

國立中央研究院
歷史語言研究所

單刊

甲種之四

廈門音系

羅常培著

中華民國十九年

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自序

十五年秋，余從林語堂沈兼士諸先生後，避地廈門。海濱屏跡，端居多暇。授讀之餘，時與思明林藜光，晉江邱立，龍溪薛澄清諸子，訪問語音，察其條貫；並徵集當地通俗韻書，里巷謠諺及教士所爲羅馬字註音諸書，互相參究。積以半年，畧有所得。嘗欲董理之，以成閩南方音考。未幾，轉徙嶺南，事遂中輟。零稿散置行篋久矣。及十八年余隨中央研究院歷史語言研究所自粵遷平，獲與趙元任先生研討語音，析疑辨微，受益匪淺。每思記錄一地方音，以驗個人審音之造詣，並就正於元任先生。適林君藜光應中印文化研究所之聘，自廈來平，從銅和泰爵士學。於是商請林君於每週之夕來所發其鄉音以資研習。計自十九年一月經始，歷時三月記音甫畢。因更擇取舊稿成廈門音系七章。於聲韻調之審辨，字音話音之比較，均視往昔所治者略精。至於廈音特徵，足以窺見古今流變者：聲母則有舌頭無舌上，有重唇無輕唇，有齒頭無正齒，全濁多混於全清，次濁半轉爲全濁；韻母則宕通相混，梗曾無別，豪翁而同歌，侯侈而入模。“騎”“蟻”存支部之故音，鼻韻爲“對轉”之津渡：凡此種種均箸於篇。若夫語源語性之探討，詞彙語法之完成，既非音系所賅，姑以俟諸異日。

本書之成，承趙元任先生懇摯修訂，林語堂先生精審校閱，林藜光先生始終贊襄，劉文錦先生力疾佐理；筆者均所深謝！儻所詮發於韻學畧有貢獻，固皆諸先生之賜，而疏漏紕繆之處筆者應尸其責焉。

中華民國二十年四月三十日羅常培序於北平國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所第二組。

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY OF THE AMOY DIALECT

INTRODUCTION

The Dialect of Amoy is one of the most important among Chinese dialect groups. Taken in a wider sense, it may be considered to cover the region from Southern Fukien, to Ch'ao Chou (潮州) and Swatow (汕頭), Hainan (瓊崖), Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Singapore, and others parts of the South Seas, in so far as Chinese is spoken there. The population speaking it is estimated at about twelf to fifteen million. It goes without saying that in such a vast linguistic area as this, some variations are become to exist among the different parts of this region. But the speech of Amoy and Kulangsu (鼓浪嶼) may be taken as the comparatively most prevailing variety, and the scope of the present study will be confined for the time being to the Amoy Dialect in this narrower sense. For the sake of brevity, we shall simply call this the Amoy Dialect, while the whole dialect group in the wider sense will be known as the Hoklo Speech (福佬話).

The study of the Dialect of Amoy was initiated by foreign missionaries. First of all, Medhurst, in his *Dictionary of the Hokkien Dialect* (福建方言字典), for the first time collected the native sounds of Chang Chou (漳州). But he based his work mainly upon the common native phonological book of Chang Chou (漳州), "Sip-ngo-im" (i.e. Shih wu yin 十五音). Consequently, the main part of his material contains rather the literal pronunciation of Chinese characters than the vernacular sounds. He did put in some of the speech pronunciation of Chang Chou (漳州) or Chang P'u (漳浦), but they are, as Douglas remarks,⁽¹⁾ far

(1) cf. Douglas: preface of the *Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*.

