

A Neutral Transcription System for Teaching Medieval Chinese

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《文靜祕府論》南卷、論文意、引皎然《詩議》

After the Qí and Liáng, the authentic sound [of literature] ebbed, and people no longer sought after ancient ways. But we who stir up those faltering waves may be wiser than the modernists.

— *Wénjìng mìfǔlùn*, “Nán juàn, Lùn wényì”, quoting Jiǎorán’s *Shīyì*

1. INTRODUCTION: ANTI-RECONSTRUCTION

Chinese historical phonology is a notoriously obscure field to the non-specialist, in part because it uses arcane terminology, in part because of the abstract nature of its key concepts, and above all because of the intimidating appearance of reconstructions. The most influential reconstruction was the work of Bernhard Karlgren (1889-1978), who created a complicated-looking system with many fine phonetic distinctions, especially among the vowels. Karlgren conceived of his achievement as the reconstitution of an ancient language, from the evidence of its modern descendents (our “dialects”) combined with phonological materials from the venerable Chinese philological tradition.

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Today, however, there is a growing sense that Karlgren's conception of reconstruction confused two very different things. On one hand, one can reconstruct the true ancestor of the spoken modern dialects, with some reference to philological evidence; on the other hand, one can study the philological sources as a rigid tradition that has sustained the educated readings of Chinese characters. Scholars such as Willem Grootaers, Jerry Norman, and South Coblin have argued for a firm division between these two conceptions (Grootaers 1946, Norman and Coblin 1995; see Branner 1999 for a fuller account of the historical context of these ideas). According to this philosophy, it is a mistake to think that all historical philological sources necessarily reflect real spoken language.

Although Grootaers' division remains controversial in some circles, the present paper presupposes it as fact, and examines the ensuing pedagogical need for a purely philological transcription system that is *not* a reconstruction. Such a system of transcription does not pretend to represent the actual sound of any real language of an earlier time. Rather, it represents the received Chinese scheme of medieval phonology in the abstract. I have coined the name "anti-reconstruction" for this kind of transcription, by analogy with "anti-matter," to distinguish it from a true reconstruction that purports to recover actual sounds of earlier times. The anti-reconstruction is a tool for the study of Classical Chinese and an adjunct to the study of linguistic history. If it is sufficiently accessible and unthreatening, it can be introduced to students early in their sinological educations, and will serve as an aid to later study of historical linguistics, prosody, and philology. A number of the transcriptions reviewed here (those of Kennedy, Boodberg, and Stimson) were designed specifically for the purpose of teaching, and have already been implemented in the classroom, read aloud, and so forth.

In the right hands, a Classical transcription can make ancient literature come alive, although there is a limit to how far one can go in reading such things aloud. The problem is that classical quotations can still only be brought into actual speech if they are

pronounced using modern sounds. In this connection, one may recall the tremendous conflict in nineteenth-century American classrooms over the introduction of reconstructed "Roman" Latin; see Fisher 1879 for representative arguments.

The present paper discusses medieval transcription systems that have previously been used, proposes a new system based on the practical needs of non-specialists, and provides enough information for anyone who has had reasonable training in Chinese historical phonology to use the new system. Students and other beginners will not easily be able to use the new system without access to a proper handbook of medieval Chinese character readings. I am now at work on a dictionary and textbook (Branner forthcoming) that is intended to satisfy this need for non-specialists.

2. THE NEED FOR A SIMPLE SYSTEM OF MEDIEVAL CHINESE TRANSCRIPTION

Karlgren's reconstruction was extremely complicated typographically, and there have been two important attempts to simplify it. The first was the "Romanisation Interdialectique" of Henri Lamasse (c. 1869-1952) and Ernest Jasmin. By 1930, Lamasse had devised a hybrid system intended to spell both Mandarin and Cantonese in a single diasystemic romanization. The following year, he and Jasmin learned of Karlgren's work, and decided to adapt it to their own purposes by simplifying it, eliminating all diacritics and purely phonetic symbols. The Romanisation Interdialectique was, all along, a pedagogical tool for the teaching of modern and Classical Chinese, and its organization was somewhat unsophisticated. For instance, the authors had the good idea of notating medieval tone categories with a silent letter at the end of the syllable. *Rùshēng* words are of course inherently recognizable because they end in *-p*, *-t* or *-k*. The *shǎngshēng*, however, was represented with silent *-h* at the end of the syllable, and the *qùshēng* with silent *-s*.² It is a sign of the authors' lack of linguistic sophistication that they did not leave the *píngshēng* unmarked as other scholars did; they added a silent *-c* to it. For example: *kijuec* 歸 : *kijueh* 鬼 : *kijues* 貴. The Romanisation Interdialectique was used

in textbooks and dictionaries and a few other Catholic works in the 1940's. It served as the inspiration for Y. R. Chao's General Chinese system, but otherwise it has ceased to be important.

The second, and linguistically more significant, movement to renovate Karlgren was the product of American structuralism. It began with Y. R. Chao's important 1941 article "Distinctive Distinctions and Non-Distinctive Distinctions in Ancient Chinese," which explored the whole concept of meaningful contrasts in medieval Chinese phonology. In this classic work in the field of Chinese historical linguistics, Chao removed a number of superfluities in Karlgren's transcription, without altering its basic character. "Distinctive Distinctions" was followed by Samuel E. Martin's "Phonemes of Ancient Chinese" (1953), written under Chao's guidance. Martin reduced Karlgren's inventory of vowels from fifteen to eight (including one written only as an asterisk).

The following year, Karlgren published his views, somewhat in the abstract, on this new movement. He disapproved of the entire phonemic approach, writing:

The "phonemic" principle is, of course, of great importance in all language study and it is naturally and inevitably inherent in every description of any given language. But this simple fact should not entice us to over-emphasize it and make it the all-important feature in our language description, to the exclusion of other aspects of just as great importance in the life of the language. There is a tendency among modern linguists to ride this hobbyhorse so blindly as to reduce their efforts to an intellectual sport — to write a given language with as few simple letters as possible, preferably no other than those to be found on an American typewriter. This modern trend in linguistics

² These values are clearly reminiscent of the final glottal stop and *-s* that were later proposed as reconstructions for those tone categories in Chinese by Haudricourt (1954a). It is perhaps less well known that in 1906, a Chinese scholar named Zhū Wénxióng 朱文熊 proposed a spelling system for Soochow dialect that used *s* for the *shǎngshēng* and *h* for the *qùshēng*.

has unduly simplified and thereby distorted the real character of the languages so studied.

Moreover, from a purely practical point of view — that of practical language study and teaching — this craze is inconvenient and harmful: for many “phonemically” written units you have necessarily to learn by heart and apply supplementary pronunciation rules, which makes the study far more complicated than if the phonetically divergent variants of one “phoneme” had been denoted by different symbols. (1970 [1954]:366-67)

However, scholars since Martin have continued to propose similar systems, always combining the hated principles of phonemicization and typeability. There is some basis for Karlgren’s mention of the American typewriter; most of the simplified systems I have seen were developed by American structuralists and post-structuralists. The principle of typeability is admittedly much older than structuralism. In 1873, the Scots divine John Chalmers (1825-1899), a missionary to China, published a simple transcription system of 41 initials and 30 finals for the Píngshuǐyùn 平水韻, using no diacritics other than a circumflex. He wrote:

As for general spelling of Chinese words, in English composition I am not sure but the simple plan followed in these tables, which might be described as the *a, e, i, o, u, w,* and *y* method, would be the best of any. I express my own private feeling in familiar and strong language, when I say, ‘Diacritical marks are nothing but a bore.’ Let those who sympathise with me stand up for the simple vowel method. (1873:339)

Chalmers’ actual linguistic work was, unfortunately, naïve and trivial, but his essential sentiment remains alive. Below are more recent voices on the legitimate need for transcriptions of this kind.

George A. Kennedy (1901-1960) was apparently the first to use a simplified version of Karlgren in the American classroom. Chao (1983:8-9) mentions having seen him use it in a *Mencius* class at Yale around 1944. Kennedy described it as an “almost mechanical transcription” of the system of Karlgren’s *Analytical Dictionary*

(1964[1952]:151). I am aware of no systematic exposition of the Kennedy system, however, and the two works in which he uses it appear to contain inconsistencies. “Dialect Development” (1964[1952]) lists many forms, apparently corresponding to the phonology of the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻. His *ZH Guide* lists the 106 rimes of the *Píngshuǐyùn*, transcribed into a somewhat similar system (1981 [1953]:152), and the index contains many common characters placed under the appropriate rimes. Kennedy explained:

It is now 30 years since Karlgren published a complete reconstruction for Ancient Chinese, but it has not yet become, as it should be, an integral part of the ordinary activities of sinologists. Much of the reason for this lies in the cumbrous array of symbols. It is not a matter of questioning their accuracy, but merely their form. The purpose of an orthography is to transmit language for the eye, and it fails to do this unless its forms are easily recognizable, easily remembered, and easily reproduced by the familiar instruments of writing and printing. (1953:157)

Kennedy limited his transcription to the capital letters of the English alphabet. He represented tone using principles inspired by the Gwoyeu Romatzyh 國語羅馬字 system of romanization — that is, by building them into the alphabetic spelling of the syllable instead of using tone marks, numerals, or other symbols: *KWEI* 歸 : *KWEJ* 鬼 : *KWEY* 貴.

Peter A. Boodberg (1903-1972) designed what he called an “Alternate Grammatonomic Notation” (1959; cf. Ledyard 1961). It is a highly condensed transformation of Karlgren, representing each Chinese syllable with only four typewriter characters, and incorporating many subtle features. Tone was indicated by capitalizing certain of the four letters: *kvri* 歸 : *kvRi* 鬼 : *kvRI* 貴. Aspiration of initials was indicated by reversing the middle two letters: *kvri* 歸 : *krvi* 歸. Boodberg justified himself this way:

The American student [...] has to operate (at least at the onset of his academic career) within a graphic tradition which eschews accents (grave, acute, or circumflex), umlaut, tilde, cedilla, diaeresis (this last survivor of the tribe is well on its way to

extinction in American print), or any other superscript or subscript sign. Eventually he will learn to control them, but for a long time, in a crucial period of his scholastic development, diacritics will remain mnemonically subliminal for him and greatly impede his progress towards a full appreciation of the fundamental problems in the evolution of Chinese. An alternative grammatonomic notation reproducing as faithfully as possible Professor Karlgren's transcription in terms of the keyboard of an American typewriter is [...] not a superfluous luxury or the manifestation of an idle proclivity for intellectual games, but a pedagogic requisite on a specific instructional level. Its purpose may be avowedly evangelistic, but it is not necessarily unorthodox or subversive of authority. (1959:213)

According to his student Gari Ledyard (p.c. 1998), Boodberg was self-taught in historical phonology and his notation was thought "disgraceful" by the Karlgren circle. Even if his transcription is highly unusual, however, his argument for typeability is clear and practical.

Hugh M. Stimson offered his own revision of Martin in a study of the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中源音韻 (1966), and later incorporated it into a wonderful textbook of Táng poetry intended to be used by students with no background in Chinese (1976). The one symbol not found on the standard American typewriter of the day, ə, can be replaced with @. Stimson's justification of such a typeable transcription contains a pointed rebuttal of Karlgren:

Because in dealing with M[iddle] C[hinese] we are dealing with a language much of whose phonemics is overtly expressed in the data but whose phonetics can be observed only indirectly, I find a transcription based on phonemic principles more realistic than one that tries to represent phonetic detail. Karlgren's transcription is an example of the latter, especially in its earliest forms. His finicky attention to dubious distinctions [...] is wasteful and gives a false impression of scientific accuracy. Most important, such a transcription conceals the phonological structure. (1966:27)

Stimson represents tone economically with tone marks. Only the

shǎngshēng and *qùshēng* are marked: *giuəi* 歸 : *giuəi* 鬼 : *giuəi* 貴.

Not all the adherents of simplified transcriptions were so hostile to Karlgren. Edward H. Schafer (1913-1991), for instance, wrote:

Unfortunately the standard, conservative reconstruction of Medieval Chinese [...] that we owe to the pioneer labors of Bernhard Karlgren [...] is so loaded with diacritics and special symbols that its use outside of technical linguistic studies makes words look awkward or even forbidding. The reader's mind boggles when these hypothetical forms turn up in a text meant to be read continuously and smoothly. A conversion of this system of spelling into a much simpler romanization has long seemed desirable. The late George Kennedy used one in some of his publications, but never promulgated the complete system. Now I have been bold enough to devise one, purely as a matter of convenience, and entirely without any idea of improving on Karlgren's reconstructions or indeed of making any sort of scientific contribution. It employs only one diacritic sign, and will give the illusion, if nothing more, of pronounceable words. (1967:3)

Schafer, who had no interest in the technical aspects of reconstruction, was very sympathetic to the work of both Karlgren and Pulleyblank, but in matters of pedagogy he saw the clear need for a non-specialist transcription.

Late in life, Y. R. Chao made a general statement about the need for a simplified system of pedagogical transcription, in connection with his "General Chinese":

The teaching and study of historical Chinese phonology [...] both in China and in the West has so far been done on the basis of the dictionary [*Qièyùn* 切韻] of 601 A.D. or of [*Guǎngyùn*] of 1007 A.D. While a small number of students specializing in Chinese phonology sooner or later, usually later, get to know the system, nothing is acquired by the usual student of Chinese, after having taken such a course, that is comparable to what a student of Old English may get by taking, say, a course in *Beowulf*. A system of General Chinese of the phase outlined

here, with the aid of the romanization without new phonetic symbols or diacritics will make it possible for the non-linguistic student of Chinese to make part of his equipment a more "general" knowledge of the Chinese than can be obtained from the knowledge of any one single dialect, instead of having to be satisfied with a useless smattering of the names of books and lists of rhymes, as one usually carries away, if at all, after a course in historical Chinese phonology. (1983:4-7)

General Chinese, however, was not a transcription of medieval formal phonology at all, but rather a kind of diasystem, designed to represent the variation among the major dialects within a single system. In this respect it fulfils the intention of the Romanisation Interdialectique of Lamasse and Jasmin. General Chinese is not an "anti-reconstruction"; it is like a true reconstruction in that it attempts to account for the genetic similarities of real spoken languages. Chao rejected the idea that a system as complex as Karlgren's was suitable for use as a diasystem, and, after introducing simplifications, he also added certain distinctions that are not made in medieval phonology. Like Kennedy, he used a form of tonal spelling rather than diacritics: *cui* 歸 : *cue* 鬼 : *cuy* 貴.

