.

Table 7--*Ljung-ish Draconyms

* <i>liung</i>	龍	'dragon; king'	§2.1
* <i>lwærkung</i>	雷公	'thunder god'	§2.6
* <i>kiedmung</i>	計蒙	'dragon spirit'	§8.8
* <i>g'ung</i> ~	* <i>kūng</i>	虹 '(Yang) rainbow'	§2.2
* <i>g'iungkung</i>	共工	'rain-dragon; minister'	§8.9
* <i>tiadtung</i>	O/E Z	'rainbow'	§2.2
* <i>d'iōgdjung</i>	ε ζ	'drought demon'	§2.7
* <i>djungdjung</i>	ⅢⅢ	'drought dragon?'	§2.7
* <i>p'iōnggliōng</i>	豐隆	'thunder god'	§2.6
* <i>kjuliung</i>	句龍	'dragon minister'	§8.9
* <i>kiwetliung</i>	三 v	'sea dragon'	§5.3
* <i>kōgliung</i>	蛟龍	'scaled? dragon'	§6.1
* <i>g'iōgliung</i>	δ 龍	'horned? dragon'	§8.2
* <i>kūkliung</i>	角龍	'horned dragon'	§8.3
* <i>iēngliung</i>	應龍	'winged rain-dragon'	§2.4
* <i>wagliung</i>	蛙 v	'a demon'	§5.2
* <i>xmekliung</i>	黑龍	'black rain-dragon'	§2.3
* <i>nākliung</i>	諾龍	'south sea dragon'	§6.5
* <i>d'ialjung</i>	地龍	'earth dragon'	§3.2
* <i>t'oljung</i>	土龍	'alligator; rain-dragon'	§6.2
* <i>tjōb'waliung</i>	豬婆龍	'gavial'	§6.4
* <i>tiukliung</i>	燭龍	'torch dragon'	§8.5
* <i>t'ōkliung</i>	卓龍	'torch dragon'	§8.5
* <i>t'ienliung</i>	天龍	'heavenly dragon'	§3.2
* <i>ǎ'iēnliung</i>	神龍	'thunder dragon'	§2.6
* <i>d'ārliung</i>	N 龍	'alligator'	§6.2
* <i>pjwərliung</i>	飛龍	'flying-dragon'	§3.5
* <i>b'wānliung</i>	蟠龍	'flying-dragon'	§3.2

These names confirm the predicted **g-/k-liung* ~ **b-liung* 'dragon; rainbow' roots in Tables 2 and 3, and suggest a **t-/d-liung* etymon. Another previously overlooked set of **Xjwər* 'dragon' names is seen below.

Table 8--*Xiwer-ish Draconyms

*k'iatñier 掣貳	'rainbow'	\$2.2
*giwangxiwer 王Φ	'boa; python'	\$4.5
*giüngxiwer 雄Φ	'nine-headed dragon'	\$4.5
*g'iwér Θ	'one-legged drum dragon'	\$7.6
*Xiwer 暉 ~ 揮	'one-legged drum dragon'	\$7.6
*Xmekliwen 黑Λ	'black rain-dragon'	\$2.3
*Xiwer k	'python; viper'	\$4.5
*lwərsjər 雷師	'thunder god'	\$2.6
*piwəpwiwər 飛飛	'flying-dragon'	\$3.5
*p'ioKXiwer 蝮Φ	'boa; viper'	\$4.5
*piwər 蜚	'drought demon'	\$2.5
*sǎnxiwer 山Y	'a mountain demon'	\$7.5
*siwəxiwər 水Φ	'water snake dragon'	\$8.3
*siek'ier 析翳	'rainbow'	\$2.2
*t'niëgmjər 題魅	'mountain demon; a dragon'	\$7.1
*d'är(giwer) α (圖)	'water spirit'	\$6.2
*d'jǎnxiwər 神N	'one-legged demon'	\$7.5

The dissimilar phonology of these *-iwər 'dragon' names suggests descent from several etyma. Yuan (1978:50) asserts *g'iwər Θ derives from *lwər 雷 'thunder' (cf. 雷師 above), and a *g'liwər protoform could etymologically explain several appellations in Table 8.

Some names exhibit miscellaneous, perhaps random, similarities (cf. *kōg 蛟 'dragon; crocodile' \$6.1 and *kodz'ōg 鼓造 'anti-war demon' \$7.2). A few draconyms are without any apparent Chinese cognates and therefore of particular interest as possible contact words. For example (cf. \$9.3), *ñjam ψ 'giant snake' \$4.4 or *d'är N 'alligator' \$6.2 could be importations.

