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## FRACTIONS IN THE SUÀN SHÙ SHŪ (CHINA, BEGINNING OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup> CENTURY BCE)

### 西漢出土文獻《算數書》分數表達

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**ABSTRACT:** The *Suàn Shù Shū* contains 301 instances of regular expressions for fractions. They can be "mono-dimensional" (formed with one integer name only) for unit fractions, "bidimensional" (with two integer names) for both unit and non-unit fractions, or lexicalized only for 1/3, 1/2 and 2/3. The present paper gives a complete description of the diversity of these forms. Bidimensional expressions are predicative phrases: the name  $n f \bar{e} n$  of a unit fraction 1/*n* acts as subject and the numerator's name as predicate; according to the syntactic context, the morpheme  $zh\bar{i}$  can be used as an optional marker of this predicative relation.

**KEYWORDS:** Chinese historical syntax, Fractions, Numerical expressions, Separable semantic units, Measure words, *Suàn Shù Shū*.

**摘要:** 西漢出土文獻《算數書》中表達分數的短語有 301 例。本文全面描述該書中的那些短語。在文中,我把它們定義為"一維短語(即包括唯一一個整數名)"和"二維短語(即包括兩個整數名)",前者表達單位分數,後者表達單位和非單位分數,除此之外還有三個詞彙化的短語專門用於表達 1/3、1/2 和 2/3。在二維短語中,單位分數 1/n 作為短語的主語表達分母,而表達分子的那個數名作為短語的謂語,根據語境,"之"字可作為短語標誌放在主謂語之間。

**主題詞**:中文語法歷史,分數,表数短語,離合詞組,量詞,《算數書》。

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Abbreviations DECL: declarative; MW: measure word; NUM: numeral; OBJ: object of transitive verb; 3OBJ: third person object pronoun;  $\{n\}$  (with a number *n* written in Arabic numerals): the mono-morphemic expression of the number *n* in a given language; A(B) and A(BC): the character *A* is a rendition of the original character encountered in the Chinese corpus, the character *B* or the sequence *BC* in parenthesis is a modern form of what is understood for *A*. For example:  $\overline{f}(X)$ ,  $\overline{t}(\Box+)$ ,  $\overline{m}(\Box+)$ ,  $\overline{\pm}(\overline{t}+)$ ,  $\overline{m}(\Box+)$ ,  $\overline{\pm}(t+1)$ ,  $\overline{m}(\Box+)$ .

#### 1. FRACTIONS IN THE SUÀN SHÙ SHŪ

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The *Suàn Shù Shū*<sup>1</sup> is a mathematical text written on 190 bamboo strips, consisting of approximately 7,000 characters. The manuscript was excavated during the winter of 1983–84 from a Han Dynasty tomb in Zhangjiashan where a calendar for the year 186 BCE was found, and so the tomb is thought to have been closed that very year: the book was probably written in the beginning of the  $2^{nd}$  century BCE. Peng Hao (2001: 4–6) states that the production and taxation standards mentioned in some passages prove that they were copied from originals written in the kingdom of Qin before the unification of China in 221 BCE, while other sections could only have been composed during the reign of the Western Han Dynasty which began in 206 BCE.

The text contains 301 occurrences (not all different) of regular expressions for fractions. This is much more than in Qin-Han manuscripts found in the same tomb<sup>2</sup>, or elsewhere but not specialized in mathematics. More Qin-Han texts of mathematics were discovered after the *Suàn Shù Shū*; they <sup>3</sup> shows no discrepancy concerning the expression of integers and fractions which are all *proper fractions*, i.e. smaller than 1, the denominator being larger than the numerator<sup>4</sup>. They are all written in the Chinese language; I use Arabic numerals in translations because they are more readable than numbers written in English, but there is no symbolic numerical notation in the original.

Expressions for fractions can be special lexicalized items, but clearly such a scheme is viable only for a few specific fractions; in Qin-Han texts this was limited to 1/2, 1/3 and 2/3. On the other hand a *generic* linguistic pattern capable of communicating the fraction of any two integers has to account for both the numerator and the denominator, thus producing numerical expressions which I call *bidimensional*. Unit fractions 1/n are a special case in the corpus since approximately 64% (exactly 83 out of 129) of them only state their denominator *n* and end up *monodimensional*.

English *two-fifths* can be inserted before nouns or measure words as the head of a noun phrase using the preposition *of*; for example *two-fifths of the* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Authorised editions of the *Suàn Shù Shū* were successively published in [Wenwu 2000] and [Wenwu 2001]. An edition with commentary was published by Peng Hao (2001). Japanese translations were produced by Jochi S. (2001) and [Ōkawa et al. 2006]; the latter includes a translation into Contemporary Chinese by Ma Biao. Another Contemporary Chinese rendition was done by Hu Yitao (2006) who worked under the supervision of Zhang Xiancheng (Southwest University, Chongqing). Two independent English translations were successively produced by Cullen (2004) and Dauben (2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Yang Lingrong (2008: 14-20) counts 328 fractions in the *Suàn Shù Shū* (including atypical expressions of fractions and expressions of proportions), but 58 fractions only in all the other corpora of Zhangjiashan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I checked *Shù* 數 (it belonged to the Yuèlù Academy, the text is now available in Xiao Can 2010; Xiao Can briefed me by email about integers and fractions in *Shù* before the formal publication), and *Suàn Shù* 算術 (which was excavated in Shuihudi in 2006; at the time of my research, only short excerpts were available in Xiong Beisheng et al. (2008), a joint publication by the Hubei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaelogy (Húběi Shěng Wénwù Kăogǔ Yánjiūsuǒ) and the Yunmen Museum (Yúnmèng Xiàn Bówùguǎn) published in 2008, and in Chemla & Ma Biao (2011)).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> There is a wide range of values in the *Suàn Shù Shū* that depend on the calculations they are involved in. For example, 1/50 is on strip 4, 12/18 is on strip 55, 47/98 is on strip 92, and 162/2016 is on strip 20.

population or two-fifths of a liter. Contemporary Chinese expresses 2/5 as wǔ fēn  $zh\bar{i}$  er, i.e. {5}  $f\bar{e}n$   $zh\bar{i}$  {2}, with the denominator's name given first, the compound fen zhi coming next and the numerator's name in last position. The compound  $\{5\}$  fen zhi  $\{2\}$  can in turn be inserted directly before a measure word or a noun to form the sequences "Fraction Name + MW" or "Fraction Name + Noun" respectively; placing the fraction name in the head position of a noun phrase "Noun (+ de 的) + Fraction Name" is also possible. Nothing can be introduced between the components of two-fifths or  $\{5\}$  fen zhi  $\{2\}$ , therefore such compounds are inseparable semantic units or inseparable fraction names. But in Qin-Han manuscripts, the only inseparable fraction names were on one hand special lexicalized expressions of 1/3, 1/2 and 2/3, and on the other hand the monodimensional expressions of unit fractions built according to the pattern "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n$ "; measure words were inserted after these expressions. Bidimensional expressions of fractions were built as predicative phrases with the name "Denominator's Name + fen" of a unit fraction acting as subject and with the numerator's name acting as predicate. When a measure word was involved it was inserted right after "Denominator + fen". The morpheme  $zh\bar{i}$  could be optionally added before the numerator's name as a marker of the predicative relation.

The present paper provides an exhaustive survey of the diversity of all the expressions for fractions in the *Suàn Shù Shū*<sup>5</sup>.

#### 2. MEASURE WORDS, INTEGERS AND MIXED NUMBERS

Measure words can be found after the "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n$ " compounds. Measure words in the *Suàn Shù Shū* are mostly units of measurement<sup>6</sup>; they fit into the construction "NUM + MW" where the numeral can be the name of an integer, as well as lexicalized fraction names and monodimensional unit fraction expressions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Guo Shuchun (2002) and Yang Lingrong (2008) already presented the various patterns which can be encountered, but they failed to quantify their distribution and to relate them to their insertion contexts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Length units are *cùn* 寸, *chǐ* 尺, *bù* 步, *zhàng* 丈 and *lǐ* 里: 1 *lǐ* = 180 *zhàng*, 1 *zhàng* = 10 *chǐ*, 1 *bù* = 6 *chǐ*, 1 *chǐ* = 10 *cùn*. There is also a specific unit *wéi* 韋(圍) used only for circumferences according to Peng Hao (2001): 1 *wéi* = 3 *chǐ* (i.e.  $\approx \pi chǐ$ , the circumference of a circle with diameter 1 *chī*). Surface area units can be *mǔ* 畝 and *qǐng* 頃 (1 *qĭng* = 100 *mǔ*), or are derived from length units and contextually understood as referring to surfaces even though there is no special indication equivalent to English "square". Capacity units are *shēng* 升, *dŏu* 斗 and *shí* 石<sup>6</sup> (1 *shí* = 10 *dŏu*, 1 *dŏu* = 10 *shēng*). The only volume unit in the *Suàn Shù Shū* is *chĭ* 尺; it is derived from the length unit *chĭ* 尺 and occurs without any special indication equivalent to "cubic". Weight units are *zhū* 朱(銖), *liǎng* 兩, *jīn* 斤, *jūn* 鈞 and *shí* 石: 1 *shí* = 4 *jūn*, 1 *jūn* = 30 *jīn*, 1 *jīn* = 16 *liǎng*, 1 *liǎng* = 24 *zhū*. Note that *shí* 石 can designate both a capacity unit and a weight unit, and that the *Xiàndài hànyǔ guīfàn cídiǎn* 现代汉语规范 词典 [Dictionary of contemporary Chinese] (Beijing, 2010: 262) gives the pronunciation *dàn* for this character used as a measurement unit, but recommends *shí* when reading ancient texts.

Mass nouns sù 粟 [unhusked millet]<sup>7</sup>, mǐ 米 [husked millet], bài 粺 [milled millet]<sup>8</sup>, shuǐ 水 [water],  $q\bar{i}$  黍(漆) [lacquer],  $j\bar{i}n$  金 [gold], guǎng 廣 [width], zòng 縱 [length], etc. occur in "Noun + NUM + MW" sequences, whereas rén 人 [person] and nouns for countable items like *lútáng* 盧唐 [bamboo tube], *jiǎn* 簡 [bamboo strip], suàn 筭(算) [string of coins]<sup>9</sup>, etc. all fit into the pattern "NUM + Noun" in the same manner as measure words<sup>10</sup>. The word *qián* 錢 is used as a currency unit; it occurs either in "NUM + MW" or in "Noun + NUM". The numeral 1 is not always stated before a measure word; this is marked with  $\emptyset$ right before the measure word *chǐ* in (9), (42), and (43), and *wéi* in (69).