William Baxter's *Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (1992) begins by streamlining Karlgren's reconstruction. Baxter writes:

The notation I introduce here is not intended as a reconstruction; rather it is a convenient transcription which adequately represents all the phonological distinctions of Middle Chinese while leaving controversial questions open. It is my hope that it will be acceptable and useful as a common notation for scholars who may disagree on the details of Middle Chinese reconstruction. (Even those who may not wish to adopt it as a standard notation may find it useful for some purposes since, with certain simple substitutions, it can be made fully typable and is thus easy to use in computer applications.) There is no reason why we should be without a satisfactory notation for Middle Chinese while waiting for the remaining controversial points of interpretation to be resolved. (1992:27)

Baxter's transcription, like the others mentioned above, retains most

of the phonetic realism of Karlgren's original conception. Its innovation consists of embodying ideas developed by many scholars after Karlgren's time, especially with respect to main and medial vowels. Baxter notates tone with silent consonants at the end of the syllable, following a practice of Li Fang-Kuei (another adherent of anti-reconstructions): *-X* for *shǎngshēng* and *-H* for *qùshēng*: *kwij* 歸 : *kwijX* 鬼 : *kwijH* 貴.

There is an important point in all of this. Apart from Chao's General Chinese, every one of these transcription systems takes Karlgren's work as the foundation and then modifies it. However, I said at the beginning of this essay that I would assume that Karlgren worked from a mistaken premise. He thought the received phonological framework represented one and the same medieval language as the ancestor of the dialects, and his reconstruction was designed to account for both sets of information. Once this position is rejected, there is no need to retain Karlgren's reconstruction as the foundation of the anti-reconstruction.

What should take its place, then? The most original reconstruction published since Karlgren's time is arguably that of Edwin Pulleyblank, but it is also extremely complex typographically. The several medieval reconstructions of the eminent Wáng Lì 王力 (1900-1986) are simpler, but they still use a number of typographical symbols found outside the basic American keyboard. And both Pulleyblank and Wáng Lì appear to hold the same position as Karlgren on the basic unity of speech and text, which I have rejected.

Pulleyblank has harsh words about Baxter's philosophy:

Unfortunately, I do not think this 'notation,' in spite of its (near) 'typability' on a standard keyboard, satisfies the essential criterion of representing 'all the phonological distinctions' of the *Qièyùn* without getting into realms of controversy. It does not even pretend to be strictly phonemic in the old-fashioned sense and, by eschewing phonetic interpretations for his alphabetic spelling system, he has even less basis for saying that the letters he uses stand for 'bundles of distinctive features.' What it does do, as I see it, is to enable Baxter to avoid commitment on some basic aspects of *Qièyùn* phonology that present difficulties for

his theories about Old Chinese and that he prefers to interpret in the light of these theories rather than on the basis of what is strictly relevant, the contemporaneous evidence of the Middle Chinese period itself. (1993:339)

To this, Baxter replies:

Pulleyblank's attacks on my treatment of Middle Chinese are mostly based on the argument that if my notation for Middle Chinese were a reconstruction, it would not be a good one. I quite agree, but I made it quite clear that it was not intended as a reconstruction, so most of these criticisms are simply irrelevant. (1994:158)

An analogy might be drawn to the system of 'transliteration' used in cuneiform studies. In this system, each cuneiform sign is represented by a unique conventional transcription: different signs to write the syllable /šu/ are represented by notations such as šu, šú, šù, and so forth; different scholars will transcribe the same text in essentially the same way, even though their interpretations of the phonetic details may differ. And it would be pointless to take u, ú, and ù as elements of a phonological analysis. (1994:148)

My view is that the value of the "typeable" approach is exactly, as Pulleyblank says, "to avoid commitment on some basic aspects of *Qièyùn* phonology," and that, as Baxter and the others say, this is nonetheless a valuable tool. Students, sinologists who are not specialists in this field, and historical phonologists alike all need a convenient way to represent medieval phonology in its outlines, without committing themselves to complex and realistic phonetic representations on which much disagreement remains. I suggest that such a transcription should be based directly on the abstract categories of the native Chinese tradition. Baxter writes:

Actually, in Chinese-language works there already exists a more or less standard notation for Middle Chinese pronunciation, in which the pronunciation of a syllable is specified in terms of traditional phonological categories. [...] My transcription represents the same information, but in more convenient and easily

graspable form. (Baxter 1992:816-17 n. 25)

I propose to transcribe the standard Chinese notation that Baxter mentions, but to do so more directly, without reference to Karlgren.

3. DĪNG SHĒNGSHÙ'S STANDARD NOTATION

This notation appears to originate in the 1958 handbook of medieval phonology by Dīng Shēngshù 丁聲樹 (1909-1991?) and Lǐ Róng 李榮. It is now found, with some variations, in a number of other reference works. I shall refer to it here as “Dīng’s notation.”

Dīng’s notation consists of the names of the six main phonological categories in medieval Chinese, strung together: *shè* 攝, *kāi-hé* 開合, *děng* 等, *sìshēng* 四聲 (below, “tone”), *yùn* 韻 (“rime”), and *shēngmǔ* 聲母 (“initial”). For the benefit of non-specialists, I offer brief definitions of each. More detailed general English treatments may be found in Baxter 1977:1-42 and Hashimoto 1978:15-62.

It is useful to remember that these phonological categories are universally recognized *as categories*, even though their phonetic or historical interpretation is sometimes bitterly disputed. For instance, even if we do not know what a certain tone category may actually have sounded like in medieval times, we know with certainty which characters had readings in that tone category and which characters did not. That is true for the medieval period, because we have detailed rime-books from that period, embodying a tradition of formal phonology. For earlier periods, however, our knowledge of phonology is much more sketchy.

Most of the medieval categories are named by “exemplars,” characters that belong to the specific category that they are used to name. A well-known example is the names of the four tone categories: *píng* 平, *shǎng* 上, *qù* 去, and *rù* 入. The word *píng* itself belongs to the *píng* tone category, the word *shǎng* belongs to the *shǎng* tone category, the word *qù* belongs to the *qù* tone category, and the word *rù* belongs to the *rù* tone category. The four names *píng*, *shǎng*, *qù*, and *rù* are thus exemplars of their categories. The names of the various initials, rimes, and *shè* are likewise exemplary.

“Initial” and “rime” refer to the beginning and end of a syllable. Usually the initial is a consonant, although there is also such a thing as a “zero initial”: if the syllable begins with a vowel, we say that its initial is the zero initial. The rime is what remains when the initial is removed. For example, in the word *ban*, the initial is *b* and the rime is *an*. In the word *tswi*, the initial is *ts* and the rime is *wi*. In the word *ung* the initial is zero and the rime is *ung*. The rime is also sometimes called the “final,” although there are some technical differences between the two terms. “Rime” or “rime category” is the preferred translation for the Chinese term *yùn* 韻. I prefer to retain Karlgren’s spelling “rime” in the sense of “formal phonological category of rhyming sounds,” and reserve the spelling “rhyme” for the sense “rhyming word” or “rhyming sound.”

“Tone” may be any one of four medieval categories, the *sìshēng* 四聲, which are not exactly the same as the well known four tones of modern Mandarin. Of the medieval tones, the two easiest to remember are the *píngshēng* 平聲, which is the largest group, and *rùshēng* 入聲, whose words end distinctively in *-p*, *-t*, or *-k*. The two other tones are *shǎngshēng* 上聲 and *qùshēng* 去聲. Note that the name *shǎngshēng* is traditionally pronounced with *shǎng* in the third Mandarin tone, rather than the fourth tone; however, some eminent linguists prefer the reading *shàngshēng*. The ancient sound of these tones is a disputed question, as is their non-tonal origin, but in medieval times the four tones must have been contour pitches of the same kind as are heard in Chinese dialects today. Most rimes have correspondents in other tones, as illustrated in the Tables, beginning on p. 62. For instance, the rime *zhī* 之 belongs to the *píngshēng*, but is considered to correspond exactly to the rimes *zhǐ* 止 in the *shǎngshēng* and *zhì* 志 in the *qùshēng*. Traditionally, tone is considered part of the rime.

The “*shè*” (literally, “gatherings”) are a set of 16 categories that are used to classify the rimes. There are more than 200 rimes in the medieval system, and each of them falls into one and only one of the 16 *shè*. Without going into too much detail, it can be said that *shè* are useful for making sense of the large number of

rime categories in terms of modern pronunciation.

(*Shè* are, properly speaking, part of the apparatus of Sòng dynasty phonological science. In terms of the traditional Karlgrenian reconstruction, they are understood as convenient groups of rimes with similar vowels and the same final consonants. Karlgren's first reconstruction, for instance, presented eight contrasting rimes of *shānshè* this way:

Karlgren: 寒 an 刪 an 山 an 元 ien 仙 ien 先
ien
 桓 uan 刪_合 wan

All of these forms end in an *n*, preceded by varieties of *a* or *e*, sometimes with medial *i*. Karlgren's early reconstructions distinguished medial *u* and *w*. For comparison, here are the same rimes in Pulleyblank's two 1984 transcriptions:

Early Middle: 寒 an 刪 a'n 山 ε'n 元 ian 仙 ian 先 εn
 桓 wan 刪_合 wa'n
Late Middle: 寒 an 刪 aan 山 aan 元 ian 仙 ian 先 ian
 桓 uan 刪_合 waan

It is one of the primary goals of the present paper to eliminate all complex vocalism from the representation of medieval Chinese. Here these eight rimes are written:

present paper: 寒 an₁ 刪 an_{2a} 山 an_{2b} 元 an_{3a} 仙 an_{3b} 先 an₄
 桓 wan₁ 刪_合 wan_{2a}

The *shè* should not be viewed as purely abstract constructs. Edwin Pulleyblank argues that they correspond to real rhyming categories actually found in certain styles of poetry in late Táng times. From this he has concluded that they reflect a type of medieval phonology, which he calls "Late Middle Chinese", from which he says most of modern Chinese derives. Close inspection of rhyming, however, reveals that not all the *shè* had fully formed by the late Táng, and

there are in any case a number of competing rhyming traditions.)

Tone and *shè* are features that are inherent to the rime; they are categories into which whole rimes are classified uniquely. Dǐng's notation includes them redundantly. The two remaining features, however, are not redundant.

"*Kāi-hé*" refers to whether a word is "*kāikǒu* 開口" ("open mouth") or "*hékǒu* 合口" ("closed mouth"). There are some subtleties to the phonetic interpretation of this feature, but in a general way we can say that *hékǒu* refers to syllables with a rounded vowel after the initial, while *kāikǒu* refers to all others. Traditionally, *kāi-hé* is considered to be part of the end of the word rather than the initial, but in most cases it needs to be expressed explicitly in addition to the rime.

The term "*děng*" is often translated "division" or "grade," among other things; I prefer, however, to retain the ambiguous Chinese term, which literally means "level" and refers to the rows of the traditional Chinese rime-table. The most important thing for the non-specialist to know is that there are four *děng*, and each rime can be classified into one or occasionally divided into two of them. The concept of the *děng* is thus an important tool for distinguishing separate rimes within a given *shè*. It is strongly advised, however, not to burden beginning students with more information than this.

(The question of what the four *děng* actually represent in phonetic terms is one of the most hotly disputed in this field, and I will not address it at length here. In terms of phonological organization, however, it seems that the various *děng* correspond to different patterns of "initial cooccurrence". If a rime category can appear with any of the initials *zhāng* 章, *chāng* 昌, *chuán* 船, *shū* 書, *shàn* 禪, *rì* 日, *xié* 邪, *qún* 群, or *yáng* 羊, then that rime is *sānděng* or "third *děng*." The primary contrast in medieval phonology is between *sānděng* and non-*sānděng*. If a rime category is not *sānděng* and can appear with any of the initials *zhī* 知, *chè* 徹, *chéng* 澄, *zhuāng* 莊, *chū* 初, *chóng* 崇, or *shēng* 生, then that rime is *èrděng*, or "second *děng*." All remaining rimes are either

yīděng or *sīděng*, and these can be distinguished by Mandarin pronunciation: *sīděng* words have a high front vowel ([i] or [y]) after the initial, and *yīděng* words do not. Phonetic interpretations of these correspondences inevitably lead to reconstructions that make extraordinarily fine distinctions.)³

Before Dǐng, Chinese reference works would traditionally give only rime and initial, usually in the form of a *fǎnqiè* 反切 gloss. Dǐng's innovation was to include explicitly the four other more general categories, which appear before the names of the specific initial and rime. Here is an example: Dǐng's notation for the character *xiě* 寫 is 假開三上馬心. This tells us that *xiě* 寫 belongs to the rime 35-*mǎ* 馬 and the initial *xīn* 心. It also reminds us (redundantly) that the rime 35-*mǎ* belongs to the *shǎngshēng* 上聲 tone category and is classified under *Jiǎshè* 假攝. It further tells us that within the rime 35-*mǎ*, which contains both *kāikǒu* and *hékǒu* words and both *èrděng* and *sānděng* words, the reading of *xiě* is classified as *kāikǒu* 開口 and *sānděng* 三等.

Another example: the character *mài* 賣 is assigned the notation 蟹開二去卦明. This reminds us, redundantly, that *mài* 賣 belongs to the rime 15-*guà* 卦 and the initial *míng* 明. Rime 15-*guà* 卦 belongs to the *qùshēng* tone and is classified under *Xièshè* 蟹攝. Among the eight rimes in *Xièshè*, comprising all four *děng* and both *kāikǒu* and *hékǒu* varieties, it is classified as *kāikǒu* and *èrděng*.

How is this information to be transcribed into Roman letters?

