

CH'ING CHIANG MIAO

PHONOLOGY

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1. Ch'ing Chiang Miao & The Method of Analysis⁽¹⁾

1.1 Ch'ing Chiang Miao (hereafter CCM) is a Black Miao dialect spoken at Shih-Tung-K'ou (施洞口), T'ai-Kung Hsien (合拱) of Kweichow province. It is named after the river Ch'ing Shui Chiang (青水江) which flows in the eastern part of Kweichow, and along which the Black Miao people make their living through fishing or trading, different from those mountainous Miao whose chief means of living is highland agriculture.⁽²⁾

The description of CCM is based on the speech of Mr. Yang Lao-Sheng (楊老生) who was about fifty years old at the time that his speech was recorded. He spoke with clarity and also knew Chinese. Professor Fang Kuei Li spent two weeks recording this dialect at Yung-chiang (榕江). The data consists of fourteen pages of vocabulary items (approximately 1400, with a good number of disyllabics), ten pages of phrases and re-checked contrasting forms, and fifteen pages of text (three stories).⁽³⁾

1.2 This study of the phonology of the Black Miao is written from two different points of view; that is, a phonological analysis from the point of view of a descriptive method on the one hand, and notes or discussions from the point of view of comparative and historical linguistics on the other. The subject matter in each chapter will be discussed in such a manner that the descriptive analysis will always precede the other approach.

Descriptively, I shall take a syllable as the basic unit in the analysis of the CCM. Here, a syllable is defined as the sequence of an initial consonant and a final accompanied by a tone. A final may be one or more vowels, with or without a final consonant. Of course, there must be other accompanying elements pronounced simultaneously in each syllable, such as stress and intonation. Unfortunately the data do not supply material for these two items. To conclude, a syllable of CCM may be generalized as:

$$S \rightarrow C(C)V([V, C]) + \text{tone}$$

Hereafter, I shall proceed with the study of the phonology of CCM in three chapters; namely, first on the consonants, which will include both the initial consonants, and the final consonants which in turn, play a part in the finals; second on the finals, and lastly on the tones. As already mentioned, after the descriptive

study of each topic, a discussion concerning comparative and historical aspects will immediately follow if the need of such a discussion is called for.

2. Consonants

2.1 The consonants of CCM are the following:

	Stops		Nasals		Spirants voiceless		voiced
Labials	p	ph	m	mh	f	fh	v
Dentals	t	th	n	nh	s	sh	
Laterals					ʃ	ʃh	l
Palatals	tɕ	tɕh	ɲ	ɲh	ɕ	ɕh	j
Velars	k	kh		ŋ	x		ɣ
Uvulars	q	qh			h		
Glottal		ʔ					

Initial consonants: All the consonants listed above occur initially; the stops are all voiceless:

/p/, an/ph/ are unaspirated and aspirated bilabial stops.

/t/, and /th/ are unaspirated and aspirated dental stops.

/tɕ/, and /tɕh/ are unaspirated and aspirated palatal affricates.

/k/, and /kh/; /q/ and /qh/ are unaspirated and aspirated velar and uvular stops.

The position of the first pair (k, kh) is rather front, and the other (q, qh) is further back. It is interesting to note that this dialect had a rich series of velar versus post-velar sounds; as /k/, /kh/, and /x/, opposed to /q/, /qh/ and /h/ respectively. For instance:

/ka 55/ "cooked rice": /qa 55/ "excrement"

/khaŋ 44/ "opposite bank of a river" /qhaŋ 44/ "calabash"

/xa 55/ "to attend a funeral,": /ha 55/ "place"

/f/, and /fh/ are voiceless unaspirated and aspirated labio-dental spirants.

/v/ is a voiced unaspirated labio-dental spirant.

/s/, and /sh/ are voiceless unaspirated and aspirated dental spirants.

/l/ is a voiced lateral fricative.

/ʃ/, and /ʃh/ are voiceless unaspirated and aspirated lateral spirants.

/ɕ/, and /ɕh/ are voiceless unaspirated and aspirated palatal spirants; /j/ is the voiced unaspirated counterpart.

/x/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar spirant.

/ɣ/ is a voiced velar spirant.

/h/ is a voiceless uvular spirant; /h/ after stops and spirants is defined as aspiration, but after nasals is defined as voicelessness of the preceding nasals plus aspiration. Aspiration plays an important role in the sound system of this dialect. Its presence or absence in the whole stop series and in the spirant series is one characteristic of the Black Miao dialects, which distinguishes this branch from the

other Miao dialects. Since the features of voicing and voicelessness of the initials show a relationship with the tones, more details will be discussed in the chapter on tones.

