

STUDIA ORIENTALIA
EDITED BY THE FINNISH ORIENTAL SOCIETY

51:6

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL
PHONOLOGY OF THE DIALECT
OF CHENGGUAN, IN LINXIAN, HENAN

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HELSINKI 1979

ISBN 951-95074-8-5
ISSN 0039-3282

Helsingin yliopiston monistuspalvelu, offset 1979

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

This draft is the result of a month's stay in the county of Linxian (林县), famous for its Red Flag Canal, in northwestern Henan. The canal skirts the Taihang mountains in the western part of the county and because it was built without state aid in this very difficult terrain, it has become a model of self-reliance to be emulated by the rest of China.

A large number of visitors, both foreign and Chinese, come to Linxian to see the canal. Unfortunately the local dialect is so different from Standard Chinese that people from other parts of China have difficulties in understanding it. The same difficulties are encountered at meetings in Anyang (安阳), the capital of the region to which Linxian belongs. It may seem strange that dialect differences are so great within one area, but this is not surprising if we bear in mind the fact that in the past Linxian had more contacts with Shanxi than with the plains of Henan.

In June 1975 a group of teachers and students from Nankai University in Tianjin was sent down to Linxian for the purpose of making a brief study of the dialect which could then serve as the basis for a short textbook of Standard Chinese for Linxian people. The members of the group were also given the assignment of providing instruction for locals who had frequent contacts with outsiders.

I was given the chance to take part in this expedition as the only foreigner. For this unique opportunity I am very grateful to the authorities of Nankai University as well as to various education departments.

I was authorized to stay in Linxian for one month only and I left China shortly afterwards, so I do not know how successful the instruction in Standard Chinese was.

The material for this outline was gathered in the course of four days. The group was divided into three subgroups, each of which went daily to one production brigade. My subgroup visited the Dacaiyuan (大菜园) brigade of the commune of Chengguan (城关).

There were two main informants. One was Ma Haizeng 马海增, aged 50, who was born in Dacaiyuan and had lived there all his life. He was literate to some extent. As he was deputy head of the Revolutionary Committee of the brigade and a member of the County Party Committee, he was very busy. Therefore, much of the material was gathered from Tian Shuangxi 田双喜, who was also in his fifties. He was likewise born in Dacaiyuan, but he had been in the Liberation Army for several years in the forties. Subsequently he has been a permanent resident of Dacaiyuan. In his youth he attended school for 5 or 6 years. Some other informants were later used to check specific items, especially some Ru-tone words, because Tian Shuangxi's glottal stop was not very clear.

The informants were asked to give the local pronunciation of the characters in two tables which were prepared by the Department of Chinese of Nankai University. The first was called 音系简表, which was practically the same as the table on pages x-xii of 方言调查字表 (Peking 1955). The purpose of this table was to find out the main features of the sound system with the help of minimal pairs. The other table was 历史音表 and it was an abbreviated version of 方言调查字表. Other tables were also used when the group proceeded to investigate the grammar and vocabulary of the dialect, but I was not involved in this work.

The investigation was rather short, because the sole objective of the field-work was to establish the main features of the dialect for the writing of the textbook of Standard Chinese. Nor was it attempted to limit the influence of the written language to a bare minimum.

This outline is basically a translation of the report I wrote during the two weeks after the material had been collected. The rest of the group went on investigating the grammar and vocabulary of the dialect. Shortly before I started translating this outline I found an article in the JAOS describing a dialect almost identical to Chengguan (Wang & Hsueh 1973). The dialect described is that of Linqi 临淇 in the southern part of Linxian some 35-40 km south of Chengguan.

The sound system

1. TONES

In the following notation the usual five scale system will be used (Chao 1930). 5 is the highest, 1 the lowest point on the scale.

Yin-ping	11	┘	诗 ʃɿ┘	刚 kaŋ┘	边 pia┘
Yang-ping	21	┘	时 ʃɿ┘	城 tʂ'əŋ┘	农 nuŋ┘
Shang	24	┘	使 ʃɿ┘	古 ku┘	女 ny┘
Qu	44	┘	是 ʃɿ┘	事 ʃɿ┘	盖 kai┘
Ru	32	┘	识 ʃəʔ┘	石 ʃəʔ┘	竹 tʂuəʔ┘

The Shang-tone is usually pronounced 24 in isolation. Sometimes there is a fall at the beginning: 214 or 313. (In context it was usually pronounced 53. Tone sandhi is rather complicated in Linxian, but it is irrelevant to the discussion here.)