³ Note that there are thought to be at least two different kinds of *sānděng*. Some *sānděng* rimes occur only with labial and velar-laryngeal initials, and may be treated as a different type of rime from those that appear with all initials. In the present system, the first kind is always written 3a; any *sānděng* rime not written 3a is of the second variety.

4. A NEW TRANSCRIPTION

I propose in principle to transcribe each category uniquely and as explicitly as possible. In reality, however, it sometimes happens that rime does not need to be specified, because the rime is uniquely described by a combination of the other categories. For example, some *shè* (such as *Jiāngshè* 江攝) contain only a single rime, in which case rime does not need to be specified apart from *shè*. Some *shè* (such as *Xiàoshè* 效攝) contain several different rimes, but only one rime per *děng*, in which case rime does not need to be specified apart from *shè* and *děng*. Still other *shè* (such as *Guǒshè* 果攝) contain two rimes within a given *děng*, but one of them is the *hékǒu* version of the other, and so again rime does not need to be specified apart from *shè*, *kāi-hé*, and *děng*. One only needs to specify the rime when the *shè* is one of those that contain *chóngyùn* 重韻 (literally “duplicated rimes”, meaning that there is more than one contrasting rime within the same *kāi-hé* and *děng* in a given *shè*).

For this reason, my transcription system uses *shè* in place of rime, and rime distinctions are specified only where necessary. Below is a list of the 16 *shè* spellings.

Tōngshè 通攝:	ung	Guǒshè 果攝:	e
Jiāngshè 江攝:	ong	Jiǎshè 假攝:	a
Zhǐshè 止攝:	i	Dàngshè 宕攝:	ang
Yùshè 遇攝:	uo	Gěngshè 梗攝:	eing
Xièshè 蟹攝:	ei	Zēngshè 曾攝:	eng
Zhēnshè 臻攝:	en	Liúshè 流攝:	ou
Shānshè 山攝:	an	Shēnshè 深攝:	em
Xiàoshè 效攝:	au	Xiánshè 咸攝:	am

In the spellings *e*, *en*, and *eng*, the letter *e* is intended to represent a central vowel similar to schwa (ə), or to the Mandarin pronunciations *e*, *en*, and *eng*. The rime *em* should be pronounced with the same vowel. But the exact pronunciation of these 16 spellings is not of the essence, as long as they are kept distinct.

(While reading the discussion below, the reader may wish to consult the tables beginning on p. 62 to see specific examples.)

Tone is conveniently transcribed after the manner of the Romanisation Interdialectique, Li Fang-Kei, and Baxter. *Rùshēng* is recognized by its *-p*, *-t*, and *-k* endings. *Píngshēng* is left unmarked. For *shǎngshēng* I use a silent final *-Q*, reminiscent of the glottal stop reconstructed for this category, and for *qùshēng* I use a silent final *-H*. The student who is accustomed to Pinyin should be reminded that the *-Q* in this system and the Pinyin initial *q* are totally unrelated, and also that *-Q* does not stand for *qùshēng*. Tonal *-Q* and *-H* are capitalized to draw attention to the fact that they are not ordinary parts of the rime. (In the tables at the end of this paper, it will be seen that the *shǎngshēng* and *qùshēng* columns contain only spellings ending in *-Q* and *-H*, respectively.) In the classroom, it is perhaps best if medieval *shǎngshēng* words are pronounced in Mandarin tone 3, and medieval *qùshēng* words in Mandarin tone 4. *Rùshēng* words may be pronounced with a falling pitch if so desired; however, their stop-endings are their distinguishing characteristic.

Kāi-hé is a simple feature, usually reconstructed as the absence or presence of rounding at the beginning of the rime. In the transcription, *hékǒu* is represented economically by a medial *-w-* placed between the initial and the *shè*, leaving *kāikǒu* unmarked. One complication, however, is that certain *shè* lack a *kāi-hé* contrast but are considered to belong entirely to the *kāi* or the *hé* type. For instance, it can be observed in the Tables at the end of this paper (p. 62) that *Tōngshè* 通攝 and *Jiāngshè* 江攝 both lack the *kāi-hé* distinction, but *Tōngshè* is treated as innately *hékǒu* and *Jiāngshè* as innately *kāikǒu*. *Yùshè* 遇攝 and *Liúshè* 流攝 both lack the *kāi-hé* distinction, but *Yùshè* is treated as innately *hékǒu* and *Liúshè* as innately *kāikǒu*. It is necessary to indicate this non-distinctive *kāi-hé* in such a way as not to confuse it with distinctive *kāi-hé*. *Shè* which are innately *hékǒu* begin with a vowel *-u-*, while contrastive *hékǒu* is represented by medial *-w-*. (In Appendix 1, p. 78, anti-reconstructed forms are listed in two columns, with *kāikǒu* on the

left and *hékǒu* on the right. It should be clear at a glance that *hékǒu* rimes begin exclusively with *w* and *u*, and *kāikǒu* rimes with any other vowel.)

Děng is represented in Dīng Shēngshù's notation by the numerals 1 to 4, and I feel it is best to retain his extremely neutral symbolism in the transcription. That relieves the student of the burden of trying to understand (and pronounce) any of the various and not wholly satisfactory features that have been proposed to explain the *děng* phonetically: combinations of medial *-i-* and *-j-*, vowel quality, vowel length. In the present transcription system, *děng* remains an abstract feature according to which rimes are classified, as it has traditionally been understood by Chinese phonologists, rather than a concrete phonetic feature, as seen by much of the post-Karlgren world.⁴ The *děng* number will appear after the rest of the word, separated from it either by a hyphen or by being lowered in subscript. For example, *Dàngshè* 宕攝 rimes are all spelled *ang*. The sole *yǐděng* rime, *11-táng* 唐, is spelled *ang-1* or *ang₁*, and the sole *sānděng* rime, *10-yáng* 陽, is spelled *ang-3* or *ang₃*.

In cases where a *chóngyùn* 重韻 rime (see p. 17) needs to be specified, this is accomplished by a lower-case letter of the alphabet placed after the *děng* number. For example, *Shānshè* 山攝 contains two *èrděng* rimes: *27-shān* 刪 and *28-shān* 山 (to name only the *píngshēng* varieties). All *Shānshè* rimes are represented by the spelling *an*, and since *27-shān* and *28-shān* are classified as *èrděng*,

⁴ By omitting all medial vowels and consonants, I also wish to prime the student for the medial-free treatment of the *sānděng* proposed by Edwin Pulleyblank, part of what he calls his "campaign against the ubiquitous medial *yod*" of more than three decades (1994:73). Jerry Norman has developed a somewhat different anti-*yod* analysis (1994). Although both proposals are as yet tentative, I feel the *yod*-less approach is a marked improvement over Karlgren, and so have omitted all medials from the present anti-reconstruction.

they are both written *an-2* or *an₂*. However, 27-*shān* 刪 is represented as *an-2a* or *an_{2a}*, and 28-*shān* 山 as *an-2b* or *an_{2b}*. The purpose of separating information about *děng* and rime distinctions from the rest of the transcription is to prevent the transcription from becoming too complicated-looking. Indeed, for some pedagogical uses, this information is frankly superfluous. If a non-specialist wants to read Táng poetry aloud, for instance, or to study prosody in a general way, or to discuss alliterative and rhyming binoms, he or she needs a spelling system that is reasonably simple. There is no need in such cases to make all the distinctions, and the extra information about *děng* and rime contrasts may safely be omitted or ignored. When more exact kinds of study are involved, such as the study of fine details of prosody and rhyming, etymology, or the history of the language, then this extra information is available in the anti-reconstruction.

It may be objected that the 16 *shè* give only a very rough idea of rhyming distinctions in medieval poetry. This objection is valid. There is even one important case of cross-*shè* rhyming in Táng-time rhyming practice (the *tóngyòng* usage of 元 *an_{3a}* with 魂 and 痕 [*w]en₁*, about which I shall say more below). The *shè* do, however, make a few of the gross medieval distinctions that are lost to modern students who know only Mandarin. For example, the two *shè* ending in *-m* (*Xiánshè* 咸攝 and *Shēnshè* 深攝) are distinguished from those ending in *-n* (*Shānshè* 山攝 and *Zhēnshè* 臻攝), whereas in Mandarin they are merged. *Rùshēng* rimes are clearly distinguished from true open-final rimes, and their relationship to rimes in other tones becomes evident. One of the most important differences between medieval rhyme-words and their Mandarin readings is that Mandarin sometimes creates distinctions that obscure the rhyming quality of the original text. In such cases it is useful to have a transcription that eliminates unwanted distinctions, even at the expense of some of the wanted ones. Several examples are given below.

Medieval poetry rhymes according to several systems, depending on its type and provenance. Individual poets also vary consid-

erably in how strictly or laxly they observe the rules of the systems. It is my experience that no single reconstruction or transcription system can suffice to make sense of the rhyming in all medieval poetry. Probably only a handbook such as Wáng Lì (1987), which offers four different reconstructions for the period from the Nánběicháo to the Sòng, could begin to be sufficient to the task. But how would beginning students take to the complexity of such a reference work? I feel it is preferable to use the much simpler system described here, which makes all of the exaggerated rime distinctions of the *Qièyùn* system. Where it is necessary to observe less exacting rhyming patterns, the student can learn to identify these patterns as special mergers of rimes, in terms of the *Qièyùn* system. For reference, I have included a table of one of the main alternate rhyming systems, the Píngshuǐyùn, beginning on p. 87, below.

The initials of standard medieval phonology are an area in which the received system is not as conservative as the best early source, the *Qièyùn* rime-book. I have therefore made a number of simplifications. The labiodental series (initials *fēi* 非, *fū* 敷, *fèng* 奉, and *wéi* 微⁵) has been omitted, because it is not known until a late stage of the medieval phonological system; the contrast between the bilabial and labiodental series is not present in the *Qièyùn*. In the transcription, therefore, *fēi* 非 has been merged with *bāng* 幫, *fū* 敷 with *pāng* 滂, *fèng* 奉 with *bìng* 並, and *wéi* 微 with *míng* 明. It is likely that labiodentals were in the process of forming in some varieties of Chinese during the Táng period, but they were by no means either universal nor considered intrinsic to literary language, and so they are omitted even from the Sòng dynasty *Guǎngyùn* and *Jíyùn*.

The *niáng* 娘 initial is considered to be merged with *ní* 泥. Initials *xiá* 匣 and *yún* 云 are considered to be allophones of a

⁵ Note that this initial should be called *wéi* in phonology, even if one ordinarily (following Mainland practice) pronounces this word *wēi*.

single initial: in *sānděng* words this initial appears as *yún* 云, and in all other *děng* as *xiá* 匣. This last merger gives a somewhat more ancient flavor to the transcription system than the others (the absence of labiodentals and *niáng*) do.

There are two things that will need to be emphasized to the student who first faces this table. First, one must try to make a clear distinction between the voiceless unaspirated and voiced initials, which is not always easy for English-speakers to do (for a historical sidelight on this problem, see Branner 1997:235-242). One solution is to pronounce the voiced series in a breathy manner (with [h], which may be described to students as “heavy breathing”). Second, the letter *h* appearing in the voiceless aspirated initials is only a marker of aspiration: *ph* is not pronounced as in English *phone* but as an ordinary aspirated English *p*; *th* is not as in English *thin* but as an ordinary aspirated English *t*.

The 35 resulting initials are listed below, in two sets, for reasons of space. First, the stops and affricates:

	voiceless unaspirated		voiceless aspirated		voiced
<i>labial</i>	<i>bāng</i> 幫 p		<i>pāng</i> 滂 ph		<i>bìng</i> 並 b
<i>dental</i>	<i>duān</i> 端 t		<i>tòu</i> 透 th		<i>dìng</i> 定 d
<i>retroflex dental</i>	<i>zhī</i> 知 tr		<i>chè</i> 徹 thr		<i>chéng</i> 澄 dr
<i>sibilant</i>	<i>jīng</i> 精 ts		<i>qīng</i> 清 tsh		<i>cóng</i> 從 dz
<i>retroflex sibilant</i>	<i>zhuāng</i> 莊 tsr		<i>chū</i> 初 tshr		<i>chóng</i> 崇 dzr
<i>palatal sibilant</i>	<i>zhāng</i> 章 tsy		<i>chāng</i> 昌 tshy		<i>shàn</i> 禪 ⁶ dzy
<i>velar</i>	<i>jiàn</i> 見 k		<i>qí</i> 溪 ⁷ kh		<i>qún</i> g
<i>laryngeal</i>	<i>yǐng</i> 影 [zero]				

⁶ Note that this initial should be called *shàn* in phonology, even if in other circumstances one pronounces this word *chán* (among other readings).

⁷ Note that this initial should be called *qí* in phonology, even if in other circumstances one pronounces this word *xí*.

Fricatives and sonorants are as follows:

	voiceless	voiced			
	fricative	fricative	nasal		liquid
<i>labial</i>	—	—	<i>míng</i> 明 m		
<i>dental</i>	—	—	<i>ní</i> 泥 n	<i>lái</i> 來 l	
<i>retroflex dental</i>	—	—	—	—	
<i>sibilant</i>	<i>xīn</i> 心 s	<i>xié</i> 邪~斜 z	—	—	
<i>retroflex sibilant</i>	<i>shēng</i> 生 sr	—	—	—	
<i>palatal sibilant</i>	<i>shū</i> 書 sy	<i>chuán</i> 船 zy	<i>rì</i> 日 ny	—	
<i>velar</i>	—	—	<i>yí</i> 疑 ng	—	
<i>laryngeal</i>	<i>xiǎo</i> 曉 h	<i>xiá</i> 匣 } gh	—	<i>yáng</i> 羊 ⁸ y	
"	—	<i>yún</i> 云 }			

The letter *r* that appears in the spellings of the retroflex initials may be pronounced any way the student finds convenient. Personally, I find it easiest to pronounce it as a trilled or flapped *r* (a sound familiar from Spanish and Italian) because this makes it least likely to interfere with the vowels following it.

Letter *y* should always be pronounced as in English *yellow*; *gh* is a velar fricative [ɣ]; and *ng* is a velar nasal [ŋ].