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop which always precedes the vowel when no other initial is there.

There is only one kind of consonantal cluster in this language; namely, those formed with /-j/. Thus CCM shows the characteristic distribution pattern which distinguishes the branch of Black Miao dialects from the other branch; that is, a simple consonant system with few clusters. The initials that allow /-j/ as the second element are rather limited; they are labial stops, dental stops, palatal stops and spirants, and laterals. In other words, /-j/ will not be found after nasals, velars, and uvulars, and the glottal. Here are some illustrations of the initial clusters with /-j/;

pj-	/pje	22/	"slope of a hill"	/pje	44/	"three"	
phj-	/phje	55/	"to burn"				
tj/	/tji	51/	"blister, bladder"	/tja	11/	"elder brother"	
thj-	/thja	44/	"fork (of a tree)"	/thjo	35/	"rope"	
ɬj-	/ɬje	13/	"tadpole"	/ɬjoŋ	35/	"nightingale"	
ɬhj-	/ɬhju	35/	"to blow (one's nose)"	/ɬhja	44/	"to miss (a person)"	
lj-	/lju	11/	"tomato"	/ljɔ	55/	"ox, cow"	
ɕj-	/ɕjaŋ	33/	"to teach"	/ɕjɔ	13/	"red"	
ɕhj-	/ɕhje	55/	"to see"	/ɕhja	35/	"to worry"	
tɕj-	/tɕju	33/	"needle"	/tɕju	51/	"bridge"	
tɕhj-	/tɕhje	44	tɕ 44/	"to sweep floor"	/tɕhju	44/	"belly"

The following are some examples of all the initials of CCM:

pa	35	"pig"	paŋ	55	"archery; to shoot"
pha	35	"to split (firewood)"	phaŋ	44	"classifier (for clothes and bedding)"
ta	35	"to kill"	taŋ	55	"rib"
tha	35	"to disperse"	thaŋ	44	ɬ 51 "stairs"
ka	35	"green; to grab"	kaŋ	44	"insects, worms"
kha	35	lja 51 "magpie"	khaŋ	44	"opposite (bank of a river)"
qa	35	"cock-crow"	qaŋ	44	"delicious"
qha	35	"guest"	qhaŋ	44	"calabash"
ma	33	"eyes"	maŋ	44	"face"
mha	35	"to talk, speak"	mhaŋ	35	"late"
na	33	"bamboo shoot"	naŋ	44	"snake"
nha	33	"sky, sun"	nhaŋ	55	"to hear"
ɲa	13	"to bring; husband of the younger sister"	ɲaŋ	22	"thin, slight"

ɲhu	35	"year"	ɲhaŋ	44	"river"
ŋa	33	"dry"	ŋaŋ	33	"wild goose"
fa	35	"very"	faŋ	44	"side, border"
sha	35	"sand"	shaŋ	44	"thousand"
fa	35	"to break; cut off; sever"	faŋ	44	"yoke"
fa	35	"thread"	faŋ	44	"grandson"
sa	35	"firewood knife"	sɛ	55	"house, home"
la	35	"to snap fingers; to play (string instruments)"	loŋ	55	ʔau 44 "to take a bath"
tau	55	ɛin 33 "feeling, affection, love"	ɛaŋ	33	"shaman"
ɕha	33	"a sieve; to sift"	ɕhaŋ	55	"blood"
tɕa	44	"poison"	tɕaŋ	44	"silk goods"
tɕhu	44	"stomach"	tɕhoŋ	44	"classifier for house"
xa	55	"to attend a funeral"	xaŋ	44	"to walk; to go"
ha	35	"to have compassion; to pity"	haŋ	44	"should, ought to"
ɣa	35	"to be late"	ɣaŋ	33	"to look for"
ʔa	35	"to make, weave"	ʔaŋ	44	"saddle"
va	22	"I, me"	vaŋ	33	"ten thousand"
ja	44	"young rice plants"	jaŋ	35	to fly, float"

