

[Reprinted with revisions from the *T'oung Pao*.

THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE AND TONE BEHAVIOUR
IN HAGU (commonly known as the Amoy Dialect)
AND THEIR RELATION TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS
IN CHINESE LINGUISTICS

廈語音韻聲調之構造與性質
及其於
中國音韻學上某項問題之關係

By

CHIU BIEN-MING

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周辨明著



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序 言

本篇係1930年在德國耶堡之作，當承伯希和教授(P. Pelliot)在其主編之「通報」(*T'oung Pao*)上發表於巴黎。當付印時，因空間關係，印稿未經本人校對，且以排印上種種緣故，延至1932年底，方告出版。茲值再版機會，稍加修改，並將篇中錯誤字句概行釐正。

此番重印，原擬譯成本國文字，奈因無暇及此，頗以為憾。然文字粗淺，且係英文稿子，為國內外學者所易通曉，實亦無翻譯之必要也。

茲將內容提要舉出數端於下：

1. 「廈語」之界說，包括廈門音，泉州音，漳州音，汕頭音，潮州音，海南音等為範圍。(pp. 1, 2)
2. 根據廈音為藍本以構定切韻之音，其可靠性價值等於根據高麗音。(pp. 3—5)
3. 中國方音中，廈音所佔古音成分最為豐富，其為考定切韻本音之資格，實居廣東音與客家音之上。(pp. 5, 6)
4. 廈語聲調在語詞中之變化，統依一定規律。凡成句內必有「聲調綜」(tonal groups)之組織，作為單位，以資句內文法構造之分析。(pp. 19—25)
5. 關於廈語聲調性質之實驗，全文及所有圖解已在荷蘭語音實驗文庫上發表(*Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Experimentale*, January 1931)。本篇中論及聲調之部，僅節錄全文主要之結論而已。(pp. 18ff.)
6. 中國治音之法起於「韻書家」，成於「字母家」。所謂「開口」「合口」，即今「平唇」「圓唇」之意。等子云者，即介*i*勢力之強弱而已。「一等韻」無介*i*。「二等韻」為前紐元音，繼後或將有發生介*i*之變韻。「三等韻」本有介*i*成份，且此介*i*能變在前之聲母為顎化音或嘶沙化音。「四等韻」亦有介*i*成份，但為較晚近之起。總之，圓唇化與唇音，其保守力較強。但介*i*化之演變力則極銳利。(pp. 27, 23)
7. 切韻與廈語聲母之比較。(pp. 27, 28)
8. 切韻與廈語韻母之比較。(pp. 31—36)
9. 廈語有切韻以前之音。(pp. 38—40)
10. 古之濁上聲字，凡以「匣，羣，澄，牀，禪，定，從，邪，並」為起母者，轉為今廈語之下去聲，凡以「喻，疑，日，泥，娘，來，明」為起母者，轉為今廈語之上聲。(pp. 40—42)。
11. 「疑，泥，日，明」諸母，非僅代表鼻母系 *ng, n, nz, m* 之音，實亦兼包濁母 *g, d(l), dz, b* 之音。(pp. 42—45)。
12. 「清音」與「濁音」之區別，根本上似乎是聲調高低之關係，而非今所謂輔音母之不帶聲(voiceless)與帶聲(voiced)之不同。惟濁音則有易於帶聲化之可言耳。故「羣，定，從，並，澄，牀，邪，禪，奉，匣」構定為低聲之 *k, t, ts, p, t', ts', s, s', F, x* 則可，為 *g', d', dz', b', d', dz', z, z', v, q* 則不可。此項之構定實顯而易見，且

於音韻沿革之系統 具有一貫之線索也。(pp. 45ff)

13. 西人解釋字調之起源,素喜歸功於原始字首字尾輔音之淘汰。茲由此篇之理論觀之,則適得其反。是聲調爲因,輔音之演變爲果也。蓋原始語言辨字之法,莫如聲調之爲便利,之爲自然。音同而異其調,字可層出不窮也。故此去吾人對於後起語音之變遷,應推重聲調作用之解釋。Verner 之規律及西藏音與支那音之關係,或亦將由此而得明顯之解釋與證實也。(p. 49)

周 辨 明.

廈門大學 1934年2月4日.

