

## THE P'ING-TU DIALECT AS A VARIANT OF MANDARIN\*

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**0.1.** In the most comprehensive work on Chinese dialectology published so far, *Hanyu Fangyan Gaiyao*, its author said, concerning North Mandarin, that of the numerous subdialects of this dialect area, those of the Shantung peninsula and the coastal areas of the Liaotung peninsula show a number of peculiar characteristics (when compared with Pekingese, the standard speech).<sup>(1)</sup> However, to my knowledge, very few investigations on the dialects spoken in this densely populated area have been published either in China or in the West.<sup>(2)</sup> Consequently, it is not yet clear to what extent the dialects of this area are different from (or similar to) Pekingese Mandarin, nor do we know what justification there may be for grouping them together as variants of the same dialect area generally called the Chiāo-tūng dialect. A study of any dialect of this area is thus not unwarranted.

**0.2.** In addition to the reason given above, there are at least two others which are more directly responsible for arousing my interest in this group of dialects. When I first met my informant, I was immediately drawn by the amusingly peculiar nature of his speech. It is clearly different from Pekingese, and yet it seems to be fairly intelligible to speakers of Pekingese who have had a fair exposure to other forms of Mandarin. It also happened that at the time of our meeting, I was studying a late Ming dynasty rime dictionary, *Yün-lüeh Hui-t'ung*<sup>(3)</sup> which contains some peculiar features not readily explainable to me at that time. Since the compiler of the dictionary, Pí Kūng-ch'én, was from I-hsièn of the Shantung peninsula, and since it has been a common habit for some modern scholars in their study of historical Chinese to blame the compiler of any rime dictionary, whenever there appears something seemingly inexplicable, for carelessly or subconsciously entering some features of his own non-standard dialect into his book, I felt then that a study of the dialect of P'ing-tù which is not far from I-hsièn may help us to solve some of the puzzles in the above-mentioned rime dictionary, or at least to clarify the matter.

**0.3.** The present study of the P'ing-tù dialect (PT) is based almost entirely on the Speech of Dr. Yü Tzūng-shiān, a research fellow of the Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica (Taipei), though I have also made some random checks with one person from Chū-ch'éng and another from Jih-chào, both to the southwest of P'ing-tù. I was told by these people that PT is fairly close to the Tsingtao dia-

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\* This work was supported, in part, by the Ohio State University Development Fund through its Faculty Summer Fellowship Program.

lect, but clearly distinct from that of Wén-tēng to the east and that of Wéi-hsièn to the west. Obviously, a great deal of research will have to be done before we know how to classify dialects of this area.<sup>(4)</sup> As to the dialect or dialects of the Liaotung peninsula, I know practically nothing, nor have I read any report about them, though presumably they must be fairly closely related to those of the Shantung peninsula, thanks to large scale migration.

**0.4.** In this study, I shall follow as much as possible the tradition of phonological study in China, partly because, for all practical purposes, the approach has worked unusually well, but more importantly, because this approach will make the present study more usable when it is compared with studies of other Chinese dialects done by other scholars. This means that the present study will concentrate on the three essential components in a Chinese monosyllable: the tone, the initial consonant, and the syllabic final. Intonations and morphophonemic changes will by and large be left untouched.

### 1. The tones.

In dealing with the problems of tones in the numerous Chinese dialects, the five-degree scale designed by Dr. Y. R. Chao has been widely adopted.<sup>(5)</sup> The scale has four intervals divided by five points represented each by a numeral: [1] for low, [2] for lower-mid, [3] for mid, [4] for higher-mid, and [5] for high. Any tone can thus be sufficiently identified, if not precisely described, by mentioning its starting and ending pitches, or, in the case of a circumflex tone, its turning point, too. Like Pekingese, PT has also four tones which can be described as follows:

|                        |      |                                |
|------------------------|------|--------------------------------|
| 1st tone: low level    | [11] | [in <sup>11</sup> ] "cause"    |
| 2nd tone: high falling | [53] | [in <sup>53</sup> ] "a person" |
| 3rd tone: mid level    | [33] | [in <sup>33</sup> ] "to drink" |
| 4th tone: low falling  | [31] | [in <sup>31</sup> ] "to print" |

**1.1.** The first tone has a variant form which can be represented by [112]. It occurs when a first tone syllable receives extra stress, either when it appears in a sequence of syllables or in isolation. The second tone has clearly a sandhi form which can be identified as [55]. It occurs to any second tone word when it appears before another second tone word, provided that the syllable sequence is uttered with a reasonably fast tempo; for example, the first syllable in the term *jén mín* [in<sup>55</sup> min<sup>53</sup>] "people." However, unlike the case in Pekingese, neither of the two sandhi forms will cause any misidentification, as they do not constitute a change from one toneme to another. The other two tones seem to be fairly stable in all instances where they occur. In addition to the four tones, one more may be needed. It occurs with unstressed syllables and can thus be called "unstressed" or "weak" tone. A word belonging to any one of the four tonal categories mentioned above can be realized in this way when it receives weak stress.

1.2. The correspondence between the tones of this dialect and those of Pekingese is very neat. In fact, this is why we have chosen to label the tones of PT the way we do. So the first tone in PT will also be the first tone in Pekingese, etc.. However, two things must be kept in mind. First, though labeled in the same way and corresponding to each other, a tone in PT may be phonetically realized in a drastically different way from its counterpart in Pekingese. For example, the first tone is realized as [11] in PT but [55] in Pekingese. Secondly, though words of a certain tone in one dialect belong for the most part to the corresponding tone in the other dialect, there does exist a sizable number of exceptions, especially with regard to the so-called entering tone words in Ancient Chinese.