3. Final consonants

3.1 Two final consonants appear in this dialect; they are -n and -ŋ. The distribution of -n and -ŋ in respect to the vowels presents an interesting but difficult point as to whether the two finals are phonemically distinct or not. After looking through all the occurrences of -n and -ŋ with various vowels in CCM, it is found that -n occurs with the front vowels /i/ and /e/; whereas -ŋ occurs with the back vowels /a/, /o/. Thus, these two finals are in complementary distribution in regard to the preceding vowel. However, /n/ and /ŋ/ do contrast initially, consequently, they are to be defined as two separate phonemes. Here are a few examples of the two final consonants:

phin	44	"dust"	phaŋ	44	"classifier for clothes and bedding"
tin	44	tɕhi 22 "teacup"	tjoŋ	22	"valley"
khin	35	"basket"	qaŋ	44	"delicious"
sin	33	"to ask"	tɕoŋ	51	"root (of a tree)"
lin	44	"crowded"	shaŋ	35	"umbrella"
ʔin	13	"to crowd"	ʔaŋ	55	"pond"

Such a distribution of final consonants undoubtedly indicates that the finals -p, -t, -k, together with another nasal -m must have disappeared from an earlier form of this language. The evidence for the existence of these finals can easily be obtained from the modern Red Miao dialects, which, to this day, still keep the six finals -m, -n, -ŋ; and -p, -t, -k.

3.2 Since there is a remarkable resemblance between the so-called 'Ka-Nao, a Black Miao described by Fr. Esquirol as early as 1931, and the CCM discussed here, it seems appropriate and feasible to compare the sound system of these two dialects.⁽⁴⁾ A brief comparison of the initials of the two Black Miao dialects is as follows:

The consonants of 'Ka-Nao are;

	Stops		Nasals		Spirants		
Labials	p	p'	m	m'	f	f'	v
Dentals	t	t'	n	n'	s	s'	
Laterals					'l		l
Palatals	ch	ch'	gn	gn'			
Velars	'k	'k'			'H		j(=/ɣ/ of CCM)
Uvnlars	k	k'	-ng		H		j'(=/ɣ/ of CCM)
					G', G	(both=/ŋ-/ of CCM)	

The arrangement of the consonants of the 'Ka-Nao is done after the fashion of that of the Ch'ing-Chiang Miao in order to facilitate the comparison. The exact correspondences between the two are too obvious to be mentioned; therefore, only those consonants which raise problems or show divergence will be discussed in the following.

∅ initials (namely, words that Esquirol starts with vowels) correspond to either /ʔ-/ or /j-/; for example:

'Ka-Nao	CCM	
Ao ^ɾ	ʔau	55 "want, desire"
Ao _L	ʔau	44 "water"
I _L	ʔei	33 "one"
A ^ɾ	ʔe	55 "elder sister; mother's elder sister"
Iao ^ɾ	jiu	35 "little"
la ³	ji	11 "eight"
I _L	ja	33 "to give birth to, raise"
Q _L	ʔo	44 "four"
Ó ^ɾ	ʔo	55 "vomit"
Ou ^ɾ	ʔo	55 "cloth"

'l- corresponds to our /l-/, but there is no *'l'- found in the dictionary, which presumably would have corresponded to our /lh-/.

Moreover, 'Ka-Nao has no palatal spirants that may correspond to our /ɣ/ and /ɕh/.

There are a few symbols used by Fr. Esquirol which appear to be in want of a better interpretation. Both J- and J' seems to correspond to our /ɣ-/; however, under the part of vocabulary items of J-, there are altogether only three entries given in the dictionary; they are:

'Ka-Nao	CCM
J'ao [^]	ɣau 35 "good, well"
J'a ⁺	ɣa 51 "pear"
Jen [^]	— "to recognize"

In other words, J- in 'Ka-Nao \neq /i/ in CCM, and it is more likely a phoneme much closer to the /ɣ/ in CCM, together with some words that Fr. Esquirol wrote with the initial G-, e. g.,

'Ka-Nao	CCM
Ga ⁺	ɣa 44 "to catch"
Gó [∨]	ɣo 44 "alive, living"

Nevertheless, Fr. Esquirol's G- seems to correspond to more than one phoneme in CCM; for instance,

'Ka-Nao	CCM
Gai [∩]	ŋe 11 "tiles"
G'a [∨]	ŋa 33 "dry"

There may be conditioning factors for such cases, yet for the time being, I can only state that:

G- and G' in 'Ka-Nao = /ɣ-/ and /ŋ-/ in CCM

In his dictionary, Fr. Esquirol described G- as follows: (p. VIII in the book) "[G] est toujours nasalisé. Dans la langue kanao c'est la seule consonne qu'on trouve à la fin des mots: dans cette position d'ailleurs, il est toujours précédé d'un n", and he described J' as follows: "[J-] représente un son spécial, quoique radicalement fondé sur le J. Il devra être étudié sur les lèvres des naturels." This kind of description is hardly sufficient nor illuminating for the purpose of finding out exact sound correspondences in two closely related dialects, and even more so when more than one phoneme of CCM corresponds to one of Esquirol's symbols.