\$9.2 Draconym Borrowings. Since the *lóng* 龍 dragon is the symbol of China, one would expect Chinese draconyms to have been exported to East Asian languages. Comparative linguists have put forth borrowings/loans of five dragons: *lóng* 龍 'dragon' \$2.1, *hóng* 虹 'rainbow; dragon' \$2.2, *è* 鰐 'crocodile' \$6.3, *chī* 題 'hornless dragon; mountain demon' \$7.1, and *chén* 辰 '5; dragon' \$8.1. Such words are not unique to the Orient:

The Hebrews had their *tan* or *tannim*, which the translators of the English version of the Bible have

rendered by the various terms of sea-monsters, whales, serpents, and dragon. The Greeks also had a *dragon*, a *hydra*, and a *python*; all dreadful to behold, and possessing a fearful power of destruction; terms alluding to a similar being are also to be found in almost every modern tongue. (Williams 1838:253)

In general, draconymic loans follow three patterns: (I) 'dragon' → 'dragon', (II) 'dragon' → (esp. foreign) 'wug', and (III) 'wug; large snake' → 'dragon'.

(I) Dragon myths and their concomitant names have often been transferred directly. Smith takes a strongly diffusionist view:

There can be no doubt that the Chinese dragon is the descendent of the early Babylonian monster, and that the inspiration to create it reached Shensi during the third millennium B.C. (1919:95, cf. 104)

Ideishi (1934:145-6) rejects Smith's hypothesis and interprets the Chinese dragon as a nature personification originating from snake worship.

The Naga §4.7 is an excellent example of direct 'dragon' → 'dragon' borrowing. Hindu and Buddhist myths developed around the Sanskrit word *Nāga* 'water-dragon'; translated into Chinese as *nāgā* 那伽 ~ *lóng* 龍, and into Japanese as *nāga* ナーガ ~ *ryū* 竜 (Ideishi 1934:146-8, Mori 1976:163-9). *Nāga* is also evident in Malay *naga* ~ *ular* ["snake"] *naga* 'dragon',¹⁰² and perhaps in Semang 'rainbow-serpent' names *nanga*, *nago*, and *naga* (Loewenstein 1961:31-2).

(II) Names of legendary dragons have been applied to living creatures,¹⁰³ typically wugs, e.g., *dīlóngzi* 地龍子

102. Other Malay terms include *naga umbang* 'giant dragon', (*naga*) *antaboga* 'great sea serpent', and *biram* "elephant; red" 'a legendary snake with heads at both ends of its body'. Chinese has dragon/elephant associations §4.3 and two-headed snakes §4.7, but the words seem unrelated.

103. Cf. the Japanese stretching of *kirin* < the legendary *qílín* 麒麟 'Chinese "unicorn"' to mean 'giraffe' (cf. Chinese *chángjīnglù* 長頸鹿 "long necked deer"). To distinguish 'giraffe', written Japanese uses either *kirin* キリン (in *katakana* versus 麒麟 written in *kanji*), or the

'earthworm' §2.1. All three Greek 'dragon' names cited above by Williams were chosen for zoological nomenclature. *Dragon* and the genus *Draco* of agamid lizards are named (< Latin *draco* 'dragon; dragon-shaped flag', cf. Δ 'dragon banner' §8.1) from Greek *drákōn* 'large serpent; dragon', thought to ultimately derive from Indo-European "sharp-sighted one" < **derk-* 'see' (cf. Zoroastrian *drug* 'deceitful one' 'dragon', Clerke 1887:100). A genus of freshwater polyps which can reproduce when divided was aptly named *Hydra* in reference to the mythic *Hydra* 'many-headed dragon which if one head were cut off, grew back two' < Greek *húdrā* 'aquatic snake' < *húdōr* 'water'. The *Pythonidae* family of large snakes was named after the *Python* 'a guardian spirit of soothsayers' < *pýthōn* an old name for 'Delphi'.¹⁰⁴

Japanese *wani* 'shark; crocodile' (Hino 1979:419-31) illustrates 'dragon' referential extensions. *Wani* was originally phoneticized with 和辻 characters, but was also written 鰐 'crocodile' §6.3. Since crocodilians evidently never lived in Japan, it seems some ancient 'shark; crocodile; sea-dragon?' word was imported and then specialized to 'crocodile', as distinguished from native 鮫 'shark' (cf. *wanizame* 鰐鰯 'fierce shark', i.e., *fuka* 鰐). Aston (1896:61) hypothesizes Japanese *wani* came from Korean *wang-i* 'king' < Chinese *wáng* 王 (cf. 王蛇 §4.5). Since this alleged borrowing was based upon similarities between *wani* myths and Naga *lóngwáng* 竜王 'dragon king' stories §4.7, Visser asks:

Why should the ancient Japanese or Koreans have called these sea-monsters "kings", omitting the word "dragon", which is the most important part of the combined term "dragon-king"? (1913:140)

He instead sees resemblances between stories from the Kei

scientific loan word *jirafu* ジラフ.