The difference between Yin-ping and Yang-ping was very difficult to hear, but the informants insisted that there was a difference. In Linqi there is no difference between them (Wang & Hsueh 1973).

2. INITIALS

p	p'	m	f	(u)
t	t'	n		l
ts	ts'		s	
tʂ	tʂ'		ʂ	ʐ
c	c'		ʃ	
k	k'		x	(y)

Examples:

p	饼 pin┘	步 pu┘	s	邪 siæ┘	素 su┘
p'	瀑 p'u┘	派 p'ai┘	tʂ	柱 tʂu┘	直 tʂəʔ┘
m	埋 mai┘	米 mi┘	tʂ'	柴 tʂ'ai┘	虫 tʂ'uŋ┘
f	肥 fei┘	芥 fe┘	ʂ	衫 ʂa┘	沙 ʂa┘
u	屋 uəʔ┘	卫 uei┘	ʐ	如 zu┘	染 za┘
t	带 tai┘	底 ti┘	c	甲 ciəʔ┘	件 cia┘
t'	腿 t'uei┘	跳 t'iau┘	c'	桥 c'iau┘	区 c'y┘
n	南 na┘	年 nia┘	ʃ	下 ʃiə┘	许 ʃy┘
l	狼 lan┘	落 lueʔ┘	k	歌 kə┘	挂 ko┘
ts	左 tsu┘	际 tsi┘	k'	课 k'u┘	筐 k'uaŋ┘
ts'	娶 ts'y┘	菜 ts'ai┘	x	河 xə┘	户 xu┘
			y	爰 ya┘	氲 yəu┘

In the following treatment [ʊ] and [ɣ] will not be regarded as initials. Because the traditional approach to Chinese historical phonology is being followed here, it would be difficult to handle cases where part of the final becomes the initial. In a phonemic analysis [ʊ] could be regarded as an allophone of [u]. It occurs after a zero initial when [u] does not have the stress (i.e. in the finals [u] and [uʌ], the [u] is vocalic). In the same way [ʊəŋ] is regarded as an "allofinal" of [uŋ]. [ɣ] occurs in the finals which do not begin with [u], [i] or [y].

The transcription is not phonemic but it is somewhat systematized. What is not obvious from the transcription is that [c] and [c'] are really affricates which closely resemble the corresponding Pekingese sounds.

3. FINALS

a	ɔ		ɣʌ	ɿ	ʅ	ɿ	
iɑ	iɔ	iæ		i			
uɑ	uɔ		uʌ	u			
yɑ			yʌ	y			
ɐʔ	əʔ	aɪ	eɪ	au	əu	aŋ	əŋ
iɐʔ	iəʔ			iau	iəu	iaŋ	iŋ
uɐʔ	uəʔ	uaɪ	ueɪ			uaŋ	uŋ
yɐʔ	yəʔ						iuŋ

Examples:

a	办 pɑ ㄊ	南 na ㄊ		
ɔ	马 mɔ ㄊ	大 tɔ ㄊ	瓜 kɔ ㄊ	
ɣʌ	河 xɣʌ ㄊ	舌 sɣʌ ㄊ		
ɿ	四 sɿ ㄊ	丝 sɿ ㄊ		
ʅ	迟 tʂʅ ㄊ	事 sʅ ㄊ		
ɿ	而 ɿ ㄊ	二 ɿ ㄊ		
iɑ	变 piɑ ㄊ	年 niɑ ㄊ		
iɔ	家 ciɔ ㄊ	下 ɣiɔ ㄊ		
iæ	野 iæ ㄊ	解 ciæ ㄊ		
i	艺 i ㄊ	鸡 ci ㄊ		
uɑ	乱 luɑ ㄊ	短 tuɑ ㄊ		
uɔ	蛙 uɔ ㄊ			
uʌ	婆 p'uʌ ㄊ	左 tsuʌ ㄊ	窝 uʌ ㄊ	
u	故 ku ㄊ	户 xu ㄊ	五 u ㄊ	
yɑ	全 ts'yɑ ㄊ	圆 yɑ ㄊ		