4. Finals

4.11 The finals of this language are fairly simple. There are altogether seven vowel phonemes; namely /i, e, ε, a, u, o, ə/; three diphthongs, /ai, au, ei/; and those formed with nasal endings either /-n/ or /-ŋ/. They may be presented as as the following:

	Front	Back
High	/i/, /in/	/u/
Mid	/e/, /en/, /ei/	/o/, /oŋ/
Low	/ε/ /ai/, /au/, /ə/,	
		/a/, /aŋ/

4.12 Examples:

/-i/: phi 13 "girl"

ji	11	"eight"
sai	55 li 22	"strawberry"
ki	13	"scissors"

/-in/: The phonetic variants of the phoneme /i/ are either [i̯], or [i] in this final; for often in the field notes some items are recorded as [C-i̯n], or [C- i/in]. Since there seems to be no contrast, both forms are treated as free variants of the same phoneme. Examples:

	min	35	"well (to get water from)"
	ɕin	33	"exact, upright, true"
	tin	44	"lamp, light"
	tɕin	55	"busy"
	khin	35	"basket"
/-e/:	me	11	"mother; thumb"
	pje	44	"three"
	ŋe	51	"flesh, meat"
	xe	55	"to count, calculate"
	ke	55	"road, way"
/-ei/:	nei	51	"he, him, she, her"
	lei	44	"monkey"
	shei	51	"money"
	xei	33	"high; on top of"
	kei	11	"low"
	ʔei	44	"bitter,,"

/-en/: The words with this final are few, and the majority of them seem to be Chinese loans. The study of loan words of this type and satisfactory answers will have to depend on further and more thorough research. Examples:

	nen	33	"flour"
	shen	33	"the 9th of the twelve branches"; cf. the Chinese word /shen ¹ / 申.
	jen	51	"the 9th of the ten Celestial Stems"; cf. /jen ⁴ / 壬.
	ɕhen	51	"5th of the twelve branches"; cf. /ch'en ² / 辰.
	ɕhen	22	"11th the twelve branches"; cf. /shu ⁴ / 戌.
	ten	55	"chisel"
	ten	33	"cup"
/-ɛ/:	nɛ	51	"ear"
	tɛ	44	"to run"
	nɛ	33	"fish"
	sɛ	55	"house, home"
	hɛ	22	"to scare, frighten"
	qɛ	35	"to close"

/-a/:	pa	35	“swine”
	sha	55	“uncooked rice”
	na	51	“a person; people”
	ɕhja	44	“to write”
	va	22	“I, me”
/-ai/:	tai	44	“cucumber”
	mai	11	“horse”
	ʔai	33	“to coax, beguile; noise, uproar”
	sai	44	“good; fine”
/-au/:	qhai	35	“to marry a husband, to give one’s daughter in marriage”
	tau	35	“tree”
	nau	33	“bird”
	lau	51	“blunt, dull, obtuse”
	ʔau	44	“water”
	hau	33	“pot, jug”

[əu] is treated as a phonetic variant of this final, since it occurs exclusively with the four initials /k/, /kh/, /ʃ/, and /x/ instead of [au]. The field notes always have:

[əu] after /k/, /kh/; /ʃ/, /x/

[au] elsewhere

/-aŋ/:	paŋ	51	“flower”
	thaŋ	33	“ladder”
	qaŋ	55	“frog”
	ʔaŋ	11	“a horn; corner, angle”
	ɕhjaŋ	35	“to wipe, clean (table, etc.)”
/-u/:	pu	13	“to open (door)”
	su	35	“small, little”
	sai	55	lju 11 “tomato”
	ŋu	33	“thick, dense; strong”
	tɕu	11	“ten”
	tɕhju	44	pa 44 “apron”

The form [iu] occasionally appears in the field notes. As it only occurs with palatal initials, it is considered a phonetic variant of /-u/. Here are some examples:

/ju 35 may sometimes be found as [jiuɿ] “small, little”

/ɕu 35 may sometimes be found as [ɕiuɿ] as in /ɕu 35 ke 55/ “don’t”