104. A fourth example of extending Greek draconyms into zoological nomenclature is *Basiliscus* 'a genus of tropical American lizards' named after the *Basilisk* 'a dragon with lethal breath and glance' < Greek *basiliskos* "little king" (cf. Chinese *wángshé* 王蛇 §4.5 and English *king snake*). Compare the *cockatrice* 'dragon with lethal glance' < *cock* (affected by *crocodile*) < translating Greek *ikhneúmōn*.

and Celebes Islands (cited by Muller 1893:533) and *wani* myths, concluding (1913:141), "we may be sure that the latter is of Indonesian origin" and was brought to Japan in prehistoric times. Smith (1919:103) disagrees: "The *wani* or crocodile thus introduced from India, via Indonesia, is really the Chinese and Japanese dragon, as Aston has claimed." Visser's proposal for an Indonesian *wani* origin is linguistically corroborated by Proto-Austro-Tai **(m)baniwak* 'shark; crocodile' (Table 4) which Benedict (1990:193) thinks split into Japanese *wani* 鰐 and *uo* 魚 'fish'.

(III) Mythical draconyms often derive from names of larger reptilians. The *bāshé* < **pāǎ'ia* 巴蛇 'elephant-eating snake' §4.3 and *ránshé* < **ńiamǎ'ia* 蟒蛇 'python' §4.4 are good illustrations. Since pythons usually crush their prey and swallow them whole, one can imagine Chinese tales about southern **ńiamǎ'ia* 'pythons' being exaggerated into legendarily constipated **pāǎ'ia* 'giant snakes' that ate an elephant every three years.

Chinese *lóng* 龍 dragons had ancient associations with dinosaurs §2.1, and Xu (1940:62) suggests that fear of dinosaurs developed into Chinese worship of dragons.¹⁰⁵ A similar hypothesis that dragons, including the "serpent" in the Garden of Eden, originally referred to dinosaurs was popularized by Sagan (1977:125-51; failing to acknowledge its proposal in 1886 by Gould [quoted by Ball 1903:222]). Since dinosaurs became extinct many millennia before the earliest humans, this "dinosaur" → 'dragon' idea is temporally untenable.

§9.3 Examples show some potential applications for the Chinese draconymic data compiled within this study. The representative illustrations below discuss (I) Chinese *qióngqióng* 蛩蛩, (II) Japanese *orochi* 大蛇, (III) Ainu snake gods, and (IV) 'dragon' terms from some Vietnamese languages.

105. Tollef As (p.c. of 89/8/21) suggests dinosaur skeletons had a special significance; cf. *lónggǔ* 龍骨 "dragon bones" §2.1 and Wang Chong's *Lunheng* (esp. 6/11a-16a) assertion that dragons were factual animals in historical times.

(I) Citing a Chinese example may seem superfluous, but draconyms can shed light upon names of other mythic creatures. The legendary *qióngqióng* < **g'jungg'jung* 蛩蛩 "cricket cricket," or *qióngqióng-jùxū* < **g'jungg'jung-g'ioXio* 蛩蛩巨虛 (suffixed with "great empty") supposedly had long forelegs and short hindlegs, and was thus symbiotic with the *jué* < **kiwat* ~ **g'iwat* 蹶 ~ 蹶 "stumble; kick" 'jerboa?' which had short forelegs and long hindlegs. Because the former could only go downhill and the latter only uphill, their combination 蛩蛩 metaphorically means 'inseparable (esp. marital) attachment; fidelity'.

**G'jungg'jung* 蛩蛩 is usually described (e.g., *Shanhaijing* 8/5b [with 燭陰 §8.5]; *Huainanzi* 12/4b-5a) as resembling a horse, and not a dragon. However, since Chinese dragons (cf. 龍馬 §8.4) were traditionally depicted with horse's heads (Diény 1987:19-20), a mythic association is suggested by graphic and phonetic evidence: the 虫 'wug' in 蛩 and the similarity between **g'jungg'jung* and **ljung* 龍 'dragon' <? **g'l-* (Tables 2 and 8).