## 2. The initials.

Following the traditional practice, the segmental elements of a syllable can be divided first into two parts, the initial, that is, the consonantal segment (not including semivowels) which initiates a syllable, and the final which is the rest of the syllable after the initial. When a syllable starts with a vowel or a semivowel, technically it will be said to have a "zero initial," and the whole syllable will thus be identical to its final. Altogether twenty-five consonantal units in the initial position (except the "zero initial") are found in PT.<sup>(6)</sup>

|                   |    |     |   |   |
|-------------------|----|-----|---|---|
| Labials:          | p  | p'  | f | m |
| Dental sibilants: | tθ | tθ' | θ |   |
| Dental stops:     | t  | t'  |   | n |
| Alveolars:        | ts | ts' | s | l |
| Retroflexes:      | tʂ | tʂ' | ʂ |   |
| Palatals:         | tɕ | tɕ' | ɕ | ɲ |
| Velars:           | k  | k'  | x | ŋ |

2.1. The labials [p, p', m, f] and the dental stops [t, t'] are roughly the same both in quality and in behavior as their counterparts in Pekingese. When they occur before [i], they show a slight tendency of palatalization. Though the tendency is somewhat stronger in PT than in Pekingese, it does not consist of a phonemic distinction. We thus have to recognize only six distinctive initials.

2.2. [n] and [ɲ] should be treated as allophones as the same phoneme, because the latter occurs only before [i] and [y] while the former never occurs before them. Both for being phonetically similar and for being in complementary distribution, they stand for a single phoneme which shall be written as /n/. Since [ɲ], like [n], does not occur before [i] and [y] either, and is thus also in complementary distribution with [ɲ], it may seem that it is equally desirable to group [ɲ] and [ɲ] together as members of one phoneme.<sup>(7)</sup> However, the feeling of the native speakers works strongly against this alternative solution. When comparing PT with other dialects where [ɲ] does not exist, for example, Pekingese, we find that words

with [ŋ] as their initial in PT correspond only to words with the initial [n] in the other dialects. Hence, for a meaningful comparative study, it is also obligatory to group [n] and [ŋ] together. [ŋ] as an initial in PT is actually very limited in its distribution. It occurs only immediately before a relatively low vowel in a stressed syllable. Such syllables always correspond to syllables with a comparable final but with zero initial in Pekingese, for example, the word *an* "peace" (PK [æ̃n]) is pronounced [ŋæ̃n] in PT. Indeed, speakers of PT are often not aware of the existence of this initial. Given syllables like [ei] or [au], they would reproduce them automatically with [ŋ] as the initial. However, in one case at least, [ŋ] as an initial does contrast with zero initial. The word *ēn* "favor" (PK [ɛ̃n]) is pronounced [ŋɛ̃n] in PT, while [ɛ̃n] as an interjection meaning "yes" also exists in the dialect. The same interjection can also occur in the form [ə̃ŋ], but because [ŋə̃] is not a syllable with meaning, the contrast is accidentally lost there. It may seem that [ŋ] and zero are thus not in complementary distribution in the initial position, and therefore cannot be phonemicized as members of one unit, but both because interjections sometimes exist beyond the limits of the phonemic system of a language, and because the contrast is so marginal, I still think it reasonable to treat the two elements as allophones of one phoneme, i. e., to leave out the [ŋ] unmarked in a phonemic transcription, though this will create a unique case where a "zero phoneme" has a non-zero allophone.

**2.3.** The three sibilant series [tθ, tθ', θ], [ts, ts', s], and [tʂ, tʂ', ʂ] are clearly distinct from one another phonemically, as can be seen from the following contrasts:

- a) *tzū* "wealth" [tθ] vs. *chīh* "to know" [ts] vs. *chīh* "branch" [tʂ].
- b) *ts'án* "cruel" [tθ'æ̃n] vs. *ch'án* "to wrap" [ts'æ̃n] vs. *ch'án* "greedy" [tʂ'æ̃n].
- c) *sāo* "bewitching" [θau] vs. *shāo* "to burn" [sau] vs. *shāo* "top (of a tree)" [ʂau].

Consequently, they should all be established as separate phonemes. In order to stress the fact that phonemically all initials are unit sounds (in contrast to clusters), as well as for typographical convenience, they shall be rewritten as follows respectively: /t̃, t̃', θ/, /c, c', s/, and /č, č', š/.<sup>(8)</sup> The dental series is a very unique one, because, as far as I know, it has never been reported for any Chinese dialect. But since the series also exists in the speech of the person from Chū-Ch'éng and the one from Jīh-chào, I suspect it may be one of the common characteristics of the Chiaotung group of dialects. Of these three series of sibilants, /c, c', s/ is the only one which can occur before [i] and [y]. /l/, clearly a separate phoneme, is listed here with /c, c', s/, instead of with /t, t', n/ as is done in most studies of Pekingese phonology, because, (a) like the sibilants, it occurs before the so-called "apical vowel" (e. g., *èr* "two" [l]), but see also Note 12 in 3.1), and (b) like /c, c', s/ in particular, it also occurs before [i] and [y].