/ɕhu 33/ may sometimes be found as [ɕ’iu ɿ] “few, little (quantity)”

/tɕhu 35/ may sometimes be found as [tɕ’iu ɿ] “bed”

/-o/:	to	55	“skin; leather”
	ko	13	“hard, tough”

	so	13	"to escape, flee"
	tɕo	51	"nine"
	ɕjo	44	"tiger"
	ɕhjo	55	"hot, warm"
/-oŋ/:	toŋ	35	ɕɛ 55 "seeds"
	khon	44	"shrimp, prawn"
	shon	55	"bone"
	tjoŋ	51	"a ring, a circle"
	noŋ	51	"to search for, look for"
	ɕon	44/33?	"to chase, hunt"
/-ɔ/:	no	22	"flower"
	ko	33	"to fall down, collapse"
	qo	35	"old, worn out, torn"
	ɕjo	13	"red"
	to	13	"not, negation"
	ho	44	"fog, mist, vapour"

4.13. A table of possible combinations of all initials and finals:

	i	e	ei	ɛ	a	u	o	ɔ	ai	au	in	aŋ	oŋ	en
p	×			×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	
ph	×			×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	
m	×			×	×		×	×	×		×	×	×	
mh	×			×			×	×	×		×	×	×	
f	×				×	×			×		×	×		
fh	×				×	×			×		×	×		
v	×	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
t	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
th	×		×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
n			×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
nh			×	×	×					×		×	×	
t	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
th			×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
l	×		×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
s		×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	
sh			×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×
pj		×												
phj		×												
tj	×	×			×	×	×	×				×	×	
thj		×			×	×	×	×				×	×	
ɲ	×	×			×	×	×	×			×	×	×	
ɲh	×					×					×	×	×	

	i	e	ei	ɛ	a	u	o	ɔ	ai	au	in	aŋ	oŋ	en
ɬj		×			×	×	×	×				×	×	
ɬhj		×		×	×	×	×	×					×	
lj		×			×	×	×	×				×	×	
tɕ	×	×			×	×	×	×			×	×	×	
tɕh	×	×				×					×	×	×	
tɕj		×			×	×								
tɕhj		×			×	×	×							
ɕ	×	×				×	×	×			×	×	×	
ɕh	×	×			×	×	×	×			×	×	×	×
ɕj		×			×	×	×	×				×		
ɕhj	×	×			×	×	×					×		
j	×	×			×	×	×	×			×	×	×	×
k	×	×	×		×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	
kh		×	×		×					×	×	×	×	
x		×	×		×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	
ŋ		×		×	×		×	×		×		×	×	
ʃ		×	×		×	×	×	×		×		×	×	
q				×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
qh				×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
h				×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
ʔ			×	×	×		×	×		×		×	×	

5. Tones

5.1 There are eight tones in this dialect;⁽⁵⁾ five of them are level tones, two rising, and one falling. Consequently, a language having five level tones as this creates many complications due to momentary indecisiveness when taking the field notes.⁽⁶⁾ The following is the description of the eight tones together with some examples:

1. The mid-high level tone 44;

la	44	“a general classifier”
ʔau	44	“water”
sai	44	“five”
ɬjo	44	“squirrel”
ɬhja	44	“to miss, think of”
nha	44	“sun, day”
hau	44	“pot”
xaŋ	44	“to walk”

2. The high falling tone 51;

la	51	(qa 44) “to mow”
mo	51	“you”

- | | | |
|------|----|--|
| ta | 51 | (noŋ 33 "fall (rain), e. g., to rain") |
| tju | 51 | "door" |
| tso | 51 | "nine" |
| ɕhaŋ | 51 | "wall" |
| ɣu | 51 | "cage" |
- 3 The high level tone 55;
- | | | |
|------|----|----------------------|
| la | 55 | "short" |
| ta | 55 | "to take. use, etc." |
| phe | 55 | "pumpkin" |
| que | 55 | "to wrap (things)" |
| tju | 55 | "heart" |
| nhaŋ | 55 | "to listen, hear" |
| sha | 55 | "uncooked rice" |
| hə | 55 | "very" |
4. The mid-low level tone 22;
- | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------|
| la | 22 | "to move away, to even" |
| tə | 22 | "far" |
| lə | 22 | "to come" |
| ji | 22 | "eight" |
| ne | 22 | "fish" |
| ɬai | 22 | "to enter" |
| mo | 22 | "to go" |
5. The mid-rising tone 35;
- | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------|
| la | 35 | "to squeeze" |
| ta | 35 | "to break, to kill" |
| lai | 35 | "to arrive, to be enough" |
| tju | 35 | "six" |
| ɣau | 35 | "good" |
| ɬhai | 35 | "moon" |
| mho | 35 | "to see, look" |
6. The mid level tone 33;
- | | | |
|------|----|------------------------------|
| la | 33 | "cave, den" |
| ta | 33 | "thick; to die" |
| lai | 33 | "to support, to pole a boat" |
| tjo | 33 | "broom" |
| khau | 33 | na 13 "to kiss" |
| ʔei | 33 | "one" |
| xe | 33 | "tall, high" |