from being exact. The first dictionary which was based actual living speech was the *Chinese English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (廈門白話字典), by Carstairs Douglas. This book was written in 1873 and published in 1899. According to its preface, the author arrived at Amoy in 1855. At first he only copied for his own use from the manuscript of J. Lloyd's *Vocabulary of the Vernacular of Amoy* (廈門詞彙), and made some additions according to the *Manuals of the Vernacular of Amoy* (廈門話課本) prepared by Doty and Macgown. Afterwards, he also made use of the manuscript of Alexander Stronach's *Dictionary of the Vernacular of Amoy* (廈門話字典) and various native phonological works, such as "Sip-Ngo-Im" (i.e. the Shih Wu Yin 十五音), and published the dictionary after rearrangement and enlargement to meet the needs of the church. Since its publication, Thomas Barclay⁽²⁾ and then R. G.⁽³⁾ made some supplements to it. Finally, in 1913 W. Campbell, making use of all the materials available at the time, compiled a new dictionary bearing the title of *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular* (廈門音新字典). At present day, these two dictionaries are of course the most important ones for the study of the Amoy dialect. But as Douglas's dictionary has only English explanations but no Chinese equivalents, whereas Campbell's has only Chinese equivalents but no English explanations, neither will be quite complete without the other and the most useful way of using them would be to combine the two so that one could supplement the other.

On the part of Chinese scholars, an institute for the study of the Dialect of Amoy under the name "Hagusia" (廈語社) was established in about 1920

(2) *Supplement to the Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*, 1923.

(3) "A Few Petty Additions to Dr. Douglas' Dictionary" *China Review*, VII, pp. 274-276.

by Dr. Chiu Bien Ming (周辨明), Mr. Shao Ch'ing Yuan (邵慶元), among others. Their purpose was "to propagate the use of a practical system of alphabetic writing for Hagu (i. e. the Amoy Vernacular with its kindred dialects)", and "by means of this medium of writing to promote the increase of knowledge and education among the Hagu-speaking people—an initial and necessary step in the movement for universal education". They improved the old system of Romanization which had been and was being used by the missionaries for notating the sounds of the Amoy Dialect. They also published some pamphlets, the "*Hagu Jipp-buan*" ⁽⁴⁾ (廈語入門 i. e., introduction to the study of the Vernacular of Amoy), the "*Oel-seng Kangr-hoal*" (衛生講話 i. e., Remarks on Health), the "*Hagu Ter-phi e Siaur-sout*" (廈語短篇小說 i. e., short Stories in the Vernacular of Amoy), and one periodical, "*the Tsilantsiam*" (指南針 i. e., the compass,). Beside these, an attempt to invent a certain system of Chinese signs for the notation of the Amoy Dialect without resorting to Roman Characters has also been made by Mr. Lu Kung Chang (盧翹章). His system is embodied in his "中華新字漳泉語通俗教科書" ⁽⁵⁾ (A Common Textbook of the Vernacular of Chang Chou and Ch'üan Chou written in New Characters). He invented a system of simple Chinese letters similar to the western alphabets to spell the native sounds of Amoy and called them "seng" (僧 monk, i. e. the finals with -m -n -ŋ) "ni" (尼 nun, i. e. the final ɲ) sounds, and "Fu" (夫 husband, i. e. the vowels and diphthongs) "chi" (妻 wife, i. e. the nasalized vowels) sounds. This may also be re-

(4) The Roman Characters used here as well as in the following are according to the system of Romanization of the Hagasia.

(5) Published in 1916.

garded as an exotic line in the history of the study of the Dialect of Amoy.

It will perhaps not be out of place to state why a person like myself, not a native of Amoy, should undertake the present work in this field in the fifty-seven years after the appearance of the dictionary of the vernacular of Amoy. In the first place, though the above stated foreign missionaries worked out a system of *classification* of the sounds of Amoy, yet if we look for the exact phonetic *values* of the initials, the finals, and the tones, or for the particular changes of one and the same phoneme in different connections, we are at a loss to find any adequate answer from their results. For instance, for the initial sound of the class 查, 齋, 遭, 租, 珠, both Barclay and Campbell have "ts-", and for that of the class 支, 占, 招, 真, 章, they have "ch-". But, for the aspirated sounds of both "ts-" and "ch-" classes, such as 差, 材, 操, 初, 樞, and 車, 千, 親, etc., they have in both cases "chh". Here the question arises: does the rule that dental affricatives when palatalized become complete palatals apply only to unaspirated sounds, or is it simply due to their unintentional inconsistency? Again, for the finals of words like 邊, 篇, 顛, 天 etc, Barclay has "-ien", while Campbell has "-ian". Is the principal vowel in such finals [e] or [a], or something between the two, that is to say, [ɛ] or [æ]? If we take it to be "a" which seems more probable, still another question arises: is this "a" the front [a] or the back [ɑ], or the middle [A]? Answers to such questions and the like are not to be found in their works. In fact, their works, may be regarded as being of the nature of *phonological study* rather than *phonetic study*, they serve only as reference books for distinguishing the *classes* of sounds, and not as a basis for analysing their *values*.

