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第四十四本

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目錄

The Reconstruction of Proto-Miao-Yao Tones.....	Kun CHANG
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中華民國六十二年三月

中華民國 臺 北

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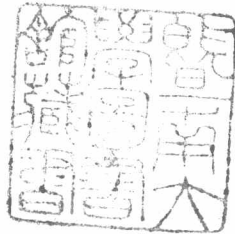
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The Reconstruction of Proto-Miao-Yao Tones

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and

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1. Introduction

Miao and Yao are the Chinese designations for one of the national minorities living in the mountainous regions of the provinces of Hunan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Yünnan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung. The Chinese term Miao has a longer history than does the term Yao: Miao occurs as early as the Book of Documents. Miao and Man seem to be Chinese transliterations of the Miao-Yao word for 'people' (see Appendix III). The Miao-Yao people have been in contact with the Hsia-Han people at least since the Shang-Chou period. In their struggle for survival, the Miao-Yao people have, however, been in continuous migration, going as far as the northern parts of Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Large communities have been broken into small groups: in one district, several different groups of Miao-Yao people of different origins and speaking different dialects may live next to one another.

In my discussion, the terms Miao and Yao are linguistically defined: Yao dialects are those which preserve the set of final consonants p, t, k, m, n, ŋ either completely or almost completely; Miao dialects have either none of these final consonants or at most n and ŋ. This classification coincides generally with the ethnic classification indicated by the two Chinese designations.

So far, there have been studies and reports on roughly seventy Miao-Yao dialects. These materials do not, however, present a well-balanced picture of the Miao-Yao languages. We have many reports on Miao dialects, but just a few on Yao dialects. These Miao dialects are, furthermore,

mainly from Kweichow and western Hunan: we have reports on only one dialect each from the provinces of Szechuan, Yünnan, and Kwangsi. Very few of these linguistic reports are sufficiently detailed. For many of the dialects which I shall discuss here, we have only twenty or thirty words; for still others, we have even less. Printing errors cause further frustration. (In Appendix I, I list all of the dialects for which we have records, no matter how scanty.)

### 1.1. Miao Dialects

There are four criteria for distinguishing subgroups of Miao dialects. One is the occurrence of the prenasalized initial stops and affricates mp, nt, ŋk, ŋq, nts, ntš, and ntr. In the first group of dialects, such initials have no tonal restrictions. This group is spoken by about 1,150,000 Miao people in southern Szechuan, western Kweichow, and eastern Yünnan, and by about 240,000 Yao people, called Punu, in the eastern part of the Autonomous Region for the Chuang people in Kwangsi. In the second group of dialects, these prenasalized initials can only coexist with a certain set of tones. This group has about 440,000 speakers in the various districts of Hunan (Huan-yüan, Feng-huang, Chi-shou, Ku-chang, Lu-hsi, and Pao-ching), and in the Sung-t'ao Autonomous District for the Miao people in Kweichow. In the third group of dialects, there are no prenasalized initials. This group has about 900,000 speakers, in the districts of K'ai-li, Lei-shan, Ma-chiang, Huang-p'ing, Chin-p'ing, Li-p'ing, Ts'ung-chiang, and Jung-chiang in Kweichow, in the Ta-miao-shan Autonomous District for

the Miao people in Kwangsi, in the San-chiang Autonomous District for the Kam people in Kwangsi, and in the T'ung-tao Autonomous District for the Kam people in Hunan.

The second criterion for differentiating types of Miao dialects is the presence or absence of initial consonantal clusters. In some dialects, such as the dialect of Ke-cheng, there are the initial clusters pr-, pl-, and ql- (Chart 1); in other dialects, such as the dialect of Kao-p'o, there are initial clusters pl- and tl-; in still other dialects, such as the dialect of Kao-t'ung, the corresponding initial clusters are ts- and lh-. Other variations are of minor importance.

Chart 1

Initial Consonantal Clusters in Miao Dialects

[Numbers indicate tones in the terms of Y. R. Chao's five-level scale: Le maître phonétique 45.24-7 (1920.)]

	'house'	'hair'	'dog'
Ke-čkeng	pra 45	plau 44	qla 45
Kao-p'o	plæ 13	plo 34	tlæ 13
Kao-t'ung	tsai 55	lhju 44	lhai 55

The contrast of back velars (q) and regular velars (k) is the third feature distinguishing one group of Miao dialects from another; most, but not all, Miao dialects have this contrast (Chart 2).