ERRATA 勘誤表

	<i>Instead of</i> 誤	<i>read</i> 正
p. 2, l. 29	ji ^w ang	jī ^w ang
p. 5, under Hakka	cong, c'in, ciu, cu	čong, č'in, čiu, ču
p. 7, l. 23	Sabao	Sabao~
p. 9, l. 20, 22	[6], [6àn]	[h], [hàn]
p. 9, l. 23	[Mañ]	[Maŋ]
p. 12, l. 5	consouants	consonants
p. 12, footnote		{ Sa~skṛta, saāskṛta, [ɔŋ]skrito, sʌnskrit, sʌwskrut
p. 13, l. 12	sī ⁿ 鼓	sī ⁿ 鼓
p. 13, l. 23	ki ⁿ 鹹	ki ⁿ 鹺
p. 13, l. 28	under nāg 卵, insert sng 酸	
p. 33, l. 10 from bottom	Group-em 臻	Group-en 臻
p. 33, l. 3 from bottom	迄 [ɹet]	迄 [iət]
p. 36, l. 12 from bottom	distinction	distinctions
p. 41, l. 13 from bottom	respectibely	respectively

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PHONETIC SYMBOL MAKESHIFTS

s	stands for	[ʃ]
s'	„ „	[ʃ̣]
sʷ	„ „	[ʃ̥]
ng	„ „	[ŋ]
q	„ „	[ɣ]
c	„ „	[č] (p. 5)
U	„ „	the unrounded [u]
o	„ „	[o]
ɨ	„ „	[i] (pp. 31-35)
à	„ „	[ǎ] (p. 32)
è	„ „	[ê] (p. 33)
ê	„ „	[ē] (p. 34)

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INTRODUCTION.

DEFINITION OF HAGU.

Hagu or the Amoy dialect has been variously called Hok-kien or the Min 閩 dialect. Both these terms cover geographically the province of Fukien, but it is well that in the field of language we guard against such a loose terminology. For, in the first place, the Amoy dialect is not to be classified with the dialect of Foochow, the provincial capital, because in the latter all final *-m*, *-n* have developed into *-ng*, which in Amoy are still preserved intact. In the second place, the dialect of Swatow and Tiechiu 潮州 in the northeastern part of Kwangtung, adjoining Fukien, and the dialect of Chinese inhabitants in the island of Hainan, stand in such a close relation to the Amoy dialect that for all linguistic purposes they may be treated together under the same group. Furthermore, the language of the Chinese population in Formosa is the same as the speech of Chiangchiu 漳州, a prefecture city some twenty miles from Amoy. Geographically, therefore, the so-called Hok-kien or Min dialect embraces the southern coastal half of Fukien, the north-eastern corner of Kwangtung, and the islands of Formosa and Hainan.

The term "Amoy dialect", on the other hand, is too narrow. It conveys the idea that it is the language of the region in and round about Amoy. This, as we have just seen, is not the case. It covers the geographical area just described, and, within itself, shades off into a rich variety of sub-dialects. It is a problem

for linguistics to determine which of these should be accepted as the standard form. The particular form as spoken in Amoy derives its importance simply because of Amoy as a modern seaport, whose pronunciation is considered fashionable and worthy of imitation by the people from up-country. In literary circles, on the contrary, the pronunciations in Chiangchiu and Tsoanchiu 泉州 have always occupied a much more important place. In fact, the Amoy pronunciation is not always the older. For example, 君 and 斤 are differentiated in Chiangchiu as *kun* and *kin*, and in Tsoanchiu as *kun* and *kun*, but in Amoy they are both read *kun*. All this goes to show that, while retaining for the principal sub-dialects their local names like Amoy, Chiangchiu, Tsoanchiu, Swatow, etc., we need for the entire group a more comprehensive term. In this study we shall refer to the entire group as "Hagu" 廈語, using this generic term to cover the language of the geographical limit just defined. And we are doubly justified in doing so, because this language — for it has all the attributes of an independent language — under its variant forms has been brought over to the South Seas, the Dutch Indies, the Straits Settlements, and the Philippines, by Chinese emigrating in groups of thousands, so that authorities there find it a necessary auxiliary instrument of administration.

MEANING OF RECONSTRUCTION.