yʌ	靴 tɕyʌ ↓	学 tɕyʌ ↓	
y	区 c'y ↓	雨 y ↓	
eʔ	辣 lɛʔ ↓	色 ɕɛʔ ↓	
əʔ	直 tɕəʔ ↓	十 ɕəʔ ↓	木 məʔ ↓
iɛʔ	铁 t'iɛʔ ↓	鸭 iɛʔ ↓	叶 iɛʔ ↓
iəʔ	踢 t'iəʔ ↓	急 ciəʔ ↓	
ueʔ	落 lueʔ ↓	国 kueʔ ↓	袜 ueʔ ↓
uəʔ	竹 tɕuəʔ ↓	出 ts'uəʔ ↓	屋 uəʔ ↓
yɛʔ	月 yɛʔ ↓	药 yɛʔ ↓	
yəʔ	欲 yəʔ ↓	曲 c'yəʔ ↓	育 yəʔ ↓
aɪ	盖 kai ↓	塞 tɕai ↓	
eɪ	倍 peɪ ↓	妹 meɪ ↓	
uaɪ	怪 kuai ↓	帅 ɕuai ↓	外 uaɪ ↓
ueɪ	桂 kueɪ ↓	累 lueɪ ↓	卫 ueɪ ↓
au	刀 tau ↓	吵 tɕ'au ↓	袂 yau ↓
əu	豆 təu ↓	讴 yəu ↓	
iau	跳 t'iau ↓	叫 ciiau ↓	
iəu	留 liəu ↓	牛 niəu ↓	
aŋ	党 taŋ ↓	旁 p'aŋ ↓	
iaŋ	亮 liaŋ ↓	象 siaŋ ↓	
uaŋ	筐 k'uaŋ ↓	双 ɕuaŋ ↓	往 uaŋ ↓
əŋ	根 kəŋ ↓	庚 kəŋ ↓	
iŋ	林 liŋ ↓	灵 liŋ ↓	
uŋ	魂 xuŋ ↓	红 xuŋ ↓	稳 uəŋ ↓
iuŋ	群 c'iuŋ ↓	穷 c'iuŋ ↓	云 iuŋ ↓

The three diphthongs [ɣʌ], [uʌ] and [yʌ] differ from their Pekingesese cognates in that the first element is stressed. [uɔ] occurs only in the form [uɔ]. It does not occur after consonants. Most of the original Ru-tone words still retain that tone. In context the glottal stop is often dropped.

C o r r e s p o n d e n c e s w i t h A n c i e n t C h i n e s e

The following lists show the Linxian equivalents of the initials and finals of the stage of Chinese represented by Qieyun 切韵 and Guangyun 广韵.

1. INITIALS

In the following list, the first character stands for the Ancient Chinese initials; beside them are the Linxian equivalents together with examples. If the initials have developed differently in different environments, the con-

ditions are given in parentheses. The lines represent divisions in *xi* 系 and *zu* 组 which will be relevant to our discussion of the finals.

帮	p	巴	pɔ ˩	贝	peɪ ˩	
旁	p'	派	p'ai ˩	披	p'eɪ ˩	
並	p'	婆	p'uɑ ˩	旁	p'an ˩	(Ping-tone)
	p	步	pu ˩	败	paɪ ˩	(other tones)
明	m	模	muɑ ˩	妹	meɪ ˩	
=====	m					
非	f	斧	fu ˩	法	fɛʔ ˩	
敷	f	肺	fei ˩	风	fəŋ ˩	
奉	f	肥	fei ˩	妇	fu ˩	
幌	u	雾	u ˩	味	ueɪ ˩	
=====	u					
端	t	带	tai ˩	底	ti ˩	
透	t'	妥	t'uɑ ˩	土	t'u ˩	
定	t'	谈	t'a ˩			(Ping-tone)
	t	舵	tuɑ ˩	代	tai ˩	(other tones)
泥	n	难	na ˩	年	niɑ ˩	
来	l	裂	leʔ ˩	年	liəu ˩	
精	ts	左	tsuɑ ˩	际	tsi ˩	
清	ts'	娶	ts'y ˩	菜	ts'ai ˩	
从	ts'	前	ts'ia ˩	全	ts'ya ˩	(Ping-tone)
	ts	坐	tsuɑ ˩	在	tsai ˩	(other tones)
心	s	素	su ˩	在	sy ˩	
邪	s	邪	siæ ˩	谢	siæ ˩	
=====	s					
知	tʂ	猪	tʂu ˩	知	tʂɿ ˩	
彻	tʂ'	耻	tʂ'ɿ ˩	樵	tʂ'ʊŋ ˩	
澄	tʂ'	迟	tʂ'ɿ ˩	茶	tʂ'ɔ ˩	(Ping-tone)
	tʂ	柱	tʂu ˩	治	tʂɿ ˩	(other tones)
庄	tʂ	债	tʂai ˩	斩	tʂɔ ˩	
初	tʂ'	揣	tʂ'uai ˩	吵	tʂ'au ˩	
崇	tʂ'	豺	tʂ'ai ˩	柴	tʂ'ai ˩	
	tʂ	寨	tʂai ˩			
	ʂ	事	ʂɿ ˩			
生	ʂ	沙	ʂɔ ˩	傻	ʂɔ ˩	
章	tʂ	枝	tʂɿ ˩	照	tʂau ˩	
昌	tʂ'	齿	tʂ'ɿ ˩	吹	tʂ'ueɪ ˩	
船	tʂ'	唇	tʂ'un ˩			

