

# 現代吳語的研究

附 調 查 表 格

科 學 出 版 社

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## 出版者說明

“現代吳語的研究”是前清華學校研究院叢書第四種，1928年在北京出版。1935年曾影印再版。原版附有“勘誤表”兩葉，再版本多已改正。現在根據原版本影印，以供研究方言之參考。不過原版本錯誤再版本已改正的各葉參用再版本。原版本18—19, 22—26, 36—37, 40—61, 76—77等葉無葉碼，今從再版本補上。

作者調查時所用表格六種，見本書“調查說明”1, 2兩葉，今將第六種刪去，前五種重編次序，附印於書後，目錄見138葉。

### 現代吳語的研究(附調查表格)

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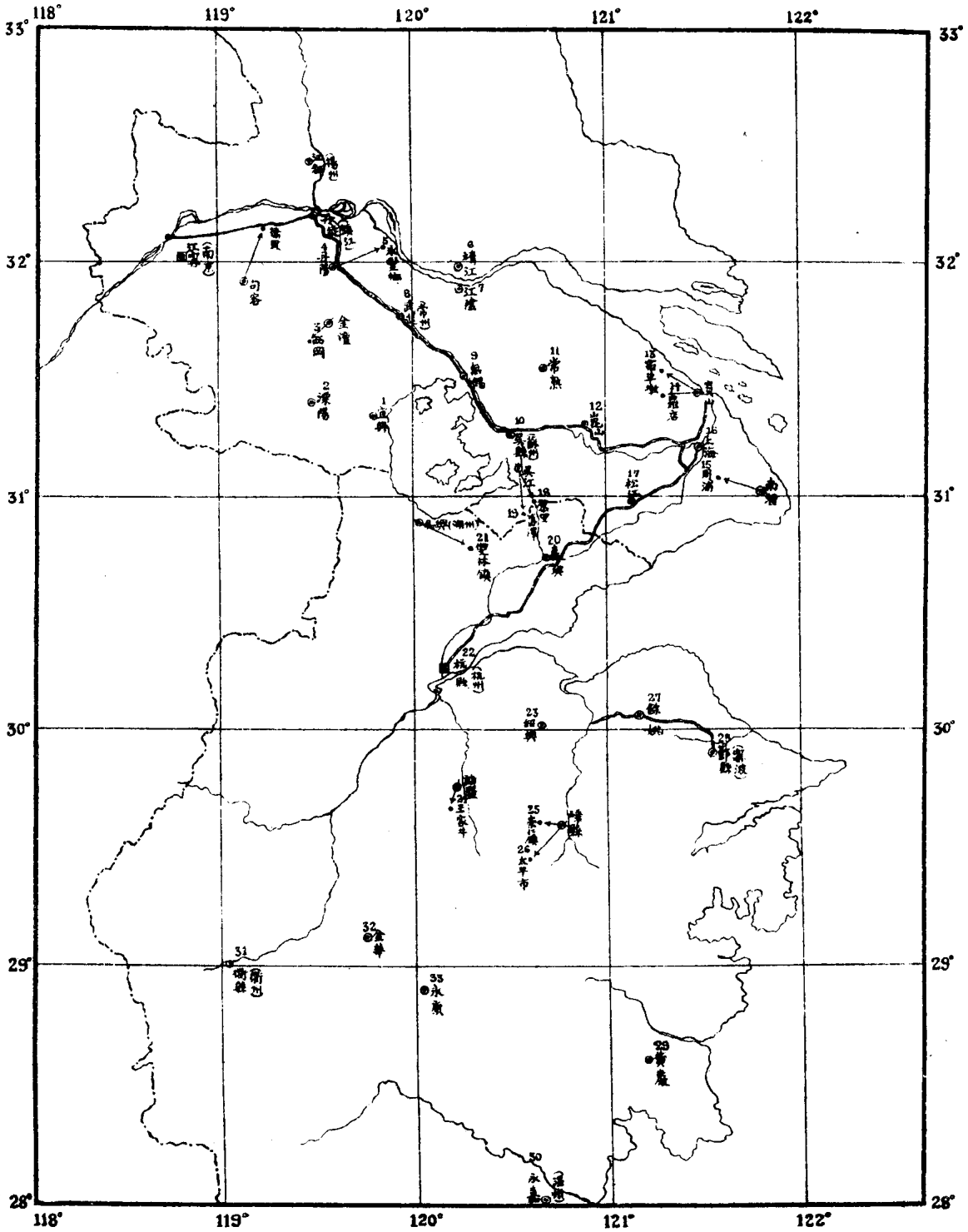
## 序