In the field of Chinese linguistics, it has been the custom in recent years to speak of the reconstruction of old Chinese — a point of view and a method introduced from Indo-European philology, principally by Karlgren in his work: *Études sur la phonologie chinoise*¹⁾. The so-called "reconstruction" is really only an alphabetical readjustment of the rime systems already arranged and put together by Chinese phoneticians and lexicographers around the year 600 A.D. The European sinologue has dressed up the rime classes in letters, which the Chinese scholar could do no better than express in his unwieldy ideograms. The former has followed the latter faithfully, making identical distinctions. Thus Karlgren reconstructs 藩 as *pjwän*, 編 as *piwän*, 王 as *jiwäng*, without convincing us how those sounds could actually have been distinguished or pronounced by the ancient Chinese who had no letters to look at. It might well have been that the rimists — as we shall hereafter call the authors of the rime dictionaries — were merely preserving dialectal distinctions or the spelling of other systems employed by previous authors. When the alphabetist, who came later, took up the rimes, he redistributed them into a somewhat mechanical system of pigeon-holes. This mech-

1) Archives d'Études Orientales, Vol. 15, Upsala, 1916—1924.

anical system was Karlgren's mainstay in his reconstructions, and so his results like those of the alphabetist are largely schematic. It is in this schematic sense that we see the similarity between the Chinese and the Indo-European reconstructions. The reconstructed forms in Indo-European, however, are deduced from known facts in languages dead and living, and are supposed to have existed; but the reconstructed Chinese forms are interpretations of phonetic schemes which represent a language definitely known to have existed. Later attempts of Karlgren ¹⁾ and Simon ²⁾ into archaic Chinese are much more akin to the sort of reconstruction in Indo-European.

HAGU AND SINO-FOREIGN DIALECTS.

The question naturally suggests itself: would it be possible to arrive at a more tangible decipherment of the ancient rimes, something less mechanically schematic, something approximating better to the real state of pronunciation then existing? The answer is: Yes, if a modern dialect could be found which was the ancient language itself or which came nearest to the language of that time. Maspero has shown that the *Ts'ie-yün* 切韻, the source of all our knowledge about a form of Chinese in 600 A.D., was a northern dialect ³⁾, and indeed the dialect of Ch'ang-an 長安. Karlgren has proved that Sino-Corean was also based on a northern dialect ⁴⁾. Sino-Corean is variously stated to have been introduced into Corea in the 4th, 5th or 6th century ⁵⁾.

The Kan-on version of Sino-Japanese was also from the north; but Sino-Corean served even better than Kan-on as the touchstone employed by Karlgren in his reconstructions. Both these ancient forms, however, were foreign loans into languages different from Chinese in type, and consequently were incapable of taking over all phonetic properties, particularly the characteristics of tone, nasalization and aspiration.

The relation in which Kan-on (said to be introduced in the 7th century) ⁶⁾ stands to Hagu is shown in the following examples:

1) Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Karlgren, *Problems in Archaic Chinese*, J.R.A.S., Oct. 1928.

2) Simon (Walter), *Zur Rekonstruktion der altchinesischen Endkonsonanten*, Mit. Sem. f. Orient. Sprachen, Band XXX u. XXXI, Berlin, 1927—28.

3) Maspero, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, BEFEO XX, 1920.

4) Karlgren, *The reconstruction of Ancient Chinese*, T'oung Pao, 1922.

5) Kanazawa, *Über den Einfluss des Sanskrits auf das japanische und koreanische Schriftsystem*.

6) The Japanese claim that Kan-on was taught by Chinese who lived in Japan in the