	ɕ	蛇	ɕɣʌ┘	射	ɕɣʌ┘
书	ɕ	世	ɕʅ┘	税	ɕuei┘
祥	tɕʰ	晨	tɕʰəŋ┘	城	tɕʰəŋ┘
	ɕ	社	ɕɣʌ┘	视	ɕʅ┘
日	ʒ	惹	ʒɣʌ┘	如	ʒu┘
见	k	歌	kɣʌ┘	瓜	kɔ┘
	c	家	ciɔ┘	锯	cy┘ (before present-day i and y)
溪	kʰ	课	kʰuʌ┘	快	kʰuai┘
群	cʰ	区	cʰy┘	器	cʰi┘ (before i and y)
	kʰ	葵	kʰuei┘		(Ping-tone)
	cʰ	桥	cʰiau┘	钳	cʰia┘ (Ping-tone, before i and y)
	k	跪	kuei┘	共	kuŋ┘ (other tones)
	c	件	ciɔ┘	键	ciɔ┘ (other tones, before i and y)
疑	zero	牙	ia┘	卧	ua┘ 遇 y┘ 藕 ɣəu┘
	n	牛	niəu┘		
晓	χ	火	χuʌ┘	花	χɔ┘
	ɕ	靴	ɕyʌ┘	许	ɕy┘ (before i and y)
匣	χ	河	χɣʌ┘	户	χu┘
	ɕ	下	ɕiɔ┘	鞋	ɕiæ┘ (before i and y)
影	zero	鸦	ia┘	窝	ua┘ 蛙 uɔ┘
		爱	ɣai┘	握	ueʔ┘
云	zero	雨	y┘	卫	uei┘ 云 iuŋ┘
以	zero	野	iæ┘	余	y┘

In the main the initials have developed in the same way as in Standard Chinese. The most important difference is that in Linxian the reflexes of ancient velars and dental affricates are kept separate before high front vowels, whereas in Pekingese they have coalesced.

Some individual characters have a reading that differs from Standard Chinese. 逆 is pronounced [i┘] and 词 is [sɿ┘]. These are regular developments and the Pekingese forms have to be regarded as exceptions.

Some Ru-tone words have a retroflex initial where Standard Chinese has a dental affricate. For instance 侧, 策 and 册 are all pronounced [tɕʰeʔ┘], 色 is read [ɕeʔ┘] and 泽 is [tɕʰeʔ┘]. This is also a case where the standard forms are exceptions. (Some Peking colloquial forms have a retroflex initial, e.g. 色 *shai*).

2. FINALS

The finals are arranged according to *she* 撮 (rime group), *hu* 呼 and *deng* 等 (division).¹ I have not thought it necessary to keep the rimes separate, because in the few cases where there are several rimes within the same *she*, *hu* and *deng*, the difference between them is not reflected in the present-day language. In the tables *kai* stands for *kai*kouhu 开口呼 and *he* for *hekou*hu 合口呼. (*Kaikou*hu means the absence of a labial medial vowel, *hekou*hu means its presence). In the discussion they will often be referred to as open and closed respectively. The Roman numerals stand for *deng*. (*Deng* refers roughly to the degree of frontness and highness of the main vowel).