Dǐng's notation ignores the well-known *chóngniǔ* 重紐 initials appearing in rows 3 and 4 of the rime-tables with labial and velar-laryngeal initials, and the duplicated initials found elsewhere. The reader may omit these distinctions; so 筆 and 畢 would both be transcribed as *pet*_{3b}, and 士 and 俟 as *zriQ*_{3d}. Similarly, 地 is transcribed as *driH*_{3c}, treating it as a doublet of the *chéng* 澄 initial. But the *chóngniǔ* distinction is incorporated easily by the addition of another symbol, **x** (third row of the rime tables) or **y**

⁸ This initial is also called *yǐ* 以, which however can cause confusion with *yí* 疑 when named in Mandarin, as the Chinese do: *yímǔ* 疑母 vs. *yǐmǔ* 以母. For this reason I will always use the name *yáng* rather than *yǐ* for it.

(fourth row): I propose writing 筆 as pet_{3bx} and 必 as pet_{3by} .

It bears repeating, and it must be emphasized to students that although this system can and should be read aloud, it is *not* intended as any sort of reconstruction. It is no more than a plain way of identifying medieval Chinese phonological categories using a simply romanized spelling system. I recommend using the term “medieval transcription” when teaching, rather than introducing either “reconstruction” (which implies phonemic realism) or “anti-reconstruction” (my own neologism).

5. EXAMPLES OF THE PEDAGOGICAL USE OF THIS TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

At the request of some readers of early drafts of this essay, I have prepared transcriptions of a few items as examples of how the system described here can be used in the teaching and study of classical literature.

Before beginning, it is best to remind students that romanizations are simply conventions for representing sound, and the same sounds can be represented by many entirely different spellings. For instance, the Mandarin pronunciation of the character 闍 can be represented as follows:

<i>name of system</i>	<i>spelling</i>
Pinyin	zhá
Wade-Giles	chá ²
Mandarin Phonetic Symbols	ㄓㄚˊ
Gwoyeu Romatzyh	jar
International Phonetic Alphabet	tʂɛ ɿ

Students must be awake to the fact that romanizations and spelling systems are *ways of writing sound, and not sound itself*. Once this is understood, there is no difficulty understanding that a single sound may be written in a number of entirely different ways, all representing that single sound with perfect accuracy. The transcription employed here represents not the real sounds of ancient times, but abstract information that we have about those sounds.

5.1. BASIC RHYMING

The most vivid use of any medieval transcription in the service of general Sinology is the illustration of rhyming. Students can usually understand in principle that the reading language of medieval times was quite different from Mandarin. In practice, however, many medieval poems appear to rhyme, or nearly rhyme, in Mandarin, especially when the rhyme-words are in the *píngshēng* and fall within a single *Qièyùn* rime, as is often the case in *jìntǐ* 近體-style poetry. If Mandarin will do, the student may wonder what the fuss is about. In my experience it is best to begin the study of rhyming with exactly such neutral pieces, and then move on to more difficult cases. As an example, here is “*Jiānglóu yè'àn* 江樓夜宴” of Dù Fǔ 杜甫, with Mandarin transcription:

1	對	月	那	無	酒
	duì	yuè	nǎ	wú	jiǔ
2	登	樓	況	有	江
	dēng	lóu	kuàng	yǒu	jiāng
3	聽	歌	驚	白	髮
	tīng	gē	jīng	bái	fǎ ⁹
4	笑	舞	拓	秋	窗
	xiào	wǔ	tà	qiū	chuāng
5	樽	蟻	添	相	續
	zūn	yǐ	tiān	xiāng	xù
6	沙	鷗	并	一	雙
	shā	ōu	bìng	yī	shuāng
7	儘	憐	君	醉	倒
	jǐn	lián	jūn	zuì	dǎo

⁹ Some teachers and students will prefer the reading *fà*, but there is no difference in meaning.

8 更 覺 片 心 降
 gèng jué piàn xīn **xiáng**

After seeing a few poems, students will easily grasp that the rhyme in medieval poetry is almost always restricted to even-numbered lines, with the first line of a stanza sometimes joining in. In the present poem, the four rhyme-words are printed in boldface. It should be clear to the student that *jiāng*, *chuāng*, *shuāng*, and *xiáng* all more or less rhyme in Mandarin, even if the rhyme is between *iang* and *uang*, and even if the last rhyme-word is in tone 2 instead of tone 1. It will be useful here to introduce the transcription of the four rhyme-words: 江 *kong₂*, 窗 *tsrong₂*, 雙 *srong₂*, and 降 *ghong₂*. The student can see that, in medieval transcription, the small Mandarin differences among these words evaporate. They all belong to a single rime (*ong*) and a single tone category (*píngshēng*). If the teacher wishes, this is a good time to explain the relatively simple phonological rules underlying the two Mandarin discrepancies, and I now digress to review them. It is a fact, easily confirmed, that phonology is easiest for beginnerse to learn when it can be related to Mandarin (or whatever variety of Chinese the student can read) and to literature.

DIGRESSION ON THE TEACHING OF PHONOLOGY

My comments here apply to the teaching of phonology to non-specialists, *i.e.*, to students of literature or history or in general classes devoted to the history of the Chinese language. Specialist courses in historical phonology will perhaps begin at a much higher level of instruction.

1. The student should be introduced as early as possible to the list of initials. (A list of the initials, tabulated according to the traditional categories, is provided in Appendix 2, p. 86, below.) “Clear” (*qīng* 清) initials in a *píngshēng* word produce Mandarin tone 1; “murky” (*zhuó* 濁) initials produce Mandarin tone 2. (Some tone 1 and 2 syllables are *rùshēng*, of course, not *píngshēng*.) At the earliest possible moment, students should be given the assign-

ment to learn the initials by heart, together with their manners and places of articulation. They look daunting, but can easily be mastered if learned as an alphabet: *bāng pāng bìng míng, duān tòu dìng ní lái, etc.* This list is traditionally called the *sānshíliù zìmǔ*, the “thirty-six initials”, even though there are, by our count more than thirty-six of them because we divide some of the traditional categories in two.

Students who do not commit the list of initials to memory will have a hard time ever gaining facility in practical phonology. Apart from requiring the student to recite the “alphabet of thirty-six”, quizzing on this material is essential as an incentive to complete control of it, and should consist of at least two types of questions. First, the teacher gives a combination of manner and place of articulation, and students must answer with the name and spelling of the initial. For example:

Q: Name the labial initial that is also a sonorant.

A: *míng* 明 **m**.

Some students may find this stressful, but the utility of it is that the manner and place of articulation become clear. The same material can be tested in reverse, giving the student the name or spelling of the initial and asking for the place and manner of articulation. Second, once students are thoroughly familiar with the names and features of the initials, they should be required to list whole categories of initials. For example:

Q: Name the *cìqīng* 次清 initials.

A: *pāng* 滂 **ph**, *tòu* 透 **th**, *chè* 徹 **thr**, *qīng* 清 **tsh**, *chū* 初 **tshr**, *chāng* 昌 **tshy**, *qī* 溪 **kh**.

2. Some students may wish to know why a single medieval rime *ong* would split into two different Mandarin rimes, *iang* and *uang*. The answer, kept short, is that one kind of linguistic change very often observed in Chinese is that different types of initials

give different pronunciations to what were originally a single rime. In this case, the rule is that, in *èrděng* rimes, velar-laryngeal initials usually palatalize (unless *hékǒu* is involved) whereas other initial types do not. One glance at the transcription tells us that 江 *kong₂*, 窗 *tsrong₂*, 雙 *srong₂*, and 降 *ghong₂* are all *èrděng* and that there is no *hékǒu* here. The palatalization of the initials *k* and *gh* has clearly affected the rime, producing *iang* in those words. From this example, two principles emerge for which students should be held responsible. The first is the *èrděng* rule for velar-laryngeal initials, just mentioned. The second is the larger principle of “allophonic variation of rime, conditioned by initial,” which is a high-fluting way of saying that different initials can give different sounds to a single rime. (In some varieties of Chinese, for instance the Coastal Mǐn dialects, this principle has developed to great lengths, so that it is not easy to recognize words having different initials as belonging to the same basic rime category.) There will be other opportunities for the student to notice this principle in action, and at such times the teacher should remind the student of the present example.

3. It should be mentioned that the Mandarin rule about the change of tone on certain words (such as *yī* 一, *bù* 不, *bā* 八, and *qī* 七) applies only to words read at normal speed. When character readings are being given, there are no tone changes and the syllable is given in its “citation form”. This applies as well to the more general sandhi rule that makes the first of two consecutive third tones change to a second tone.

5.2: BASIC RHYMING, CONTINUED

I return now to the illustration of rhyming. After introducing the idea that the medieval *píngshēng* is a unified category divided between Mandarin tones 1 and 2, it will be useful to continue with the more complicated case of the medieval *shǎngshēng*, which is divided between Mandarin tones 3 and 4. As an example, here is the first stanza of Sòng Zhīwèn’s 宋之問 “Jūnzhōng rén rì dēnggāo zèng Fáng míngfǔ 軍中人日登高贈房明府:”

1	幽	郊	昨	夜	陰	風	斷
	yōu	jiāo	zuó	yè	yīn	fēng	duàn
2	頓	覺	朝	來	陽	吹	暖
	dùn	jué	zhāo	lái	yáng	chuī	nuǎn
3	涇	水	橋	南	柳	耍	黃
	jīng	shuǐ	qiáo	nán	liǔ	yào	huáng
4	杜	陵	城	北	花	應	滿
	dù	líng	chéng	běi	huā	yīng	mǎn

The three rhyme-words are *duàn*, *nuǎn*, and *mǎn*. Clearly *nuǎn* rhymes with *mǎn*, but what about *duàn*? In Mandarin it has a different tone. In medieval transcription, however, the three words are *dwanQ₁*, *nwanQ₁*, and *mwanQ₁*. They all belong to the same rime (*wan₁*) and the same tone (*shǎngshēng*). Although *duàn* 斷 belongs to tone 4 in Mandarin, in medieval phonology it is a *shǎngshēng* word plain and simple.¹⁰ It falls into tone 4 in Mandarin because it has a *quánzhuó* initial. The Chinese name for this phenomenon is *quánshǎng biàn qù* 全上變去 “*quánzhuó* words in the *shǎngshēng* tone change to the *qùshēng*.” Using a large traditional dictionary such as the *Guǎngyùn*, students may be assigned to find other examples of this phenomenon, of which there are many. Here is a longer example of the same type of rhyming, Lǐ Bái’s 李白 “*Jīngzhōu zéi píng, lín Dòngtíng yánhuái zuò* 荊州賊平臨洞庭言懷作”:

1	修	蛇	橫	洞	庭
	sou _{3b}	zya ₃	ghweing2adungH ₁	deing ₄	

¹⁰ Actually, it is not entirely plain and simple, because *duàn* 斷 has a second reading, *twanH₁*, which means ‘to decide.’ In Mandarin, the two pronunciations are indistinguishable, both *duàn*. However, in the present poem the meaning is clearly ‘to break,’ whose medieval reading is *dwanQ₁*.

2	吞	象	臨	江	島
	then ₁	zangQ ₃	lem ₃	kong ₂	tauQ₁
3	積	骨	成	色	陵
	tseik _{3b}	kwet ₁	dzyeing _{3b}	srek ₃	leng ₃
4	遺	言	聞	楚	老
	ywi _{3c}	ngan _{3a}	mwen _{3a}	tshruoQ _{3b}	lauQ₁
5	水	窮	三	苗	國
	sywiQ _{3c}	gung _{3b}	sam _{1b}	mau ₃	kwek ₁
6	地	窄	三	湘	道
	driH _{3c}	tsreik2a	sam _{1b}	sang ₃	dauQ₁
7	歲	晏	天	崢	嶸
	sweiH _{3b}	anH _{2a}	than ₄	dzreing _{2b}	ghweing _{2b}
8	時	危	人	枯	槁
	dzyi _{3d}	ngwi _{3b}	nyen _{3b}	khuo ₁	kauQ₁
9	思	歸	阻	喪	亂
	si _{3d}	kwi _{3a}	tsruoQ _{3b}	sangH ₁	lwanH ₁
10	去	國	傷	懷	抱
	khuoH _{3b}	kwek ₁	syang ₃	ghwei _{2b}	bauQ₁
11	郢	路	方	丘	墟
	yeingQ _{3b}	luoH ₁	pang ₃	khou _{3b}	khuo _{3b}
12	章	華	亦	傾	倒
	tsyang ₃	ghwa ₂	yeik _{3b}	khweing _{3b}	tauQ₁
13	風	悲	猿	嘯	苦
	pung _{3b}	pi _{3c}	ghwan _{3a}	sauH ₄	khuoQ ₁
14	木	落	鴻	飛	早
	muk _{1b}	lak ₁	ghung _{1b}	pi _{3a}	tsauQ₁
15	日	隱	西	赤	沙
	nyet _{3b}	enQ _{3a}	sei ₄	tshyeik _{3b}	sra ₂
16	月	明	東	城	草
	ngwat _{3a}	meing3a	tung _{1b}	dzyeing _{3b}	tshauQ₁

17	關	河	望	已	絕
	kwan _{2a}	ghe ₁	mangH ₃	yiQ _{3d}	dzwat _{3b}
18	氛	務	行	當	掃
	phwen _{3a}	muoH _{3c}	gheing2a	tang ₁	sauQ₁
19	長	叫	天	可	聞
	drang ₃	kauH ₄	than ₄	kheQ ₁	mwen _{3a}
20	吾	將	問	倉	昊
	nguo ₁	tsang ₃	mwenH _{3a}	tshang ₁	ghauQ₁

Of the ten rhyme-words in this poem, three (道抱昊) are read in the Mandarin fourth tone and the rest in the Mandarin third tone. But in medieval transcription, it is instantly clear that all ten rhyme-words are in the same rime and tone, *auQ₁*.