(II) Japanese *orochi* < *worōti* 大蛇 "giant snake; (esp. eight-headed) dragon" has been discussed as a loanword from Austronesian, Tungic, and Indo-European; and Chinese draconyms present a different perspective. According to a widely known Japanese myth (Daniels 1960:145), one of the three imperial treasures, the *kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙の劍 "grass mowing sword" was discovered in the tail of a *yamata no orochi* 八岐の大蛇 "eight-headed dragon."¹⁰⁶ *Orochi*

106. In modern usage, *orochi* refers to 'giant snake; dragon' with any number of heads. Legends about "many-headed dragons" (e.g., Greek *Hydra* above) are told around the world, but eight heads are comparatively less common than seven (Smith 1919:212-5) or nine (esp. in Chinese myths, e.g., 雄 Φ §4.5, ♀ 姪 §5.1 相柳 §8.9; Eberhard 1968:230-2). In Japanese numerology, *ku* ~ *kyu* (< Middle Chinese *kjəu*;) 九 'nine' is avoided because of homophony with *ku* (< *k'uo*;) 苦 'pain'; and *ya* ~ *hachi* ~ *hatsu* (< *pwät*) 八 '8' can mean 'many' (e.g., *yaoya* 八百屋 "800 [things] store" 'vegetable shop; Jack-of-all-trades'). Visser (1911:273) suggests later generations mixed up Indian *Naga* ideas with the original *orochi* legend, and (1913:150) mentions the Japanese stereotype of Buddhist gods/kings riding eight dragons. Other than "8" → 'many', another explanation for the

derives from Old Japanese *worōti* (with a regular *o-* < *wo-* shift, Miller 1971:25-7), but its origin is enigmatic.

Japanese scholars (e.g., Yanagida 1963, Hiroto 1977, 1983) have put forth more than a dozen *orochi* "etymologies." Excluding the linguistically ludicrous (e.g., a condensation < *osoroshiku chijimu yōna kimochi* 恐ろしく縮むような気持ち "feeling like shrinking up in fear" from seeing a big snake, 本朝辞源), we are left with probable *oro-* "tailed/big/hill" + *-chi* "god" derivations. The initial *o(ro)-* < *wo(rō)-* could indicate *o* 尾 'tail' (cf. the above 草薙の劍 myth), *ō* 大 'big; great', or dialectal *oro* 'peak; summit' (e.g., *orota* 峰ろ田 "peak field"). And the final *-chi* < *-ti* probably means 'god; spirit', cognate with *mizuchi* 水父 "water father" 'a river god' (Visser 1913:137-9, also written *ō* §8.2) and/or *ikazuchi* 雷 'thunder (god)'.

Western linguists have looked for *orochi* borrowings. Benedict (1985:167) saw *worōti* < suffixed **(w)orōt-i* as an early acquisition from Proto-Austro-Japanese **[q]uləj* 'wug; snake' (> Austronesian **uləj* 'wug; snake' words); later modified (1990:243) to **(u-)orot-i* < **[q,?]oləj*. Miller (1987:647) criticized him for overlooking Old Japanese:

...*worō* 'tail' + suffix *-ti*--as well as an obvious Tungus etymology, [Proto-Tungus] **xurgū-či* 'the tailed one' (cf. Evenki *irgici* 'wolf', Benzing 1955:990); this apparently well-traveled *orochi* has now even turned up in the speculation of the [Indo-European] folklorists (Littleton 1981).

Littleton's hypothesis involves the three-headed Indian *Viśvarupa* ~ *Trīśiras* [lit. "tricephalous"], but its only similarity with the *orochi* myth is that both dragons were slain after getting them drunk; *Viśvarupa* ~ *Trīśiras* is no closer to *worōti* than three heads is to eight. A possible solution may be found in the earliest Japanese (c. AD 712, *Kojiki* 古事記 1/19) *worōti* transcription: *yuānlūzhī* < Middle Chinese *jīwānliwō:tiē*- 遠呂智 "distant spine wisdom." Instead of bilabial *w-*, this Japanese draconym could have had some ancient palatalized initial, cf. **djangū'ia* 長蛇 'long snake' §4.2 or **giwcdngio* 鰩 魚 'winged fish' §2.7.

orochi's heads is association with the legs of a *tako* 蛸 'octopus' (Hino 1979:260).

draconyms *ngāk 鰐 'crocodile' §6.3, *ńiamǎ'ia 𪚩 'giant snake; python' §4.4, and *giwangǎ'ia 王蛇 'boa; python' §4.5 resemble: Rengao nang grǎi (Gregerson 1977), Western Cham nugarai (Kvoeu-Hor and Friberg 1978), Chru anǎ grǎi (Jràng et al. 1977), Rade anak rai (Y-Chang 1979), and perhaps Northern Rglai ula nǎc (Awo'i-hathe et al. 1972). Bahnar prao 'dragon' (Banker and Mo' 1979) could derive from *piwerǎ'ia 飛蛇 'flying snake' §3.6 or *piwerngio 飛魚 'flying fish' §3.7. Nearly perfect 'dragon; alligator' correspondences exist between Nung Fan Slihng tú luhng 'dragon' (Bé et al. 1982) [with tú "spirit" the 'classifier for animate beings'] and *t'oliung 土龍 'alligator: rain-dragon' or *d'ārliung N 龍 'alligator' §6.2; and lastly between Chrau dêr 'dragon' (Thomas 1966) and *d'ār N 'alligator' §6.2. These draconyms are the most representative case of borrowings, because China has strongly influenced Vietnamese cultures.