For the sake of brevity the environments will be given in Chinese. A *xi* 系 is a group of initials with roughly similar articulatory features. A *zu* 组 is a subdivision of a *xi*. In the list of initials on pages 8-9, the *xi* are separated from each other by double lines and the *zu* by a single line. They are named by the first initial.

果撮

<i>Kai</i> I	u [^]	舵 tu [^] ┘	左 tsu [^] ┘	(见系)
	ɤ [^]	歌 kɤ [^] ┘	阿 ɤ [^] ┘	
III	iæ	加 c [^] iæ┘		
<i>He</i> I	u [^]	婆 p [^] u [^] ┘	课 k [^] u [^] ┘	
III	y [^]	靴 çy [^] ┘		

This rime group has developed in much the same way as in Standard Chinese. In closed I division finals the medial has been preserved even after labials, probably because it is stressed.

The same final is pronounced [u[^]] after the initial *qi* in the words 科, 棵, 颗 and 课, where Pekingese has dropped the medial.

Some exceptional characters like 大 [tɔ¹] and 我 [u[^]┘] have developed in the same way as in Standard Chinese.

假撮

<i>Kai</i> II	ɔ	拿 nɔ┘	茶 ts [^] ɔ┘	(见系)
	iɔ	家 ciɔ┘	牙 iɔ┘	

1 Most of the English terminology in this paper has been taken from Hashimoto 1972.

	III	iæ	野 iæ┐	谢 siæ┐	
		ɤʌ	蛇 ɣɤʌ┐	社 ɣɤʌ┐	(知系)
He	II	ɔ	瓜 kɔ┐	花 χɔ┐	
		uɔ	蛙 uɔ┐	瓦 uɔ┐	(after zero initial)

In open division II Linxian has [ɔ], which is very typical of this dialect. Another equally typical but less frequent feature is that *hekouhu* has a medial only after a zero initial. Linqi does not share this feature; there the medial has been preserved in all environments. (Wang & Hsueh 1973).

遇 撮

He	I	u	步 pu┐	户 χu┐	
		III	y	女 ny┐	徐 sy┐
		u	如 zu┐	斧 fu┐	(知系, 非系)

所 of this rime group is pronounced [ɣuʌ┐].

解 撮

Kai	I	ai	代 tai┐	盖 kai┐	
		II	ai	埋 mai┐	奶 nai┐
		iæ	街 ciæ┐	鞋 ɣiæ┐	(见系)
	III	i	艺 i┐	际 tsi┐	
		ʌ	世 ɣʌ┐	滞 tɣʌ┐	(知系)
IV		i	西 si┐	鸡 ci┐	
		He	I	uer	灰 χuer┐
er	杯 pei┐	妹 mei┐		(帮系)	
uar	外 uar┐	会 k'uar┐		(some individual words)	
II		uar	快 k'uar┐	坏 χuar┐	
		ɔ	挂 kɔ┐	画 χɔ┐	(individual characters)
III		uer	岁 suer┐	卫 uer┐	
		er	肺 fer┐		(非系)
IV		uer	桂 kuer┐	惠 χuer┐	

Closed division I has the medial [u] after Nizu 泥组 initials, whereas Pekingese has dropped it, e.g. 雷 [luer┐], 内 [ner┐]. The same holds for closed division III in the next rime group.

止攝

Kai III	i	比 pi 1	理 li 1	
	ɿ	丝 si 1	四 si 1	(精 紐)
	ʅ	知 tsʅ 1	事 ʅ 1	(知 系)
III	ueɪ	沮 lueɪ 1	累 lueɪ 1	归 kueɪ 1

交攝

Kai I	au	刀 tau 1	高 kau 1	
II	au	饱 pau 1	吵 tɕ'au 1	
	iau	咬 iau 1	校 ɕiau 1	(见 系)
III	iau	苗 miau 1	小 siau 1	
	au	赵 tɕau 1	照 tɕau 1	(知 系)
IV	iau	了 liau 1	叫 ciau 1	

流攝

Kai I	əu	豆 təu 1	后 χəu 1	
	u	菜 mu 1	苗 mu 1	(帮 系)
	au	剖 p'au 1		(individual characters in 帮 系)
III	iəu	留 liəu 1	有 iəu 1	
	əu	手 sɛəu 1	臭 tɕ'əu 1	(知 系)
	u	谋 mu 1	妇 fu 1	(非 系)
	au	予 mau 1		(individual characters)

Standard Chinese has *ou* after labials in some characters where Linxian has [u] or [au]. This means that Linxian has no [əu] after labials.