It should be noted that there is a slight amount of voiced aspiration accompanying the unaspirated initials whenever words of this tone are pronounced.⁽⁷⁾

This characteristic manner of articulation has been helpful in determining one level tone from the rest, and thus has decreased the possible ambiguity between a 22 tone and a 33 tone, or a 33 and a 44 tone whenever the phonetic notes appear vague.

7. The low-rising tone 13;

sə	13	"to play with toys (as children do)"
t̚ju	13	"to save, rescue"
tə	13	"not"
tju	13	"knife"
fhaŋ	13	"to lose"
sho	13	"to close"
che	13	"basket"

8. The low level tone 11;

la	11	"candle; smooth, polished"
sə	11	"to throw (stone)"
tju	11	"waist"
va	11	"I, me"
ljoŋ	11	"green"
ŋe	11	"narrow"
t̚jo	11	"to pull"

5.2 In the field of Chinese, Tai, and Miao-Yao languages, it is generally acknowledged that the dichotomy of voiced and voiceless initial consonants exerts a definite influence on the development of tones. Through the ancient rhyme books and dictionaries which have been kept and passed down to the present day, Ancient Chinese (hereafter AC) is found to have possessed four tones (e.g. P'ing, Shang, Ch'u, Ju) and both voiced and voiceless initials. The language has gradually undergone a devoicing of initials. The result of this sound change is reflected in different tonal reflexes in the modern dialects. This may be illustrated by the Cantonese dialect; the approximate way in which Cantonese was derived from AC is as follows:

AC		Cantonese	
Tone	Initial	Tone	Initial
P'ing	Vl	53	All Vl.
	Vd	11	
Shang	Vl	24	
	Vd	13	
Ch'u	Vl	44 ⁽⁶⁾	
	Vd	22	
Ju	Vl	55	
	Vd	44	
		22	

The linguists of ancient China used the term 'yin' for tones which occur with voiceless initials, and 'yang' for tones which occur with voiced initials. The reflexes of ancient 'yin' and 'yang' tones in the modern dialects and their affinity with the initial consonants are rather obvious and common among different branches of the Sino-Tibetan Family. Tones that are developed from voiceless initials are still often referred to as the 'yin' tone, and those from voiced initials as 'yang' tone. H. Maspero proceeds further in saying that the height of tonal registers (the various pitch levels of tones) is also determined by the voicing-voiceless dichotomy; that the relationship is as follows: a voiceless initial will result in high registers, whereas a voiced one will result in low registers.⁽⁹⁾ He thinks that this kind of relationship can be assumed for all Sino-Tibetan languages. The validity of his statement has yet to be proved. However, Maspero's hypothesis seems to be valid for the Tai languages. He posited a system of four tones with three types of initials; unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, and voiced for the Common Tai. Prof. Li Fang-kuei also has shown that characteristics similar to the above exist in the Sui languages.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1947, Chang Kun made a comparison of the tonal systems of seven Miao-Yao dialects. As a result, he found that a similar close relationship between tones and initial consonants exists in the Miao-Yao branch as well. In his analysis, Chang discovered that in the modern Miao-Yao dialects two groups of tones may be described; the I (odd-numbered) and II (even numbered) tones, plus two types of initial consonants. Type 1 initials occur only in Tone I words, whereas Type 2 initials occur both in Tone I and Tone II words. The distribution may be best shown as follows:

	Tone I	Tone II
Initials:		
Type I	X	—
Type II	X	X

Type I initials include ʔ-, voiceless nasals (including prenasalized consonants), all aspirated voiceless stops and affricates, x and h. Type II includes all non-aspirated voiceless initials, and nasals.