False cognates, which Matisoff calls "comparabilia," are a danger. With such a large comparative base of Chinese draconyms, simply finding rough phonetic similarities does not establish borrowings. For instance, *mwàngǎ'ia 蟒蛇 'boa; python' §4.5 sounds something like Mongolian *moɣai 'snake' (Kuribayashi 1989:286),¹¹⁰ but there is no reason to suspect contact between these southern 'giant snake' and northern 'snake' terms.

Chinese has the oldest recorded East Asian draconyms, and one of the largest 'dragon' lexical fields in any language. Eberhard says:

Combining as it does all sorts of mythological and cosmological notions, the dragon is one of China's most complex and multi-tiered symbols. Indeed the word *long* covers a variety of heterogeneous beings. (1986:83)

Among the "multiple tiers" of Chinese dragons, names like *lóng* 龍 are more empirically verifiable than myths like luminous snakes or cosmologies like rain-dragons. It is hoped that this study will encourage research into draconymic borrowings/loans among Asian languages. The final answers to questions about dates and directions of

110. From Chakhar *mogax*, Dagur *mogw*, Shera-Yöğur *moRui*. Monguor *moGuai*, Bao-an *moGei*, and Dungshang *moɣei*.

dragon contacts will be interdisciplinary, involving not only historical linguistics, but ethnozoology, art history, and comparative mythology.

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APPENDIX OF NON-JIS CHARACTERS

A = 螚	Λ = 𧈧	Φ = 𧈧	η = 𧈧
B = 𧈧	M = 龍龍	X = 𧈧	θ = 𧈧
Γ = 𧈧	N = 𧈧	Ψ = 𧈧	ι = 𧈧
Δ = 旂	Ξ = 𧈧	Ω = 𧈧	κ = 𧈧
E = 𧈧	O = 𧈧	α = 𧈧	λ = 𧈧
Z = 𧈧	Π = 𧈧	β = 𧈧	μ = 𧈧
H = 𧈧	P = 𧈧	γ = 𧈧	ν = 𧈧
Θ = 𧈧	Σ = 𧈧	δ = 𧈧	ε = 𧈧
I = 𧈧	T = 𧈧	ε = 𧈧	ο = 𧈧
K = 𧈧	T = 𧈧	ς = 𧈧	π = 𧈧