Certainly the single most striking example of a medieval phonological category that has become irretrievably divided in Mandarin is the *rùshēng* tone category. *Rùshēng* rhyming, though far rarer than rhyming in the *píngshēng*, is somewhat more common than rhyming in the *shǎngshēng* and *qùshēng*. I have taken as my example Dù Fǔ's "Shíguì gé 石櫃閣":

1	季	冬	日	已	長
	jì	dōng	rì	yǐ	cháng
2	山	晚	半	天	赤
	shān	wǎn	bàn	tiān	chì
3	蜀	道	多	早	花
	shǔ	dào	duō	zǎo	huā
4	江	間	饒	奇	石
	jiāng	jiān	ráo	qí	shí
5	石	櫃	曾	波	上
	shí	guì	céng	bō	shàng
6	臨	虛	蕩	高	壁
	lín	xū	dàng	gāo	bì

7	清	暉	回	群	鷗
	qīng	huī	huí	qún	ōu
8	暝	色	帶	遠	客
	míng	sè	dài	yuǎn	kè
9	羈	棲	負	幽	意
	jī	qī	fù	yōu	yì
10	感	歎	向	絕	跡
	gǎn	tàn	xiàng	jué	jì ¹¹
11	信	甘	孱	懦	嬰
	xìn	gān	chán	nuò	yīng
12	不	獨	凍	餒	迫
	bù	dú	dòng	něi	pò
13	優	游	謝	康	樂
	yōu	yóu	xiè	kāng	lè
14	放	浪	陶	彭	澤
	fàng	làng	táo	péng	zé
15	吾	衰	未	自	安
	wú	shuāi	wèi	zì	ān
16	謝	爾	性	所	適
	xiè	ěr	xìng	suǒ	shì

The rhyme-words are *chì*, *shí*, *bì*, *kè*, *jì*, *pò*, *zé*, and *shì*. In Mandarin, they hardly seem to be rhyme-words at all: they exhibit three different tones, and four different rimes. But in medieval transcription the rhyme-words instantly fall together:

1	季	冬	日	已	長
	kwiH _{3c}	tung _{1c}	nyet _{3b}	yiQ _{3d}	drang ₃

¹¹ The competing reading *jì* does not differ in meaning.

2	山	晚	半	天	赤
	srān _{2b}	manQ _{3a}	pwanH ₁	than ₄	tshyeik_{3b}
3	蜀	道	多	早	花
	dzyuk _{3c}	dauQ ₁	te ₁	tzauQ ₁	hwa ₂
4	江	間	饒	奇	石
	kong ₂	kan _{2b}	nyau ₃	gi _{3b}	dzyeik_{3b}
5	石	櫃	曾	波	上
	dzyeik _{3b}	gwiH _{3c}	dzeng ₁	pwe ₁	dzyangH ₃
6	臨	虛	蕩	高	壁
	lem ₃	huo _{3b}	dangQ ₁	kau ₁	peik₄
7	清	暉	回	群	鷗
	tsheing _{3b}	hwi _{3a}	ghwei _{1a}	gwen _{3a}	ou ₁
8	暝	色	帶	遠	容
	man ₄	srek ₃	teiH _{1b}	ghwanQ _{3a}	kheik_{2a}
9	羈	棲	負	幽	意
	ki _{3b}	sei ₄	bouQ _{3b}	ou _{3c}	iH _{3d}
10	感	歎	向	絕	跡
	kamQ _{1a}	thanH ₁	hangH ₃	dzwat _{3b}	tseik_{3b}
11	信	甘	孱	懦	嬰
	senH _{3b}	kam _{1b}	dzran _{2b}	nweH ₁	eing _{3b}
12	不	獨	凍	餒	迫
	pwet _{3a}	duk _{1b}	tungH _{1b}	nweiQ _{1a}	peik_{2a}
13	優	游	謝	康	樂
	ou _{3b}	you _{3b}	zaH ₃	khang ₁	lak ₁
14	放	浪	陶	彭	澤
	pangH ₃	langH ₁	dau ₁	being _{2a}	dreik_{2a}
15	吾	衰	未	自	安
	nguo ₁	srwi _{3c}	miH _{3a}	dziH _{3c}	an ₁
16	謝	爾	性	所	適
	zaH ₃	nyiQ _{3b}	seingH _{3b}	sruoQ _{3b}	syeik_{3b}

In spite of how different they look in Mandarin, they are all in *Gěngshè rùshēng* rimes, transcribed *eik*.

In fact, there are three different varieties of *eik* in this poem: *eik_{2a}*, *eik_{3b}*, and *eik₄*. The student may ask what the practical difference is between the three rimes *eik_{2a}*, *eik_{3b}*, and *eik₄* — and, for that matter, the rimes *eik_{2b}* and *eik_{3a}* that do not appear in this poem. The simple answer is that these different rimes indicate that the words are to be found in different parts of the *Guǎngyùn*, and so are distinguished for philological purposes. But the real question is: can they all be made to rhyme indiscriminately? Are there ever times when they must be distinguished? The answer is yes to both questions. The ancient books from which our knowledge of medieval phonology comes distinguish five rimes in *Gěngshè*, and we cannot throw this information away on whim. At times it may be necessary to distinguish various of them for narrow philological purposes or in the more fastidious kinds of poetry. However, in poetry other than the *jìntǐshī*, it is common to find poets of Dù Fǔ's time rhyming the several *Gěngshè* rimes together with abandon.

The student will of course then wish to know how to find out what kind of poetry rhymes what rime with what other rime. The best way is to consult books and articles that catalog rhyming practice in different poetic corpora. Such studies exist in great number, for this is not only a subject of research by mature scholars but a common topic of B.A. and M.A. theses in the Chinese departments of East Asian universities. Below I list a few of the published sources that I have found useful. They represent a mixture of different kinds of poetry and different methodological styles and research goals. Most of those listed are concerned with general trends over a large period of time or style of poetry, rather than with the rhyming practice of one individual poet:

Comprehensive overviews of Six Dynasties poetry: Wáng Lì 1991[1936] (a pioneering work, now felt to be dated), 1987; Zhōu Zǔmó 1986.

Wèi-Jìn poetry: Ting Pang-Hsin 1975, Zhōu Zǔmó 1982, 1986.

- Suí poetry: Lǐ Róng 1982[1961-62].
Early-mid Táng *gǔtǐ* and *jìntǐ*: Bào Míngwěi 1986, 1990.
Late Táng *gǔtǐ*: Pulleyblank 1968.
Late Táng *jìntǐ*: Lǐ Tiānfù 1996.
Táng and Five dynasties *cí*: Nakata 1936.
Dūnhuáng *qǔzi cí*: Zhāng Jīnquán 1986.
Cí of the Northern Sòng: Bryant 1979-1980.
Cí of the Sòng and Jurchen-Mongol periods: Lǚ Guóyáo 1991.

Some of these studies are extremely technical, however, and the uninitiated student of poetry may find them unsavory in the extreme. As a sort of appetizer, I have compiled a rough table of some of the main mergers and distinctions of rimes observed in Suí-Táng rhyming practice, together with the official *Píngshuǐ* system. (This table appears in Appendix 3, beginning on p. 87.) In addition to purely descriptive linguistic studies of the sort listed above, there are of course also all manner of traditional prescriptive rime-books of the *Píngshuǐ* and other traditions, including popular abridgements of the great *Pèiwén yùnfǔ* 佩文韻府 of 1712 and the widely used *Shiyùn jíchéng* 詩韻集成 of Yú Zhào 余照. There are also modern collections of rhyming lines, containing much material that is descriptive in fact if essentially prescriptive in intention, such as Wáng Xīyuán *et al.* 1978, 1979, and 1983, compiled to aid Taiwan college students in composing traditional-style poetry.

DIGRESSION ON PHONOLOGY AND LEXICAL ISSUES

1. After studying the Dù Fǔ poem above, students may ask how the single *rùshēng* category of medieval phonology is reflected in Mandarin. The answer is that Northern Chinese dialects vary enormously with respect to the manifestation of the *rùshēng*, and indeed this behavior is one of the features by which Northern dialects are subclassified. Standard Mandarin and urban Peking dialect are unique even within the Northern Chinese group, with respect to the *rùshēng*. *Rùshēng* words are found in all four of the Mandarin tones, but the distribution is not random, at least in the

main. It depends on the kind of initial of the word in question.

There are three patterns. *Rùshēng* words with *quánzhuó* initials are regularly found in Mandarin tone 2. *Rùshēng* words with *cìzhuó* initials are regularly found in Mandarin tone 4. There are some exceptions to these rules (as always in phonology). But *rùshēng* words with *qīng* initials (both *quánqīng* and *cìqīng*) are found in all four tones. The seemingly random behavior of *qīng*-initial words is perhaps the result of dialect mixture. Interestingly, *rùshēng* syllables that are in use Peking dialect as colloquial monosyllabic forms have a tendency to appear in tones 1 and 3 (p.c. Jerry Norman, 1990), while literary character readings have a tendency to appear in tones 2 and 4. For example:

<i>character</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>gloss</i>
拆	colloquial: <i>chāi</i>	'to tear open, down'
	literary: <i>chè</i>	[used by some speakers]
得	colloquial: <i>dǎi</i>	'to capture'
	literary: <i>dé</i>	'to obtain'
縮	colloquial: <i>suō</i>	'to shrink, retract'
	literary: <i>sù</i>	in <i>sùshā</i> (a kind of cardamom)
北	colloquial: <i>běi</i>	'north'
	literary: <i>bò</i>	[character reading only, rare]
剋	colloquial: <i>kēi</i>	'to strike'
	literary: <i>kè</i>	'to overcome'

One could assemble many more such examples.

It is important for students to realize two facts about this evidence. First, what are labeled "colloquial words" and "literary readings" here are indeed two separate strata of language, of different historical origins. Second, when it comes to actual usage, the words in these two strata are by no means neatly distinguished in Mandarin. Sometimes a "literary reading" is in fact the ordinary pronunciation of a word, and the corresponding "colloquial" form is highly unusual or has a strong taste of Peking dialect slang. For example, *kēi* and *dǎi* are certainly dialect usages, while *kè* and *dé* are the regular pronunciations of the words 'to overcome' and 'to

obtain' in everyday usage. Sometimes the two competing forms are both widely used in educated speech, as is the case with *chāi* and *chè*. Sometimes literary readings are obsolete apart from the most conservative formal usages (as is the case with *bò* for 北), yet at other times they are required for specialized usages (as is the case with *sù* in *sùshā*). Neither the student nor the teacher should succumb to the temptation to deprecate any of these readings. They all have their histories and contexts, and the study of Chinese requires respect for all of them. Often the literary readings have special importance in recreating the pre-modern sound of poetry.

2. The character 不 has three readings in the *Guǎngyùn*: *pou*_{3b}, *pou*_{Q3b}, and *pwet*_{3a}. All three readings are glossed in the *Guǎngyùn* as negative particles, although *pou*_{Q3b} is considered equivalent to *fǒu* 否 and *pwet*_{3a} to *fú* 弗. The reading *pou*_{3b} is used for the rare character 𠄎, anciently written 𠄎. It is usual today to treat *pwet*_{3a} as the primary medieval reading, because it corresponds to character readings in most dialects. However, *pou*_{3b} and *pou*_{Q3b} should not be forgotten, as they are occasionally useful in philological or prosodic contexts.

3. There are several words in the Lǐ Bái and Dù Fǔ poems, above, whose Mandarin readings are not consistent with their medieval readings. Students should be expected to learn two things from evidence of this kind. First, that it is possible to draw up equivalences ("regular correspondences" or "sound laws") between ancient and modern readings, and to a large extent predict one from the other. This is an essential skill to be mastered in historical phonology, but for the purposes of a literature class it will suffice merely to show that such a thing is possible. Second, students should learn from these examples that character readings of different periods are not always exactly equivalent. We must never imagine Chinese to be a uniform and monolithic entity — neither in the present day nor at any time in the past.

	medieval transcription	expected reading	actual reading	suggestive characters in the same homophone group
遺蜀	ywi _{3c} dzyuk _{3c}	*wéi *shú	yí shǔ	惟維 both wéi. 屬 is also read shǔ, but compare shú 贖 zyu _{3c} .
棲	sei ₄	*xī	qī	西犀 both xī. Also xī 撕 in tíxī 提撕 'to drag around.'
季	kwiH _{3c}	*guì	jì	No common homophones, but compare guì 櫃 gwiH _{3c} .
所	sruoQ _{3b}	*shǔ	suǒ	No common homophones, but compare shǔ 數 sruoQ _{3c} .
迫	peik2a	*bó	pò	伯百柏. Note that 伯 and 百 have learned reading bó and popular pronunciation bǎi; bó is now heard as the primary reading for 伯 and almost never for 百; 柏 has common readings bó and bǎi.
吞	then ₁	*tēn	tūn	No such form as *ten (in any tone) exists in standard Mandarin. Peking dialect has a few forms dēn ('to spur [a horse] forward') and dèn ('to tug on'), but these are highly colloquial. The manifestation of *tēn as tūn reflects a meaningful phonological change, paralleled in Guǒshè by forms such as duō for *dē 多 de ₁ , zuǒ for *zě 左 tseQ ₁ , etc.
地	driH _{3c}	*zhì	dì	In most dialects, the attested pronunciation is compatible with a Xièshè reading, deiH ₄ , which is in fact attested in the Jíyùn. However, the Guǎngyùn contains only the reading driH _{3c} .
阻	tsruoQ _{3b}	*zhǔ	zǔ	There are a certain number of parallel examples: zī 輜 tsri _{3d} , zǐ 滓 tsriQ _{3d} , zōu 鄒 tsrou _{3b} , etc.
墟	khuo _{3b}	*qū	xū	Perhaps interference from xū 虛 hu _{3b} .

澤 *dreik*_{2a} **zhé* *zé* 宅, which has readings *zhái* and *zhè*. Similar phenomenon as in the case of 阻, above. But note also *zé* 擇, which has a colloquial reading *zhái*.

5.3 EXAMPLES OF SPECIAL RHYMING

The great difficulty of using prefabricated reconstructions to study poetry is that rhyming varies with time and custom, while spelling systems are stiff and fixed. No matter what system of medieval spelling is adopted, students must inevitably learn the actual rhyming practice of the *œuvre* they are studying. The present system of transcription facilitates this study because formal rhyme categories are not represented with fine distinctions that might give a false impression of phonetic realism.