Based mainly on the material available from the modern dialects, Chang reconstructs a triad system of initials for the Pre-Miao-Yao; that is, a system which consists of three types of initials and four tones. The essential reasoning in this reconstruction can be briefly illustrated by the following statement of sound changes:

Pre-Miao-Yao		Modern Miao-Yao	
Tone (4)	Initials (3 types)	Tones (8)	Initials (2 types)
A B C D	*Voiced	→ II (2, 4, 6, 8)	Voiceless
A B C D	*Voiceless	→ I (1, 3, 5, 7)	Voiceless
A B C D	*Voiceless aspirated	→ I (1, 3, 5, 7)	Voiceless aspirated

In this manner, when all the *voiced consonants become voiceless, Chang's interpretation explains the disappearance of the voiced quality by the rise of four new tones parallel to the original four, resulting eight tones in the modern dialect.

In view of the previously mentioned reconstruction by Chang Kun, I intend to examine thoroughly the eight tones of CCM with regard to their relationship with the initial consonants. In general, the distribution of the tones and initials of CCM is:

	Tone I	Tone II
	1 3 5 7	2 4 6 8
Initial		
Type I		
Aspirated Stops	++++	+(11)
Aspirated Nasals	++++	+(12)
?	++++	+
h	++++	+
x	++++	+
Type II		
Nonaspirated Consonants	++++	++++
Nasals	++++	++++

It may be of interest to inquire into the reason for the unexpected presence of tone 6 (33) in the Type I initials. According to Chang's working hypothesis, the even numbered tones are reflexes of ancient Voiced initials, consequently, they are found only in Type II initials. It should also be mentioned that one of the dialects that Chang used for comparative purposes was CCM.⁽¹³⁾ However, for the sake of comparing the different dialects, about one hundred and thirty vocabulary items are used by Chang. Even with such a small number of items, Chang found some exceptions which he indicated with an exclamation mark.⁽¹⁴⁾ After scrutinizing the entire data for CCM, I have come to the conclusion that the presence of tone 6 in Type I initials cannot be satisfactorily explained merely by calling it an exception.

We must bear in mind that, at the time when Chang Kun was working on the reconstruction, he was, in a way, forced to base his conclusions on the material and evidence from the Miao dialects alone. Although he listed ten Miao-Yao dialects in the article, he based his reconstruction of the Pre-Miao-Yao principally on the first seven dialects; even then, among the seven, two are Yao dialects that have entirely lost their Ju Sheng words (those words ending in -p, -t, -k). Under such circumstances, only when he is searching for the correspondences of Ju Sheng words does Chang venture to use the three discarded dialects which all happened to be Yao dialects. It is unfortunate indeed that these three Yao

dialects are all so confusedly and inaccurately described that they are hardly helpful otherwise.⁽¹⁵⁾

Since the time of Chang's tentative reconstruction of the Pre-Miao-Yao initial consonants in relation to the tones of various Miao-Yao dialects, other studies have been made in this sphere. Among them, Graham's description of Ch'uan Miao as having nine tones should be especially interesting, and relevant to the present issue.⁽¹⁶⁾ Moreover, in the field notes of Ch'ing Chiang Miao, tone 6 words are usually recorded with a [h] on the top right hand corner of the initial consonant. The phonetic realization of this [h] is described by Dr. Li Fang-Kuei as voiced aspiration.

In the meantime, however, it is beyond my ability to give any interpretation to account for the irregular appearance of tone 6 words in Type I initials in CCM; the points mentioned above may perhaps be taken into consideration in further research. Let us hope that soon this puzzling riddle will be answered.

NOTES

- (1) This paper is a slightly revised portion of an unpublished M.A. thesis titled "Phonology of a Black Miao Dialect", 1966, University of Washington, Seattle. I wish to express gratitude to Professor Fang-Kuei Li for letting me use his field-notes, as well as for his guidance and constant encouragement.
- (2) As a result, the vocabulary items include rich expressions about fishing, and various names of fish.
- (3) The glosses in the original field notes are all in Chinese.
- (4) CCM is spoken around the river Ch'ing Shui Chiang and Yung Chiang; both rivers flow in the south-eastern part of Kweichou; whereas 'Ka Nao is spoken at Chen Feng which is to the southwest of Kweichou along the river P'ang Chiang. Nonetheless, from the geographical point of view, it is understandable why these two dialects spoken in two areas quite remote from one another should have such a close similarity. For the Ch'ing Shui Chiang flows westward to join the P'ang Chiang. Thus, we can easily correlate the frequent moves of this group of Black Miao whose living depends mainly on fishing and trading on the river; so consequently the language they speak will be carried along and spread.
- (5) Here I follow Prof. Y. R. Chao's system which divides the total range of tonal pitch into five grades; 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest.
- (6) *Ibid.*
- (7) It is indicated by the phonetic sign on the upper right hand corner of the initial by Prof. Li in his field notes.
- (8) There are of course conditioning factors that cause the split of AC Vd

Shang in Cantonese, however, it seems unnecessary to go into too much detail in the present paper.