The following rime groups have Ru-tone words. In some words this tone has been lost. These cases will be discussed at the end of this paper.

咸攝

Kai I	a	南 na 1	三 sa 1	暗 ɣa 1
	ɛ?	答 tɛ? 1	腊 lɛ? 1	鸽 kɛ? 1
II	a	站 tɕa 1	衫 ɕa 1	
	ia	咸 cia 1	街 ɕia 1	(见 系)
	ɛ?	眨 tɕɛ? 1	(also [tɕa 1])	
	iɛ?	夹 ciɛ? 1	甲 ciɛ? 1	(见 系)

III	ia	贬	pia ㄨ	镰	lia ㄨ	
	a	沾	tʂa ㄨ	闪	ʂa ㄨ	(知系)
	ieʔ	接	tsieʔ ㄨ	业	ieʔ ㄨ	
	eʔ	折	tʂeʔ ㄨ	猎	leʔ ㄨ	(知系, Lai initial)
IV	ia	店	tia ㄨ	念	nia ㄨ	
	ieʔ	贴	tʂieʔ ㄨ			
He III	a	凡	fa ㄨ	犯	fa ㄨ	
	eʔ	法	feʔ ㄨ			

Linxian has no word final [n]. Whenever Standard Chinese has *an*, Linxian has [a].

The few characters that are read *liè* in Standard Chinese are pronounced [leʔ] in Linxian. 猎 in this rime group is a case in point. (例 in *Xie* rime group is also read [leʔ ㄨ] by some people). 列, 烈, 裂 and 劣 are thus all read [leʔ ㄨ].

山 撮

Kai I	a	炭	t'a ㄨ	安	ya ㄨ	
	eʔ	辣	leʔ ㄨ	割	keʔ ㄨ	
II	a	办	pa ㄨ	山	ʂa ㄨ	
	eʔ	八	peʔ ㄨ	杀	ʂeʔ ㄨ	
	ia	眼	ia ㄨ	限	ʂia ㄨ	(见系)
	ieʔ	瞎	ʂieʔ ㄨ			(见系)
III	ia	面	mia ㄨ	剪	tsia ㄨ	
	a	缠	tʂ'a ㄨ	扇	ʂa ㄨ	(知系)
	ieʔ	揭	cieʔ ㄨ	歇	cieʔ ㄨ	
	eʔ	裂	leʔ ㄨ	热	zeʔ ㄨ	(知系, Lai initial)
IV	ia	天	t'ia ㄨ	见	cia ㄨ	
	ieʔ	捏	nieʔ ㄨ	切	ts'ieʔ ㄨ	
He I	ua	乱	lua ㄨ	官	kuo ㄨ	
	a	搬	pa ㄨ			(帮系)
	ueʔ	脱	t'ueʔ ㄨ	阔	k'ueʔ ㄨ	
II	eʔ	拨	peʔ ㄨ			(帮系)
	ua	鲜	kuo ㄨ	闷	ʂuo ㄨ	
	ueʔ	刷	ʂueʔ ㄨ	刮	kueʔ ㄨ	
III	ya	圆	ya ㄨ	全	ts'ya ㄨ	
	ua	穿	tʂ'ua ㄨ	饮	zua ㄨ	(知系)
	a	晓	ua ㄨ	饭	fa ㄨ	(非系)

	ye?	雪 sye? ↓	月 ye? ↓	
	ue?	说 sue? ↓		(知系)
	e?	发 fe? ↓	袜 ue? ↓	劣 le? ↓ (非系, Lai initial)
IV	ya	悬 çya ↓	犬 c'ya ↓	
	ye?	缺 c'ye? ↓	穴 çye? ↓	

On page 10 it was stated that the medial [u] is preserved after a labial. This is not the case with the final [ue?]. It does not occur after labials. In [uʌ] the [u] bears the stress and that is probably the reason for its retention.

In this rime group there are again some exceptional characters which have developed similarly in Linxian and Peking, e.g. 县 [çia ɿ] and 血 [çie? ↓].