Kan-on	Hagu	Kan-on	Hagu
我 <i>ga</i>	<i>góa, Ngó'</i>	念 <i>den</i>	<i>liām</i>
頑 <i>guan</i>	<i>Goân</i>	內 <i>dai</i>	<i>lāi, Lōe</i>
臥 <i>gua</i>	<i>Gō</i>	男 <i>dan</i>	<i>Lâm</i>
儀 <i>gi</i>	<i>Gî</i>	藍 <i>ran</i>	<i>lâm</i>
涯 <i>gai</i>	<i>Gâi</i>	難 <i>dan</i>	<i>Lân</i>
嚴 <i>gen</i>	<i>Giâm</i>	蘭 <i>ran</i>	<i>lân</i>
吟 <i>gin</i>	<i>Gîm</i>	年 <i>den</i>	<i>Liên, nî</i>
琴 <i>kin</i>	<i>khâm</i>	田 <i>ten</i>	<i>Tiēn, tshân</i>
眼 <i>gan</i>	<i>Gán</i>	能 <i>do</i>	<i>Lêng</i>
騎 <i>ki</i>	<i>Khî</i>	騾 <i>ra</i>	<i>lô</i>
求 <i>kiu</i>	<i>Kiû</i>	惰 <i>to</i>	<i>Tō</i>
牛 <i>giu</i>	<i>Giû, gû</i>	二 <i>dzi</i>	<i>dzī</i>
轎 <i>kiō</i>	<i>kiō, Kiāu</i>	兒 <i>dzi</i>	<i>dzī</i>
堯 <i>giō</i>	<i>Giâu</i>	人 <i>dzin</i>	<i>dzīn</i>
行 <i>ko</i>	<i>kiān, Hiéng</i>	茶 <i>ta</i>	<i>tē, tê, Tô</i>

Kan-on	Hagu
萌 <i>bo</i>	<i>Biêng</i>
明 <i>bei</i>	<i>Biêng</i>
米 <i>bei</i>	<i>bí</i>
尾 <i>bi</i>	<i>Bí, bé</i>
馬 <i>ba</i>	<i>bé, bē, Má</i>
埋 <i>bai</i>	<i>bâi</i>
買 <i>bai</i>	<i>bóe, Máí</i>
門 <i>bon</i>	<i>Bún, mâng</i>
文 <i>bun</i>	<i>Bún</i>

Where we find the initials agree, the vowels are fairly alike, but the finals differ.

Next, the relation between Sino-Corean and Hagu is shown by the following examples:

course of the 6th century seems to be in better accord with its name, which preserves an archaic *k* for the character 漢, as no other Chinese dialect does, not even the *Ts'ie-yün*. See Maspero, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan*, p. 18.

Sino-Corean	Hagu	Sino-Corean	Hagu
雞 <i>kiei</i>	<i>ke, koe</i>	虔 <i>ken</i>	<i>khiɛn</i>
禮 <i>liei</i>	<i>Lé</i>	權 <i>kuen</i>	<i>koân</i>
雷 <i>loi</i>	<i>lúi</i>	掀 <i>hen</i>	<i>hiɛn</i>
腿 <i>t'oi</i>	<i>thúi</i>	建 <i>ken</i>	<i>kiɛn</i>
流 <i>liu</i>	<i>Liú, láu</i>	元 <i>uen</i>	<i>oân, Goân</i>
輕 <i>kieng</i>	<i>Khieng, khin</i>	販 <i>p'an</i>	<i>phòan, Hoàn</i>
江 <i>kang</i>	<i>kang</i>	甘 <i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>
茶 <i>ta</i>	<i>ts, tê, Tô</i>	貪 <i>t'am</i>	<i>Tham</i>
		君 <i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>

We find here an agreement in initial, vowel and final to such a perfection that the common origin of these two dialects could scarcely be any longer doubted. That is simply another way of saying that Hagu stands at least on the same footing as Sino-Corean in its relation to the *Ts'ie-yün*. But Hagu is a living Chinese dialect, capable of inheriting the characteristics of sound and tone. Therefore Hagu has even greater value than the foreign adaptations for a close approximation to the sounds of the *Ts'ie-yün*.

HAGU AND THE OLD DIALECTS.

Among modern Chinese dialects, Mandarin is young and no comparison with it need be made. But comparing Hagu with Cantonese and Hakka, known to be two of the oldest Chinese dialects, we have the following results:—

Cantonese	Hakka	Hagu	Ts'ie-yün
佛 <i>fut</i>	<i>fut</i>	<i>pud, Hud</i>	<i>b'inet</i>
唐 <i>t'ong</i>	<i>t'ong</i>	<i>tâg, Tông</i>	<i>d'ang</i>
張 <i>t'söng</i>	<i>cong</i>	<i>tiuⁿ, Tio'ng</i>	<i>t'iang</i>
陳 <i>t's'vn</i>	<i>c'in</i>	<i>tân, Tîn</i>	<i>d'ien</i>
方 <i>fong</i>	<i>fong</i>	<i>png, Ho'ng</i>	<i>piwang</i>
周 <i>t'sau</i>	<i>ciu</i>	<i>tsiu</i>	<i>t'sieu</i>
傅 <i>fu</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>pò', Hù</i>	<i>piu</i>
金 <i>kvm</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>kiem</i>
楊 <i>iöng</i>	<i>iong</i>	<i>iüⁿ, Iâng</i>	<i>iang</i>
江 <i>kong</i>	<i>kong</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kang</i>
潘 <i>p'ün</i>	<i>p'an</i>	<i>phoaⁿ</i>	<i>p'uân</i>
朱 <i>t'sü</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>tsu</i>	<i>t'siu</i>