Fraction expressions are built from the names of the numerator and denominator, which are integers. Chinese names for integers belong to a decimal numeration. The digits are  $y\bar{r} - \{1\}^{11}$ ,  $\dot{e}r \equiv \{2\}^{12}$ ,  $s\bar{a}n \equiv \{3\}$ ,  $s\bar{i} \square \{4\}$ ,  $w\check{u} \equiv \{5\}$ ,  $li\check{u} \land \{6\}$ ,  $q\bar{i} \pm \{7\}$ ,  $b\bar{a} \land \{8\}$ ,  $ji\check{u} \land \{9\}$ . In the Suàn Shù Shū, the series of pivots is limited to  $shi + \{10\}$ ,  $b\check{a}i \equiv \{10^2\}$ ,  $qi\bar{a}n \neq \{10^3\}$  and wan 萬  $\{10^4\}$ ; the largest number being 10,000,000 expressed as  $qi\bar{a}n$  wan, i.e.  $\{10^3\}\{10^4\}$ , on strip 11.

I use the notation {*number*} with a number written in Arabic numerals between braces to represent the numerical morpheme which expresses the bracketed number in a particular language. For instance the same notation {10} can represent the word *ten* in English and the morpheme *shí* in Chinese. The notation { $10^4$ } represents *wàn* in Chinese, but would not occur for English *ten thousand*, which is represented as {10}{ $10^3$ } and stands for the succession of the mono-morphemic items *ten* {10} and *thousand* { $10^3$ }.

In the Suàn Shù Shū, the morpheme {1} is used before all pivots in a number name but the highest one. This is visualized with a shaded  $y\bar{i} \rightarrow \{1\}$  in examples (1), (2), (4), (6), and a shaded  $\emptyset$  in (3), (5), (6), (7). The sequences  $\{digit\}\{pivot\}$  and  $\{smaller pivot\}\{larger pivot\}$  express products, they are concatenated directly. These concatenations express sums.

The conjunction  $y\partial u$  was used in the Western Zhou inscriptions on bronze vessels to join the tens and units places, and sometimes also the hundreds and tens, but in the *Suàn Shù Shū* it occurs only in expressions of mixed numbers to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> I refer to Dauben (2008: 169-170) for the English names of crops and their byproducts in the *Suàn Shù Shū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In the Suàn Shù Shū as in the Nine Chapters [Jiǔ Zhāng Suàn Shù 九章算術], bài 粺 refers to milled millet, not to a particular variety of millet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The word *suàn* 筭(算) refers either to a string of coins (Cullen 2004: 29) or to a Han dynasty unit of taxation (Chemla & Guo Shuchun 2004: 989). <sup>10</sup> In Chinese the distinction between mass and countable nouns is semantic, not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In Chinese the distinction between mass and countable nouns is semantic, not grammatical. <sup>11</sup> According to the rules of  $p\bar{i}ny\bar{i}n$  transcription, the digit {1} is always romanized as  $y\bar{i}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> According to the rules of  $p\bar{i}ny\bar{i}n$  transcription, the digit {1} is always romanized as  $y\bar{i}$  with a first tone mark regardless of the actual tone in Contemporary Chinese. This depends on the tone of the following syllable; for example {1}{10<sup>4</sup>} is actually pronounced *yí wàn*, but this is only noted in publications concerned with pronunciation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Contemporary Chinese variant *liǎng*  $\overline{\mathbb{M}}$  was hardly used in exact number names before the 20th century CE and the digit  $\hat{e}r \equiv$  is the only numeral for 2 in the *Suàn Shù Shū*.

link an integer and a fraction as in (7) and it is free pattern<sup>13</sup>. The term *ling*  $\ll$  is not encountered anywhere in the corpus and was not used in integer names before the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE<sup>14</sup>.

Additionally, to write tens, the copyists of the *Suàn Shù Shū* could use ligatures instead of the corresponding two-character forms. The numbers 50, 60, 80 and 90 were either written with two separate characters, or as ligatures of the characters for 5, 6, 8 or 9 written in a reduced size above the character for 10; I always transcribe these with the two-character forms  $w\check{u} shi \Xi +$ ,  $li\check{u} shi \dot{\wedge} +$ ,  $b\bar{a} shi \Lambda +$  and  $ji\check{u} shi \Lambda +$  respectively. But 20, 30, 40 and 70 were always written  $\pm$ ,  $\pm$ ,  $\pm$  and  $\pm^{15}$  respectively. Conforming to the current scholarly usage, I transcribe them with their actual written forms followed by the twocharacter forms in parentheses:  $er shi \pm (\Xi +)$ ,  $s\bar{a}n shi \pm (\Xi +)$ ,  $si shi \pm (\Box +)$ and  $q\bar{i} shi \pm (\Box +)$  respectively; the  $p\bar{n}n\bar{n}n$  romanization and glosses are those of the disyllabic compounds<sup>16</sup>; see for example the expressions with 20 in (4) and (6).

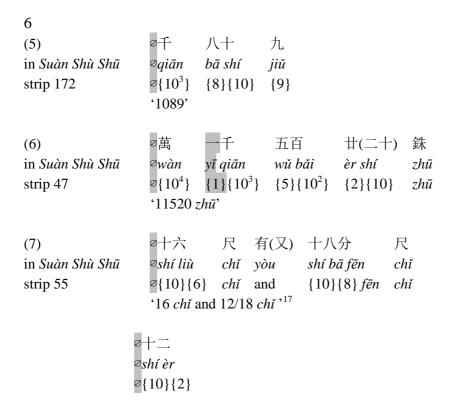
(1) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 172	二百 —+ $\dot{e}r b \dot{a}i$ yī shí $\{2\}\{10^2\}$ $\{1\}\{10\}$ '210'
(2) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 20	二千 一十 六 èr qiān yī shí liù $\{2\}\{10^3\}$ $\{1\}\{10\}$ $\{6\}$ '2016'
(3) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 76	錢 Ø百 五十 qián Øbǎi wǔ shí qián Ø{10 <sup>2</sup> } {5}{10} '150 qián'
(4) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 176	七千 一百 廿(二十) 九 qī qiān yī bǎi èr shí jiǔ {7}{10 <sup>3</sup> } {1}{10 <sup>2</sup> } {2}{10} {9} '7129'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> When a measure word separates the integer and the fraction, the item  $y\partial u$  can be present as in (7) or absent as in (18). When there is no measure word, the item  $y\partial u$  is sometimes not used as in (27) or used as in (119).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Readers can find more details on Chinese integer names in Anicotte (2015 a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The ligature  $\neq$  for 70 is also found in the Qin-Han manuscripts *Shù* and *Suàn Shù* mentioned above, but not in dictionaries of Middle Chinese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Modern dictionaries give the pronunciations *niàn* for  $\ddagger$ , *sà* for  $\ddagger$ , and *xì* for  $\ddagger$ , but other ligatures for tens are never mentioned; this justifies the present usage of glossing *all* of these ligatures as dissyllabic compounds. I presume nothing about the actual pronunciation of tens during the Qin-Han period; this matter is beyond the scope of the present paper.



The mixed number 16 12/18 in (7) is inserted with the measure word *chi*. The integer and the fraction are dealt with as two independent quantification phrases which are concatenated with *yòu* here or juxtaposed in other instances. The measure word *chi* occurs first with the integer and is inserted again within the expression for the fraction 12/18. This is a regular pattern in the *Suàn Shù Shū*<sup>18</sup>, even the nouns *jiǎn* 簡 [*bamboo strip*] and *suàn* 筭(算) [*string of coins*], in (55) and (57) respectively, appear first after the name of the integer and then again with the proper fraction after *fēn*. There are only a few exceptions: 3 can be seen in (28)–(30) with a measure word stated only after the integer, and there is also (76) with the noun *lútáng* 盧唐 [bamboo tube] placed in the measure word position in the integer expression but not repeated after *fēn*. On the other hand, (31) is a unique case of over-repetition, with the measure word *bù* also found after the denominator's name and therefore appearing three times.

#### **3. GENERIC UNIT FRACTION EXPRESSIONS**

#### 3-1. Monodimensional unit fraction expressions

In the Suàn Shù Shū as in other Qin-Han texts of mathematics, the canonical names for unit fractions 1/n were  $n f \bar{e} n$ . They stated only the denominator n but not the numerator 1 and were therefore monodimensional numerical expressions. Nothing could be inserted between the two constituents n and  $f \bar{e} n$ ; that is, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> English would simply write 16 12/18 *chĭ* and say "sixteen and twelve-eighteenths of a *chĭ*". My translations are meant to highlight the repetition of the measure words and the presence of linking terms in the original.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This repetition shows that the integer and the fraction were dealt with independently; this has nothing to do with "echo" constructions which occur in *one* quantification phrase "Noun + Num + Noun" (e.g. *qiāng bǎi qiāng* 羌百羌 [Qiang hundred Qiang] i.e. 'one hundred Qiang people' on bone inscription H32042).

 $n f \bar{e} n$  compounds were inseparable semantic units. Measure words followed  $n f \bar{e} n$  just as they followed integers. In other words, these  $n f \bar{e} n$  unit fraction designations were numerals in their own right.

The item fen in nfen can be considered syntactically neutralized and fossilized through its involvement in a word-formation process. It was used on occasion in the corpus as a noun for *part* or *fraction*, in which cases it could be read fen with a falling tone regardless of the modern reading fen. It was also used as a verb meaning to share (which should be read as fen); but considering fen in the compounds n fen synchronically, it seems pointless to try and interpret it as a noun or as a verb. From a semantic point of view, the question would be whether fen referred more to the action of partitioning or more to the result (the parts) of this action. This might be interesting in an attempt to reconstruct the *emergence* of the expressions n fen, but again this seems irrelevant synchronically.

In the Suàn Shù Shū, there are 83 instances (not all different) of monodimensional expressions of 1/n unit fractions. Among them, 76 do not involve a measure word, while 8 instances do. The 76 instances without measure words are:

→ *sān fēn* for 1/3 (16 instances, on strips 3, 5, 6, 24, 27, 139, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 176 and 179);

(100, 100, 170, 171, 172, 174, 170 and 177))

 $\rightarrow$  *sì fēn* for 1/4 (15 instances, on strips 3, 5, 6, 9, 14, 27, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176 and 179);

 $\rightarrow$  *wŭ fēn* for 1/5 (14 instances, on strips 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 170, 171, 172, 174, 176 and 179);

 $\rightarrow liù fen$  for 1/6 (10 instances, on strips 9, 10, 171, 172, 174, 176 and 179);

 $\rightarrow q\bar{i} f\bar{e}n$  for 1/7 (9 instances, on strips 5, 9, 10, 172, 174, 176 and 179);

 $\rightarrow b\bar{a} f\bar{e}n$  for 1/8 (5 instances, on strips 10, 174, 176 and 179);

 $\rightarrow ji\check{u} f\bar{e}n$  for 1/9 (2 instances, on strips 176 and 177);

 $\rightarrow$  shi fen for 1/10 (2 instances, on strips 179 and 180);

 $\rightarrow$  bǎi fēn for 1/100 (2 instances, on strips 14 and 16).