2.4. As in Pekingese, the palatals [tɕ, tɕ', ɕ] in PT occur only before [i] and [y], while the velars (or gutturals) do not occur there.<sup>(9)</sup> It is thus possible and reasonable to regard them as allophones of a single series of phonemes, especially when, unlike the case in Pekingese, /c, c', s/ also occur before [i] and [y] and are thus in contrast with [tɕ, tɕ' ɕ]. However, the situation is somewhat confounded by the fact that both the dental sibilants and the retroflexes are also in complementary distribution with the palatals, as they do not occur before [i] and [y] either. Consequently, no matter which one of the three possible series we choose to group together with the palatals, we must give our reasons to support our choice. I think the choice should be the velars, because (a) in point of articulation, the dental sibilants and the palatals are separated by several intermediate series and hence show very little phonetic similarity to each other, (b) to the native speakers, the palatals are closer to the velars than to the retroflexes, though foreign speakers may feel the opposite, and (c) in historical development, the palatals came almost exclusively from the same source as the velars, with practically nothing to do with the retroflexes. We shall denote this series of phonemes /k, k', h/.

2.5. To sum up our discussion on the initials, we can now rewrite them phonemically as follows. For typographical convenience, we shall use /h/ to replace the aspiration mark. No confusion will arise, as it stands for an independent initial phoneme only when it is not preceded by another consonant.

|                   |    |     |   |     |
|-------------------|----|-----|---|-----|
| Labials:          | p  | ph  | f | m   |
| Dental sibilants: | t̃ | t̃h | θ |     |
| Dental stops:     | t  | th  |   | n   |
| Alveolars:        | c  | ch  | s | l   |
| Retroflexes:      | č  | čh  | š |     |
| Gutturals:        | k  | kh  | h | (ϕ) |

### 3. The finals.

There are thirty-six distinctive syllabic finals in PT. They are listed here in five groups corresponding approximately to the height of tongue with which they are pronounced.

- I. [-ɿ, -ɪ, -i, -u, -y, -in, -yn, -iŋ, -yuŋ]
- II. [-ei, -uei, -ou, -iou, -ən, -uən, -əŋ, -uəŋ]
- III. [-a, -ua, -ie, -ye]
- IV. [-æi, -iei, -uæi, -æn, -ien, uæn, -yæn]
- V. [-a, -ia, -ua, -au, -iau, -aŋ, -iaŋ, -uaŋ]

In analyzing these finals into phonemic elements, we shall again follow the traditional approach. This approach recognizes a nuclear vowel (*yün-fü*) for each final. In addition to the nucleus, a final may or may not have a syllabic ending (*yün-wěi*) which follows the nucleus and/or a medial (*chièh-yin* or *yün-t'ou*) which

precedes the nucleus. The medial, as can be seen from the transcription of the finals given above, appears in one of the three forms [-i-, -u-, -y-]. These elements are by nature a kind of on-glide and represent respectively palatalization, labialization and palato-labialization. Since the last element [y] shows the characteristics of both palatalization and labialization, it can be analyzed into the combination [iu].<sup>(10)</sup> To emphasize the fact that they are by nature different from the nuclear vowels, we shall use /j/ for [i], /w/ for [u], and /jw/ for [iu] (i.e., [y]). Depending on what form the medial assumes, or the absence of it, finals (hence, syllables) have been categorized into four types, called "four exhalations" (*szù-hū*) in Chinese.<sup>(11)</sup> As to the syllabic ending in this dialect, clearly four elements can occur in that position, namely, [-i, -u, -n, -ŋ]. Phonemically, they will be transcribed /-j, -w, -n, -ŋ/.

**3.1.** Applying the above-mentioned analysis to the five finals [ɿ, ʅ, i, u, y] in the first group will lead us to the same conclusion as Hartman did in his study of Pekingese. Since [ɿ] occurs only after /t̃, t̃h, θ/ and /c, ch, s, l/<sup>(12)</sup> while [ʅ] occurs only after /č, čh, š/, they can be recognized as members of a high vowel phoneme /ĩ/. [i, u, y] can then be phonemicized /jī, wī, jwī/ respectively. For convenience, the four finals with nasal endings in the first group will be discussed in the following section.

**3.2.** There are three vowels in the finals of the second group, namely, [e, o, ə]. They are obviously in complementary distribution, with [e] occurring before [i] (/j/), [o] before [u] (/w/) and [ə] before the nasals. We can thus establish a phoneme /e/. The two vowels [ʌ] and [ɛ] in the third group are also in complementary distribution with each other, as the latter occurs after [i] (/j/) and [y] (/jw/) while the former does not. Furthermore, they can be recognized as members of the same phoneme with the three vowels of the second group, because the latter only occur before a syllable ending while the former do not. The four finals with nasal endings in the first group can apparently be phonemicized with the high vowel /ĩ/ as their nucleus. But our suspicion will be aroused when we notice that they are, as far as the medial is concerned, in complementary distribution with their counterparts in the second group, namely, [ən, uən] and [əŋ, uəŋ]. The strict structural pattern requires that the four finals [ən, in, uən, yn] must share the same nucleus. The same saying is also true with the four finals [əŋ, iŋ, uəŋ, yuŋ]. Indeed, this is how the native speakers of this language feel, for they always rime words like *lín* "woods" [lin<sup>53</sup>] and *lún* "wheel" [luən<sup>53</sup>] together and words like *yìng* "hard" [iŋ<sup>31</sup>] and *tùng* "to move" [tuəŋ<sup>31</sup>] together. The question is whether we are going to identify their nucleus as /ĩ/ or as /e/, or, to put it differently, whether we are going to associate the finals of the second group with those of the third group or with those of the first group as having the same nucleus. This is not an easy question to answer at this moment, but one thing is clear that it is obligatory to interpret the finals [ən, uən, in, yn] or