There is one particularly important case of unusual rhyming that students should learn early on. The following poem of Lǐ Shāngyīn 李商隱, “Lèyóu yuán 樂遊原” is a good first example:

1	向	晚	意	不	適
	hangH ₃	manQ _{3a}	iH _{3d}	pwet _{3a}	syek _{3b}
2	驅	車	登	古	原
	khuo _{3c}	tshya ₃	teng ₁	kuoQ ₁	ngwan _{3a}
3	夕	陽	無	限	好
	zeik _{3b}	yang ₃	muo _{3c}	ghanQ _{2b}	hauQ ₁
4	只	是	近	黃	昏
	tsyiQ _{3b}	dzyiQ _{3b}	genQ _{3a}	ghwang ₁	hwen ₁

The two rhyme-words are *ngwan*_{3a} and *hwen*₁. Do they rhyme? By inspection one would think not. But this happens to be an instance of the “*tóngyòng*” usage of rimes *an*_{3a} and [*w*]*en*₁ (mentioned in passing on p. 20, above). (*Tóngyòng* usage refers to rimes that are distinguished in theory but in common practice allowed to rhyme together in one tradition or another of medieval poetry. The concept is especially important in *jùntǐshī*. See p. 87, below, for

more information.)

From the look of the transcription, *wan*_{3a} and *wen*₁ would not seem to be a good rhyme, and indeed they did not sound like a good rhyme to Chinese in the past millenium, when Táng-time poetic rules have been followed but Táng language has been extinct. The now awkward combination of *Guǎngyùn* rimes *an*₃, *en*₁, and *wen*₁ was actually assigned to category *13-yuán* 元 in the *Píngshuǐyùn* (see p. 94, below) and is part of the peculiar cultural lore of Chinese phonology. As a so-called *xiǎnyùn* 險韻 “treacherous rime,” it was often assigned as the required rhyme on official poetry examinations, so that nervous candidates would mistakenly include words in *an*_{3b} in the rhyme scheme. Or they might include words in *an*_{3a} in a poem whose rhyme scheme was limited to *an*_{3b} and *an*₄. In either case, they would be considered to have “left the rhyme-scheme” (*chūyùn* 出韻), which was a fatal violation of the rules. Rime *13-yuán* 元 was notoriously difficult to rhyme in pre-modern times; Y. R. Chao refers to “the traditional scandal about this rime” (1941:228). There are many references to the “treacherous” quality of rime 13 in literature of early modern times, as for instance the following passage from *Hónglóu mèng* 紅樓夢. Lín Dàiyù hears someone playing the flute, and suggests that she and Shǐ Xiāngyún compose poetry stimulated by the music:

黛玉笑道…咱們兩個都愛五言、就還是五言排律罷、湘雲道、限何韻、黛玉笑道、咱們數這個欄杆的直棍、這頭爲止、他是第幾根就用第幾韻、若十六根、便是一先起、這可新鮮、湘雲笑道、這到別致、於是二人起身、便從頭數至盡頭、止得十三根、湘雲道、偏又是十三元了、這韻少、作排律只怕牽強不能押韻呢

[Dàiyù smiled and said, “[...] Since we both like five-syllable lines, let’s do a run of five-syllable regulated couplets.” Xiāngyún said, “What rime shall we hold ourselves to?” Dàiyù smiled and said, “Let’s count the balusters of the railing, up to this end. Whichever number baluster this one is, that will be the number of the rime we’ll use. If there are 16, then we will use rime 1-*xiān* [the sixteenth rime]. That would be a new idea.” Xiāngyún said, “That would be unusual.” Then the two of them got up and counted from one end to the other, and there were

only thirteen balusters. Xiāngyún said, "Of course it *would* be 13-*yuán*. This rime has few rhyme-words, and I'm afraid that if we write a run of regulated couplets we will run out of rhymes." (Chapter 76, 1984:1195)

In late Manchu times, Wáng Kǎiyùn 王闓運 (1833-1916) wrote a poem teasing his colleague Gāo Xīnkúí 高心夔 (1835-1883), who twice received low scores on the official exams when the appearance of 13-*yuán* caused him to "leave the rhyme-scheme." Wáng wrote:

平生兩四等、該死十三元¹²

[Two fourth-place finishes in one lifetime — to hell with 13-*yuán*!]

The *tóngyòng* merger of *Guǎngyùn* rimes [w]en₁ and [w]an_{3a} is by no means rare in poetry of the Six Dynasties and Táng, or in later *jīntǐshī*. Here is Wáng Wéi 王維's "Sòng zōngdì Yōng xiàdì guī Kuàijī 送從弟邕下第歸會稽," which uses *rùshēng* rhyme-words.

1	疾	風	吹	征	帆
	dzet _{3b}	pung _{3b}	tshywi _{3b}	tsyeing _{3b}	bwam _{3a}
2	倏	爾	向	空	沒
	syuk _{3b}	nyiQ _{3b}	hangH ₃	khung _{1b}	mwet₁
3	千	里	去	俄	頃
	tshan ₄	liQ _{3d}	khuoH _{3b}	nge ₁	khweingQ _{3b}
4	三	江	坐	超	忽
	sam _{1b}	kong ₂	dzweQ ₁	thrau ₃	hwet₁
5	向	來	共	歡	娛
	hangH ₃	lei ₁	gungH _{3c}	hwan ₁	nguo _{3c}
6	日	夕	成	楚	越
	nyet _{3b}	zeik _{3b}	dzyeing _{3b}	tshruoQ _{3b}	ghwat_{3a}

¹² This story is quoted in Gù and Yáng (1989:206-211), which also cites the *Hónglóu mèng* story and other lore associated with the Píngshuǐyùn.

7	落	羽	更	分	飛
	lak ₁	ghuoQ _{3c}	keingH _{2a}	pwen _{3a}	pi _{3a}
8	誰	能	不	驚	骨
	dzywi _{3c}	neng ₁	pou _{3b}	keing3a	kwet₁

To repeat the main point, students seeing rhyme-words *mwet₁*, *hwet₁*, *ghwat_{3a}*, and *kwet₁* might assume that *ghwat_{3a}* had “left the rhyme-scheme.” But as long as they possess the factual knowledge that rimes *en₁* and *an_{3a}* are permitted to rhyme together, there will be no confusion. Below I have transcribed a much longer poem by Xiè Língyùn 謝靈運 (“Shímén xīnyíng suǒzhù sìmiàn gāoshān huíxí shílài màolín xiūzhú 石門新營所住四面高山回谿石瀨茂林脩竹”) that also uses this combination of rimes.

1	躋	險	筑	幽	居
	tsei ₄	hamQ _{3b}	druk _{3b}	ou _{3c}	kuo _{3b}
2	披	雲	臥	石	門
	phi _{3b}	ghwen _{3a}	ngweH ₁	dzyeik _{3b}	mwen₁
3	苔	滑	誰	能	步
	dei _{1a}	ghwat _{2a}	dzywi _{3c}	neng ₁	buoH ₁
4	葛	弱	豈	可	捫
	kat ₁	nyak ₃	khiQ _{3a}	kheQ ₁	mwen₁
5	嫋	嫋	秋	風	過
	nauQ ₄	nauQ ₄	tshou _{3b}	pung _{3b}	kweH ₁
6	萋	萋	春	草	繁
	tshei ₄	tshei ₄	tshywen _{3c}	tshauQ ₁	ban_{3a}
7	美	人	游	不	還
	miQ _{3c}	nyen _{3b}	you _{3b}	pwet _{3a}	ghwan _{2a}
8	佳	期	何	由	敦
	kei _{2a}	gi _{3d}	ghe ₁	you _{3b}	twen₁
9	芳	塵	凝	瑤	席
	phang ₃	dren _{3b}	ngeng ₃	yau ₃	zeik _{3b}

10	清	醋	滿	金	尊
	tsheing _{3b}	suoQ _{3b}	mwanQ ₁	kem ₃	tswen₁
11	洞	庭	空	波	瀾
	dungH _{1b}	deing ₄	khung _{1b}	pwe ₁	lan ₁
12	桂	枝	徒	攀	翻
	kweiH ₄	tsyi _{3b}	duo ₁	phan _{2a}	phan_{3a}
13	給	念	屬	霄	漢
	kep ₃	namH ₄	dzyuk _{3c}	sau ₃	hanH ₁
14	孤	景	莫	與	護
	kuo ₁	keingQ3a	mak ₁	yuoQ _{3b}	hwan_{3a}
15	俯	濯	石	下	潭
	puoQ _{3c}	drok ₂	dzyeik _{3b}	ghaQ ₂	dam _{1a}
16	仰	看	條	上	猿
	ngangQ ₃	khanH ₁	dau ₄	dzyangQ ₃	ghwan_{3a}
17	早	聞	夕	颯	急
	tsauQ ₁	mwen _{3a}	zeik _{3b}	pau ₃	kep ₃
18	晚	見	朝	日	暎
	manQ _{3b}	kauH ₄	trau ₃	nyet _{3b}	thwen₁
19	崖	傾	光	難	留
	ngei _{2a}	khweing _{3b}	kwang ₁	nan ₁	lou _{3b}
20	林	深	響	易	奔
	lem ₃	syem ₃	hangQ ₃	yeik _{3b}	pwen₁
21	感	往	慮	有	復
	kamQ _{1a}	ghwangQ ₃	luoH _{3b}	ghouQ _{3b}	bouH _{3b}
22	理	來	情	無	存
	liQ _{3d}	lei _{1a}	dzeing _{3b}	muo _{3c}	dzwen₁
23	庶	持	乘	日	車
	syuoH _{3b}	dri _{3d}	zyeng ₃	nyet _{3b}	tshya ₃
24	得	以	慰	營	魂
	tek ₁	yiQ _{3d}	wiH _{3a}	yweing _{3b}	ghwen₁

25	匪	爲	眾	人	說
	piQ _{3a}	ghwiH _{3b}	tsyungH _{3b}	nyen _{3b}	sywat _{3b}
26	冀	與	智	者	論
	kiH _{3c}	yuoQ _{3b}	triH _{3b}	tsyaQ ₃	lwen₁

The rhyme-words in this poem are: *mwen₁*, *mwen₁*, *ban_{3a}*, *twen₁*, *tswen₁*, *phan_{3a}*, *hwan_{3a}*, *ghwan_{3a}*, *thwen₁*, *pwen₁*, *dzwen₁*, *ghwen₁*, and *lwen₁*. The rimes represented are 23-*hún* 魂 *wen₁*, and 22-*yuán* 元 *an_{3a}~wan_{3a}*. Again, although based on the anti-reconstruction values *en* and *an* they do not appear to rhyme, we know that these two particular rimes were considered to be *tóngyòng* in medieval times.

A miscellaneous note on this poem: In line 16, Lù Qīnlì (1983:1166) has 俯 *puoQ_{3c}* for the first character, 仰 *ngangQ₃*, which would repeat the first character in the first line of the couplet. In the interest of contrast, it is perhaps best to avoid such a repetition.

A second note, on the Lǐ Shāngyǐn poem cited above: In line 2, the character 車 has two traditional readings, *tshya₃* (corresponding to Mandarin *chē* and virtually all non-literary dialect forms) and *kuo_{3b}* (corresponding to the Mandarin literary reading *jū* and comparable dialect literary forms). It has become fashionable among some Western scholars to discard Mandarin literary readings such as *jū* and read all characters in literary texts according to their most colloquial pronunciations. However, neither the modern reading *jū* nor the medieval reading *kuo_{3b}* can be dismissed. Modern *jū* is, at the very least, the name of a chesspiece, which cannot correctly be called *chē*. Medieval *kuo_{3b}* appears in many poems as a rhyme-word with other *uo₃* words, and *tshya₃* cannot possibly be substituted for it in these cases; however, *tshya₃* is also used as a rhyme-word. In the present poem, however, where rhyming is not an issue, I have selected the reading *tshya₃* in order to allow the poet not to seem to commit “*xiǎoyùn* 小韻” with 古 *kuoQ₁* (see p. 49, below).

5.4 "FORCED RHYMING"

In the modern practice of chanting poetry in Mandarin or local language, an art in which the pure aesthetics of sound are supremely important, some masters choose to force the rimes en_1 and an_{3a} to sound the same. This is called *xiéyùn* 協韻 (also written 叶韻), "harmonized rhyming" or "forced rhyming". It is usually accomplished by using the majority rime in a rhyming passage for all the other rhyme-words. In the Xiè Língyùn poem above, for instance, the rhyme-words in Mandarin are *mén, mén, fán, dūn, zūn, fān, xuān, yuán, tūn, bēn, cún, hún, and lún*. The predominating rime is $[w]en_1$, and therefore all rhyme-words in rime $[w]an_{3a}$ would be "harmonized" into $[w]en_1$. Thus *fán* 繁 would instead be read as *fén*, *fān* 翻 as *fēn*, *xuān* 諼 as *xūn*, and *yuán* 猿 as *yún*. In the superb new book by Âng Tèk-lâm 洪澤南, and Lîm Hàu-lîn 林孝璘 (1999) on the chanting of poetry in Taiwanese (illustrated with four cassette tapes and narrated in educated Taiwanese dialect, a rare treat!), the listener will observe a number of examples of this phenomenon.

Xiéyùn is not limited to the rimes en_1 and an_{3a} , of course; it may be applied anywhere that rhyming seems to fail in the reading voice. It is chiefly for this reason that Mandarin has preserved the so-called "literary" readings of *rùshēng* words — *bó* for *bái* 白, *bò* for *běi* 北, etc., described on p. 36, above. *Bó* and *bò* are not to be considered somehow more "correct" than *bái* and *běi* (which are after all the real spoken forms of the words in question), but in reading classical literature they allow us to appreciate the aesthetics of an earlier era. They are most useful today as *xiéyùn* readings. *Xiéyùn* has a long history. In medieval times it was usual to read the poetry of the classical era in *xiéyùn*. Indeed, our whole modern study of early Chinese phonology derives ultimately from the attempts of Sòng dynasty scholars such as Wú Yù 吳棫 and Zhèng Xiáng 鄭庠 to find a system for pre-medieval *xiéyùn* in terms of the medieval system (see the brief treatment in Wáng Lì 1992:1-2).