The 8 instances of expressions for unit fractions followed by a measure word are:

- $\rightarrow$  sān fēn cùn for 1/3 cùn on strip 2;
- $\rightarrow b\bar{a} f\bar{e}n c un$  for 1/8 c un on strip 2;

 $\rightarrow$  sì fēn cùn for 1/4 cùn on strip 4;

 $\rightarrow$  wǔ fēn cùn for 1/5 cùn on strip 4;

 $\rightarrow$  *liù fēn cùn* for 1/6 *cùn* on strip 4;

 $\rightarrow$  *liù shí fēn chĭ* for 1/60 *chĭ* on strip 4;

 $\rightarrow ji\check{u} f\bar{e}n zh\bar{u}$  for 1/9  $zh\bar{u}$  on strip 29.

#### **3–2. Bidimensional expressions of unit fractions**

The numerator's name  $\{1\}$  is not compulsory and is usually omitted when the fraction comes as a factor in a multiplication: check  $\emptyset$  right after  $f\bar{e}n$  in (8) with no measure word, and after the measure word  $c\hat{u}n$  in (9).

(8)	四分ø	乘	四分∅	十六分	<u> </u>
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	sì fēn ∅	chéng	sì fēn ∅	shí liù fēn	уī
strip 9	{4} <i>fēn</i> ∅	multiply	{4} <i>fēn</i> ∅	{10}{6} <i>fēn</i>	{1}
	'1/4 times	1/4 are 1/1	6'		
(9)	五分	寸∅ 乘	ø尺		
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	wŭ fēn a	cùn⊗ ché	ng Øch	ĭ	
strip 4	$\{5\} f\bar{e}n$ of	<i>cùn ∞</i> mul	tiply Ø ch	ĭ	
	'1/5 cùn times [one] chĭ are				
	五十分	尺 -	一也		
	wŭ shí fēn	chĭ y	ī yě		
	$\{5\}\{10\}f_{e}^{0}$	ēn chĭ {	1} DECL		
	1/50 [squa	re] <i>chĭ</i> ' <sup>19</sup>			

But {1} is not omitted (yielding bidimensional numerical expressions) when stating the result of multiplications involving  $n f \bar{e} n$  unit fraction names or lexicalized names for 1/2 and 1/3. Examples can be seen in (8) and (9) above for the former situation, and in (117) and (122) from Sect. 5 for the latter one. We can analyze the combination of  $n f \bar{e} n$  and {1} as a predicative clause with the monodimensional name of the unit fraction acting as the subject and the number name {1} acting as the predicate. There are 46 instances (not all different) of these bidimensional expressions of unit fractions in the *Suàn Shù Shū*. They are distributed among the following patterns (the category  $c_1$  includes no instances, but is known to exist in at least one other Qin-Han text):

(a<sub>1</sub>): "Denominator +  $f\bar{e}n$  + {1}": 24 instances presented in Sect 3-2-1 (b<sub>1</sub>): "Denominator +  $f\bar{e}n$  + MW + {1}": 11 instances in Sect 3-2-2. (c<sub>1</sub>): "Denominator +  $f\bar{e}n$  +  $zh\bar{\iota}$  + {1}": no instances (Sect 3-2-3). (d<sub>1</sub>): "Denominator +  $f\bar{e}n$  + MW +  $zh\bar{\iota}$  + {1}": 11 instances in Sect 3-2-4.

[Wenwu 2001] – and then Peng Hao (2001), [ $\bar{O}$ kawa et al. 2006], Hu Yitao (2006) – considered that a MW was omitted between *fen* and the numerator in some instances of the category (a<sub>1</sub>) and added the MW which was implied by the context. Yang Lingrong (2008: 17–19) already argued that such additions were unnecessary; I can only emphasize that they must be rejected in the study of the actual expressions of fractions in the corpus.

#### 3–2–1. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + {1}"

The 24 instances are:

 $\rightarrow$  sān fēn yī for 1/3 (1 instance, on strip 3);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This is the calculation of a surface. It also gives the conversion  $1/5 \ c \dot{u} n = 1/50 \ c h \check{i}$  for length units (given that  $1 \ c \dot{u} n = 1/10 \ c h \check{i}$ ); the conversion is expressed as a product.

 $\rightarrow$  sì fēn yī for 1/4 (3 instances, on strips 3, 4 and 8);

 $\rightarrow$  wǔ fēn yī for 1/5 (1 instance, on strip 5);

 $\rightarrow$  *liù fēn yī* for 1/6 (2 instances, on strips 3 and 8);

 $\rightarrow b\bar{a} f\bar{e}n y\bar{i}$  for 1/8 (1 instance, on strip 5);

 $\rightarrow ji\check{u}\,f\bar{e}n\,y\bar{i}$  for 1/9 (2 instances, on strips 3 and 8);

 $\rightarrow$  shí fēn yī for 1/10 (1 instance, on strip 5);

 $\rightarrow$  shí èr fēn yī for 1/12 (1 instance, on strip 5);

 $\rightarrow$  shí wử fēn yī for 1/15 (1 instance, on strip 6);

 $\rightarrow$  shí liù fēn yī for 1/16 (2 instances, on strip 5 and 9);

 $\rightarrow$  èr shí fēn yī for 1/20 (2 instances, on strip 6 and 9);

 $\rightarrow$  èr shí wǔ fēn yī for 1/25 (2 instances, on strips 6 and 8–9);

 $\rightarrow$  sān shí fēn yī for 1/30 (1 instance, on strip 9);

 $\rightarrow$  sān shí liù fēn yī for 1/36 (1 instance, on strip 9);

- $\rightarrow$  sì shí èr fēn yī for 1/42 (1 instance, on strip 10);
- $\rightarrow$  sì shí jiǔ fēn yī for 1/49 (1 instance, on strip 9);
- $\rightarrow$  wǔ shí fēn yī for 1/50 (1 instance, on strip 10).

#### 3–2–2. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + MW + {1}"

The 11 instances are given in (10)–(20):

(10) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 1	十分 尺 shí fēn chu {10} fēn chu '1/10 chǐ '	ž yī
(11) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 1	廿(二十)分 èr shí fēn {2}{10} fēn '1/20 chĭ '	chĭ yī
(12) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 2	卅(三十)分 sān shí fēn {3}{10} fēn '1/30 chĭ'	chĭ yī
(13) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 2		•
(14) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 4	八分 尺 bā fēn chǐ {8} fēn chǐ '1/8 chǐ'	уī

10 (15) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 4	卌(四十)分 sì shí fēn {4}{10}fēn '1/40 chĭ '	2
(16) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 4	五十分 wǔ shí fēn {5}{10} fēn '1/50 chǐ '	2
(17) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 86–87	四分 步 sì fēn bù {4} fēn bù '1/4 bù'	•

The following instances are inserted in mixed numbers.

(18) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 33	yī qián	{5} <i>f</i> en	qián	•	
(19) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 79	shí jīn	shí èr {10}{2} liǎng 19 zh 失(銖) — hū yī	liăng liăng ū	十九 <i>shí jiŭ</i> {10}{9}	zhū
(20) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 119	七 斗 qī dǒu {7} dǒu '7 dǒu 1/3	sān fēn {3} fēn	shēng	-	

#### 3–2–3. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n + zh\bar{\iota} + \{1\}$ "

In the whole *Suàn Shù Shū*, there are no instances of the sequence  $fen zh\bar{i}$  uninterrupted by a measure word before {1}. This absence does not prove the pattern to be impossible; actually there is an instance of it with the expression  $s\bar{a}n shi fen zh\bar{i} y\bar{i} \#(\Xi+)$  $(\Xi+)$ (3) {10}  $fen zh\bar{i}$  {1} on strip 0778 of *Shù* (Xiao Can 2010: 51).

#### 3–2–4. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + MW + $zh\bar{\iota}$ + {1}"

The 11 instances of this pattern are given in (21)–(26). All are quantification phrases starting with a noun.

(21)	粺	五分	升	Ż	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	bài	wŭ fēn	shēng	zhī	уī
strip 100	milled millet	{5} <i>fēn</i>	shēng	zhī	{1}
	'1/5 <i>shēng</i> of 1	milled mil	let'		
(22)	粺米	四分	升	之	<b></b>
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	bài mĭ	sì fēn	shēng	zhī	уī
strips 101-102	milled millet	{4} <i>fēn</i>	shēng	zhī	{1}
4 instances	'1/4 <i>shēng</i> of milled millet'				
(23)	毁(毇)米	四分	升	之	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	huĭ mĭ	sì fēn	shēng	g zh	$\overline{\iota}$ $y\overline{\iota}$
strips 102, 104	polished mille	t {4} <i>fēr</i>	ı shēng	g zh	<i>ī</i> {1}
2 instances	'1/4 <i>shēng</i> of polished millet'				
(24)	毁(毇)	四分	升	之	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	huĭ	sì fēn	shēng	g zh	$\overline{\iota}$ $y\overline{\iota}$
strip 103	polished mille	t {4} <i>fēr</i>	ı shēng	g zh	<i>ī</i> {1}
2 instances	'1/4 shēng of j	polished n	nillet'		

Beware that the Chinese name for 'polished millet' is *huĭ mĭ* in (23) and *huĭ* in (24).

(25)	米	六	升	四分	升	之	<u> </u>
in Suàn Shù Shū	mĭ	liù	shēng	sì fēn	shēng	zhī	уī
strip 121	husked miller	t {6}	shēng	{4} <i>fēn</i>	shēng	z.hī	{1}
	'6 shēng 1/4	shēng	of husked	l millet'			
(26)	從(縦) 一	步	六分	步之	<u> </u>		
in <i>Suàn Shù Sh</i> ū	zòng yī	bù	liù fēn	bù zhī	уī		

strip 121	length	{1}	bù	{6} <i>fēn</i>	bù	zhī	{1}
	'a length	n of 1	<i>bù</i> 1/	6 <i>bù</i> '			

#### 4. GENERIC EXPRESSIONS OF NON-UNIT FRACTIONS

There are 97 instances (not all different) of expressions of non-unit fractions stating both a numerator and a denominator in the *Suàn Shù Shū*. These bidimensional expressions of fractions are distributed among the following patterns:

(a<sub>2</sub>): "Denominator + fen + Numerator": 11 instances, in Sect. 4–1. (b<sub>2</sub>): "Denominator + fen + MW + Numerator": 43 instances, in Sect. 4–2. (c<sub>2</sub>): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + zh\bar{\iota} + Numerator": 7$  instances, in Sect. 4–3. (d<sub>2</sub>): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + MW + zh\bar{\iota} + Numerator": 36$  instance, in Sect. 4–4.