[əŋ, uəŋ, iŋ, yuŋ] as sharing the same nucleus.<sup>(13)</sup>

**3.3.** Finals in Group IV and Group V can be easily phonemicized as sharing the same nucleus which we may call the low vowel /a/. The distribution of its allophones is as follows: [ɛ] after /j/ and before /j/ or /n/, /æ/ before /j/ or /n/ but not immediately preceded by /j/, [ɑ] before /w/ or /ŋ/, [a] before zero ending (or syllable boundary). It is now clear that the vowel system of PT as we set up here is identical to that of Pekingese. There are only three vowels: /i/, /e/, and /a/, differentiated by the sole feature of tongue-height, though in phonetic realization, they may appear to be either front or back, under the assimilating influence primarily of the syllable ending, but sometimes of the medial, too. The question whether the nuclear vowel of the finals [ən, uən, in, yn] and that of [əŋ, uəŋ, iŋ, yuŋ] should be interpreted as high vowel /i/ or middle vowel /e/ can now be answered. As we have said in the last section, either choice will be descriptively (or rather transcriptively) adequate. The question is thus purely theoretical in nature, and as such, we would propose to choose /e/. The reason is that since there are only three vowel phonemes differentiated by tongue-height, the choice we propose will make better sense structurally. By so doing, we shall be able to make a strong generalization that /e/ and /a/ as a group ([-high]) can combine with all syllable endings while /i/ ([+high]) does not with any. The peculiar nature of the high vowel will thus be unequivocally specified. The other choice would make the middle vowel the one that does not combine with syllable endings, and consequently the above claim would be lost.

**3.4.** To sum up our discussion on the syllabic finals, we may restate the following points.

- a) There are two semivowels, /j/ and /w/, which can occur both in the medial and in the ending positions.
- b) In addition to the two semivowels, the two nasals /n/ and /ŋ/ can also occur in the ending slot.
- c) There are only three nuclear vowels, high /i/, mid /e/, and low /a/.
- d) The finals in their phonemic form may be rearranged in a chart as follows.

| E<br>V<br>M | ø   |     |    | j   |     | w   |     | n    |      | ŋ    |     |
|-------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|-----|
|             | i   | e   | a  | e   | a   | e   | a   | e    | a    | e    | a   |
| ø           | i   | e   | a  | ej  | aj  | ew  | aw  | en   | an   | eŋ   | aŋ  |
| j           | ji  | je  | ja |     | jaj | jew | jaw | jen  | jan  | jeg  | jaŋ |
| w           | wi  | we  | wa | wej | waj |     |     | wen  | wan  | weg  | waŋ |
| jw          | jwi | jwe |    |     |     |     |     | jwen | jwan | jweg |     |

In addition to the finals already discussed, there are, as in Pekingese, a number of "retroflexed finals," i.e., finals with [r] as their ending. The best way to handle this [r] in PT, a noun suffix, is, I believe, to treat it as an allophone of the phoneme /l/. I have not included these finals in our discussion for two reasons. First, I have not, frankly, spent enough time on this aspect of the dialect. Secondly but more importantly, since practically all the retroflexed finals can be derived from the ordinary finals we have discussed by a set of simple rules, I think they should be treated as a phenomenon on the morphophonemic level, so that the basic phonological analysis will not have to be unduly complicated. The derivational rules in this dialect are for the most part comparable to those in Pekingese, for example, syllable ending /n/ will disappear when the suffix [r] is added. However, two differences have been noticed. First, unlike Pekingese, where the ending /r/ often appears phonetically as nothing but a simultaneous retroflexion with the nuclear vowel, PT shows clearly an additional [r] at the end of a retroflexed syllable which may even appear as a rolling [r]. Second, when a palatalized final (i.e., a final with /j/ in the medial position) takes the suffix [r], it loses its palatalization. For example, *tièn* "shop" /tjan/, when taking the suffix [r], becomes [terr<sup>81</sup>]. Consequently, [t'aurr<sup>58</sup>] may mean "a note" (*t'iao-er*/thjaw+l/) or "peach" (*t'áo-er*/thaw+l/).

In PT, as in Pekingese and Old Mandarin, the labial initials also behave in a peculiar way. It may be said that they phonemically combine only with finals which have either /j/ or nothing in the medial position, or it may be said that they combine only with finals which must have either /w/ or /j/, but not both, as their medial. My argument that structurally the latter alternative is better also suits PT very well.<sup>(14)</sup>

4. After we have determined the phonemic structure of the dialect, it is now possible to discuss the various aspects of its historical development and to compare it with other Chinese dialects, particularly, Pekingese. First of all, the question whether PT is a Mandarin dialect ought to be answered. A proper answer to this question should, of course, be in terms of the linguistic structure of the dialect, rather than its geographical location. Purely for the purpose of classifying the numerous Chinese dialects, I have drafted a check list of ten points. It is my hope that this check list can help us determine explicitly in linguistic terms if a Chinese dialect is a form of Mandarin, and, if so, which subgroup of Mandarin dialects it belongs to. The following is the list with its ten points arranged in what I believe to be an historical order.<sup>(15)</sup> It must be remembered that this list is still tentative in nature. I shall not attempt to explain here how such a list is arrived at, as it involves too many things to be discussed within the scope of the present paper.

- i. The change of the rising tone syllables with voiced stop or fricative initials to the going tone.