- (9) H. Maspero, "Contribution à L'étude de Système Phonétique des Langues Thai", *BEFEO* XI, (1911). pp. 154-169.
- (10) F. K. Li, "The Distribution of Initials and Tones in the Sui Languages", *Lg.* 24, (1948).
- (11) Within the initials of type I, a few of them have no tone 6 words found yet; these are th-, thj-, fh- and nh-.
- (12) Among the initials of type I, there are occasionally a few words that fall into tone 2, 4, and 8. Such are:

shu	51	"to know how"	
chin	11	"hair pin"	
phu	11	sa 33 "buddha"	} All these could very well be Chinese loans
fhaŋ	51	"yellow, bright"	
shei	51	"money"	
chaŋ	51	"wall, board"	
chen	11	"to smoke"	

As these are but very small in number in the entire data, and as most of them are suspected to be borrowed from Chinese, for the purpose of comparison, they are considered as either loan words or exceptions.

- (13) Chang Kun in his acknowledgement has mentioned this.
- (14) *BIHP* 16, p. 107, the word che 33 "clear", which Chang put together with all tone I words of initials type I.
- (15) Chang, *BIHP* 16, pp. 93-94.
- (16) David C. Graham, *Songs and Stories of the Ch'uan Miao*, (1954), p. 10.

青 江 苗 音 系

關 琴

苗僮語一向是認為屬於漢藏語系中的一支系。而苗語本身也可以分為兩大類。第一類包括紅苗語、青苗語、白苗語和夷苗語。語音特點為聲母中有複輔音（如 pl-, pr-; phl-, phr- 等）以及鼻化輔音（如 mp-, mr-, ml-, nt, ŋk- 等）。第二類為黑苗語，聲母通常為單輔音，韻母也相當簡單。本文所描述的青江苗即屬此類。現將青江苗語音系統從聲母、韻母、聲調三方面分述於後：

(一) 聲母；共三十二個如下表：

方式 部位	塞 音		鼻 音		擦 音		
					清	濁	
唇	p	ph(p')	m	mh(m')	f	fh(f')	v
舌 尖	t	th(t')	n	nh(n')	s	sh(s')	
邊					t'(l)th(Q)	l	
舌 面	tə(ch)	təh(ch')	ŋ(gn)	ŋh(gn')	ʃ(Q)	ʃh(Q)	j
舌 根	k('K)	kh('K')	ŋ(G', G)		x('H)		ʒ(j and j')
小 舌	q(K)	qh(K')	(-ng)		h(H)		
喉	ʔ(Q)						

以上各聲母全可作音節起首，但作為韻母中元音之後的輔音只有兩個；即 -n 跟 -ŋ。

一九三一年，Fr. Esquirol 曾作過黑苗方言研究（他稱之為 'Ka Nao）。將他的 'Ka Nao 跟青江苗作比較，除了語音符號有很大的分別之外，這兩種黑苗語的聲母系統雖略有出入，大致上是相似的。（請參看上表中括號內為 Fr. Esquirol 所用之音標，括號內若為 Q，即表示 'Ka Nao 語中缺此音）。

(二) 韻母；主要元音有 i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, u, o.

複元音有 ei, ai, au.

元音加輔音尾有 in, en, aŋ, oŋ.

(三) 聲調；共八個，五個平調，兩個升調，一個降調。

在漢藏系語言中，古代聲母有清濁之別，發展到現代，方言中若聲母失去了清濁的區別，往往反映在聲調上。譬如中國方言廣州話分陰平、陽平、陰上、陽上等；台語系及侗水語系中也有類似的變化。黑苗語也不例外，有同樣的特點。因此，按照古代聲母清濁為準，青江苗的聲調可以有系統的分為兩大類：

I 類調（即古代為清聲母字者）有：

半高平（44），高平（55），高升（35），低升（13）

II 類調（即古代為濁聲母字）：

全降（51），半低平（22），中平（33），低平（11）