研究中國語音最詳細又最多的,大概要首推瑞典的中國音韻家高本漢 (Bernhard Karlgren)。他的成績都發表在1915-1926陸續出來的 *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*。(1) 不過一個全國的方言調查不是個把人一年工夫或一個人年把工夫可以做得完的。高本漢的所得的材料可以夠使他考定隋唐時代的古音的大概,但是假如要做中國的方言志,那還得要許多人許多年有系統的調查跟研究才做得好。這種事業的重要,無論是本身的重要,或是在國學上地位的重要,或是應用于教育上的重要,也已經有過好些人談過的了,可是空談了許多時候怎麼也沒有結果呢?這大半是因為有幾種必需的條件還不能實現。第一,要有永久性的組織跟經費能一致的辦這種事情,這是無消說的。第二,要有有相當訓練的工作者。但這是一種很專門的訓練,不是幾個月速成科可以練出來的。假如隨便到各處走走聽聽記記,那所得的東西的價值一定等于零,或小于零,因為多錯誤的記載還不如沒有記載。第三,要國內太平,不然最值得調查的區域往往不能去調查。可是要慢慢的等,等到哪一天才可以有大隊的語言學人馬,大規模的來測量全中國的方言地理呢?所以還是先比較小規模的在一個比較安靜的區域裡做一點比較簡略的研究,至少也可以做一個後來研究的格式。

這次調查能在這末短的時期內得這末許多材料,一大半是賴各地學商等界的熱心幫助;一方面幫找可以發音的人,一方面關於本地語言的特別有趣的而表格中沒有問到的地方,也多有所指教,這是作者非常感激的。除已經專函致謝外,現在再對各地招待者跟發音者特別鳴謝。

(1) Archives d'Études Orientales, Vol. 15, Stockholm, 1915-1926.

第一圖：調查區域



## INTRODUCTION IN ENGLISH

The present monograph is a preliminary report on the data obtained from a trip to the region of the Wu-dialects. So far as the discussions are concerned with questions of Chinese phonology, it is presumed that any reader who is seriously interested in it will have the necessary knowledge to read this in the Chinese. For these and for Chinese readers whose usage of modern linguistic terms may differ from mine, a glossary of terms is provided at the end of this introduction for reference. This introduction is written primarily for those who do not know Chinese, but who may be interested in the contents of this work as a field of general phonetics.

The Wu-dialects are a group of dialects extending over the South-eastern part of the province of Jiangsu (Kiangsu) and the North-eastern greater half of the province of Jehjiang (Chekiang); the south-western part of Jehjiang may belong to this group too, but it has not been studied.

The scope of study was to cover all the main features of each dialect studied, including the phonological classification of initials, finals and tones, the exact values of these classes, intonations of short phrases, vocabulary of the most common words and of peculiar words, and the grammatical particles.

The equipment used consisted of forms, or type-lists for each phase of the study which was printed before hand in the form of tables and pamphlets. The only other thing used was a sliding pitch-pipe for approximate matching of the intonations. All the consonant and vowel values were judged by ear.

The real content of this monograph are all given in the six tables as follows:

Table I “第一表”: Initials.

Table II “第二表”: Finals in the first three ancient tones.

Table III “第三表”: Finals in *ruhsheng*, or the 4th ancient tone.