- ii. The split of the even tone into two and the subsequent devoicing of the initial stops and sibilants.
- iii. The acquisition of medial /j/ by the unrounded syllables of the second division with guttural initials.
- iv. The complete coalescence of the *kěng-shè* and the *tsěng-shè*.
- v. The emergence of the final (C) *î#*. (i. e., the *chih-szū* rime.)
- vi. The disappearing of the entering tone.
- vii. The merging of /m/ with /n/ as syllable ending.
- viii. The loss of medial /j/ in finals after all retroflex initials.
- ix. The emergence of syllables with /r/ (or /l/) as their ending.
- x. The merger of /c, ch, s/ with /k, kh, h/ respectively before palatalized finals.

When we examine PT with the above list, we shall find it passes all the checks there except the last one (x). Nothing has to be said about its passing (ii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii), and (ix), as these points are already clear from our description of the dialect. However, a few examples are perhaps needed to illustrate that it passes (i), (iii), and (iv), too. We believe it passes (i), because rising tone words in Ancient Chinese like *hân* "drought" (AC [ʃân], PT /han/)<sup>(16)</sup> and *chìng* "quiet" (AC [dz'ïäŋ], PT /cjeŋ/) are now pronounced with the fourth tone in PT. It passes (iii), for words like *chiên* "disloyal" (AC [kan], PT /kjan/) and *hsiáng* "to surrender" (AC [ʃàŋ], PT /hjəŋ/) are now pronounced with medial /j/. As in Pekingese, the *kěng-shè* and the *tsěng-shè* have not only coalesced, but have been joined by the *t'üŋ-shè* in forming a single rime group, as is evident from the reading of the following words: *kěng* "to plow" (AC [keŋ], PT /keŋ/), *sěng* "a monk" (AC [səŋ], PT /θeŋ/), and *tüŋ* "winter" (AC [tuəŋ], PT /tweŋ/). The fact that PT passes easily nine out of the ten checks and fails at only one which is probably the least relevant of them all should be taken as evidence that it is closely related to such a typical Mandarin dialect as Pekingese. In other words, it not only qualifies as a Mandarin dialect, but belongs to the same subgroup of dialects as Pekingese does, namely, North Mandarin. This does not mean, however, that PT is very similar to Pekingese. In fact, there are so many differences as to make the two dialects almost mutually unintelligible. A detailed discussion of these differences and their historical implications does not seem to be quite proper here, as it would make the present article somewhat too lengthy. I, therefore, shall do this in a separate paper.<sup>(17)</sup> Suffice it to say here, perhaps, that most of the differences between PT and Pekingese can be traced back to the near past, well after the formation of the so-called Mandarin language as recorded in the rime dictionary *Chūng-yüán Yin-yün*.

5. A few remarks can be added here as a summing up to our study of this dialect.

5.1. I started with the belief that PT is only a subform of a Mandarin dialect called "The Chiaotung Dialect" which is spoken in the Shantung peninsula and part of the Liaotung peninsula. For the various forms of speech of this area to be grouped together as one dialect, there certainly must be some clear signs of internal and systematic features shared by them all. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Studies on the dialects of this area are still too few to give us a clear picture. Following are some fragmentary information available to us.

a) The I-hsièn dialect to the north of PT is reported to have surprisingly only three tones: the first (*yīn-p'ing*), the second (*yáng-p'ing*), and the third (*shǎng-shēng*). It is said that words having the going tone (*ch'ü-shēng*) in Ancient Chinese (presumably the entering tone words, too) are now distributed among the three existing tones.<sup>(18)</sup>

b) The Kiaohsièn dialect is reported to have also only three tones which are, however, quite different from those of the I-hsièn dialect. Its "even tone" corresponds to the first tone (*yīn-p'ing*) of PT, its "rising tone" comprises words with the second (*yáng-p'ing*) or the third tone (*shǎng-shēng*) in PT, and its "falling tone" corresponds to the fourth tone (*ch'ü-shēng*) of PT. Words with the entering tone in Ancient Chinese are distributed among the three tones in more or less the same way as they are in Pekingese.<sup>(19)</sup>

c) The speech of P'eng-lái, a coast town to the northeast of P'ing-tù, is reported to show a unique characteristics in its initial system. In most modern dialects, the contrast between the initials /c, ch, s/ and /k, kh, h/ in palatalized syllables is either maintained (as in PT) or lost (as in Pekingese), but in the P'eng-lái dialect, the former has joined the retroflex series in the form [tʃ, tʃ', ʃ], contrasting to [c, c', ç] (i. e., /k, kh, h/) in palatalized syllables.<sup>(20)</sup>

In light of these reports, one cannot but wonder what common ground there might be for grouping these dialects together as subdialects of the so-called Chiaotung dialect. Clearly, more research will have to be conducted before we can justify this categorization.

5.2. As I have said at the outset of this paper that one of the reasons to choose this particular dialect for study is to see whether the rime dictionary *Yün-lüeh Hui-t'ung* was indeed influenced in any significant way by the native tongue of its compiler, if not intended to represent it exclusively. A detailed discussion cannot be given here, but for those who have some knowledge of the book, it must now be pretty clear that the phonological system represented by the book is quite different from that of PT. From the fragmentary information we have about the dialect of I-hsièn where the compiler was born, it seems that the relation between the book and that dialect is even farther apart, as the latter has only three tones (see 5.1b). A good lesson we can draw from this is that when we study any

rime dictionary, we should never brush aside prematurely any facts contained in that book, no matter how unlikely they may seem to be. Only by trying to explain in phonological terms all these facts can we ever hope to gain some meaningful knowledge about the historical development of the Chinese language.