There are various other kinds of surprising or irregular rhyming found in medieval poetry, which I do not treat here.

5.5 PROSODY

In the case of the study of poetic prosody, this system of transcription is extremely useful.

Of the list of eight prosodic transgressions associated with the name Shěn Yuē 沈約, let us divide them into two groups: tonal transgressions and transgressions involving rimes or initials. If one can generalize at all among the rules, it is only to say that they are intended to maximize the contrasts between sounds. Conceptually, these rules seem to have something in common with the dodecaphonic movement in early twentieth century German music.

The tonal transgressions are simpler to study, although English poetry has nothing corresponding to Chinese tonal prosody. It is useful at the outset to introduce the *píngzè* 平仄 (“level” vs. “deflected”) distinction. Any word not in the *píng* tone category is classified as *zè*. Note that *rùshēng* words are often disguised for prosodic purposes because they can appear in the Mandarin tones 1 and 2, with the result that they can sometimes be misconstrued as *píng* when in fact they are by definition always *zè*.

The tonal transgressions are *píngtóu* 平頭, *shàngwěi* 上尾, *fēngyāo* 蜂腰, and *hèxī* 鶴膝. *Fēngyāo* is not considered to have been seriously avoided in practice and may be dismissed as pure formalism (see Mair and Mei 1991:450). There is, however, another rule that Stimson (1966:55) calls the “alternation rule,” and which Bodman (1978:134-138) thinks may have been the intended meaning of the *fēngyāo* prohibition: the second and fourth syllables of a given five-syllable line should contrast with respect to *píngzè*. But there survives a statement by a poet named Liú Tāo 劉滔 (fl. 547) revealing that in his day this rule and *fēngyāo* were considered to be different. Mair and Mei (1991:423) show that this alternation rule became common practice in the mid-sixth century. By Táng times and later, it was actually the most important of the prosodic rules. It is important in *piántǐwén* 駢體文. My own research on the *cí* poetry of Five Dynasties times shows that its consistent tonal prosody consists of little else but the alternation rule. The *Hónglóu mèng*, in one of its informative digressions on poetic practice, uses

a mnemonic for this rule: “*yī sān wǔ búlùn, èr sì liù fēnmíng* 一三五不論、二四六分明 [syllables one, three and five are of no account, but two, four, and six must be clear]” (Chapter 48, 1984:736).

That gives us three proper tonal transgressions to consider, plus the informal “alternation rule.”¹³ As a first example, let us consider the Lǐ Shāngyǐn poem from p. 39, above.

Píngtóu occurs when the second syllable of both lines in a couplet does not contrast with respect to the *píngzè* distinction. In both couplets, Lǐ Shāngyǐn avoids committing *píngtóu* in this poem. The two pairs of words involved are *manQ_{3a}* vs. *tshya₃*, which is *zè* vs. *píng*, and *yang₃* vs. *dzyiQ_{3b}*, which is *píng* vs. *zè*:

1	向	晚	意	不	適
	hangH ₃	manQ_{3a}	iH _{3d}	pwet _{3a}	syek _{3b}
2	驅	車	登	古	原
	khuo _{3c}	tshya₃	teng ₁	kuoQ ₁	ngwan _{3a}
3	夕	陽	無	限	好
	zeik _{3b}	yang₃	muo _{3c}	ghanQ _{2b}	hauQ ₁
4	只	是	近	黃	昏
	tsyiQ _{3b}	dzyiQ_{3b}	genQ _{3a}	ghwang ₁	hwen ₁

Shàngwěi occurs when the last word in any non-rhyming line (any odd-numbered line, in the present poem) is of the same specific tone as the rhyme word of the same couplet. The exception is when line 1 joins in the rhyme scheme, which does not occur in the present poem. Lǐ Shāngyǐn avoids committing *shàngwěi* in this poem. The rhyme-words are *píngshēng*, and the two non-rhyming final words are *syek_{3b}* (*rùshēng*) and *hauQ₁* (*shǎngshēng*),

¹³ It should be noted that Shěn Yuē’s “eight defects” (*bābìng* 八病) are only one of the canonical lists of prosodic rules. Far more useful is the chapter “Wén èrshíbā zhǒng bìng 文二十八種病” in the *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論.

both of which are zè:

1	向	晚	意	不	適
	hangH ₃	manQ _{3a}	iH _{3d}	pwet _{3a}	syek_{3b}
2	驅	車	登	古	原
	khuo _{3c}	tshya ₃	teng ₁	kuoQ ₁	ngwan_{3a}
3	夕	陽	無	限	好
	zeik _{3b}	yang ₃	muo _{3c}	ghanQ _{2b}	hauQ₁
4	只	是	近	黃	昏
	tsyiQ _{3b}	dzyiQ _{3b}	genQ _{3a}	ghwang ₁	hwen₁

Hèxí occurs when the last word in each of the two non-rhyming lines in a quatrain have the same specific tones. The exception is when line 1 joins in the rhyme scheme, which is not the case in the present poem. As just explained, the two non-rhyming final words are *syek_{3b}* (*rùshēng*) and *hauQ₁* (*shǎngshēng*).

As for the “alternation rule,” line 1 violates it:

1	向	晚	意	不	適
	hangH ₃	manQ_{3a}	iH _{3d}	pwet_{3a}	syek _{3b}

The words *manQ_{3a}* and *pwet_{3a}* are both zè, rather than contrasting with respect to *píngzè*. Recall, however, from p. 37, above, that 不 can have a *píngshēng* reading *pou_{3b}*, which would avoid this violation. We would then read the first line:

1	向	晚	意	不	適
	hangH ₃	manQ_{3a}	iH _{3d}	pou_{3b}	syek _{3b}

which would give Lǐ a perfect score on the four tonal prosody rules.

The transgressions involving rimes or initials are *dàyùn* 大韻, *xiǎoyùn* 小韻, *pángniǔ* 旁紐, and *zhèngniǔ* 正紐.

Dàyùn occurs when a poem contains a word in non-rhyming position that has the same rime (including tone) as the rhyme-words.

There are no examples in the present poem.

Xiǎoyùn occurs when any two words in the same couplet have the same rime, other than rhyming binoms. There are no examples in the present poem.

Pángniǔ occurs when two non-adjacent syllables in a single line (*n.b.*: not couplet) have the same initial. The two syllables of *ghwang₁*, *ghwen₁* begin with the same initial, but as they are adjacent they are discounted.

Zhèngniǔ occurs when two syllables in a couplet differ only in tone, having the same initials and having rimes that are equivalent in all respects but tone.

To summarize, this poem commits none of the standard prosodic violations. It is a model of regulated verse construction.

Let us continue with another poem. In the poem shown on p. 42 above, *Xiè Língyùn* commits *píngtóu* seven times, in the following couplets:

3	苔	滑	誰	能	步
	dei _{1a}	ghwat_{2a}	dzywi _{3c}	neng ₁	buoH ₁
4	葛	弱	豈	可	捫
	kat ₁	nyak₃	khiQ _{3a}	kheQ ₁	mwen ₁
7	美	人	游	不	還
	miQ _{3c}	nyen_{3b}	you _{3b}	pwet _{3a}	ghwan _{2a}
8	佳	期	何	由	敦
	kei _{2a}	gi_{3d}	ghe ₁	you _{3b}	twen ₁
11	洞	庭	空	波	瀾
	dungH ₁	deing₄	khung _{1b}	pwe ₁	lan ₁
12	桂	枝	徒	攀	翻
	kweiH ₄	tsyi_{3b}	duo ₁	phan _{2a}	phan _{3a}

13	給	念	屬	霄	漢
	kep ₃	namH₄	dzyuk _{3c}	sau ₃	hanH ₁
14	孤	景	莫	與	諼
	kuo ₁	keingQ3a	mak ₁	yuoQ _{3b}	hwan _{3a}
15	俯	濯	石	下	潭
	puoQ _{3c}	drok₂	dzyeik _{3b}	ghaQ ₂	dam _{1a}
16	仰	看	條	上	猿
	ngangQ ₃	khanH₁	dau ₄	dzyangQ ₃	ghwan _{3a}
19	崖	傾	光	難	留
	ngei _{2a}	khweing_{3b}	kwang ₁	nan ₁	lou _{3b}
20	林	深	響	易	奔
	lem ₃	syem₃	hangQ ₃	yeik _{3b}	pwen ₁
25	匪	爲	眾	人	說
	piQ _{3a}	ghwiH_{3b}	tsyungH _{3b}	nyen _{3b}	sywat _{3b}
26	冀	與	智	者	論
	kiH _{3c}	yuoQ_{3b}	triH _{3b}	tsyaQ ₃	lwen ₁

In lines 3-4, *ghwat_{2a}* and *nyak₃* are both *rùshēng* and therefore both *zè*, so they do not contrast. In lines 7-8, *nyen_{3b}* and *gi_{3d}* are both *píngshēng* and do not contrast. The same is true of *khweing_{3b}* and *syem₃* in lines 19-20. In lines 13-14, *namH₄* and *keingQ3a* are both *zè* so they do not contrast. In lines 15-16, *drok₂* and *khanH₁* are both *zè*. In lines 25-26, *ghweH_{3a}* and *yuoQ_{3b}* are both *zè*.

Xiè commits *shàngwěi* five times in this poem:

7	美	人	游	不	還
	miQ _{3c}	nyen _{3b}	you _{3b}	pwet _{3a}	ghwan_{2a}
8	佳	期	何	由	敦
	kei _{2a}	gi _{3d}	ghe ₁	you _{3b}	twen₁

11	洞	庭	空	波	瀾
	dungH ₁	deing ₄	khung _{1b}	pwe ₁	lan ₁
12	桂	枝	徒	攀	翻
	kweiH ₄	tsyi _{3b}	duo ₁	phan _{2a}	phan _{3a}
15	俯	濯	石	下	潭
	puoQ _{3c}	drok ₂	dzyeik _{3b}	ghaQ ₂	dam _{1a}
16	仰	看	條	上	猿
	ngangQ ₃	khanH ₁	dau ₄	dzyangQ ₃	ghwan _{3a}
19	崖	傾	光	難	留
	ngei _{2a}	khweing _{3b}	kwang ₁	nan ₁	lou _{3b}
20	林	深	響	易	奔
	lem ₃	syem ₃	hangQ ₃	yeik _{3b}	pwen ₁
23	庶	持	乘	日	車
	syuoH _{3b}	dri _{3d}	zyeng ₃	nyet _{3b}	tshya ₃
24	得	以	慰	營	魂
	tek ₁	yiQ _{3d}	wiH _{3a}	yweing _{3b}	ghwen ₁

Since the rhyme in this poem is in the *píng* tone, no odd-numbered line should end in a *píngshēng* word. However, it may be possible to weasel out of some of these examples. In line 11, the last word 瀾 has an alternate reading *lanH₁* that appears to mean the same as the reading *lan₁*. In line 19, the last word 留 has an alternate reading *louH_{3b}* 'to stop and wait,' which may arguably be allowed here. These readings would reduce the number of *shàngwěi* transgressions to three. Line 15, the last word 潭 has an alternate reading *yemQ₃*, but it is ordinarily part of a binom and difficult to apply here.

Hèxí. Line 1 does not join in the rhyme scheme here. Xiè's poem consists of six quatrains followed by a lone couplet. None of the six quatrains commits *hèxí*. For example, in the first quatrain, the words at the ends of the two non-rhyming lines are *kuo_{3b}* and

puoH₁, which are in the *píng* and *qù* tones, respectively. In the second quatrain, the words in question are *kweH₁* and *ghuan_{2a}*, which are in the *qù* and *píng* tones.

To summarize, Xiè commits the tonal transgressions *píngtóu* and *shàngwěi* many times, but *hèxí* not at all. We turn now to the rime/initial transgressions.

Dàyùn. There are no examples in the present poem. Xiè does not use the rimes *[w]en₁* or *[w]an_{3a}* anywhere in the the poem except in rhyme-words themselves.

Xiǎoyùn. The most serious example in the present poem comes in lines 7-8:

7	美	人	游	不	還
	miQ _{3c}	nyen _{3b}	you_{3b}	pwet _{3a}	ghwan _{2a}
8	佳	期	何	由	敦
	kei _{2a}	gi _{3d}	ghe ₁	you_{3b}	twen ₁

The words 游 and 由 share the rime *ou_{3b}* and therefore constitute a *xiǎoyùn* transgression. Actually, this example is especially bad because the words in question are full homophones. A second possibility occurs in line 20:

20	林	深	響	易	奔
	lem₃	syem₃	hangQ ₃	yeik _{3b}	pwen ₁

The case here is the words 林深 *lem₃ syem₃*. Because they appear side by side, however, and are often used together idiomatically, they are considered not to be a transgression.

Pángniǔ. The following several examples occur:

6	萋	萋	春	草	繁
	tshei ₄	tshei₄	tshywen _{3c}	tshauQ₁	ban _{3a}
12	桂	枝	徒	攀	翻
	kweiH ₄	tsyi _{3b}	duo ₁	phan_{2a}	phan_{3a}

22	理	來	情	無	存
	liQ _{3d}	lei _{1a}	dzeing _{3b}	muo _{3c}	dzwen ₁
24	得	以	慰	營	魂
	tek ₁	yiQ _{3d}	wiH _{3a}	yweing _{3b}	ghwen ₁

Initial *tshy* in line 6 is not considered to join in the *pángniǔ* with *tsh* (*tshei*₄ and *tshauQ*₁) because it is a different whole initial; the fact that it begins with the same letters as *tsh* does not seem to count as *pángniǔ*. The words *phan*_{2a} *phan*_{3a} in line 12 may be discounted as they are adjacent, even though not a binom proper.

Zhèngniǔ. No examples.

To summarize, Xiè commits one serious example of *xiǎoyùn* and three of *pángniǔ*. These transgressions are far less numerous than the tonal flaws, illustrating something that is evident on examination of a larger selection of Xiè's corpus: that he takes tonal transgressions less seriously than transgressions of rime and initial. Of course, this is not a regulated poem, so strictly speaking there is no reason why he should avoid any transgressions at all. In practice, however, prosodic aesthetics was deeply felt in Xiè's day.