Table IV “第四表”: Tone graphs and formulæ.

Table V “第五表”: Vocabulary of common words.

Table VI “第六表”: Grammatical particles.

All the rest is only talk, which it is presumed will help the reader read the tables.

In Tables I-II, the first two rows, and in Table III, the first three rows give a sort of abstract phonological classification. In the notation of these rows, which is always given between single inverted commas, every character has always the same spelling no matter how it is pronounced. For instance, the character 班 belongs to the initial 'b' and the final 'an', and is therefore spelt 'ban', altho in actual pronunciation, it may be [pæ], or [be], or any sound whatever. This enables one to say that such and such a sound has such and such a pronunciation in such and such a place, which would be meaningless unless the 'sound' is taken not as a sound, but as a class. This idea is somewhat like that of *phoneme*, as used by Daniel Jones<sup>(1)</sup>, but still more radical than the phoneme, as the bringing in of different times and places makes it more inclusive and more complicated.

In the third row are given the names of the ancient initials and finals. These are cut up and scattered over different parts of each table, when it is found convenient to do so in order to conform to the main tendency of the modern Wu-dialects as to the coalescence or sub-division of sound-classes.

The fourth row, which is sometimes subdivided into two parts, states the conditions under which the ancient initial or final is pronounced in the way indicated by the present column. For instance, when ancient velar initials are followed by front vowels ('g<sub>2</sub>, k<sub>2</sub>, gh<sub>2</sub>, gn<sub>1</sub>', Table I 2), as indicated by the condition '今齊撮', they will be found to become palatal sounds in most of the dialects studied. In Table II, the factor which influences the final most is the *place* of articulation of the initials. This is stated in terms of 'b系, d系, g系, h系, j系, tz系', which stands for the labial, dental (plosive, nasal and lateral) velar, glottal, alveolar or palatal, and dental (affricative and fricative) series, respectively. The character 文 in small print stands for the literary pronunciation and 白 for the colloquial pronunciation. The former is usually nearer to Mandarin and the latter usually nearer to the ancient pronunciation. Such cases of double reading are more numerous in the Wu-dialects than in most other dialects.

The fifth row gives characters of each class as illustrations; these are taken from the longer list of about 2700 characters used in the typelists.

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(1) For a definition of a phoneme, see Daniel Jones, *The Pronunciation of Russian*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 49-50.

The sixth row gives the pronunciation of the initials or the finals as they were pronounced in the North of China in the Swei or early T'ang dynasty, or about 600 A. D. The values given follow the reconstruction of Bernhard Karlgren<sup>(2)</sup>, except that it is here translated into the International Phonetic Alphabet (to be referred to as "IPA" from now on).

The seventh row gives the pronunciation of Gwoyen, or Mandarin, which is taken to be approximately the same as the pronunciation of Peking.

The body of the tables is given in a very "narrow" form of the IPA, two lists of which are given with examples in English, etc. in "甲表" (just before Table I), and "乙表" (just before Table II).

Additional signs to the IPA are as follows: For a medium *a*, a capital *A* is used, as Jespersen does in his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*<sup>(3)</sup>. On the analogy of *A*, *I*, etc., a medium [e] is indicated by a capital *E*. For the ancient palatal plosives, which came from archaic *t* and *d*, and later became palatal or alveolar affricates, it was thought advisable to use *t* and *d* with a horizontal hook to the left, after the fashion of the leftward-hooked *c* and *z*, thus leaving *c* and inverted *f* available for the back variety of palatal plosives. For apical vowels, the four signs proposed by Karlgren<sup>(4)</sup> are used instead of using *i*-dieresis or *z* with a vertical stroke under it, etc.