As above with category  $(a_1)$ , I reject the additions of a MW by [Wenwu 2001] in some instances of category  $(a_2)$ .

#### 4–1. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + Numerator" for non-unit fractions

The 11 instances are: *jiŭ fēn èr* for 2/9 on strip 8, *jiŭ fēn qī* for 7/9 on strip 30, on strips 22–23 there are *wǔ fēn èr* for 2/5, *liù fēn sān* for 3/6, *sān fēn èr* for 2/3, *shí fēn bā* for 8/10, *shí èr fēn qī* for 7/12, and finally 4 instances, all of them inserted in mixed numbers, given in (27)–(30); among them the 2 instances in (28) and (29) come in predicative position after a mass noun.

(27) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 36	•	v	ēn	shí yī	}	
(28) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 135	粺 bài milled millet '7 3/5 dǒu of 1	$q\bar{\iota}$ {7}	dŏu dŏu	( )0	sān	
(29) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 136	糲 <i>lì</i> husked millet '2 2/5 <i>dŏu</i> of l	èr {2}	dŏu dŏu			
(30) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 154		èr {2}	cùn	廿(二十) èr shí wù {2}{10}	í fēn	

#### 4–2. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + MW + Numerator" for non-unit fractions

The 43 instances are given in (31)–(72) along with the preceding integer when there is one. Of these 2 are identical and 11 follow a noun.

(31)	+-	步	有(又)	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	shí yī	bù	yòu	
strip 84	$\{10\}\{1\}$	bù	and	
	'11 <i>bù</i> and			

步20 九十七分 步 **+**(七十)九 jiǔ shí qī fēn bù qī shí jiŭ bù {7}{10}{9} {9}{10}{7} *fen* bù bù 79/97 bù' (32)\_ 錢 六十分 錢 五十七 in Suàn Shù Shū qián liù shí fēn qián wǔ shí qī èr strip 23 {2} *qián* {6}{10} *fen* qián {5}{10}{7} '2 qián 57/60 qián' 錢 (33)\_\_\_\_ 卅(三十)分 錢 十七 уī in Suàn Shù Shū qián sān shí fēn qián shí qī strips 23-24 {1} *qián* {3}{10} *fen* qián  $\{10\}\{7\}$ '1 qián 17/30 qián' (34)金  $\equiv$ 朱(銖) 九分 朱(銖) Ŧī. in Suàn Shù Shū jīn sān zhū jiŭ fēn zhū wй strip 28 gold  $\{3\}$ zhū {9} *fēn* zhū {5} '3 zhū 5/9 zhū of gold' (35)七分 朱(銖) 六 in Suàn Shù Shū qī fēn liù zhū strip 28  $\{7\} f\bar{e}n \ zh\bar{u}$ {6} '6/7 zhū' \_ (36)金 朱(銖) in Suàn Shù Shū zhū jīn èr strip 28 gold  $\{2\}$ zhū '2 *zhū* 六十三分 卌(四十)四 朱(銖) liùshí sān fēn sì shí sì zhū {6}{10}{3} fen zhū  $\{4\}\{10\}\{4\}$ 44/63 zhū of gold' 六十三分 朱(銖) 世(二十)二 (37)in Suàn Shù Shū liù shí sān fēn èr shí èr zhū strip 30  $\{6\}\{10\}\{3\}fen$ zhū  $\{2\}\{10\}\{2\}$ '22/63 zhū'

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  The third occurrence of  $b\dot{u}$  is superfluous and likely a copyist's mistake; this changes nothing about the classification of this fraction.

14 (38)五分 錢 四 in Suàn Shù Shū wŭ fēn qiàn sì strip 33  $\{5\} f \bar{e} n q i a n$ {4} '4/5 qiàn' (39)\_\_\_\_ 寸 六十二分 寸 卅(三十)八 in Suàn Shù Shū cùn liù shí èr fēn cùn sān shí bā уī strip 40 {6}{10}{2} *fen* {3}{10}{8} {1} *cùn* cùn '1 cùn 38/62 cùn' Ξ 寸 (40)六十二分 寸 十四 in Suàn Shù Shū sān cùn liù shí èr fēn cùn shí sì strips 40-41 {3} *cùn*  $\{6\}\{10\}\{2\}f\bar{e}n$ cùn  $\{10\}\{4\}$ '3 cùn 14/62 cùn' (41)六 寸 六十二分 寸 廿(二十)八 in Suàn Shù Shū liù liù shí èr fēn cùn cùn èr shí bā strip 41 {6} cùn  $\{6\}\{10\}\{2\}fen$ cùn  $\{2\}\{10\}\{8\}$ '6 cùn 28/62 cùn' \_\_\_\_ (42)ø尺 +六十二分 +五十六 in Suàn Shù Shū *∞ chĭ èr* cùn liù shí èr fēn wŭ shí liù cùn strip 41  $\emptyset$  chi {2} cùn  $\{6\}\{10\}\{2\}fen$ cùn {5}{10}{6} '[one] chỉ 2 cùn 56/62 cùn' Ŧī. 六十二分 五十 (43)ø尺 寸 寸 in Suàn Shù Shū Ø chĭ wŭ cùn liù shí èr fēn wŭ shí cùn strip 41 cùn  $\{6\}\{10\}\{2\}fen$ {5}{10} cùn '[one] chỉ 5 cùn 50/62 cùn' \_ 4  $\equiv$ 升 +-分 升 八 (44)in Suàn Shù Shū dŏu sān shēng shí yī shēng èr fēn bā strip 48 {2} *dŏu* {3} *shēng* {10}{1} *fēn* shēng **{8}** '2 dou 3 sheng 8/11 sheng' 兩 +朱(銖) (45)in Suàn Shù Shū zhū liăng shí vī {1} *liăng* {10} strip 50 zhū '1 liăng 10 zhū 百卌(四十)四分 九十二 朱(銖) bǎi sì shí sì fēn zhū jiŭ shí èr  $\{10^2\}\{4\}\{10\}\{4\}\$ fēn zhū  $\{9\}\{10\}\{2\}$ 92/144 zhū'

(46)錢 百一十四分 錢 ≠(七十)一 in Suàn Shù Shū yī qián băi yī shí sì fēn qián qī shí yī strip 57 qián  $\{10^2\}\{1\}\{10\}\{4\}\ fen$ {1} qián  $\{7\}\{10\}\{1\}$ '1 qián 71/114 qián' (47)卌(四十)分 斗 Ŧ. in Suàn Shù Shū sì shí fēn dŏu wŭ strip 59 {4}{10} *fen* dŏu {5} '5/40 dŏu' 錢 Ξ (48)四 錢 八分 bā fēn in Suàn Shù Shū sì qián qián sān strip 59  $\{4\}$  gián {8} *fēn* qián {3} '4 gián 3/8 gián' \_\_\_\_ (49) 八 寸 十一分 寸 in Suàn Shù Shū bā cùn shí yī fēn cùn èr strips 61-62 {8} *cùn* {10}{1}*fen* cùn {2} '8 cùn 2/11 cùn' (50)十八 錢 十一分 錢 九 in Suàn Shù Shū shí bā qián shí yī fēn jiŭ qián strip 62 {10}{8} qián {10}{1} *fen* qián {9} '18 qián 9/11 qián' (51)廿(二十)五分 錢 廿(二十)四 in Suàn Shù Shū èr shí wǔ fēn èr shí sì qián strip 64  $\{2\}\{10\}\{5\}\ fen$  $\{2\}\{10\}\{4\}$ qián '24/25 qián' 卅(三十)七分 升 **卅(三十)** (52)桼(漆) in Suàn Shù Shū shēng qī sān shí qī fēn sān shí strip 66 lacquer  $\{3\}\{10\}\{7\}fen$ shēng {3}{10} '30/37 shēng of lacquer' \_\_\_\_ 水 升 卅(三十)七分 升 七 (53)in Suàn Shù Shū shuĭ shēng sān shí qī fēn èr shēng qī strips 66-67 water  $\{2\}$ shēng {3}{10}{7} fēn shēng {7} '2 shēng 7/37 shēng of water' 七 步 卅(三十)七分 世(二十)三 (54)步 in Suàn Shù Shū bù sān shí qī fēn èr shí sān qī bù strip 68 {7} bù  $\{3\}\{10\}\{7\}\ fen$ bù  $\{2\}\{10\}\{3\}$ '7 bù 23/37 bù'

The nouns *jiǎn*  $\mathfrak{B}$  [*bamboo strip*] and *suàn*  $\mathfrak{F}(\mathfrak{P})$  [*string of coins*] occur after *fēn* in (55)–(57), and also after the name of the integer in (55) and (57). They behave in the same manner as measure words.

(55) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 70	二百五 <i>èr băi w ŭ</i> {2}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{5} '205 strips and	簡 <i>jiǎn</i> strip I 7/8 of		簡 <i>jiǎn</i> strip	七 qī {7}	
(56) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 71	八分 簡 <i>bā fēn jiǎn</i> {8} <i>fēn</i> strip '1/8 of 1 strip'	 yī {1}				
(57) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 73	十七 第( <i>shí qī suà</i> {10}{7} strin '17 strings of c	n ng of c	oins			
	二百六十九分 èr bǎi liù shí ji {6}{10}{9} fē 11/69 of a strin	iŭ fēn īn	string of	coins	+ shí yī {10}{1}	
(58) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 76	-	ín sì i ín {4	百卅(三十 bǎi sān sh }{10 <sup>2</sup> }{3 n'	í fēn	錢 qián ền qián	九十 <i>jiǔ shí</i> {9}{10}
(59) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 80–81		dŏu s dŏu {	sì fēn {4} fēn	升 shēng shēng	$\equiv$ sān {3}	
(60) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 84	十一 步 shí yī bù {10}{1} bù '11 bù	有(又 <i>yòu</i> and	2)			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Peng Hao (2001: 76 note 10), Hu Yitao (2006: 41) and [ $\overline{O}$ kawa et al. 2006: 93] consider, for the sake of computational coherence, that  $d\check{o}u \stackrel{3}{\rightarrow}$  as found in the text is actually a copyist's error for *shēng*  $\mathcal{H}$  assuming the text means '3 and 3/4 *shēng* of water'; this correction changes nothing for our classification.