In the second place, the Hoklo Speech is not only a dialect group covering a very large area of the country, it is also of great value for the study of the ancient sounds of China. For instance, the absence of labio-dental (輕脣) sounds and the failure of the initials 知, 徹, 澄, to become affricates may be considered a living testimony to the theory of Ch'ien fa Hsin (錢大昕 1728-1805) of the Ch'ing (清) dynasty, that the sounds in question were bilabials and pure dentals. Furthermore, the final sounds -m of the spoken sound of the character '熊', by virtue of the principal vowel [y] changing into [i], is still preserved nowadays; and from the colloquial pronunciation of the characters 騎, 寄, 崎, 蟻, etc., we can find some clue to the ancient sounds of the rime 支. For such historical phonological researches, certainly we can not get any light from the works of the former missionaries. As to the ancient sounds of China, the work of Bernhard Karlgren is certainly of great importance. It is therefore all the more pity that among the twenty-six dialects which he compiled in his *Dictionary of Chinese Dialects* (方音字典), he only included the dialect of Swatow and not of Amoy as well. It seems therefore still worth while now to take up the work of comparing this Dialect with the sound system of the Ch'ieh Yün (切韻), with a view to get some clue to the sounds of archaic Chinese from their relation to each other. There then are the motives which have led me to undertake the present study.

Although I lived in Amoy for about eight months, from the Autumn of 1926 to the Spring of 1927, my memory of the sounds I heard during that period have gradually faded away, and it would be difficult for me to recall everything quite accurately now. Therefore, a large part of the present

work is based upon a new set of recording, taken from the spoken sounds of Mr. L. K. Lin. Mr. Lin was born in Amoy and lived there for more than twenty years though he speaks Mandarin fluently, yet before his arrival at Peiping last Autumn, he had never had any other linguistic environment than that of Amoy. Therefore I believe that his spoken sounds are thoroughly reliable as a model. I prepared two type-lists of single characters one for the "sustained tones" (舒聲) one for the "abrupt tones" (促聲),⁽⁶⁾ taking the Chinese characters in Barclay's *Dictionary of the Vernacular of Amoy* (廈門話字典補編) as a basis, and supplemented with the *Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular* by Campbell and with Shih Wu Yin (十五音). Then Mr. Lin read them over and I recorded the sound value of each class in the International Phonetic Alphabet. At the same time, those characters which did not seem to correspond to any words actually used in the Amoy Dialect were struck out. The system of sound classes and sound values of the initials and finals in the present work are the results of induction from the materials of these two lists. In studying the tones, I availed myself of the tabular forms which Dr. Y. R. Chao had prepared during last Winter in his research of the Canton dialect, only changing those parts which do not suit the Dialect of Amoy. The story text used for the study of Particles, "the North Wind and the Sun", (北風跟太陽) has been com-

(6) In Chinese prosody, the traditional four tones were divided into 平 (even) and 仄 (oblique), which include 上 (rising), 去 (going), and 入 (entering). It is however, more convenient for phonetic purposes to group the first three tones together, as opposed to the last tone, and in discussing this point with Dr. Y. R. Chao, we proposed to call the two new classes of tones 舒聲 (sustained, or even-going tones) and 促聲 (abrupt tones). They correspond to the 1st, 5th, 2nd, 6th, 3rd, 7th on the one hand and the 4th, 8th tones on the other, in the Amoy system of tone enumeration.

posed anew by Mr. Lin with the words and expressions of pure Amoy Speech. As to the process recording, apart from the direct recording described above, those aspects which were considered to be essential to the study of the Dialect of Amoy, such as the values of tones of single characters, the changes of tones in combinations, the tones of words in a connected story, etc. etc. studied by having the material recorded into dictaphone twice, which was then investigated and average result was taken.