A very important convention adopted in these tables concerns the use of superscripts and subscripts. A *superscript* is always used in an *additive* sense, that is, a parasitic sound which lacks clearness, or intensity, or length, or any combination of these is written small as a superscript. It is also used for a sound which is sometimes present and sometimes absent in an initial or a final. A *subscript* is also used in an *adjectival* or *modifying* sense, that is, it indicates that the sound denoted by the preceding letter has something of the manner or place of articulation of the sound denoted by the subscript. In case a sign which is itself a modifier, such as a nasal sign or a "higher" sign is found at the upper right-hand corner, it means

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(2) The most accessible form is in his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923, and his "Dictionary of Dialects" Stockholm 1926, being the fourth volume of his *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise*.

(3) 2nd edition, section, 9.92, p. 162.

(4) *Phonologie*, vol. 1, pp. 295-297.



that the sound of the preceding letter begins without the modification but finishes with that modification. Thus a diphthong of very narrow range may sometimes be indicated by a superscript modifier when it is thought not advisable to use two different letters.

Table IV gives the tones for single characters. The headings indicate the ancient classes and the influence of the manner of articulation on the modern subdivision. No actual values for the ancient tones were given, as nobody knows as yet what they were.

In the main body of the table, each space gives the name of the tone class, the time-pitch graph, and its notation in the numerical tonic sol-fa system. The original data were recorded in absolute pitch (with the aid of the pitch-pipe mentioned above) on the staff-notation, the relative time being also indicated. For the purpose of comparison, all the data were reduced to the same nameless key by regarding all the middle points of all sets as being *me* (*mi* flat) or *ri* in the scale. Inasmuch as the absolute *size* of the intervals in each tone also varies with individual temperament, momentary mood, etc., this aspect of it should also have been reduced to a uniform scale, but as no practical means has been devised for making such reduction, this has to be left alone. As a matter of fact, this does not seem to have given rise to much discrepancy in the comparisons, the worse case being that for No. 7 Jiang-in (江陰), where the tones were very much exaggerated and probably not consistently pronounced in one key of voice.<sup>(5)</sup>

The first column to the right of the graphs gives the total number of tone classes in each dialect. The next column gives the absolute pitch of *do*, and the last column indicates the nature of the voice recorded, 成 stands for adult man, 童 for boy, and 女 for woman.

Part II of this monograph gives a part of the data collected concerning vocabulary and grammar, or grammatical particles, the substance of which is given in Tables V and VI. In Table V, the top row gives the meaning in Mandarin, and the equivalents in the different dialects are given in a column. This vocabulary

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(5) The shapes of curves for *inpyng*, *inshaang* and *inchiuh* agree with, and that for *inruh* differs from those given by Dr. Liou Fuh ("Fu Liu") in his *Etudes Expérimentales sur les Tons du Chinois*, Planches II, figs. 17-20. Unfortunately, he did not take any record of the other three tones of Jiang-in, with which I could check my results,

includes only the most common words and a small number of words peculiar to the Wu-dialects more or less in common. Then a series of words peculiar to only one or a very few dialects are appended to the main vocabulary.

Table VI gives the grammatical particles. As the sentence structure of Chinese is nearly the same in all the dialects of China, the grammatical peculiarities of a dialect can practically all be given in the particles. In the first row of the table is given a brief statement of the functions, the second row gives approximate equivalents in the literary idiom, the third row gives the Mandarin equivalents, and the fourth row gives the reference numbers to an article written by the author in *Tsing Hua Journal* on grammatical particles.<sup>(6)</sup>

Since the exact pronunciation of all the phonological classes are given in the first four tables, it will not be necessary to give the vocabulary in phonetic notation. A quite safe and dependable way is to give the exact sound (including tone) in terms of characters *as pronounced in the locality*, and whenever there is the slightest doubt as to whether the character used is the proper one (*i.e.*, the one used in that sense in several dialects over several hundred years), a small character “音” is placed after the nonce-character to indicate that it is used only for the sound. In many cases, an approximate pronunciation is given in terms of a dialect romanization, which is an extension of the National Romanization. The rough values of the letters used in this manner are given in the two tables “甲表” and “乙表”. For purposes of dialect writing, the tones are also indicated by variations of spelling on similar lines to the National Romanization.