	九十七分 步 <b>+</b> (七十)九 <i>jiǔ shí qī fēn bù qī shí jiǔ</i> {9}{10}{7} <i>fēn bù</i> {7}{10}{9} 79/97 <i>bù</i> '
(61) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 85	十一分       步       五         shí yī fēn       bù       wǔ         {10}{1} fēn       bù       {5}         '5/11 bù'       '5/11 bù'       '5/11 bù'
(62) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 92	十一 步 有(又) shí yī bù yòu $\{10\}\{1\}$ bù and '11 bù
	九十八分 步 卌(四十)七 <i>jiǔ shí bā fēn bù sì shí qī</i> {9}{10}{8} <i>fēn bù</i> {4}{10}{7} 47/98 <i>bù</i> '
(63) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 96	九 步 五分 步 三 <i>jiǔ bù wǔ fēn bù sān</i> {9} <i>bù</i> {5} <i>fēn bù</i> {3} '9 <i>bù</i> 3/5 <i>bù</i> '
(64) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 103	粺 卅(三十)二分 升 九 bài sān shí èr fēn shēng jiǔ milled millet $\{3\}\{10\}\{2\}$ fēn shēng $\{9\}$ '9/32 shēng of milled millet'
(65) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 113	米七分升六mǐ $q\bar{i}f\bar{e}n$ $sh\bar{e}ng$ $liù$ husked millet $\{7\}f\bar{e}n$ $sh\bar{e}ng$ $\{6\}$ '6/7 sheng of husked millet'
(66) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 115	粟 七分 升 六 sù $q\bar{i}f\bar{e}n$ $sh\bar{e}ng$ $liù$ unhusked millet {7} $f\bar{e}n$ $sh\bar{e}ng$ {6} '6/7 $sh\bar{e}ng$ of unhusked millet'
(67) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 115	米 一 升 七分 升 三 mǐ yī shēng qī fēn shēng sān husked millet {1} shēng {7} fēn shēng {3} '1 shēng 3/7 shēng of husked millet'

18 (68) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 149	二千五十五 尺 èr qiān wǔ shí wǔ chǐ {2}{10 <sup>3</sup> }{5}{10}{5} chǐ '2055 chǐ
(69) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 153	
(70)	<ul> <li>'[one] wéi 2 14/25 cùn'<sup>22</sup></li> <li>七 寸 五分 寸 三</li> </ul>
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 153, 154 2 instances	qī cùn wǔ fēn cùn sān {7} cùn {5} fēn cùn {3} '7 cùn 3/5 cùn'
(71) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 171–173 <sup>23</sup>	從(縱) 九十七 步 有(又) zòng jiǔ shí qī bù yòu length $\{9\}\{10\}\{7\}$ bù and 'a length of 97 bù and 141/147 bù'
	百冊(四十)七分 步 $?^{24}$ 百冊(四十)一 bǎi sì shí qī fēn bù ? bǎi sì shí $\{10^2\}{4}{10}{7}$ fēn bù ? $\{10^2\}{4}{10}{1}$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The term *wéi* is a unit of length used for circumferences; it also appeared in (30). The shaded  $\emptyset$  signals the absence of the number name {1} before the measure word *wéi*, this also occurs in (9), (42) and (43) before *chĭ*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Strip 171 is followed by strip 173. [Wenwu 2001] and Peng Hao (2001: 117) initially had the sequence 171-172-173, but Peng Hao had changed this to 171-173-172 in the last release of the digital corpus he sent me in 2010. Hu Yitao (2006: 80, 82 note 14) and [Ōkawa et al. 2006: 1, 7 note 12] all have 171-173. <sup>24</sup> I write a question mark ? where the original shows an unclear written mark which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> I write a question mark [?] where the original shows an unclear written mark which looks like  $w\check{u} \pm \{5\}$ . But this would give a numerator equal to 541, which seems unlikely since it would yield an improper fraction. For the sake of coherence, the numerator should be 141. Peng Hao (2001: 121 note 39) says the digit  $w\check{u} \pm \{5\}$  should be corrected to  $y\bar{v} - \{1\}$ , while Hu Yitao (2006: 82 note 14) and [ $\bar{O}$ kawa et al. 2006: 93] say it is superfluous. This later formulation is in my view more acceptable since  $\{1\}$  was never used before the highest pivot of a number name in the *Suàn Shù Shū*. In any case this instance is undoubtedly an example of the pattern "Denominator's name  $f\bar{e}n + MW$ + Numerator's name" whatever the value of the numerator.

(72)	方	十五	步	卅(三十)一分	步	十五
in <i>Suàn Shù Sh</i> ū	fāng	shí wŭ	bù	sān shí yī fēn	bù	shí wŭ
strip 185	side	{10}{5}	bù	$\{3\}\{10\}\{1\}fen$	bù	{10}{5}
	'a side	e of 15 <i>bù</i> 1	5/31	$b\dot{u}$ ' (the length of	the s	ide)

#### 4–3. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + $zh\bar{i}$ + Numerator" for non-unit fractions

The 7 instances are given in (73)–(79). Among them, 4 follow a noun and 1 follows a "Verb + OBJ" sequence. The numerical expressions in (73) and (75) are 2 of the only 4 instances of expressions of fractions with  $zh\bar{z}$  which are not in predicative position after a noun or a phrase, the other 2 instances being those in (81) and (82) of the next section.

(73)	二千一十六分	之	百六十二
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	èr qiān yī shí liù fēn	zhī	băi liù shí èr
strip 20	$\{2\}\{10^3\}\{1\}\{10\}\{6\}f\bar{e}n$	zhī	$\{10^2\}\{6\}\{10\}\{2\}$
	<i>'162/2016'</i>		

In (74), the expression for the fraction occurs after the pronoun object  $zh\bar{i}$  of the verb  $yu\bar{e}$ . The fraction is in the position of predicate with regard to the phrase  $yu\bar{e} zh\bar{i}$ ; it expresses the result of a reduction.

(74)	約	之	百一十二分	Ż	九
in <i>Suàn Shù Sh</i> ū	yuē	zhī	băi yī shí èr fēn	zhī	jiŭ
strip 20	reduce	30bj	$\{10^2\}\{1\}\{10\}\{2\}f\bar{e}n$	zhī	<b>{9</b> }
	'reduce	it [refei	rring to 162/2016], [it is]	9/11	2'

In (75) the fraction is the object of a verb.

(75) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 26	各 gè each 'each g	get	sān . {3}{	shí f <del>ē</del>	'n	zhī		sān
(76) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 129–130	十三 <i>shí sān</i> {10}{3 '13 ban	<i>lú</i> 3} ba	<i>táng</i> mboc	o tube	si	ì fēn	之 zhī zhī	sān
(77) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 82	盾(腯) <i>tú</i> lard '5/9 of	<i>jiŭ f</i> {9}	ēn fēn	zhī	wй			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The weigh unit  $j\bar{i}n$  which can be deduced from the context is omitted after  $f\bar{e}n$ . For our classification we only need to acknowledge this absence.

20						
(78)	田	七26分	Ż	四		
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	tián	qī fēn	zhī	sì		
strip 162	field	{7} <i>fēn</i>	zhī	{4}		
	'a field	d of 4/7 <sup>,27</sup>	7			
(79)	從(縱)	廿(二-	+)	分	之	十六
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	zòng	èr shí g	yī fēn		zhī	shí liù
strip 162	length	{2}{10	)}{1}	fēn	zhī	{10}{6}
	'a leng	gth is 16/2	21 <sup>,28</sup>			

#### 4–4. "Denominator + $f\bar{e}n$ + MW + $zh\bar{i}$ + Numerator" for non-unit fractions

The 36 instances are given in (80)–(115) together with the preceding integer when the fraction is inserted in a mixed number. Note that in (81) and (82), the numerical expressions are objects of a verb, which was already the case with (75) in the previous section. The status of (115) in this matter is unclear because some characters are illegible. In all of the other 33 instances the numerical expression is inserted in a predicative clause, and the subject is a mass noun.

金	七分	朱(銖)	Ż	$\equiv$	
jīn	qī fēn	zhū	zhī	sān	
gold	{7} <i>fēn</i>	zhū	zhī	{3}	
'3/7 <i>z</i> /	$h\bar{u}$ of gold	?			
長者	受	十六		尺	有(又)
zhăng	zhě shòi	u shí li	ù	chĭ	yòu
elder	get	{10}	{6}	chĭ	and
'the el	der gets 1	6 <i>chĭ</i> an	d		
十八分	尺	之 -	<u>+</u>		
shí bā fēr	n chĭ	zhī s	hí èr		
{10}{8}	fēn chĭ	zhī {	10}{2	2}	
12/18 ch	ť'				
	jīn gold '3/7 zh 長者 zhǎng elder 'the el 十八分 shí bā fēn {10}{8}	jīn qī fēn gold {7} fēn '3/7 zhū of gold 長者 受 zhǎngzhě shòù elder get 'the elder gets 1 +八分 尺 shí bā fēn chǐ	jīn qī fēn zhū gold {7} fēn zhū '3/7 zhū of gold' 長者 受 十六 zhǎngzhě shòu shí li elder get {10} 'the elder gets 16 chǐ an 十八分 尺 之 - shí bā fēn chǐ zhī su {10}{8} fēn chǐ zhī {	jīnqī fēnzhūzhīgold{7} fēnzhūzhī'3/7 zhū of gold'長者受十六上前ngzhěshòushí liùelderget{10}{6}'the elder gets16 chĭ and十八分尺之十二shí bā fēnchĭzhīshí èr{10}{8} fēnchĭzhī{10}{5}	$j\bar{i}n$ $q\bar{i}f\bar{e}n$ $zh\bar{u}$ $zh\bar{i}$ $s\bar{a}n$ gold {7} $f\bar{e}n$ $zh\bar{u}$ $zh\bar{i}$ {3} '3/7 $zh\bar{u}$ of gold' 長者 受 十六 尺 $zh\bar{a}ngzh\bar{e}$ shòu $shi$ liù $ch\bar{i}$ elder get {10}{6} $ch\bar{i}$ 'the elder gets 16 $ch\bar{i}$ and +八分 尺 之 十二 $shi$ $b\bar{a}f\bar{e}n$ $ch\bar{i}$ $zh\bar{i}$ $shi$ $\dot{e}r$ {10}{8} $f\bar{e}n$ $ch\bar{i}$ $zh\bar{i}$ {10}{2}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The character on the strip looks more like  $y\bar{t} - \{1\}$  than  $q\bar{t} \pm \{7\}$ ; but linguistic and conceptual coherence require us to chose  $q\bar{t} \pm \{7\}$  to have a proper fraction. Peng Hao (2001: 115 note 5), Hu Yitao (2006: 79) and [Ōkawa et al. 2006: 20 note 4] all discussed this point. Anyway, it is of no consequence for our classification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This takes place in the calculation of one side of a rectangle when the other side and the surface are known. The textual coherence implies that a surface in square  $b\dot{u}$  should be understood, even though the measure word is not stated. We only need to acknowledge this absence for our classification.

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  As for the instance in (78), we only need to acknowledge the absence of a measure word to classify the expression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The fraction in (81) was already stated in (7) withdrawn from its insertion context.