ρ = 媯

ж = 虫多

я = 羸

σ = 眈

з = 魑

τ = 控

и = 魑

ν = 杆

у = 揮

φ = 梭

ц = 驪

χ = 魚交

ч = 猗

ψ = 虫冉

б = 虫鬼

ω = 埤

э = 魑

б = 螽

ю = 鬼虛

л = 龙

ш = 魚庸

INDEX OF DRACONIC NAMES

- bā < *pā 巴 'giant snake' §4.3
 bāshé < *pāđ'ia 巴蛇 'giant snake' §4.3
 bānlóng < *pwanliung 班龍 'dappled dragon' §3.3
 bàngyú < *b'üngngio 魃 'flying-dragon' §3.4
 bēnshé < *pwenđ'ia 奔蛇 'flying snake' §3.1
 bóyú < *b'akngio 薄魚 'drought demon; dragon?' §2.9
 chángshé < *diangđ'ia 長蛇 'long snake' §4.2
 chén < *đien 辰 'cyclical 5; dragon' §8.1
 chén < *đien 辰 ~ 晨 'dragon star' §8.1
 chī < *xlia ~ *xliēg 魃 'a dragon; mountain demon' §7.1
 chīmei < *xliēgmier 魃魅 'mountain demon; a dragon' §7.1
 chuānshānjiǎ 穿山甲 'gavial' §7.3
 dashé < *d'ādđ'ia 大蛇 'giant snake' §4.2
 didōng < *tiadtung O/E Z 'rainbow' §2.2
 dilóng < *d'iallung 地龍 'earth dragon' §3.2
 dilóu < *d'iuglu 地蠃 'man-eating demon; wug' §7.1
 diào 吊 'whale?' §8.6 [cf. jidiào]
 diāoshé < *tiogđ'iat ΓЖ 'dragon; cicada' §5.4
 dōuniū < *tungjūg 斗牛 'constellations; a dragon' §8.2
 dōngfū < *tungb'iwō 董父 'dragon tamer' §8.9
 è < *ngak 鰐 'crocodile' §6.3
 fāhóng < *piwāt'ung 發洪 'flood dragon' §6.1
 fēi < *piwēr 蜚 'drought demon' §2.5
 fēilián < *piwērgliam 蜚/飛廉 'wind god' §2.5
 fēifei < *piwērpīwēr 飛飛 'flying-dragon' §3.5
 fēilóng < *piwērlung 飛龍 'flying-dragon' §3.5
 fēishé < *piwērđ'ia 飛蛇 'flying snake' §3.6
 féiyi < *b'iwērgiwcd 肥遺 'rain-dragon' §2.5
 fēiyú < *piwērngio 飛魚 'flying fish' §3.7
 fēnglóng < *p'iōnggliōng 豐隆 'thunder god' §2.6
 fūhuī < *p'ioKxiwēr 蝮蛇 'boa; viper' §4.5
 fushé < *p'ioKđ'ia 蝮蛇 'viper' §4.5
 gōnggōng < *g'jungkung 共工 'rain-dragon; a minister' §8.9
 gōnggǔ < *g'jungko 共鼓 'inventor of ships' §8.9
 gòulóng < *kiulung 句龍 'dragon minister' §8.9
 gōushé < *kuđ'ia 鉤蛇 'hook snake' §4.7
 gǔ < *ko 鼓 'drum dragon' §7.2
 gǔzào < *kodz'ōg 鼓造 'anti-war spirit' §7.2
 gùn < *kwēn 鯀 'a legendary ruler' §8.9
 héyú < *g'ēpziū 合蛟 'flood dragon?' §4.1
 hēilóng < *Xmekliung 黑龍 'black rain-dragon' §2.3
 hēilún < *Xmekliwēn 黑龍 'black rain-dragon' §2.3

- hóng < *g'ung ~ jiàng < *kǔng 虹 '(Yang) rainbow' §2.2
 huàshé < *Xwād'ia 化蛇 'flood dragon' §2.8
 huáyú < *g'wctngio 魚 'winged snake' §2.7
 huànlóng < *g'wanliung 豢龍 'dragon rearer' §8.9
 huāntóu < *Xwānd'u 龍頭 'a dragon-like creature' §8.9
 huī < *Xiwer 暉 ~ 揮 'one-legged drum dragon' §7.6 [cf. kui]
 huī < *Xiwer Φ 'python; viper' §4.5
 huishé < *Xiwerd'ia Φ 蛇 'python; viper' §4.5
 hūjiāo < *Xokög 虎蛟 'tiger dragon' §6.1
 jidiào 吉弔 'whale' §8.6
 jīméng < *kiedmung 計蒙 'dragon spirit' §8.8
 jiāo < *kög 蛟 'shark; mermaid' §6.1
 jiāo < *kög 蛟 'river dragon; crocodile' §6.1
 jiāocù < *kögts'ak 蛟錯 'shark; dragon?' §6.1
 jiāolóng < *kögliung 蛟龍 'scaled? dragon' §6.1
 jiǎolóng < *kùkliung 角龍 'horned dragon' §8.3
 jīng < *g'liang 鯨 'whale' §8.6
 jīngni < *g'liangngieg 鯨鯢 'whales; giant fish' §8.6
 jīngyú < *g'liangngio 鯨魚 'whale' §8.6
 juélóng < *kiwetliung 𪚩 龍 'sea dragon' §5.3
 kān < *k'əm 龕 'young dragon; shrine' §2.1
 kui < *g'iwər 𪚩 'one-legged drum dragon' §7.6 [cf. huī]
 kuixū < *g'iwərXio 𪚩 幽 'mountain demons' §7.6
 léigōng < *lwerkung 雷公 'thunder god' §2.6
 léishī < *lwərsjər 雷師 'thunder god' §2.6
 léishén < *lwərđ'iən 雷神 'thunder god' §2.6
 lì < *liəd/r 𪚩 'rain-dragon; giant frog' §2.3 [cf. lún]
 línglǐ < *liəngliəg 𪚩 𪚩 'pangolin' §7.3
 lingshé < *liəngd'ia 靈蛇 'divine snake' §4.3
 língyú < *liəngngio 𪚩 / 陵魚 'merman, mermaid' §7.3
 liúléi < *liəgliwər 劉累 'dragon tamer' §8.9
 lóng < *liung 龍 '(rain) dragon' §2.1
 lónglǐ < *liungliəg 龍𪚩 'dragon-carp' §3.4
 lóngquè < *liungtsiok 龍雀 'flying dragon' §3.5
 lóngmǎ < *liungmǎ 龍馬 'dragon horse' §8.4
 lóngwáng 龍王 'dragon king; Naga' §4.7
 lóngyú < *liungngio 龍魚 'flying fish' §3.4
 lóngzhì < *liungd'iət 𪚩 姪 'a dragon' §5.1 [cf. next]
 lóngzhì < *liungtiət 𪚩 姪 'a dragon' §5.1
 lù < *liək 𪚩 'land fish' §7.4
 lún < *liwen B 𪚩 'rain-dragon; giant frog' §2.3 [cf. lì]
 luòyú < *lwāngio 𪚩 魚 'flood dragon?' §2.7
 mǎng < *mwāng 蟒 'boa; python' §4.5
 mǎngshé < *mwāngd'ia 蟒蛇 'boa; python' §4.5
 máodú < *mogd'uk 毛犢 'water buffalo?; dragon' §2.4