The rules for tonal spelling are :

For *pyngsheng* (平聲): No special sign.

For *shaangsheng* (上聲): If the final has only one vowel, double it, as 李 *lii*, 馬 *maa*, Medial or “auslaut” *i* and *u* are changed into *e* and *o* respectively, as 廣 *goang*, 海 *hae*. But the diphthongs *ei*, *ie*, *ou*, *uo*, have their *e* and *o* doubled instead of having their *i* and *u* changed, as 美 *meei*, 火 *huoo*.

For *chiuhsheng* (去聲): “Auslauts” *-i*, *-u*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-l* change into *-y*, *-w*, *-nn*, *-ng*, *-ll* respectively. For other cases (including the cases of *i*, *u* as chief vowels) add a final *h*.

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(6) *Tsing Hua Journal*, III, 2, 865-917, Peking 1926.

For *ruhsheng* (入聲): Add a final *q*.

The upper (陰) and lower (陽) series of tones are automatically indicated by the nature of the initial, surds always having the upper tones and sonants always the lower, words beginning with a vowel not spelt with an initial *y* or *w* are considered to belong to the upper series. For the small number of "liquid" sonants (nasals and laterals) which have the upper tones, an apostrophe is put after the initial, as ling 零, *yangpyng* (lower), ping 掎, *inpyng* (upper). In the National Romanization an *h* is used instead of the apostrophe.

The rules for tonal spelling in the National Romanization are the same with two important modifications:

(1) Since Mandarin has surd initials in the *yangpyng* ('second tone') series, these need a special notation. When there is a medial *i* or *u*, it is changed into *y* or *u* respectively, as yang 楊, yuan 元, hwang 黃, when there is no medial, put an *r* after the vowels as char 茶, shern 神.

(2) When a syllable begins with *i* or *u* in *shaangsheng* ("3rd tone") or *chiuhsheng* ("4th tone"), a *y* or *w* is always added to, or substituted for *i* or *u* (there being in Mandarin no distinction of upper and lower series in these two tones), as jeang 講, but yeang 養, miaw 廟, but yaw 要. This is only for graphical elegance and has no phonetic significance.

In words of more than one syllable, sometimes a syllable loses its etymological tone and has a short and neutral intonation, somewhat like the *ruhsheng*, but weaker, this is indicated by putting a dot before the syllable. In Table VI, no dots are used, as the particle seems to have a clear *ruhsheng* quality (tendency towards ending with a glottal stop), it is spelt with final *q*.

On the left hand side of each of the sound tables are given the names of the places whose dialects were studied. When a dialect is not urban, an arrow pointing from a circle indicates the direction of the country place from the city to which it belongs. The places are:

#### In Jiangsu Province

1. Yishing 宜興
2. Liyang 溧陽
3. Jintarn Shigang 金壇 西岡
4. Danyang 丹陽

5. Danyang Yeongfengshiang 丹陽 永豐鄉
6. Jinqjiang 靖江
7. Jiang-in 江陰
8. Charngjou 常州
9. Wushi 無錫
10. Sujou ("Soochow") 蘇州
11. Charngshwu 常熟
12. Kuenshan 崑山
13. Baoshan Shuangtsaoduen 寶山 霜草墩
14. Baoshan Luodiann 寶山 羅店
15. Joupuu 周浦
16. Shanqhae ("Shanghai") 上海
17. Songjiang 松江
18. Wujiang Lili 吳江 黎里
19. Wujiang Shenqtzer 吳江 盛澤

In Jehjiang

20. Jiashing 嘉興
21. Wushing Shuanglin 吳興 雙林
22. Harnjou 杭州
23. Shawshing 紹興
24. Juji Wangjiajiing 諸暨 王家井
25. Cherngshiann Chorngrenjenn 嵎縣 崇仁鎮
26. Cherngshiann Taypyngshyh 嵎縣 太平市
27. Yuyaw 餘姚
28. Ningbo ("Ningpo") 寧波
29. Hwangyan 黃巖
30. Wenjou ("Wenchow") 溫州
31. Chyujou 衢州
32. Jinhwa 金華
33. Yeongkang 永康

A map of the region studied is given in the Chinese Introduction.