5.3. It has been said that a Mandarin speaker from Manchuria and Mandarin speaker from Yünnan can converse freely, each in his own dialect.<sup>(21)</sup> While this remark is true, it is also somewhat misleading, if it is intended to show the uniformity of the numerous Mandarin dialects. In the first place, the two areas mentioned above were developed rather late in Chinese history, and hence tend to have a more uniform language. The Mandarin dialects spoken in areas between these two extremes often differ from one another much more drastically. Secondly, the close relationship among the numerous Mandarin dialects seems to be a matter of phonemic correspondence, rather than close phonetic similarity. This can be seen from the fact that speakers of different Mandarin dialects often have difficulty in understanding each other at the beginning but improve their mutual intelligibility marvelously fast. It may be argued that this is mostly because they have gradually grasped the corresponding rules between their dialects, often unconsciously, not because they have succeeded in imitating each other's speech.

Only when two modern dialects have been analyzed in a strictly structural model can we possibly display in a meaningful way the phonemic correspondence between them and state in unequivocal terms how these dialects are related to each other, and in what specific ways they differ from each other. The quasi-phonetic approach has not proved itself sound enough to achieve this goal. It is to be hoped that the day will come soon when a reasonably large number of Chinese dialects have been analyzed in this model so that the foundation of systematic dialectology can be firmly established.

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#### NOTES

- (1) Yüán Chiā-huá: *Hanyu Fangyan Gaiyao*, 1960, Peking, p. 24.
- (2) Yüán Chiā-huá mentioned a study on the P'êng-lái dialect by Pào Míng-wěi (op. cit., p. 31). He also mentioned some aspects of the I-hsièn dialect (p. 40) and the Wén-tēng dialect (p. 41) without giving the sources of the information. There is also one report in English on a subdialect of this area, Gerty Kallgren: "Notes on the Kiaohsien Dialect," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 27 (1955), pp. 11-40.
- (3) Pí Kūng-ch'én: *Yün-lüèh Hui-t'ung*, A. D. 1642. Reprint 1963, Taipei.
- (4) My informants suggest that the peninsula should be divided into at least four subdialectal areas: the east, with Yēn-t'ai as its center; the central, which includes P'ing-tù and Tsingtao; the northwest, with Wéi-hsièn as its

center; and the southwest, including Chū-ch'éng and Jih-chào. However, judging by the fragmentary knowledge we have (see 5.1), I am rather skeptical of this suggestion.

- (5) Y. R. Chao: "A System of Tone Letters," *Le Maître Phonétique* XLV (1930), pp. 24-27.
- (6) The phonetic symbols used in this paper are those of the IPA system taken from Yüán Chiā-huá (op. cit., p. 7), except that, for typographical convenience, I use [tʂ, tʂ', ʂ] for the retroflex sibilants.
- (7) There is nothing unusual in grouping [ɲ] and [ŋ] together as allophones of one phoneme. For example, in Hakka, this is exactly what has to be done. Cf. Yüán, op. cit., p. 150.
- (8) We may also follow Hartman (Lawton M. Hartman III: "Segmental Phonemes of the Peiping Dialect," *Language* 20 (1944), pp. 28-42. Also in Martin Joos' *Readings in Linguistics*. pp. 116-23) in analyzing /č, č', š/ as /c, c', s/ followed by /r/, but we must keep in mind that /r/ in such a treatment can only be regarded as a symbol for the distinctive feature "retroflexion," instead of a separate phoneme. (Cf. F. S. Hsueh: *Phonology of Old Mandarin: a Structuralistic Approach*, Ph. D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1968, p. 38) Moreover, the desirability of such a treatment for PT where /r/ is not needed as an initial is even more questionable than for Pekingese.
- (9) Cf. Hartman, op. cit..
- (10) Cf. Y. R. Chao: *Mandarin Primer*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 24, and Hartman, op. cit. p. 118.
- (11) In terms of distinctive features, the four types can be represented as [-pal, -lab], [+pal, -lab], [-pal, +lab], and [+pal, +lab], where pal= palatalization and lab= labialization.
- (12) Following the Karlgren tradition, I recognize two "apical vowels" here, the front one [ɿ] occurring after /c, ch, s/ and the back one [ʉ] occurring after /č, čh, š/. I have marked the apical vowel after /č, čh, š/ and that after /l/ as being also [ɿ], but frankly, I am not sure of this. To those with ultrasensitive ears, perhaps a different symbol will be needed after each different type of initials.
- (13) The same problem exists in Pekingese, too. Hartman argues that two different vowel should be recognized for the four finals in each set discussed here, because "there is a clear-cut distinction of vowel quality." (Hartman, op. cit., p. 122). Studies after his have generally come to the agreement that only one vowel can be recognized for such finals, though whether such a vowel is high or middle is still in dispute. See, for example, Mantaro J. Hashimoto: "Notes on Mandarin Phonology," in R. Jakobson and S. Kawamoto's (ed.) *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics*, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 207-20, and Hugh M. Stimson: *The Jongyuan In Yunn*, New Haven, Conn., 1966,