林 <i>lɔm</i>	<i>lɪm</i>	<i>lɪm</i>	<i>liem</i>
洪 <i>hung</i>	<i>fung</i>	<i>âng, Hô'ng</i>	<i>*qun</i>
黃 <i>uɔng</i>	<i>fong</i>	<i>âng, Hô'ng</i>	<i>*q'wang</i>
白 <i>pak</i>	<i>p'ak</i>	<i>pe', pieg</i>	<i>b'ɔk</i>
王 <i>uɔng</i>	<i>vong</i>	<i>ô'ng</i>	<i>jɪ'wang</i>
葉 <i>ip</i>	<i>iap</i>	<i>iab</i>	<i>iäp</i>
茶 <i>t's'a</i>	<i>ts'a</i>	<i>tê, ts, Tô</i>	<i>d'a</i>

*q = gamma.

These examples are mainly taken from family names. Here we find Hagu always coming up closer than the other dialects to the *Ts'ie-yün* pronunciation as reconstructed by Karlgren. Hagu is therefore the oldest of the three old dialects. Clearly, then, the position of Hagu is highest among Chinese dialects, no less than among Sino-foreign dialects, for an approximation to ancient Chinese.

This sketchy review gives us already an idea of the sort of language we are handling. A closer study in the following pages of the structure and development of Hagu, based on an intimate acquaintance with the dialect, ought to throw further light on problems in Chinese linguistics and contribute some answer to the question raised above as to whether the reconstructions may not be simplified in one way or another.

ABORIGINAL, COLLOQUIAL, AND LITERARY WORDS.

One thing more, and we shall be through with these preliminary remarks. All Chinese dialects exhibit the common characteristic, to a more or less pronounced degree, of having two readings for certain ideograms, — the one literary, and the other colloquial. In Mandarin, the difference between the two readings is quite insignificant; in Hagu the difference is very marked so that under certain conditions only one of the two readings may be correctly employed. With respect to this peculiarity, these two dialects represent the two extremes. For the present we will only describe what happens in Hagu. The following are examples:

Colloquial	Literary	Colloquial	Literary
人 <i>lâng</i>	<i>Dzîn</i>	坐 <i>tsē</i>	<i>Tsō</i>
口 <i>kháu</i>	<i>Khó'</i>	食 <i>tsia'</i>	<i>Sid</i>
目 <i>bag</i>	<i>B'g</i>	看 <i>khò'aⁿ</i>	<i>Khàn</i>
耳 <i>hī</i>	<i>Nzí</i>	聽 <i>thiaⁿ</i>	<i>Thieng</i>
手 <i>tshíu</i>	<i>Síu</i>	扶 <i>phô'</i>	<i>Hú</i>
脚 <i>kha</i>	<i>Kio'k</i>	行 <i>kiáⁿ</i>	<i>Hiêng</i>

Of course, there are purely literary characters which have no colloquial reading, and there are colloquial words which cannot find their character equivalents. In the latter instance a character of the same meaning is assigned as substitute, or else a "vulgar" character would be invented. E. g., for *be'*, 'to want', is given 要 *iâu*; for *ba'*, 'meat', is given 肉 *dziog*; for *phâ*, 'empty' is invented 有, which is 有 devoid of its contents. Etymologically, these characters do not agree with the sounds they stand for; it is an example of the unwieldiness of Chinese ideograms when it comes to a matter of expressing sounds. Be that as it may, these readings exist and in fact go back to different sources. First, some are aboriginal words, *thó'-ōe* 土話, which the Chinese adopted when they settled down in Fukien. Secondly, some are every-day words, *pe'-ōe* 白話, which the Chinese brought with them in their speech during their successive waves of migration from the North, owing to political upheavals and the invasions of northern barbarians. Thirdly, some are literary words, *bûn-giân* 文言, handed down through the written medium from master to pupil, and fostered by the civil service examination system and the desire to seek civil promotion in the service of the State. *Thó'* 土, *pe'* 白, *bûn* 文, therefore, are the three elements which make up Hagu. The problem of Hagu etymology is to sort out the *thó'* from the *pe'* and *bûn* words, and to identify the Chinese elements with their correct Chinese characters.