- měirén < *mǐernǐēn 美人 'rainbow' §2.2
 mingshé < *miēngǎ'ia 鳴蛇 'drought dragon' §2.8
 nāgā 那伽 ~ lóng 龍 'Naga' §4.7
 nǐ < *ngieg 鯢 'giant salamander; (female) whale' §8.6
 niè < *ngiat ~ nǐ < *ngieg 霓 '(Yin) rainbow' §2.2
 nuòlóng < *nākliung 諾龍 'south sea dragon' §6.5
 pángǔ < *b'wānko 盤古 'creator of the universe' §8.5
 pánlóng < *b'wānliung 蟠龍 'coiled dragon' §3.2
 qièèr < *k'iatñier 挈貳 'rainbow' §2.2 [cf. xīyì]
 qiú < *g'ǐōg ~ jiú < *kǐōg δ 'a dragon' §8.2
 qiúlóng < *g'ǐōgliung δ 龍 'horned? dragon' §8.2
 rán < *ñiam ψ 'giant snake' §4.4
 rānshé < *ñiamǎ'ia ψ / 蟺蛇 'giant snake; python' §4.4
 rányǐ < *ñiamgiwcd 冉遺 'a dragon' §4.4
 rényú < *ñiēngio 人魚 'merman, mermaid' §7.3
 rùshōu < *ñiukǐōg 蓐收 'dragon spirit' §8.7
 shānhuī < *sǎñxiwər 山魃 'a mountain demon' §7.5
 shānxiāo < *sǎnsiōg 山魈 'one-legged imp' §7.5
 shēshén < *d'ǐad'jēn 蛇神 'snake god' §4.6
 shèn < *dǐen 蜃 'sea-dragon; a shellfish' §8.1
 shénhuī < *d'ǐēñxiwər 神鬼 'one-legged demon' §7.5
 shénlóng < *d'ǐēñliung 神龍 'thunder dragon' §2.6
 shénlún < *d'ǐēñliwən 神隼 'divine rain-dragon' §2.3
 shénshé < *d'ǐēñǎ'ia 神蛇 'divine snake' §4.6
 shilinglǐ 石鯨 'gavial' §7.3
 shuairán < *sliwəññian 率然 'two-headed snake' §4.7
 shuǐhuī < *siwəñxiwər 水魃 'water snake dragon' §8.3
 shuǐjiāo < *siwərkōg 水蛟 'water dragon' §6.1
 suānyú < *swānzio 酸與 'winged snake' §3.8
 tāotiè < *t'ogt'iet 饕餮 'glutton; dragon? monster' §5.4
 tè < *d'ək A 'locust' §3.1 [cf. next]
 téng < *d'əng A 'flying-dragon' §3.1
 téngshé < *d'əngǎ'ia 騰蛇 'flying-dragon' §3.1
 tiānlóng < *t'ienliung 天龍 'heavenly dragon' §3.2
 tiányóng < *d'ǐōgdǐung ε ζ 'drought dragon' §2.7
 tūlóng < *t'olǐung 土龍 'alligator; rain-dragon' §6.2
 tūlóu < *t'oglu 土樓 'man-eating demon' §7.1
 tuán < *d'wān π 'drought dragon' §2.9
 tuó < *d'ār N 'alligator' §6.2
 tuólóng < *d'arǐung N 龍 'alligator' §6.2
 tuówéi < *d'argiwer α 圍 'water spirit' §6.2
 wālóng < *wagǐung 蛙 𪚩 'a demon' §6.2
 wānghuī < *giwangxiwər 王虺 'python; boa' §4.5
 wāngliǎng < *mǐwangliang 魍魎 'aquatic demon' §7.1
 wāngshé < *giwangǎ'ia 王蛇 'boa; python' §4.5