- pp. 15-16.
- (14) Cf. Hsueh, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
- (15) Cf. Hsueh, op., pp. 234-36 and 249. The list has also been briefly discussed and applied in my (co-authored with Professor John C. Wang) "The Lin-ch'i Dialect and its Relation to Mandarin." (To appear in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*.)
- (16) Phonetic transcriptions for Ancient Chinese (AC) used in this paper are based on Bernhard Karlgren's *Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese*, BMFEA 1954. Reprint, 1963.
- (17) The problems mentioned here have been dealt with in a paper under the title "Impact of Dialect Study on Historical Linguistics: Some Examples from the P'ing-tu Dialect" which was presented in the 4th International Conference of Sino-Tibetan Linguistics (held at Indiana University, Oct., 1971).
- (18) Cf. Yüán, op. cit., p. 40. Yüán, however, failed to mention how the information was obtained.
- (19) Cf. Kallgren, op. cit., pp. 30-32. Quite uncharacteristically, Kallgren said nothing about the phonetic value of the three tones.
- (20) Cf. Yüán, op. cit., p. 31. The information is obtained from a study of the dialect by Pào Míng-wěi.
- (21) Cf. Y. R. Chao: *Mandarin Primer*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 7; and Yüán, op. cit., p. 23.
- (Charts of Syllables with nonpalatalized and palatalized finals, on pp. 15, 16)

#### Glossary of Romanized Terms

|                             |                   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| ān 安                        | jén-mín 人民        |
| ch'án 纏, 饑                  | Jih-chào 日照       |
| Chiao-tung 膠東               | kēng 耕            |
| chièh-yīn 介音                | kēng-shè 梗攝       |
| chiēn 奸                     | Kiaohsien 膠縣      |
| chīh 知, 支                   | Liaotung 遼東       |
| chīh-szū 支思                 | lín 林             |
| chìng 靜                     | lún 輪             |
| Chū-ch'éng 諸城               | P'éng-lái 蓬萊      |
| ch'ü-shēng 去聲               | Pí Kūng-ch'én 畢拱辰 |
| Chūng-yüán Yin-yün 中原音韻     | P'ing-tù 平度       |
| ēn 恩, 恩                     | sāo 騷             |
| èr 二                        | sēng 僧            |
| hàn 旱                       | shāng-shēng 上聲    |
| Hanyu Fangyan Gaiyao 漢語方言概要 | Shantung 山東       |
| hsiáng 降                    | shāo 燒, 梢         |
| I-hsièn 掖縣                  | szù-hū 四呼         |

t'áo-er 桃兒  
 t'íáo-er 條兒  
 tièn 店  
 tūng 冬  
 t'ūng-shè 通攝  
 tùug 勳  
 tsēng-shè 曾攝  
 Tsingtao 青島  
 tzū 資  
 Wéi-hsièn 濰縣  
 Wén-tēng 文登

yáng-p'íng 陽平  
 Yēn-tái 烟台  
 yīn-p'íng 陰平  
 yìng 硬  
 Yu Tzung-shian 于宗先  
 Yúan Chia-huá 袁家驊  
 yün-fù 韻腹  
 yün-lüèh Hui-tūng 韻略匯通  
 Yünnan 雲南  
 yün-t'óu 韻頭  
 yün-wěi 韻尾

## 論平度方音中之官話成分

薛鳳生

膠東地區方音特異，於官話方言中，自成一支，治方言者早已留意，一向統名之曰“膠東方言”。然此一地區面積甚廣，居民尤衆，各地語音，殊多紛歧。其共通性為何？換言之，所謂“膠東方言”之特性為何？與京音之差異安在？欲回答此等問題，首必詳查本區個別地點之語音。唯此類調查報告迄今為數寥寥，遠不足以提供任何具體答案。

本文首以平度方音為對象，深入探討其音位系統；次論官話之特質，從而確定平度方音之類屬，並進而說明各種官話方言間之關係全在音位系統之對應；末以平度方音與蓬萊、膠縣、掖縣等方音之零星報導比觀，藉以顯示本區各地語音之迥異。所謂“膠東方言”者，以現有資料觀之，似乎猶待商榷。

與京音比較，平度方音之韻母系統與京音近似，然聲母系統則甚不相侔，舌齒擦音與塞擦音之應用，尤稱獨特；聲調之分類相同而調值則絕異；入聲字之分派亦大異其趣。然以歷史眼光觀之，此類差別僅可上溯至宋元之交，即在所謂“官話”形成之後。有關歷史演變部分，另有專文詳論。

Chart of syllables with nonpalatalized finals.