The general features of the Wu-dialects studied here may be summarized in the following points.

The ancient sonants 並, 定, 羣, 牀, etc. (or aspirated sonants, according to Karlgren) remain as sonants or apparent sonants. The real nature of these initials, as was first noticed by Dr. Liou Fuh ("Fu Liu"), and later verified experimentally by the present writer, is that they begin with a quite voiceless sound and only finish with a voiced glide, usually quite aspirated, in the form of a voiced *h*. In the case of fricatives and affricatives (順, 騎), the second half may be voiced; in plosives (旁), there is usually no voice at all until the explosion takes place. The only fully voiced sounds therefore are the nasals (忙) and laterals (來), and voiced *h* (毫) and its labial and palatal correspondents (王, 沿). However, in intervocalic positions, all the quasi-voiced initials become true voiced sounds.

The plosives [p, t, k] have hard values as in French, and not the soft values of Peking (voiceless *b, d, g*). But in Joupuu (周浦), Songjiang (松江) and Yeongkang (永康), the sounds corresponding to [p, t] are [b, d] respectively, while [k] is still [k], the smallness of the air chamber between the glottis and the velar closure making it more difficult to form a voiced plosive here.

Ancient diphthongs tend to become single vowels, *ai, ei, au, ou* tending towards *ü, é, è, e*. The "raising" of vowels in some finals has gone further than in Mandarin. Thus Ancient back *a* become *o* in central Mandarin, but *u* or *ou* in the Wu-dialects. Ancient front *a* becomes medium or back *a* in Mandarin, but *o* in the Wu-dialects.

Initials of the 'j' series, which were palatals in ancient Chinese, have become dentals or retroflexes in a majority of the Wu-dialects agreeing with Mandarin.

There are no final consonants except *-n* and *-ng*. Where both *-n* and *-ng* occur in the same dialect, they are (except for some words in Shawshing (紹興)) either used at random or assimilated to the following sound. In either case, the speaker does not know that he is not using the same sound. Ancient finals of the types of *an* and *am* become purely oral vowels in the majority of places studied, and nasalized vowels in the rest. Ancient finals of the types of *ung* and *ang* mostly retain a nasal ending *ng*, or an imperfectly formed *ng*. Ancient finals of the types of *en, em, eng* usually retain either *-n* or *-ng* or both at random without the

speaker knowing the difference. The last group is most susceptible to the assimilating influence of a following word. Thus 金 *jin*, 金襪 *jinbeau*, 金剛 *jinggang*, 金針 *jinjen*.

The endings *-p*, *-t*, *-k* in ancient finals are dropt, but a trace of a glottal stop is usually heard when a *ruhsheng* character is pronounced singly. In connected speech, however, when a syllable in the *ruhsheng* is followed by another syllable, its *ruhsheng* character is only shown by its brevity, there being no glottal stop.

The most frequent total numbers of tones are seven and eight.

Besides these general features, some points of special interest may be noted:

Danyang (丹陽) treats characters belonging to the ancient sonant *pyngsheng* series in two ways. The colloquial pronunciation for these gives a sort of quasi-voiced initial, but the literary pronunciation makes it a complete aspirated voiceless sound after the fashion of Mandarin. This is an interesting case of a borderland dialect. Jinqing (靖江) is the only Wu-dialect belonging to the North of Yangtzyjiang. Its sound system is quite Wu-like, but its personal pronouns have the Mandarin forms.

Charngjou (常州) has two kinds of tone-systems within the walls of the same city. This is a class distinction, the speech of the gentry following one system, that of the popular majority following the other. It is also interesting to note that the democratizing influence of modern schools, where children of different families mingle together, has resulted in a partial mixture of the two systems.