## Chart 2

## The q : k Contrast in Miao Dialects

	'star'	'chicken'	'horn'	'road'
Ke-cheng	qw 44	qai 44	kw 44	ka 45
Kao-p'o	qɣŋ 35	qɛ 34	kɣŋ 35	kæ 13
Kao-t'ung	qa 44	qɛ 44	ka 44	kɛ 55
Shih-tung-k'ou	qa 44	qai 44	ka 44	
Yao-lu	kuŋ 22	ka 22	kuŋ 22	kjai 34

The fourth criterion in classifying Miao dialects is the occurrence of nasal and lateral contrasts. Some Miao dialects, such as the dialect of Shui-wei, have three-way contrasts, which I posit for Proto-Miao: ?m : mh : m; ?n : nh : n; ?l : lh : l (Chart 3). Other dialects, such as the dialect of Ke-cheng, have reduced the three-way contrasts to two-way contrasts: mh : m; nh : n; lh : l. Yet other dialects, such as the dialect of Kao-t'ung, have only one type of nasal and lateral, n and l, in words of these disparate origins. (Kao-t'ung lh derives from other sources; cf. Chart 1.)

	'pain'	'night'	'eye'
Shui-wei	ʔmoŋ 31	mhoŋ 35	ma 35
Ke-cheng	maw 44	mhau 33	mɿŋ 22
Kao-t'ung	mu 44	maŋ 34	ma 33
	'this'	'sun'	'to eat'
Shui-wei	ʔnoŋ 55	nha 31	noŋ 31
Ke-cheng	no 45	nhɿŋ 34	nau 55
Kao-t'ung	no 55	na 44	nu 51
	'to pour'	'big'	'old'
Shui-wei	ʔlu 31	lhu 31	lu 55
Ke-cheng	le 44	lhau 34	lau 31
Kao-t'ung	lo 34	ljo 44	lo 21

Chart 3

Nasals and Laterals in Miao Dialects

## 1.2. Yao Dialects

The Yao dialects differ from the Miao dialects not only in phonology, but also sometimes in vocabulary. (See, for example, Chart 4.)

## Chart 4

## Miao-Yao Differences in Vocabulary

[RF = Rising-Falling; RFL = Rising-Falling-Low; RFH = Rising-Falling-High; EH = Even-High; EL = Even-Low]

	'pig'	'black'	'nearby'	'boat'
Yao:				
Thailand: Chiengrai and Lampang	tuŋ RFL	kiak RFH	fat RFH	dzaaŋ RFH
Thailand: Kwei-kang-pa	tuŋ RFL		fəd RFH	
Laos	tuŋ RFL	kiək RFH	fat RFH	dʒa:ŋ RFH
Hsing-an	tuŋ RF			
Yao-ling	tiŋ EH	kiə EH		ddoŋ EL
Kim-öi	tõŋ	kiã	xiǎt	dəŋ
Ta-pan	tuõŋ	kja	phát	
Miao:				
Ke-cheng	mpo 33	qlw 44	zra 33	ŋko 55
Kao-p'o	mpa 54	tlv 34	zræ 54	ŋko 55
Kao-t'ung	pε 34	lha 44	hε 34	ña 51
Yao-lu	mpa 33	tlu 22	ha 33	n̄te 44

We have very few extensive linguistic reports on Yao dialects: exceptions are the recent Yao-English Dictionary by S. J. Lombard (1968) and an early publication by F. M. Savina, Dictionnaire Français-Mán (1926). Purnell's and Lombard's reports on the Yao dialects in northern Thailand and Downer's material on the Yao dialect of the Northern Highland in Laos are based on substantially the same dialect. The description of Yao languages by Mao and Chou (1962) is very sketchy; their classification is based on a dialect's contacts with the Chinese language. The Mien dialects, with loanwords from Cantonese, are spoken by about 260,000 Yao people in more than sixty districts of the Kwangsi Autonomous Region for the Chuang People, and in the provinces of Hunan, Kwangtung, Yünnan, and Kweichow. More than 15,000 ethnically Miao people in the districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, Pai-sha, Tung-fang, Ch'iung-chung, Yai-hsien, Ling-shui, T'un-ch'ang, Wan-ning, Lin-kao, Ch'eng-mai, Lo-hui, and An-ting on the Island of Hainan speak the Mien dialects. The Tsao-min dialects, with loanwords from the Hakka dialect, are spoken by 29,000 Yao people in the district of Lien-nan in Kwangtung and the district of I-chang in Hunan. The Piao-min dialects, with loanwords from the southwestern Mandarin dialects, are spoken by 21,000 Yao people in the districts of Ch'üan-chou, Kuan-yang, and Kung-ch'eng in Kwangsi.

## 2. Proto-Miao-Yao Initials

The Miao-Yao tonal developments are closely related to the initials: the contrast of voiced and voiceless initials has brought about tonal splits; that of the aspirated and unaspirated initials has in some instances

led to further tonal diversification. Preglottalized and prenasalized initials also condition tone changes. I have tentatively reconstructed the initials given in Chart 5 for the Proto-Miao-Yao language.