宕摄

Kai I	aŋ	芳 p'aŋ ↓	行 x'aŋ ↓	
	ue?	落 lue? ↓	错 ts'ue? ↓	(端系)
	e?	各 ke? ↓	摸 me? ↓	
III	iaŋ	亮 liaŋ ↓	香 çiaŋ ↓	
	aŋ	张 tçaŋ ↓	上 çaŋ ↓	(知系, 章组)
	uaŋ	装 tçu'aŋ ↓	霜 çuaŋ ↓	(庄组)
	ye?	雀 ts'ye? ↓	脚 cye? ↓	
	e?	着 tçe? ↓	弱 ze? ↓	若 ze? ↓ (知系)
He I	uaŋ	光 kuaŋ ↓	黄 xuaŋ ↓	
	ue?	郭 kue? ↓		
III	uaŋ	筐 k'uaŋ ↓	往 uaŋ ↓	
	aŋ	方 faŋ ↓	房 faŋ ↓	(非系)

江摄

Kai II	aŋ	棒 paŋ ↓		
	iaŋ	讲 ciaŋ ↓	巷 çiaŋ ↓	(见系)
	uaŋ	桩 tçu'aŋ ↓	双 çuaŋ ↓	(知系)
	e?	剥 pe? ↓		
	ue?	桌 tçue? ↓	捉 tçue? ↓	(知系)
	ye?	角 cye? ↓		(见系)
	ue?	握 ue? ↓		(Ying initial)

深摄

Kai III	iŋ	金 ciŋ┘	林 liŋ┘	
	əŋ	沉 tɕ'əŋ┘	针 tɕəŋ┘	(知系)
	iəʔ	立 liəʔ┘	吸 ɕiəʔ┘	
	əʔ	执 tɕəʔ┘	十 ɕəʔ┘	(知系)

In this rime group, 入 has developed anomalously both in Linxian and Peking. It is pronounced [zuəʔ┘] in Linxian.

臻摄

Kai I	əŋ	舌 t'əŋ┘	思 yəŋ┘		
	III	iŋ	民 miŋ┘	斤 ciŋ┘	
	əŋ	陈 tɕ'əŋ┘	人 zəŋ┘	(知系)	
	iəʔ	七 ts'iaʔ┘	吉 ciəʔ┘		
He I	əʔ	侄 tɕəʔ┘	实 ɕəʔ┘	(知系)	
	uŋ	嫩 luŋ┘	滚 kuŋ┘		
	əŋ	门 məŋ┘		(帮系)	
	uəʔ	突 t'uəʔ┘	骨 kuəʔ┘		
III	əʔ	没 məʔ┘		(帮系)	
	uŋ	鼓 ts'uŋ┘	香 tɕ'uŋ┘		
	iuŋ	均 ciuŋ┘	匀 iuŋ┘	(见系)	
		轮 liuŋ┘ (literary pronunciation [luŋ┘])		(some characters in 端系)	
		笋 siuŋ┘			
	əŋ	分 fəŋ┘	问 uəŋ┘	(非系)	
	yəʔ	律 lyəʔ┘	橘 cyəʔ┘		
	uəʔ	出 tɕ'uəʔ┘		(知系)	

Both this and the previous rime group have finals in [ŋ]. They have thus coalesced with the following two rime groups.

曾摄

Kai I	əŋ	朋 p'əŋ┘	层 ts'əŋ┘	
	eʔ	北 p'eʔ┘	刻 k'eʔ┘	
III	iŋ	冰 piŋ┘	凝 niŋ┘	
	uŋ	升 ɕəŋ┘	扔 zəŋ┘	(知系)
	ieʔ	力 li'eʔ┘	极 ci'eʔ┘	

		əʔ	直 tʂəʔ ㄨ	织 tʂəʔ ㄨ	(知系, 章组)
		eʔ	色 ʂeʔ ㄨ	侧 tʂ'eʔ ㄨ	(庄组)
He I		ueʔ	国 kueʔ ㄨ	惑 χueʔ ㄨ	
	III	yəʔ	域 yeʔ ㄨ		