(82) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 55	少者 受 八 尺 有(又) <i>shàozhě shòu bā chǐ yòu</i> younger get {8} <i>chǐ</i> and 'the younger gets 8 <i>chǐ</i> and +八分 尺 之 六 <i>shí bā fēn chǐ zhī liù</i> {10}{8} <i>fēn chǐ zhī</i> {6} 6/18 <i>chǐ</i> '	21
(83) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 98	粺十分升之三 $bài$ $shi fēn$ $sheng$ $zh\bar{\imath}$ $s\bar{a}n$ milled millet $\{10\} fen$ $sheng$ $zh\bar{\imath}$ $\{3\}$ '3/10 $sheng$ of milled millet'	
(84) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 98	米 十五分 升 之 四 mi $shi w i f e n$ $sh e ng$ $zh i$ $sihusked millet {10}{5} f e n sh e ng zh i {4}'4/15 sh e ng of husked millet'$	
(85) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 99	粟 廿(二十)七分 升 之 十 sù èr shí qī fēn shēng zhī shí unhusked millet $\{2\}\{10\}\{7\}$ fēn shēng zhī $\{10\}$ '10/27 shēng of unhusked millet'	
(86) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 99	米 九分 升 之 二 mĭ jiŭ fēn shēng zhī èr husked millet $\{9\}$ fēn shēng zhī $\{2\}$ '2/9 shēng of husked millet'	
(87) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 100	毁(殿) $+++$ (四十)五分 $++$ 之 八 huǐ sì shí wǔ fēn shēng $zh\bar{i}$ bā polished millet $\{4\}\{10\}\{5\}$ fēn shēng $zh\bar{i}$ {8} '8/45 shēng of polished millet'	
(88) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 101	粟 <i>sù</i> unhusked millet '25/54 <i>shēng</i> of unhusked millet'	
	五十四分 升 之 廿(二十)五 wǔ shí sì fēn shēng zhī èr shí wǔ {5}{10}{4} fēn shēng zhī {2}{10}{5}	

22 (89) 米 十八分 升 Ż Ŧī. in Suàn Shù Shū тĭ shí bā fēn shēng zhī wй strip 101 husked millet  $\{10\}\{8\} f\bar{e}n$ shēng zhī {5} '5/18 shēng of husked millet' (90)毁(毇)米 九分 升 Ż \_\_\_\_ in Suàn Shù Shū huĭ mĭ jiŭ fēn shēng zhī èr strip 102 polished millet {9} *fen* shēng  $zh\bar{i} \{2\}$ '2/9 shēng of polished millet' 十二分 (91) 麥 升 Ż Ŧ. shí èr fēn in Suàn Shù Shū mài shēng zhī wй strip 102 wheat  $\{10\}\{2\}f\bar{e}n$ shēng zhī {5} '5/12 shēng of wheat' (92) 米 十六分 升 Ż Ŧī. in Suàn Shù Shū shí liù fēn shēng zhī тĭ wй strips 102-103 husked millet  $\{10\}\{6\} f\bar{e}n$ shēng zhī {5} '5/16 shēng of husked millet' 卅(三十)二分 (93)麥 升 Ż 十五 in Suàn Shù Shū sān shí èr fēn shēng zhī shí wǔ mài strip 103 wheat  $\{3\}\{10\}\{2\}fen$ shēng zhī  $\{10\}\{5\}$ '15/32 shēng of wheat' 粟 (94) in Suàn Shù Shū sù strip 104 unhusked millet '25/48 shēng of unhusked millet' 卌(四十)八分 升 Ż 廿(二十)五 sì shí bā fēn shēng zhī èr shí wǔ  $\{4\}\{10\}\{8\}f\bar{e}n$ shēng  $zh\bar{i} = \{2\}\{10\}\{5\}$ 粟 (95)in Suàn Shù Shū sù strip 105 unhusked millet '500/789 shēng of unhusked millet' 七百八十九分 升 Ż 五百 qī bǎi bā shí jiǔ fēn shēng zhī wŭ băi  $\{7\}\{10^2\}\{8\}\{10\}\{9\}f\bar{e}n$ shēng  $\{5\}\{10^2\}$ zhī

(96)	粟	_	升	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 105–106	<i>sù</i> unhusked millet '1 <i>shēng</i>	<i>yī</i> {1}	0	
	二百六十三分 èr bǎi liù shí sān {2}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{6}{10 237/263 shēng of	fēn }{3} fe	$\overline{z}n  zh\overline{z}  \{2\}\{10\}$	īn shí qī
(97)	粟		斗 九 升	
in Suàn Shù Shū	<i>sù</i> unhusked millet	•	dǒu jiǔ shē	8
strip 106	'1 <i>dŏu</i> 9 shēng	{1}	aou {9} snei	ng
yòu and	又) 二百六十三分 <i>èr bǎi liù shí</i> {2}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{6} 3/263 <i>shēng</i> of un	sān fēi {10}{3	3} fēn shēng z	hī sān
(98)	粟		斗 有()	く)
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 106	<i>sù</i> unhusked millet '19 <i>dŏu</i> and		ŭ dŏu yòu {9} dŏu and	
è {	二百六十三分 r bǎi liù shí sān fēr 2}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{6}{10}{3 0/263 shēng of unb	3} <i>f</i> ēn	shēng zhī {3	in shí
(99)	粟			
in Suàn Shù Shū	sù			
strip 107	unhusked millet '100/171 <i>shēng</i> o	of unhu	sked millet'	
	百 <b>丰</b> (七十)一分 bǎi qī shí yī fēn {10 <sup>2</sup> }{7}{10}{1		shēng zhī băi	
(100)	粟	<u> </u>	升 有(又)	
in Suàn Shù Shū	sù	-	shēng yòu	
strip 107	unhusked millet '1 <i>shēng</i> and	{1}	<i>shēng</i> and	

<i>èr b</i> {2}	百八十五分 升 之 二百 $+(七+)$ 五.
(101) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 108	粟 十七 升 有(又) sù shí qī shēng yòu unhusked millet {10}{7} shēng and '17 shēng and
è {	二百八十五分 升 之 百五十 r bǎi bā shí wǔ fēn shēng zhī bǎi wǔ shí 2}{ $10^2$ }{ $8$ }{ $10$ }{ $5$ } fēn shēng zhī { $10^2$ }{ $5$ }{ $10$ } 50/285 shēng of unhusked millet'
(102) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 106	粟 十七 斗 五 升 sù $shí q\bar{i}$ dǒu wǔ $sh\bar{e}ng$ unhusked millet $\{10\}\{7\}$ dǒu $\{5\}$ $sh\bar{e}ng$ '17 dǒu 5 shēng
yòu and	二百八十五分 升 之 百廿(二十)五 èr bǎi bā shí wǔ fēn shēng zhī bǎi èr shí wǔ $\{2\}\{10^2\}\{8\}\{10\}\{5\}$ fēn shēng zhī $\{10^2\}\{2\}\{10\}\{5\}$ 285 shēng of unhusked millet'
(103) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 146	米 卌(四十)六 石 mǐ sì shí liù shí husked millet $\{4\}\{10\}\{6\}$ shí '46 shí
	甘(=+)七分 石 之 八 $ er shí q \overline{i} f \overline{e} n shí zh \overline{i} b \overline{a}$ $ \{2\}\{10\}\{7\} f \overline{e} n shí zh \overline{i} \{8\}$ 8/27 shí of husked millet'
(104) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 162	廣 八分 步之六 $guǎng bā fēn bù zhī liùwidth \{8\} fēn bù zhī \{6\}'a width of 6/8 bù'$
(105) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 162	廣 七分 步之 三 guǎng qī fēn bù zhī sān width $\{7\}$ fēn bù zhī $\{3\}$ 'a width of 3/7 bù'

(106) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 162	田 四分 步之二 <i>tián sì fēn bù zhī èr</i> field {4} <i>fēn bù zhī</i> {2} 'a field of 2/4 [square] <i>bù</i> '					
(107) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 168	從(縱) 百卅(三十) 步 有(又) zòng bǎi sān shí bù yòu length $\{10^2\}\{3\}\{10\}$ bù and 'a length of 130 bù and					
	十一分 步之 十 shí yī fēn bù zhī shí {10}{1} fēn bù zhī {10} 10/11 bù'					
(108) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 169	從(縱) 百一十五. 步 有(又) zòng bǎi yī shí wǔ bù yòu length $\{10^2\}\{1\}\{10\}\{5\}$ bù and 'a length of 115 bù and					
	廿(二十)五分步之五èr shí wǔ fēnbùzhīwǔ{2}{10}{5} fēnbùzhī{5}5/25 bù'					
(109) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 170	從(縱) 百五 步 有(又) zòng bǎi wǔ bù yòu length {10 <sup>2</sup> }{5} bù and 'a length of 105 bù and					
	百卅(三十)七分 步之十五 bǎi sān shí qī fēn bù zhī shí wǔ {10 <sup>2</sup> }{3}{10}{7} fēn bù zhī {10}{5} 15/137 bù'					
(110) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 172–183 <sup>30</sup>	從(縱) 九十二 步 有(又) zòng jiǔ shí èr bù yòu length $\{9\}\{10\}\{2\}$ bù and 'a length of 92 bù and					

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{1}{30}$  Strip 172 is followed by strip 183, see Hu Yitao (2006: 82).

9 {	千八十九分 步之 六百 <i>tiān bā shí jiǔ fēn bù zhī liù b</i> 10 <sup>3</sup> }{8}{10}{9} <i>fēn bù zhī</i> {6} 512/1089 bù	păi yī shí èr
(111) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 175	從(縱) 八十八 步 有(又) $z \partial ng$ $b \bar{a} shi b \bar{a}$ $b \dot{u}$ you length {8}{10}{8} b \dot{u} and 'a length of 88 b $\dot{u}$ and	
èr qiā: {2}{1	二百八十三分 步 之 n èr bǎi bā shí sān fēn bù zhī 0 <sup>3</sup> }{2}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{8}{10}{3} bù zhī 283 bù'	-
(112) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 177–178	從(縱)八十四 步 有(又) $z \partial ng$ $b \overline{a} shi si$ $b \dot{u}$ $y \partial u$ length $\{8\}\{10\}\{4\}$ $b \dot{u}$ and 'a length of 84 $b \dot{u}$ and	
	七千一百廿(二十)九分 qī qiān yī bǎi èr shí jiǔ fēn {7}{10 <sup>3</sup> }{1}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{2}{10}{9} fēn 5764/7129 bù'	步 bù bù
	之 五千七百六十四 zhī wǔ qiān qī bǎi liù shí sì zhī {5}{10 <sup>3</sup> }{7}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{6}{10}{4}	
(113) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strips 180–181	從(縱) 八十一 步 有(又) $z \partial ng$ $b \bar{a} shí y \bar{v}$ $b \dot{u}$ you length {8}{10}{1} b \dot{u} and 'a length of 81 $b \dot{u}$ and	
	七千三百八十一分 qī qiān sān bǎi bā shí yī fēn {7}{10 <sup>3</sup> }{3}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{8}{10}{1} fēn 68??/7381 bù'	步 bù bù