It is true, there are extra-Hagu words, such as 第一 *tūi-iad*, meaning 'first-rate, excellent, glorious', borrowed direct from Cantonese; or *sap-bûn* 'soap', modelled after Portuguese 'sabao'. But such words are few in number and not of great significance.

For the study of ancient Chinese pronunciation, however, only the *pe'* and *bûn* words play an important role. The *bûn* reading is the language of the rime tables and dictionaries; it is the Kan-on or Sino-Corean on Chinese soil; it is kept up by a continual literary and cultural influence from the North. But the *pe'* reading is not directly descended from the books of rime; it has a more independent existence, a more natural development, and is appreciably more conservative, exhibiting probably a dialect of the pre-*Ts'ie-yün* period. Thus 厚 'thick' is literarily *hō'*, which corresponds to the *Ts'ie-yün* pronunciation; but colloquially *kāu*, which represents a stage of the language when the velar had not yet been assibilated.

Modern Hagu presents a homogeneous mixture of these forms of words, which have each its proper part to play. The parallel in English is sometimes like the existence of 'think over' side by side with 'deliberate'; sometimes like

the different shades of meaning in 'moral' and 'morale'; and sometimes merely like the alternative forms of 'Fernsprecher' and 'Telephon' in German. At any rate, these various forms have different historical values. In the present study we shall follow the excellent usage adopted by Campbell in his *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular*¹⁾, by writing the literary pronunciations with capital letters as initials, so that those not in capitals belong to the other classes of words. Where the literary and the colloquial pronunciations agree, however, only small letters will be used. And where a doubtful ideogram is assigned to a pronunciation, the ideogram will be enclosed in parentheses. Thus: 知 *Ti, tsai*; 心 *sim*; (識) *bat*.

I. THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE.

There is already a system of Romanization for the transliteration of Amoy and Swatow, and a certain amount of literature, largely for missionary purposes, employing the system. The important works dealing with the system are:

Douglas, *A Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular, or Spoken Language of Amoy*; New Edition, London, 1899.

Campbell, *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular*; Shanghai, 1913.

Steele: *The Swatow Syllabary*, Shanghai, 1909.

These works will be referred to as the current system. The present system of transcription is an attempt to be consistent with the usage in modern phonetic science, but does not differ materially from what is already in vogue. In order to reduce explanatory matter to a minimum, I consider the explanation as sufficient when the sounds are referred back to phonetic symbols of the International Phonetic Association. These are always enclosed in square brackets [].

Current spelling is enclosed in < >. The transliteration here adopted is left without any parentheses.

a. Initial Consonants.

	Stops	Nasal stops	Fricatives	Affricates	Nasal affricate
Bilabial . .	<i>p ph b</i>	<i>m</i>	(<i>m</i>)		
Dental . .	<i>t th l(d)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ts tsh dz</i>	<i>nz</i>
Velar . . .	<i>k kh g</i>	<i>ng</i>			
Glottal . .	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>h</i>		

1) Shanghai, Presbyterian Mission Press, 2nd Edition, 1924.

The system of initials in Hagu is quite symmetrical in character. *p, t, k, ts* are unaspirated as in French; while *ph, th, kh, tsh* are aspirated as in English, but never so strong as in German.

l, which might with equal right be rendered *d*, wavers between [l] and [d], and is really [ɺ].

ts, tsh, dz, in current spelling, occur before the vowels *a, o, o', u*, and are written < *ch, chh, j* > before *i* and *e*. There is really no necessity for differentiating into two series of phonemes. *nz* is *dz* nasalized, as in 耳 *nzi*, and should be pronounced like all affricates as a unit, and not as *n* followed by *z*.

ng is a digraph for the velar nasal. It is one sound like in English 'singer', where *g* should not be sounded. Example: 雅 *ngá*.