- wèiyú < *giwcdngio 魚 'winged fish' §2.7
 wényáo < *miwəndioŋ 文 'flying fish' §3.7
 xīyǐ < *siek'ier 析翳 'rainbow' §2.2 [cf. qièer]
 xiāngliǔ < *siangliōŋ 相柳 'nine-headed dragon' §8.9 [or]
 xiāngyáo < *siangdiōŋ 相 'nine-headed dragon' §8.9
 xiónguǐ < *giǔŋxiwər 雄龜 'nine-headed dragon' §4.5
 xiūshé < *siōŋd'ia 脩蛇 'long/speckled snake' §4.1
 xuānshé < *g'iwənd'ia 玄蛇 'giant snake' §4.4
 yàyǔ < *atziu 𪚩 'dragon-like beast' §4.1
 yánlóng 鹽龍 'salt dragon; monitor lizard?' §6.5
 yīnglóng < *iəŋgliuŋ 應龍 'winged rain-dragon' §2.4
 yóngyóng < *diuŋdiuŋ 𪚩𪚩 'drought dragon?' §2.7
 yǔ < *giwo 禹 'legendary ruler' §8.9
 yúlóng < *ngioliuŋ 御龍 'dragon ruler' §8.9
 yúniú < *ngiongǐŋ 魚牛 'land fish' §7.4
 yúyú < *ngiungiu 禺禺 'mythical fish' §7.4
 yuānshé < *ngiwānd'ia 元蛇 'giant snake' §4.4
 yúnlóng < *giwənljuŋ 雲龍 'cloud dragon' §2.1
 zhīlóng 蜃 'a dragon' §5.1 [cf. lóngzhǐ]
 zhūpólóng < *tjɔb'waljuŋ 豬婆龍 'gavial' §6.4
 zhúlóng < *tiukliuŋ 燭龍 'torch dragon' §8.5
 zhúyīn < *tiuk'ie 燭陰 'torch dragon' §8.5
 zhuōlóng < *t'ōkliuŋ 卓龍 'torch dragon' §8.5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	6 CROCODILE-DRAGONS
1.1 Scope	6.1 <i>Jiao</i> 蛟
1.2 Sources	6.2 <i>Tuo</i> 𪚩
1.3 Linguistic Aspects	6.3 <i>E</i> 鰐
2 RAIN-DRAGONS	6.4 <i>Zhupolong</i> 猪婆龍
2.1 <i>Long</i> 龍	6.5 <i>Yanlong</i> 塩龍
2.2 <i>Hong</i> 虹	7 HILL-DRAGONS
2.3 <i>Lun</i> 𪚩	7.1 <i>Chi</i> 𪚩
2.4 <i>Yinglong</i> 應龍	7.2 <i>Gu</i> 鼓
2.5 <i>Feiyi</i> 肥遺	7.3 <i>Lingli</i> 鯉
2.6 <i>Leishen</i> 雷神	7.4 <i>Lu</i> 𪚩
2.7 <i>Tiaoyong</i> 𪚩	7.5 <i>Shanxiao</i> 山 3
2.8 <i>Mingshe</i> 鳴蛇	7.6 <i>Kui</i> 𪚩
2.9 <i>Tuan</i> 𪚩	8 MISCELLANEOUS DRAGONS
3 FLYING-DRAGONS	8.1 <i>Chen</i> 辰
3.1 <i>Teng</i> 𪚩	8.2 <i>Qiu</i> 𪚩
3.2 <i>Panlong</i> 蟠龍	8.3 <i>Jiaolong</i> 角龍
3.3 <i>Banlong</i> 班龍	8.4 <i>Longma</i> 龍馬
3.4 <i>Longyu</i> 龍魚	8.5 <i>Zhuyin</i> 燭陰
3.5 <i>Feilong</i> 飛龍	8.6 <i>Jidiao</i> 吉帛
3.6 <i>Feishe</i> 飛蛇	8.7 <i>Rushou</i> 辱收
3.7 <i>Feiyu</i> 飛魚	8.8 <i>Jimeng</i> 計蒙
3.8 <i>Suanyu</i> 酸與	8.9 Dragon People
4 SNAKE-DRAGONS	9 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS
4.1 <i>Xiushe</i> 脩蛇	9.1 Summary
4.2 <i>Changshe</i> 長蛇	9.2 Draconym Borrowings
4.3 <i>Ba</i> 巴	9.3 Examples
4.4 <i>Ran</i> 𪚩	REFERENCES
4.5 <i>Mang</i> 蟒	APPENDIX
4.6 <i>Shenshe</i> 神蛇	INDEX
4.7 <i>Naga</i> 那伽	
5 WUG-DRAGONS	
5.1 <i>Longzhi</i> 𪚩	
5.2 <i>Walong</i> 𪚩	
5.3 <i>Juelong</i> 𪚩	
5.4 <i>Diaoshe</i> 𪚩	