	之 六千八百 <i>zhī liù qiān bā bǎi</i> <i>zhī</i> {6}{10 <sup>3</sup> }{8}{10 <sup>2</sup> }	
(114) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 183	廣 <i>guǎng</i> width 'a width of	
	七 步 卌(四十)九分 <i>qī bù sì shí jiǔ fēn</i> {7} bù {4}{10}{9} <i>fēn</i> 7 and [illegible]/9 bù'	bù zhī [illegible]
(115) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 183	[illegible] <sup>33</sup> 六十四 [illegible] <i>liù shí sì</i> [illegible] {6}{10}{4} '[illegible] 64 <i>bù</i> and	bù yòu
50 {	三百卌(四十)三分 步 ān bǎi sì shí sān fēn bù bù 3}{10 <sup>2</sup> }{4}{10}{3} fēn bù 73/343 bù'	zhī èrbăi qī shí sān

#### 5. LEXICALIZED EXPRESSIONS FOR 1/2, 1/3 AND 2/3

In the Suàn Shù Shū, the terms bàn 半 [half], shǎobàn 少半 [the smaller half] and tàibàn  $\pm$  [the larger half] <sup>34</sup> are used as exact number names in calculations. They are lexicalized expressions of the fractions 1/2, 1/3 and 2/3; these values are revealed in (116)-(118). They can appear in expressions of mixed numbers in the order bàn shǎobàn, i.e.  $\{1/2\}$   $\{1/3\}$  for 1/2+1/3 on strip 26 in (119), or in the order shǎobàn bàn, i.e.  $\{1/3\}$   $\{1/2\}$  for 1/3+1/2 on strip 23. There are no other lexicalized forms for fractions in the whole Suàn Shù  $Sh\bar{u}^{35}$ .

The instances in (120) and (121) show that these numerals can work as verbs in "NUM + OBJ" constructions with the meaning of multiplying the value of the object by the numeral; this capability is shared by the names of integers.

}

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The tens and units digits are illegible and transcribed as ?? in the English translation. This does not change anything to the classification of the expression.
 <sup>32</sup> The numerator is illegible and transcribed as [illegible] in the English translation.
 <sup>33</sup> A noun or the upper rank digits of the integer are illegible and transcribed as [illegible]

in the English translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Only the instance of *tàibàn* on strip 8 is written  $\chi$ <sup> $\pm$ </sup>, the other three instances are written 泰半. I chose the reading tàibàn which fits the two written forms. The reading *dàbàn* would be possible for 大半 but hardly for 泰半.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> In Contemporary Chinese only  $y\bar{i}$  bàn  $-\pm$  for 1/2 remains. The terms tàibàn (written 泰半 or 太半) or dàbàn 大半 are still used on occasion today but only as approximate numbers meaning most, no longer as exact numbers.

(116) in <i>Suàn Sh</i> strip 3	ù Shū	一半 <i>yī bàn</i> {1}{1/2} '1/2 times	multipl	•	bàn	•	
		乘 <i>chéng</i> multiply times 1/2 i	bàn . {1/2}		yī y	也 vě DECL	
(117) in <i>Suàn Sh</i> strip 8	ù Shū	少半 shǎobàn {1/3} '1/3 times	<i>chéng</i> multiply		pàn		
		九分 jiŭ fēn {9} fēn is 1/9'	yī yě	CL			
(118) in <i>Suàn Sh</i> strip 8	ù Shū	少半 shǎobàn {1/3} '1/3 times	<i>chéng</i> multiply	{2/3}	n jiŭ fē		yě
(119) in <i>Suàn Sh</i> strip 26	ù Shū	五 人 wǔ rén {5} pers 'Five peop	<i>fēn</i> on shar	<i>sān</i> re {3}		)	
	{1/2} {	▷半 各 <i>hǎobàn gè</i> 1/3} ea a sum of thre	ich get	u sān s {3}{ , each ge	hí fēn 10} fēn ets 23/30	$zh\bar{i}$ {2}	shí sān {10}{3}
(120) in <i>Suàn Sh</i> strip 17	ù Shū	可 <i>kě</i> can 'If it can b then multi	-	{ied by 1	àn 1/2}	之 <i>zhī</i> 30BJ s divisible	

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{1}{36}$  This comes from a passage about the reduction of fractions on strips 17-20.

(121) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 19	半 母 亦 半 子 bàn mǔ yì bàn zǐ $\{1/2\}$ denominator also $\{1/2\}$ numerator 'Multiply the denominator by 1/2, and multiply the numerator by 1/2.' <sup>37</sup>
(122) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 8	半 步 乘 半 步 四分一 bàn bù chéng bàn bù sì fēn yī {1/2} bù multiply {1/2} bù {4} fēn {1} '1/2 bù times 1/2 bù is 1/4'
(123) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 52	二 斗 泰(大)半 斗 èr dǒu tàibàn dǒu {2} dǒu {2/3} dǒu '2 dǒu 2/3 dǒu'
(124) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 88	粟 十六 斗 泰(大)半 斗 sù shí liù dǒu tàibàn dǒu unhusked millet {10}{6} dǒu {2/3} dǒu dǒu '16 dǒu 2/3 dǒu of unhusked millet'
(125) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 89	米 六 斗 泰(大)半 斗 mǐ liù dǒu tàibàn dǒu husked millet $\{6\}$ dǒu $\{2/3\}$ dǒu '6 dǒu 2/3 dǒu of husked millet'
(126) in Suàn Shù Shū strip 3	三分 而 乘 一 sān fēn ér chéng yī $\{3\}$ fēn and then multiply $\{1\}$ '1/3 times 1
	三分 一 也 sān fēn yī yě $\{3\}$ fēn $\{1\}$ DECL is 1/3'
(127) in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i> strip 119	七 斗 三分 升 — qī dǒu sān fēn shēng yī {7} dǒu {3} fēn shēng {1} '7 dǒu 1/3 shēng'

The only expressions for 1/2 in the corpus are 1 instance of  $\{1\}$  bàn, not followed by any measure word, in (116), and 46 instances of  $\emptyset$  bàn, 12 of which are followed by a measure word, see for example (122); 33 are not, and a last

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> This is from the same passage on strips 17-20.

instance on strip 1 is uncertain since the following characters are illegible. The regular compound "{2}  $f\bar{e}n$ " is nowhere to be found in the text<sup>38</sup>.

To express 1/3 there are 24 instances of the lexicalized *shǎobàn* (15 with a measure word, 9 without), and to express 2/3 there are 4 instances of *tàibàn*, one without any measure word on strip 8, see (118); and 3 followed by the measure word *dǒu* on strips 52, 88 and 89; see (118), (123)–(125) respectively.

The regular compound  $s\bar{a}n f\bar{e}n$ , i.e. {3}  $f\bar{e}n$ , however, is found twice in the sequence {3}  $f\bar{e}n$  {1} to express 1/3 on strips 3 and 119: see (126) without a measure word and (127) with the measure word  $sh\bar{e}ng$  inserted between  $f\bar{e}n$  and the numerator's name {1}. It is also found 17 times (already mentioned in Sect. 3–1) in monodimensional expressions of 1/3 with the numerator 1 not stated. There are three instances in expressions of 2/3: one in the sequence {3}  $f\bar{e}n$  {2} on strip 23 (without measure word), and two on strips 138–139 with the measure word *qián* inserted between  $f\bar{e}n$  and the numerator {2}. Therefore, in the corpus, among the 50 instances of expressions for 1/3 or 2/3, there is a choice between the lexicalized forms (28 instances) and the regular forms built with {3}  $f\bar{e}n$  (22 instances). Any of these forms can be used to denote dimensioned quantities (weight, length, surface, etc.) and can be followed by measure words in data, calculations or results. They can also denote dimensionless coefficients in some calculations or in presentations of arithmetical procedures.

1/3 and 2/3 in the Suàn Shù Shū								
	Lexicalized names	Regular forms						
	shǎobàn and tàibàn	with <i>sān fēn</i>						
MW +	18	4	22					

18

22

28

50

10

28

N

MW -

Tab. 1: Distribution of the expressions for 1/3 and 2/3 in the Suàn Shù Shū

The distribution given in Tab. 1 shows that there is no grammatical obligation concerning the choice between lexicalized or regular items. Nevertheless, when no measure word is present, there is some preference for the unlexicalized form with {3} *fen* since the occurrence rate of such configurations is  $18/28 \times 100 \approx 64\%$ . Conversely, there is preference for the lexicalized numerical items in adjectival position before a measure word since the occurrence rate of such configurations is  $18/22 \times 100 \approx 82\%$ ; this may be because the lexicalized items yielding noun phrases are more economical than bidimensional expressions which produce predicative clauses.

#### 6. CONTEXTUAL OMISSION OF THE DENOMINATOR OF A NON-UNIT FRACTION

In four passages there are series of fractions which have the same denominator, as unambiguously shown by the *context*, but this denominator is stated only in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> In Contemporary Chinese the lexicalized fraction name  $y\bar{i}$  bàn for 1/2 can usually be replaced by the regular form {2}  $f\bar{e}n zh\bar{i}$  {1}, but not, for example, in the time expression  $b\bar{a}$  diǎn bàn for 8:30.

the expression of the first fraction and is understood thereafter. Abbreviations with  $f\bar{e}n$  not preceded by the numerator's name can be construed as free reinterpretations of the item  $f\bar{e}n$  as a noun meaning *parts* in a given partitioning.

In (128), taken form a passage about the taxation of pelts, the denominator 7 is stated only once. The following occurrences of  $f\bar{e}n$  are contextually understood to designate sevenths.

(128)	犬	出	十五	錢	七分	六	
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	quăn	chū	shí wŭ	qián	qī fēn	liù	
strips 34-35	dog	exit	{10}{5}	qián	{7} <i>fen</i>	<b>{6}</b>	
	'dog pe	elt is ta	xed at 15 an	d 6/7 qi	<i>án</i> [each]		
					_		
	貍	出	卅(三十)	一 錢	ø分	Ξī.	
	lí	chū	i <i>sān shí yī</i>	a qia	án ∅fēn	wй	
	wild ca	t exi	t {3}{10}{	[1] qia	án ∅fēn	<b>{5}</b>	
	wild cat pelt is taxed at 31 and 5/[7] qián [each]						
	狐出	出六	、十三	錢	ø分 三		
	hú c	hū <i>li</i>	ù shí sān	qián	∅fēn sā	п	
	fox e	xit {6	5}{10}{3}	qián	øfēn {3	}	
	fox pel	t is tax	ed at 63 and	3/[7] qi	ián [each]	]'	

In (129), from another passage about the taxation of pelts, the denominator 72 is stated only once and the following occurrences of  $f\bar{e}n$  are understood to refer to the same partitioning.