The glottal stops ° and ' are two varieties of [ʔ], described respectively by Sweet as 'glottal catch' and 'clear beginning', and by Sievers as 'fester Einsatz' and 'leise Einsatz'¹). These occur regularly before all syllables beginning with a vowel or a sonant, as in 紅 'āng, 烏 'o, 黃 'hng, 不 'm̄, 姆 'm̄, but are left unmarked in the present transcription, following the practice in current orthography.

ⁿ occurs in independent nasalized rimes such as 異易 *īⁿ*, 肄 *īⁿ*, 矣 *īⁿ*, 惡 *òⁿ*, 旨 *iúⁿ* (see *infra*). This nasal sound affects the entire syllable and the sign is in practice placed at the end of the syllable. But from a theoretical point of view, it may with equal right be regarded as a glottal stop initial.

A voiced *h* [ɦ], does not exist as an independent sound, but is often heard in intervocalic positions where a voiceless *h* is normally expected. Thus 大漢 *tōa-hân* > [tōa-ɦân]. A labialized *h* [ʷ], like in English 'what' [wɒt] is probably in existence, thus 風 *hō'ng* or [ʷhō'ng]. Both these varieties of *h* have an historical value, but in practice are not recognised as different phonemes, and hence are written only as *h*.

b. Final Consonants

All Hagu syllables are either open or else closed by the following stops:

-m,	-n,	-ng,	- ⁿ
-p,	-t,	-k,	- ^o
-b,	-d,	-g,	-'

-m, -n, -ng as final consonants lengthen the quantity of the syllable and carry along the tone of the syllable. When these finals are reduced, the syllable generally becomes nasalized. Thus from 監 *Kam*, 山 *San*, 橫 *Hîng* we obtain *laⁿ*, *soaⁿ*, *hoáⁿ*.

1) Vietor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, p. 23.

-p, -t, -k and *-b, -d, -g* as final consonants shorten the quantity of the syllable, giving it an abrupt finish, which to the Chinese ear constitutes a difference in tone. Phonetically *-p, -t, -k* are [^hp, ^ht, ^hk] and *-b, -d, -g* are [^hb, ^hd, ^hg]. They are all pronounced without explosion. *-p, -t, -k* serve to mark etymologically an upper tone, and *-b, -d, -g* a lower tone. When these finals are reduced, the syllable winds up with the glottal stop. Thus from 甲 *Kap*, 雪 *Soat*, 伯 *Piek*; 合 *Hab*, 月 *Goad*, 石 *Sieg*, we obtain *ka°*, *se°*, *pe°*; *ha'*, *ge'*, *tsio'*.

In current orthography, *-b, -d, -g* are also written as *< -p, -t, -k >*; and *°*, *'* are both given as *< -h >*.

c. Vowels and Sonants.

	Vowels			Sonants	
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i> <i>I</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>
Close	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>		
Open	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>o'</i>			
Low		<i>a</i>			

i, e, o, u are the normal pure monophthongs.

o' is very open in open syllables, = [*ɔ*]. Thus 素 *sò'* is like English 'saw' [*sɔ*]. In closed syllables, it is also closer. Thus, 王 *ô'ng*, 惡 *o'k* which in current spelling are written *< ô'ng, ok >*.

ɛ is the vowel in English 'there'. Ch. 馬 *bɛ*.

a is always the front variety. Thus 甘 *kam* is never like the vowel in E. 'calm' or 'come', but like in G. 'Kamm', or in F. 'patte'.

U is an unrounded [*u*], but further forward toward the central position. Thus: Ts. 魚 *hU*, 汝 *lU*. It is possibly like the sound in Swedish 'hus'.

I is the American variety of the short *i* in 'sit', which approaches 'set' in acoustic effect. Ts. 口 *khIó*.

ə as in English 'heard'. It occurs both as an independent vowel and as a glide, E. g. Ts. 登 *tə'ng*, but A. *tiə'ng*. The current spelling, *< eng, ek >* holds good for Swatow, but is really meant for *iə'ng, iə'k* in Amoy and Chiangchiu.

m, ng as vocal sonants are always preceded by a glottal glide *°* or *'*. Thus 梅 *'m*, 媒 *h'm*, 光 *k°'ng*, 算 *s°'ng*. But this is not marked in the current spelling, neither in the present transcription. (See also below).