### 3. Miao-Yao Tones

#### 3.1. Modern Miao-Yao Tonal Features

In Appendix II I specify the tones of modern Miao-Yao dialects on a five-level scale, indicate in features the shapes and heights of the tones, and outline the internal contrasts within each dialect. I use the features high (H), mid (M), low (L), even (E), rising (R), and falling (F); convex and concave tones are complexes of rising-falling (RF) and falling-rising (FR) features. If in a dialect there is only one even, rising, falling, convex, or concave tone, no height specification is needed. Some dialects may have as many as four tones which, though they have the same shape, differ in height; to differentiate these tones I use the high : low contrast twice. I use the specification mid only when there are three or five tones of the same shape to be distinguished (see Chart 6).

Readers may disagree with me for emphasizing the internal contrasts within individual dialects rather than imposing a universal standard of tonal specification. Tonal descriptions in linguistic reports are, however, merely linguists' impressionistic notations: different investigators often offer different numerical notations for the same tonal phenomena; even a single author may, in different publications, give different sets of tonal notations for the same dialect. It is impossible to reconstruct

p	pr	pl	t	tr	ts	tš	k	kw	q
ph	prh	plh	th	trh	tsh	tšh	kh	kwh	qh
b	br	bl	d	dr	dz	dž	g	gw	G
mp	mpr	mpl	nt	ntr	nts	ntš	ŋk	ŋkw	Nq
mph	mprh	mplh	nth	ntrh	ntsh	ntšh	ŋkh	ŋkwh	Nqh
mb	mbr	mbI	nd	ndr	ndz	ndž	ŋg	ŋgw	NG
?m			?n	?r	?l	?ñ	?ŋ		?N
mh			nh	rh	lh	ñh	ŋh		Nh
m			n	r	l	ñ	ŋ		N
?v					?z	?ž	? <u>h</u>		?
f					s	š	h		
v					z	ž	<u>h</u>		

Chart 5

Proto-Miao-Yao Initials

## Chart 6

## Tonal Systems with Four- and Five-way Contrasts

## Even Tones

## Four-way Contrasts:

	EHH	EHL	ELH	ELL
Ma-chia-t'un	55	44	33	11
Chiao-ch'a	55	44	22	11
Ke-cheng	55	44	33	22
Hsi-kuan	55	44	33	22
Chiu-chou	}	}	}	}
Chia-pa				
Hsin-ch'iao				
Chou-hsi	55	44	33	22
Yang-hao	55	44	33	11
K'ai-t'ang [P'an, Ts'ao; Ts'ao (cf. Bibliography)]	55	44	33	11
Kao-t'ung	55	44	33	11
Hsi-shan-chieh	55	44	33	22
Yao-lu	44	33	22	11
Tung-t'ou	55	44	33	22

## Five-way Contrast:

	EHH	EHL	EM	ELH	ELL
Shih-tung-k'ou	55	44	33	22	11

## Chart 6 (cont.)

## Falling Tones

## Four-way Contrasts:

	FHH	FHL	FLH	FLL
Hsien-chin	54	43	32	21
Chiao-ch'a	53	42	32	31
Tsung-ti	43	42	32	31
Yiu-chien	54	53	43	31
Pai-t'o	54	43	32	21

## Rising Tones

## Four-way Contrast:

	RHH	RHL	RLH	RLL
Hsin-ch'ang	45	24	23	14

## Five-way Contrast:

	RHH	RHL	RM	RLH	RLL
Hsiao-miao	35	24	23	13	12



the tonal values for the four historical categories A, B, C, D (cf. section 3.2.), and I am trying to avoid specifications which are unnecessary and irrelevant to the internal structure of an individual tonal system.

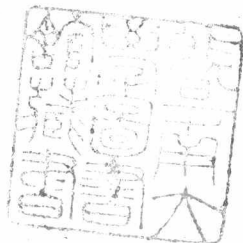
### 3.2. Proto-Miao-Yao Tones

There are four Proto-Miao-Yao tonal categories: A, B, C, D. (The D category is made up of words with the stop endings \*-p, \*-t, \*-k, which are still found in some Yao dialects.) There is no evidence that the four-tone system found in some modern dialects (Chart 7) derives from a system with fewer tones: words with the same segmental makeup have contrasting tones. There is, however, evidence that systems with more than four tones derive from a four-tone system.

Chart 7

Miao Four-tone Systems

	A	B	C	D
Lao-chün	31	55	24	33
Yeh-chi-p'o	31	55	24	31
Shui-wei	31	55	35	31



### 3.3. Tonal Splits

In some Miao-Yao dialects, one or two of the A-D categories remain as entities, while the others have split. This is true of the A and B tone categories in P'ing-yai, B and D tone categories in Hsiao-chang, C and D tone categories in Wu-chia, and the D-tone category in Chiu-chou, Chia-pa, Hsin-ch'iao, Chou-hsi, Hsüan-wei-chen, P'ai-ting, and Chin-p'ing.