The first part of this monograph is a Phonetic study of the Dialect of Amoy. On the basis of Mr. Lin's pronunciation I conclude that in the Dialect of Amoy there are twenty initials, fifty-seven finals, and seven tones. Their sound values are represented, with what I feel to be comparatively reliable transcriptions, in the list of initials on page 5, the list of finals on page 10, the table of the positions of articulation of the consonants and vowels on page 9 and 15, and the musical notation of tones on pages 20—22. Assimilation and Absorption of the consonants (see pp. 16, 17) as well as enclitics and the changes of tones in combination (see pp. 23—28) are also discussed at some length in this chapter.

The second part is a phonological study of the Dialect of Amoy. In the study of a dialect, if we are concerned only with the classes of sounds (their exact value having already been determined in the first part of the study), it will sufficient now to use a simplified system of notation by using mostly the letters of the ordinary Latin alphabet. For this purpose, I have compared the system of Medhurst, Doty, Douglas, Campbell, and Chou Bien Ming, and applied the principle of the National Romanization in devising a system of practical romanization in which practically all diacritical marks are dispensed with, and tones are indicated simply by alteration of the let-

ters themselves. A complete list of the sound elements is given on pp. 30—32; for the rules of pronunciation see pp. 33—35. All the sounds which may be produced by the various combinations of these initials and finals are contained in the syllabaries on tables 2 and 3.

The third and the fourth parts are concerned with a comparative study of the Dialect of Amoy with historical phonology. The material of the third part consists of a native phonological handbook of Chang P'u (漳浦) under the title of Shih Wu Yin (十五音), published more than one hundred years ago. The difference between the classification of sounds in this book and the modern Dialect of Amoy are all represented in "the table of comparison of Amoy initials with the fifteen sounds" on p. 51, and in "the table of comparison of Amoy finals with the fifty elementary characters" between page 52 and 53. From this study we can also see more or less the difference between the vernacular sounds on the sea coast and those of inner parts of southern Fukien. The material of the fourth part is Kuang Yün (廣韻)—the golden treasury of sources for the study of Ancient Chinese. The comparative study of this part, of course, is much more complicated than the third part. All the results we have obtained so far are arranged in tables six to fourteen. A complete view of the differences and similarities between the Kuang Yün (廣韻) and the Dialect of Amoy may be had by examining these tables.

The fifth part contains a few examples of practical transcription. There are one story and four pieces of local songs. The transcription used in this part is an average between broad and narrow transcriptions. In addition to the transcription in the International Phonetic Alphabet, the sound classes are also given with the dialectal Romanization in parallel text. Dr. Y. R. Chao has been kind

enough to prepare the musical notes for the tones and the rhythms of those local songs, which will enable one to reconstruct the only sing-song manner of recitation.

The last part, the table of the comparison of the sounds of Amoy with the Shih Wu Yin (十五音) and the Kuang Yün (廣韻), is a summary of the two preceeding parts. The words contained in this table are those from the list of words which I prepared with the Shih Wu Yin (十五音) and the dictionaries of Barclay and of Campbell as a basis. It contains, with the exception of rare words, one or two representative characters from each class of initials, finals, and from each kind of medial (including no medial as a special case). The study of sound being the main purpose of the present work, our attention is directed more to the completeness of the classification of sounds than to the richness of vocabulary. As for the method of reading the tables and the special marks used in those tables, explanations are to be found in pp. 95, 96.

For the completion of this monograph, I am most indebted to Dr. Y. R. Chao (趙元任). He is the one who has inspired my interest most in the study of phonetics. This book may indeed be called the exercise work of his phonetic class. All through this work, he has consistently as to give me suggestions and advices, and especially in the estimation of tones and sound values, I dare say, a large part is based on his opinion. My indebtedness to Mr. L. K. Lin is of course more than I can adequately express. He has not only been most generous with his time, but has also given me freely valuable information concerning general aspects of the dialect. I am also very grateful to Dr. Lin Yü T'ang (林語堂) and my assistant Mr. Liu Wên Chin (劉文錦).

Dr. Lin has been kind enough to read through the whole work minutely, and give me many valuable suggestions. Mr. Liu has painstakingly helped me a good deal in the comparative study of the historical phonological part. Therefore, if this small work should prove to be some contribution to the linguistic world, it is all the gift of their cooperation. As to errors and omissions on the author's part, he sincerely wishes that scholars in this line will kindly point them out and correct them.

Peiping, April 30, 1931,

Lo ch'ang P'ei.

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