In Shanqhae (上海), the dialect is undergoing a more rapid change than in any of the other dialects. The sound system obtained here is noticeably different from that given by Karlgren in his *Dialect Dictionary*, and still further removed from that given in the *Shanghai Lessons* of F. L. Hawks Pott, the chief differences consisting in the obliteration of certain fine distinctions of tone and vocality. On the other hand, these differences given by Karlgren and Pott are still found to exist in Joupuu and Songjiang, on apposite sides of Shanqhae. Another significant thing to note is that individuals differ more widely in Shanqhae than in any other dialect. Songjiang has true voiced [b] and [d] corresponding to the Joupuu and unaspirated [p] and [t] of the other dialects. But unaspirated [k] is still [k].

Harngjou (杭州), being the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty, retain a good deal of Mandarin influence. Whereas all the other Wu-dialects have a literary and a colloquial pronunciation for a large number of words, Harngjou uses only the literary form whether in speech or in writing. There is therefore no striking difference in pronunciation between reading a literary passage in the Harngjou dialect and reading it in the Shawshing dialect, while the colloquial speech of Harngjou sounds very different from the surrounding dialects.

Yuyau (余姚) has the French *gn* sound as *auslaut*, which is rather rare among Chinese dialects.

Hwangyan (黃巖) has a sort of dyssyllabic *Shaangsheng*, that is, syllables of that tone class have a glottal stop in the middle of the vowel or between the vowel and a final nasal, thus giving the impression of two syllables. In connected phrases, the glottal stop is usually not present.

Yeongkang (永康) has true voiced [b] and [d] for sounds usually pronounced with unaspirated [p] and [t] in other Wu-dialects. In finals ending with a nasal, they become [m] and [n] respectively. But in all cases, the [k] of other dialects is still [k].

Yishing (宜興) has two finely distinguished varieties of *u*; Ningbo (寧波) (with some people) has two finely distinguished varieties of *i*; Harngjou (杭州) (with some people) has a front and a back variety of palatal affricates, Joupuu (周浦) can distinguish between two *o*'s, two *a*'s, an *é*, an *ö*, an inverted *e*, all of the same *ruhsheng* tone; Hwangyan (黃巖) can distinguish between two varieties of *iou*, the ending in one being only slightly more advanced and lower than the other. These examples constitute a phonetic lesson for the phonologist, namely, that he can never tell that a shade is too fine to make any difference until he finds out that it does not, or, in terms of phonemes, any (to the local ear) noticeable difference between phones, however small, may serve as a basis of distinction between phonemes.

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

## 譯名表

affricative 破裂摩擦的	liquid 次濁
alveolar 牙齦的, 舌尖後音	low (vowel) 低 (元音)
apical vowels 舌尖元音	manner of articulation 發音方法
aspirated 吐氣, 次清	medial 介母
"auslaut" 韻尾	mixed (vowel) 混 (元音)
character 漢字	nasal 鼻音
consonant 輔音	palatal 顎化的, 舌面的
dental 舌尖前音	particles 語助詞
diphthong 複合元音, 兩合元音	phonetics 語音學
final 韻母	phonology 音韻學
fricative 摩擦的	pitch 音高
front 前	place of articulation 發音部位
glottal 喉的	plosive 破裂的
high (vowel) 高 (元音)	rounded 圓唇
i-class (finals which begin with i-sound) 齊齒	tone 聲調, 四聲
initial 聲母	triphthong 複合元音, 三合元音
interval 音程	u-class (finals which begin with u-sound) 合口
intonation (廣義) 腔調	unaspirated 不吐氣, 全清
iu-class (finals which begin with iu-sound) 撮口	unrounded 不圓唇
kaikoou (finals that do not begin with i-, or u-, or iu-,) 開口	value 音值
labial 唇的	velar 舌根的
labiodental 唇齒的	voiced, sonant 帶音, 濁
lateral 邊音	voiceless, surd 不帶音, 清
	vowel 元音



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