| F  | t | e | a | ej | aj | ew | aw | en | an | en | ag | wi | we | wa | wej | waj | wen | wan | weg | wag |
|----|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| I  |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| p  |   |   | 把 | 北  | 敗  |    | 包  | 木  | 撥  | 蹦  | 幫  | 不  | 薄  |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| ph |   |   | 怕 | 拍  | 派  |    | 泡  | 盆  | 盤  | 碰  | 胖  | 鋪  | 破  |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| f  |   |   | 法 | 飛  |    |    | 否  | 墳  | 反  | 風  | 方  | 父  | 佛  |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| m  |   |   | 馬 | 妹  | 埋  |    | 帽  | 門  | 慢  | 夢  | 忙  | 木  | 磨  |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| t̃ | 貧 |   | 雜 | 賊  | 再  | 走  | 燥  | 咱  | 攢  | 曾  | 葬  | 租  | 作  |    |     |     |     | 宗   |     |     |
| th | 此 |   | 擦 | 脆  | 菜  | 湊  | 草  | 存  | 殘  | 層  | 藏  | 粗  | 搓  |    |     |     |     |     | 葱   |     |
| θ  | 死 |   | 撒 | 塞  | 腮  | 望  | 騷  | 孫  | 散  | 僧  | 囊  | 蘇  | 鎖  |    |     |     |     |     | 鬆   |     |
| t  |   |   | 打 | 得  | 帶  | 斗  | 到  | 頓  | 擔  | 燈  | 當  | 都  | 奪  |    |     |     |     |     | 東   |     |
| th |   |   | 他 | 特  | 太  | 偷  | 桃  | 吞  | 攤  | 疼  | 湯  | 禿  | 駝  |    |     |     |     |     | 通   |     |
| n  |   |   | 拿 | 內  | 奶  |    | 鬧  | △  | 暖  | 能  | 囊  | 奴  | 糯  |    |     |     |     |     | 濃   |     |
| c  | 知 | 這 | △ |    |    | 咒  | 招  | 針  | 展  | 蒸  | 脹  | 煮  | 抽  |    |     |     | 準   | 磚   |     |     |
| ch | 尺 | 扯 |   |    |    | 臭  | 超  | 陳  | 纏  | 稱  | 長  | 出  | 綽  |    |     |     | 春   | 川   |     |     |
| s  | 濕 | 舌 | 傻 | 誰  |    | 受  | 燒  | 神  | 閃  | 升  | 上  | 熟  | 說  |    |     |     | 順   |     |     |     |
| l  | 二 |   | 拉 | 勒  | 來  | 樓  | 老  | 敵  | 頤  | 冷  | 狼  | 爐  | 落  |    |     |     |     | 豐   |     |     |
| č  | 支 |   | 炸 | 摘  | 齧  | 皺  | 罩  | 篾  | 斬  | 爭  |    | 榻  | 桌  | 抓  | 追   | △   |     | 鐘   | 莊   | 床   |
| čh | 齒 |   | 差 | 拆  | 踩  | 愁  | 炒  | 權  | 鐘  | 撐  |    | 戰  | 戰  | △  | 揣   |     |     | 冲   |     |     |
| š  | 是 |   | 殺 | 殺  | 篩  | 瘦  | 梢  | 參  | 生  |    |    | 贖  | 所  | 耍  | 水   | 衰   | 柱   |     | 霜   |     |
| k  |   |   | 割 | 格  | 該  | 够  | 高  | 根  | 更  | 剛  | 剛  | 姑  | 哥  | 瓜  | 鬼   | 怪   | 棍   | 關   | 公   | 光   |
| kh |   |   | 渴 | 客  | 開  | 扣  | 烤  | 看  | 坑  | 隸  | 行  | 褲  | 可  | 誇  | 虧   | 快   | 困   | 寬   | 空   | 框   |
| h  |   |   | 喝 | 黑  | 害  | 後  | 好  | 旱  | 積  | 行  | 行  | 戶  | 火  | 花  | 灰   | 壞   | 混   | 換   | 紅   | 黃   |
| ∅  |   |   | 阿 | 扼  | 碍  | 嘔  | 襖  | 恩  | △  | 航  | 航  | 屋  | 餓  | 瓦  | 爲   | 外   | 問   | 萬   | 翁   | 王   |

Chart of syllables with palatalized finals.

| F | ji | je | ja | jaj | jew | jaw | jen | jan | jep | jag | jwi | jwe | jwen | jwan | jweg |
|---|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| I | p  | 別  |    |     |     | 表   | 賀   | 邊   | 兵   |     |     |     |      |      |      |
|   | ph | 皮  |    |     |     | 標   | 貧   | 偏   | 平   |     |     |     |      |      |      |
|   | m  | 泥  |    |     |     | 苗   | 民   | 面   | 明   |     |     |     |      |      |      |
|   | t  | 地  | 嗲  |     |     | 掉   |     | 店   | 釘   |     |     |     |      |      |      |
|   | th | 剃  | 鐵  |     |     | 條   |     | 田   | 听   |     |     |     |      |      |      |
|   | n  | 尼  | 減  |     |     | 牛   |     | 年   | 擰   | 娘   | 女   |     |      |      |      |
|   | c  |    | 姐  |     |     | 焦   | 晉   | 賤   | 精   | 將   | 足   | 絕   | 俊    | △    | 蹤    |
|   | ch |    | 切  |     |     | 秋   | 秦   | 錢   | 清   | 槍   | 娶   | 雀   | 殘    | 全    |      |
|   | s  |    | 寫  |     |     | 羞   | 新   | 線   | 星   | 像   | 宿   | 雪   | 荷    | 宣    | 松    |
|   | l  | 梨  | 獵  |     |     | 留   | 林   | 連   | 鈴   | 良   | 絲   | 略   |      |      | 龍    |
|   | k  | 鷄  | 接  | 皆   |     | 澆   | 近   | 見   | 驚   | 江   | 鋸   | 脚   | 均    | 捐    | 窘    |
|   | kh | 七  | 茄  | △   |     | 敲   | 勤   | 欠   | 輕   | 腔   | 去   | 缺   | 羣    | 拳    | 窮    |
|   | h  | 西  | 血  | 蟹   |     | 曉   | 欣   | 縣   | 行   | 香   | 許   | 學   | 訓    | 險    | 兇    |
|   | Ø  | 日  | 惹  | 挨   |     | 肉   | 人   | 眼   | 英   | 羊   | 于   | 月   | 雲    | 圓    | 用    |

△ indicates local expressions for which no standard character representation has been generally accepted.