梗摄

Kai II		əŋ	猛 məŋ ㄨ	冷 ləŋ ㄨ	坑 k'əŋ ㄨ
		iŋ	杏 ɕiŋ ㄨ	幸 ɕiŋ ㄨ	(晓组)
		eʔ	客 k'eʔ ㄨ	窄 tʂeʔ ㄨ	
			麦 meʔ ㄨ	隔 keʔ ㄨ	
	III	iŋ	岭 liŋ ㄨ	镜 ciŋ ㄨ	
		əŋ	郑 tʂəŋ ㄨ	声 ʂəŋ ㄨ	(知系)
		iəʔ	惜 siəʔ ㄨ	僻 p'ieʔ ㄨ	
		əʔ	尺 tʂ'əʔ ㄨ	石 ʂəʔ ㄨ	(知系)
	IV	iŋ	顶 tiŋ ㄨ	形 ɕiŋ ㄨ	
		iəʔ	踢 t'ieʔ ㄨ	戚 ts'ieʔ ㄨ	
He II		uŋ	横 χuŋ ㄨ	轰 χuŋ ㄨ	
		ueʔ	获 χueʔ ㄨ		
	III	iŋ	顷 c'iŋ ㄨ		
	IV	iŋ	莹 iŋ ㄨ		

通摄

He I		uŋ	洞 tuŋ ㄨ	农 nuŋ ㄨ	
		əŋ	蓬 p'əŋ ㄨ		(帮系)
		ueʔ	族 tsueʔ ㄨ	哭 k'ueʔ ㄨ	
		əʔ	木 məʔ ㄨ		(帮系)
	III	uŋ	弓 kuŋ ㄨ	共 kuŋ ㄨ	(Jian initial, 知系, some characters in 端系)
		əŋ	风 fəŋ ㄨ	梦 məŋ ㄨ	(非系)
		iuŋ	隆 liuŋ ㄨ	熊 ɕiuŋ ㄨ	
		ueʔ	陆 luəʔ ㄨ	绿 luəʔ ㄨ	(Lai initial)
			竹 tʂueʔ ㄨ	缩 ɕueʔ ㄨ	(知系)
		əʔ	复 fəʔ ㄨ		(非系)
		yəʔ	宿 syəʔ ㄨ	足 tsyəʔ ㄨ	(精系)

Division III is very complicated. The main difference with Standard Chinese is that after [l] and 精组 the final is [iuŋ] or [yəʔ] where Standard Chinese has -ong or -u.

3. DISAPPEARANCE OF RU-TONE

Some characters which originally had the Ru-tone are now pronounced in one of the other tones. The *历史音表* used in this investigation contained 194 characters in the Ru-tone. Of them 45 (23 per cent) had lost the tone. (Some characters had alternative pronunciations with and without the Ru-tone).

The following list contains those characters which have lost their Ru-tone.

<u>咸摄</u>	:	杂 tsɔ↓	眩 tɕa↓	狭 ɕiɔ↓	匣 ɕiɔ↓	辄 tɕyʌ↓	肋 ɕiæ↓
		协 ɕiæ↓	腭 ciæ↓	合 xʌ↓			
<u>山摄</u>	:	拔 pɔ↓	铡 tɕɔ↓	舌 ɕyʌ↓	杰 ciæ↓	活 xuʌ↓	滑 xɔ↓
<u>宕摄</u>	:	悉 yʌ↓	雹 pau↓	学 cyʌ↓	匀 ɕuʌ↓	[控 uɔ↓]	
<u>深摄</u>	:	揖 i↓					
<u>曾摄</u>	:	亿 i↓					
<u>臻摄</u>	:	臼 zɿ↓	脖 puʌ↓	卒 tsu↓	物 u↓	匹 p'i↓	
<u>梗摄</u>	:	白 par↓	呖 ɕiɔ↓	核 xai↓	僻 p'i↓	益 i↓	逆 i↓
		疫 i↓	宅 tɕyʌ↓				
<u>通摄</u>	:	毒 tu↓	酷 k'u↓	沃 uʌ↓	六 liəu↓	熟 ɕu↓	肉 zəu↓
		膜 ɕu↓	玉 y↓	狱 y↓	局 cy↓		

Most of these characters (85 per cent) correspond regularly to the same characters in Pekingese. In four characters the tone is different (杰, 西, 匹 and 沃). In one character the initial is different (逆). In two the final is different (匀 and 宅) and in one character both the tone and the final is different from Standard Chinese (核). From this one has to conclude that the present pronunciation of these characters has been borrowed from Standard Chinese or a form of Chinese quite similar to it. The on-going change is a clear case of lexical diffusion (Hsieh 1973).

* * *

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