(129)	狐	出	$+$ _	-	╪(七	十)二分	+-
in Suàn Shù Shū	hú	chū	shí e	èr	qī shi	í èr fēn	shí yī
strips 36-37	fox	pay	{10	}{2}	{7}{	10}{2} <i>fēn</i>	$\{10\}\{1\}$
	'fox	pelt is	s taxe	d at 12	2 11/72	2 [each]	
	貍		出	八	ø分	卌(四十)ナ	L
	lí		chū	bā	∅fēn	sì shí jiŭ	
	wild	cat	pay	<b>{8}</b>	∅fēn	{4}{10}{9	)}
	wild	cat pe	elt is t	axed a	at 8 49	/[72] [each]	
					_		
	犬	出	Л	Ø	分	+=	
	quǎn	chi	ū sì	Ø	fēn s	shí èr	
	dog	pa	y {4	4} ø	fēn {	$\{10\}\{2\}$	
	dog j	pelt is	taxed	d at 4	12/[72]	] [each]'	

In (130), a passage about the taxation of crops, the denominator 47 is stated only once and and the following occurrences of  $f\bar{e}n$  are understood to refer to the same partitioning.

32									
(130)	禾	租	四	斗	卌(四	十)七分	十二		
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	hé	zū	sì	dŏu	sì shí	qī fēn	shí èr		
strips 43-44	millet	tax	{4}	dŏu	{4}{1	0}{7} <i>fē</i>	$n \{10\}\{2\}$		
	'the tax	for n	nillet a	mount	ts to 4	dŏu 12/47	7 dŏu		
	麥	租	$\equiv$	<u>`</u>	+	ø分	九		
	mài	zū	sā	n d	ŏи	Ø fēn	jiŭ		
	wheat	tax	: {3	d	ŏи	∅ fēn	<b>{9}</b>		
	the tax	for w	heat ai	nounts	s to 3 <i>d</i>	lŏu 9/[47]	dŏu		
	荅	租	<u> </u>	斗	ø分	廿(二十	-)六		
	dá	z,ū	èr	dŏu	∅ fēn	èr shí li	ù		
	beans	tax	{2}	dŏu	∅ fēn	{2}{10	}{6}		
	the tax for beans amounts to 2 dou 26/[47] dou'								

In (131), the number 36 is first announced as a divisor in the calculation of a volume and then understood as the denominator of the fraction in the result.

(131)	卅(三十)六	成39	今			
in Suàn Shù Shū	sān shí liù	chéng	jīn			
strip 150	{3}{10}{6}	divide	now			
	'36 divides, n	ow [we g	get]			
	二千五十五		尺	ø分	廿(二十)	
	èr qiān wŭ shí wŭ			•	èr shí	
	$\{2\}\{10^3\}\{5\}\{$	10}{5}	chĭ	∅ fēn	$\{2\}\{10\}$	
	2055 [cubic] chǐ 20/[36] [cubic] chǐ '					

# 7. CONTEXTUAL USE OF AN INTEGER NAME TO EXPRESS A DENOMINATOR

On two occasions in the corpus, the name of an integer is used to mean a fraction: see shaded  $\emptyset$  in (132) and (133). The integers {7} in (132) and {4} in (133) can be understood as fractions only because the text gives the result of the calculations.

(132)	六分	乘	Łø	卌(四十)二分	<u> </u>			
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	liù fēn	chéng	$q \overline{\iota}  ^{ arnothing }$	sì shí èr fēn	уī			
strips 9-10	{6} fēn	multiply	<b>{7}</b> ∅	$\{4\}\{10\}\{2\}fen$	{1}			
'1/6 times [1/]7 is 1/42'								

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The phrase "*n chéng*" (*n* 成) is an abbreviation of "*n chéng yī*" (*n* 成一) which expresses a division by *n* (Peng Hao 2001: 108 note 3), [Ōkawa et al. 2006: 29].

(133)	Щø	乘	五分	廿(二十)分				
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	sì Ø	chéng	wŭ fēn	èr shí fēn	уī			
strip 9	{ <b>4</b> } ∅	multiply	{5} <i>fēn</i>	$\{2\}\{10\}f\bar{e}n$	{1}			
'[1/]4 times 1/5 is 1/20'								

In the corpus, the sequence "NUM<sub>1</sub> + MW + *chéng*  $\Re$  + NUM<sub>2</sub> (+MW)" can express the product of two lengths yielding to a surface; the unit of measurement can be dropped when it is the same for the two numbers. The instance given in (132) parallels this pattern if we consider the item *fen* to be freely reinterpreted as a noun fitting into the measure word slot. The instance in (133) is similar except for the permutation of the two numerical expressions.

Hu Changqing (1996) cites other instances of these abbreviations in other corpora.

#### 8. CASES OF ISOLATED NUMERATORS WITH SPECIAL MARKING

Two integer names preceded by  $xi\check{a}o$  / [small] are found:  $xi\check{a}o$  {5} on strip 29 and  $xi\check{a}o$  {10} on strip 166. According to Peng Hao (2001: 50), the former makes sense from the context only if we interpret it as the numerator of the fraction 5/9 which is stated before in the text. As for the latter, Peng Hao (2001: 119) deduces by analogy that it must also be the numerator of a fraction which is not actually otherwise specified. Peng Hao's interpretation is quite convincing for *xiǎo* {5} but not for *xiǎo* {10} given the respective contexts.

#### 9. SUMMARY OF PROMINENT FEATURES

In the Suàn Shù Shū, the only inseparable fraction names were on one hand the special lexicalized expressions of 1/3, 1/2 and 2/3, and on the other hand the monodimensional expressions of unit fractions built according to the pattern "Denominator's name + fen" (83 instances). There were numerals which could be inserted before measure words in the same way as names for integers.

There were lexicalized forms only for 1/2, 1/3 and 2/3. Only the lexicalized form was used for 1/2 (47 instances). But to express 1/3 or 2/3, there was a choice between the lexicalized forms (28 instances) and the regular forms built with "{3} *fen*" (22 instances). Any of these forms could be used with or without a measure word and there was no definite grammatical obligation, but a preference for the lexicalized items when a measure word was present.

Bidimensional expressions of fractions were built as predicative phrases with the unit fraction name "Denominator's Name +  $f\bar{e}n$ " acting as subject and with the numerator's name acting as predicate. The resulting expressions were not inseparable and when a measure word was involved it was inserted right after "Denominator +  $f\bar{e}n$ ". The morpheme  $zh\bar{i}$  was used optionally as a marker of the predicative relation. The form of the bidimensional expression of a fraction belonged to one of the four patterns defined by whether the item  $zh\bar{i}$  was used and whether a measure word was involved. Adding the 46 instances (not all different) of bidimensional expressions of unit fractions and the 97 instances (not all different) of bidimensional expressions of non-unit fractions we get the following distribution for the total of 143 instances: (a): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + \text{Numerator}$ ": 35 instances. (b): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + \text{MW} + \text{Numerator}$ ": 54 instances. (c): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + zh\bar{\iota} + \text{Numerator}$ ": 7 instances. (d): "Denominator  $+ f\bar{e}n + \text{MW} + zh\bar{\iota} + \text{Numerator}$ ": 47 instances.

The item  $zh\bar{i}$  occurred only in bidimensional expressions followed by the numerator's name and was therefore never used with the *mono*-dimensional expressions of unit fractions. Moreover the use of  $zh\bar{i}$  was correlated with the insertion of the fraction either as the predicate in a quantification clause or as the object of a verb; Tab. 2 provides a mapping of the situation.

Tab. 2: Bidimensional expressions of fractions in the Suàn Shù Shū:The item zhī and the insertion of fractions

	zhī –	$zh\bar{\iota} +$	
Inserted -	76	2	78
Inserted +	13	51	64
	89	53	142

The characters placed before the fraction in (115) are illegible, so I do not count it here and the grand total in Tab. 2 is only 142 and not 143.

The fraction is not inserted when it occurs as the results of the calculation as in the examples (132) and (133).

The occurrence rate of  $zh\bar{i}$  when the fraction is inserted as a predicate or an object amounts to  $51/64 \times 100 \approx 80$  %. Conversly the occurrence rate of configurations without  $zh\bar{i}$  is  $76/89 \times 100 \approx 85\%$  when the fraction is not inserted. This allows us to state that the use of  $zh\bar{i}$  inside bidimensional fraction expressions was directly correlated with the syntactical insertion of these expressions as a dependent clause used as the predicate of a quantification phrase or as the object of a verb. Readers can refer to Anicotte (2015 b) for a detailed discussion on the use of  $zh\bar{i}$  in the expressions for fractions in Chinese.

## 10. ADDENDUM: BIDIMENSIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF PROPORTIONS

When we talk about a *fraction* of a given quantity, we assume the fraction to be one numerical item defined by a numerator and a denominator; for instance in the statement "2/3 of 9 is 6", the fraction 2/3 is one individualized number formed with the integers 2 and 3. However a numerical *proportion* between two things, or two kinds of items, can be expressed with two separate numbers.

For example, the sequence "Noun<sub>1</sub> + NUM<sub>1</sub> + Noun<sub>2</sub> + NUM<sub>2</sub>" reproduced in (134) is built with two numerals both in predicative positions.

(134)米 in Suàn Shù Shū тĭ vī strip 119 husked millet {1} 'one [part of] husked millet, 粟 sù èr unhusked millet {2} two [parts of] unhusked millet, 凡 +斗 fán shí dŏu all {10} dŏu altogether 10 dou'

This expresses a proportion of one part of *husked millet* [*mĭ* #] for two parts of *unhusked millet* [*sù* #] making a total volume of 10 *dŏu*. From the proportion, we can deduce that the total amount is composed of 1/3 husked millet and 2/3 unhusked millet, however these fractions 1/3 or 2/3 are not stated and their denominator 3 does not appear at all; therefore the phrase "Noun<sub>1</sub> + NUM<sub>1</sub> + Noun<sub>2</sub> + NUM<sub>2</sub>" is not the expression of a fraction, but the bidimensional expressions of a proportion; therefore they should not be included in a study on fraction names.

Yang Lingrong (2008: 15–16) lists 14 examples of such expressions of proportions in the *Suàn Shù Shū* including our example (134). To these 14 examples, we can as well add this instance on strip 52:

(135)	芻	槀		石	今		
in <i>Suàn Shù Shū</i>	chú	gǎo	èr	shí	jīn		
strip 52	hay	straw	{2}	shí	now		
	'2 sh	í of hay	and st	traw,	now [ther	e are]	
	芻	$\equiv$	Π	而	稾	<u> </u>	
	chú	sān	é	r	gǎo	èr	
	hay	{3}	a	nd	straw	{2}	
	three [parts of] hay and two [parts of] stray						

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