As a final example, I return to the Lǐ Bái poem shown on p. 29, above. There are no examples of either *píngtóu* or *shàngwěi* transgressions, and only one example (lines 1 and 3, *deing*₄ and *leng*₃) of *hèxī*. The informal alternation rule is violated in eight of twenty lines, but of the three other tonal rules there is only a single transgression. There are no cases of *dàyùn* in the present poem. Lines 19-20 contain a case of *xiǎoyùn* (*drang*₃ and *tsang*₃), and there is a second in the awkward repetition of *sam*_{1b} in lines 5-6. The syllables *dzreing*_{2b} *ghweing*_{2b} in line 7 do not count as *xiǎoyùn* because they are adjacent (and a binom).¹⁴ There are several apparent cases of *pángniǔ*: line 1 (*dungH*_{1b} *deing*₄), line 6 (*sam*_{1b} *sang*₃), line 11 (*khou*_{3b} *khuo*_{3b}), and line 13 (*pung*_{3b} *pi*_{3c}) but in fact all are consec-

¹⁴ There is a second reading *tshreing*_{2a} *ghweing*_{3a} of this compound.

utive syllables, which voids the transgression. There is one example of *zhèngniǔ*: lines 19-20 (*mwēn_{3a}* and *mwēnH_{3a}*). In sum, tonal rules (other than the informal alternation rule) are observed closely, and rime / initial rules somewhat less perfectly but still rather well.

6. CONCLUSION

The system of transcription described in this paper is designed to represent medieval Chinese phonology in a neutral way, treating it not as a real language but as a set of abstract phonological categories. The present system is based directly on the actual categories used in traditional Chinese phonological study. It can be pronounced, in order to aid the memory and to illustrate the organization of poetry, but must not be regarded as a reconstruction of real sound. It is my considered view in any case that medieval Chinese phonology of the *Qièyùn* heritage have, from first to last, never represented anything more than a *reading* tradition, and that they never represented the actual speech of any part of China in antiquity (see Branner 2000:147-159). By using the present abstract transcription system in our study of literature, we are indeed being true to the Chinese tradition.

Using this transcription, the medieval phonological value of any Chinese character can be expressed succinctly. It is simple enough to be learned by students early in their sinological training, but can also be used by specialists. The present paper describes the rationale for the system and illustrates its use in the study of poetry. Students who have not been trained in historical phonology, however, will wish to wait for the forthcoming dictionary and textbook of medieval phonology, which are based on this system.

This transcription system can also be used with prose, and even with literature much older than the medieval period. Although it does not represent the sound system of pre-medieval times, nevertheless medieval phonology is the voice in which literature of the Classical period was read and heard in for most of history since the *Táng*, which is to say for most of the time that Chinese culture as we know it has been recognizably Chinese. And of

course medieval phonology is the only possible starting point for the study of all earlier systems.

Finally, what kinds of original research should the novice student undertake with the newly learned tool of this simple transcription system? Any student who wishes to learn the medieval system must spend time looking up characters and working with medieval pronunciations. In the absence of a stupendous memory, extensive hands-on practice is the only realistic way to master the system. Apart from actual performance, there are three main areas in which useful assignments can be given:

1. Rhyming studies. These are a good, practical way for the beginner to learn phonology quickly. A drawback is that the number of rhyming words amounts to only a small fraction of the medieval vocabulary. For the advanced student, I feel that the study of pre-modern rhyming offers little space for original research; much of the important groundwork has already been laid, and it is likely that we will soon see comprehensive and detailed studies of the rhyming of all received texts from traditional periods.

2. Comparative prosody. Studying the actual prosodic practice of various poets since Shěn Yuē's time is better than studying rhyming, and more labor-intensive, because every syllable of the poem demands attention. For the advanced student, much remains unknown about how working poets used the received prosodic rules and forms. Mair and Mei (1991) is surely the starting point for all future research in this area. There is also the question of Shěn Yuē's claim that Classical poets also paid close attention to prosody without systematizing it. Can that really be demonstrated, or is it merely the cultured false modesty of "*shù ér bù zuò, xìn ér hàogǔ* 述而不作、信而好古 [merely transmitting rather than originating, I faithfully love antiquity]"? (Analects 7:1.)

3. Aesthetics of literature generally. Usually when we think of prosody we think of poetry in its many casts: *shī* 詩, *cí* 詞, *qǔ* 曲, and lesser types. These are all forms for which *pǔ* 譜 "models" have long been available and in widespread use. Yet there is still a substantial body of non-poetic literature whose aesthetic organiza-

tion has scarcely been studied. That includes both the “regulated” types of prose (*piántǐwén* 駢體文 “parallel prose”, *yínglián* 楹聯 “antithetical couplets”, etc.) but also the more run-of-the-mill styles that appear to have no order apart from the rhythm of a diffuse and varying parallelism (*duìzhàng* 對仗). (On *piántǐwén*, however, see Chang Jen-Ching 1986.) The prose writing of the great “verbal musician” Sū Shì 蘇軾, for example, is composed with much attention to the resonance of its words. The beginner is advised to tread carefully here, but more practiced hands will uncover unmined treasures almost everywhere they dig. This is a field of study that, in effect, has yet to come into being!

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TABLES OF ALL ANTI-RECONSTRUCTED FORMS, BY SHÈ

This Table lists the rimes of the *Guǎngyùn*, classified by *shè* and other phonological categories. Each entry consists of two lines, spread across two facing pages:

通攝[合口]三等	上平 1- <i>dōng</i> 東	上 —
	ung-3b	—

The top line lists *shè*, *kāi-hé*, and *děng* at far left and far right, and then the names of the *Guǎngyùn* rimes, with their numbers and Mandarin pronunciations, in four columns. Note that certain rimes do not exist in some tones, and these are marked by a dash. The second row, in boldface, gives the anti-reconstructed forms for each tone. Appendix 1 contains another list of these reconstructed forms, arranged by *Guǎngyùn* rime alone.

Tōngshè

通攝[合口]一等	上平 1- <i>dōng</i> 東	上 1- <i>dǒng</i> 董
	ung-1b	ungQ-1b
通攝[合口]一等	上平 2- <i>dōng</i> 冬	上 —
	ung-1c	—
通攝[合口]三等	上平 1- <i>dōng</i> 東	上 —
	ung-3b	—
通攝[合口]三等	上平 3- <i>zhōng</i> 鍾	上 2- <i>zhǒng</i> 腫
	ung-3c	ungQ-3c

Jiāngshè

江攝[開口]二等	上平 4- <i>jiāng</i> 江	上 3- <i>jiǎng</i> 講
	ong-2	ongQ-2

Zhǐshè

止攝開口三等	上平 8- <i>wéi</i> 微	上 7- <i>wěi</i> 尾
	i-3a	iQ-3a

去 1-sòng 送
ungH-3b

入 1-wū 屋
uk-3b

通攝[合口]三等

去 1-sòng 送
ungH-1b

入 1-wū 屋
uk-1b

通攝[合口]一等

去 2-sòng 宋
ungH-1c

入 2-wò 沃
uk-1c

通攝[合口]一等

去 1-sòng 送
ungH-3b

入 1-wū 屋
uk-3b

通攝[合口]三等

去 3-yòng 用
ungH-3c

入 3-zhú 燭
uk-3c

通攝[合口]三等

去 4-jiàng 絳(降)
ongH-2

入 4-jué 覺
ok-2

江攝[開口]二等

去 8-wèi 未
iH-3a

入 —
—

止攝開口三等

止攝開口三等	上平 5-zhī 支 i-3b	上 4-zhǐ 紙 iQ-3b
止攝開口三等	上平 6-zhī 脂 i-3c	上 5-zhǐ 旨 iQ-3c
止攝開口三等	上平 7-zhī 之 i-3d	上 6-zhǐ 止 iQ-3d
止攝合口三等	上平 8-wēi 微 wi-3a	上 7-wěi 尾 wiQ-3a
止攝合口三等	上平 5-zhī 支 wi-3b	上 4-zhǐ 紙 wiQ-3b
止攝合口三等	上平 6-zhī 脂 wi-3c	上 5-zhǐ 旨 wiQ-3c
Yùshè		
遇攝[合口]一等	上平 11-mú 模 uo-1	上 10-mǔ 姥 uoQ-1
遇攝[合口]三等	上平 9-yú 魚 uo-3b	上 8-yǔ 語 uoQ-3b
遇攝[合口]三等	上平 10-yú 虞 uo-3c	上 9-yǔ 麌 uoQ-3c
Xièshè		
蟹攝開口一等	上平 16-hāi 哈 ei-1a	上 15-hǎi 海 eiQ-1a
蟹攝開口一等	上平 —	— 上 — —
蟹攝開口二等	上平 13-jiā 佳 ei-2a	上 12-xiè 蟹 eiQ-2a

去 5-zhì 寘	入 —	止攝開口三等
iH-3b	—	
去 6-zhì 至	入 —	止攝開口三等
iH-3c	—	
去 7-zhì 志	入 —	止攝開口三等
iH-3d	—	
去 8-wèi 未	入 —	止攝合口三等
wiH-3a	—	
去 5-zhì 寘	入 —	止攝合口三等
wiH-3b	—	
去 6-zhì 至	入 —	止攝合口三等
wiH-3c	—	
去 11-mù 暮	入 —	遇攝[合口]一等
uoH-1	—	
去 9-yù 御	入 —	遇攝[合口]三等
uoH-3b	—	
去 10-yù 遇	入 —	遇攝[合口]三等
uoH-3c	—	
去 19-dài 代	入 —	蟹攝開口一等
eiH-1a	—	
去 14-tài 泰	入 —	蟹攝開口一等
eiH-1b	—	
去 15-guà 卦	入 —	蟹攝開口二等
eiH-2a	—	

蟹攝開口二等	上平 14-jiē 皆 ei-2b	上 13-hài 駭 eiQ-2b
蟹攝開口二等	上平 14-jiē 皆 ei-2b	上 13-hài 駭 eiQ-2b
蟹攝開口二等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝開口三等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝開口三等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝開口四等	上平 12-qí 齊 ei-4	上 11-jì 齊 eiQ-4
蟹攝合口一等	上平 15-huī 灰 wei-1a	上 14-huì 賄 weiQ-1a
蟹攝合口一等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝合口二等	上平 13-jiā 佳 wei-2a	上 12-xiè 蟹 weiQ-2a
蟹攝合口二等	上平 14-jiē 皆 wei-2b	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝合口二等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝合口三等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝合口三等	平 —	上 —
	—	—
蟹攝合口四等	上平 12-qí 齊 wei-4	上 —
	—	—

去 16-guài 怪 eiH-2b	入 — —	蟹攝開口二等
去 16-guài 怪 eiH-2b	入 — —	蟹攝開口二等
去 17-guài 夬 eiH-2c	入 — —	蟹攝開口二等
去 20-fèi 廢 eiH-3a	入 — —	蟹攝開口三等
去 13-jì 祭 eiH-3b	入 — —	蟹攝開口三等
去 12-jì 霽 eiH-4	入 — —	蟹攝開口四等
去 18-duì 隊 weiH-1a	入 — —	蟹攝合口一等
去 14-tài 泰 weiH-1b	入 — —	蟹攝合口一等
去 15-guà 卦 weiH-2a	入 — —	蟹攝合口二等
去 16-guài 怪 weiH-2b	入 — —	蟹攝合口二等
去 17-guài 夬 weiH-2c	入 — —	蟹攝合口二等
去 20-fèi 廢 weiH-3a	入 — —	蟹攝合口三等
去 13-jì 祭 weiH-3b	入 — —	蟹攝合口三等
去 12-jì 霽 weiH-4	入 — —	蟹攝合口四等

Zhēnshè

臻攝開口一等	上平 24-hén 痕 en-1	上 22-hěn 很 enQ-1
臻攝開口三等	上平 21-xīn 欣(yīn 殷) en-3a	上 19-yǐn 隱 enQ-3a
臻攝開口三等	上平 17-zhēn 眞 en-3b	上 16-zhěn 軫 enQ-3b
臻攝開口三等	上平 19-zhēn 臻 en-3c	上 — —
臻攝合口一等	上平 23-hún 魂 wen-1	上 21-hùn 混 wenQ-1
臻攝合口三等	上平 20-wén 文 wen-3a	上 18-wěn 吻 wenQ-3a
臻攝合口三等	上平 17-zhēn 眞 wen-3b	上 16-zhěn 軫 wenQ-3b
臻攝合口三等	上平 18-zhūn 諄 wen-3c	上 17-zhǔn 準 wenQ-3c

Shānshè

山攝開口一等	上平 25-hán 寒 an-1	上 23-hàn 旱 anQ-1
山攝開口二等	上平 27-shān 刪 an-2a	上 25-shǎn 潛 anQ-2a
山攝開口二等	上平 28-shān 山 an-2b	上 26-chǎn 產 anQ-2b
山攝開口三等	上平 22-yuán 元 an-3a	上 20-ruǎn 阮 anQ-3a
山攝開口三等	下平 2-xiān 仙 an-3b	上 28-xiǎn 獮 anQ-3b

去 27-hèn 恨 enH-1	入 — —	臻攝開口一等
去 24-xìn 焮 enH-3a	入 9-qì 迄 et-3a	臻攝開口三等
去 21-zhèn 震 enH-3b	入 5-zhí 質 et-3b	臻攝開口三等
去 — —	入 7-zhì 櫛 et-3c	臻攝開口三等
去 26-hùn 恩 wenH-1	入 11-mò 沒 wet-1	臻攝合口一等
去 23-wèn 問 wenH-3a	入 8-wù 物 wet-3a	臻攝合口三等
去 21-zhèn 震 wenH-3b	入 5-zhí 質 wet-3b	臻攝合口三等
去 22-zhùn 稭 wenH-3c	入 6-shù 術 wet-3c	臻攝合口三等
去 28-hàn 翰 anH-1	入 12-hé 曷 at-1	山攝開口一等
去 30-jiàn 諫 anH-2a	入 14-xiá 黠 at-2a	山攝開口二等
去 31-jiàn 禫 anH-2b	入 15-xiá 鎋 at-2b	山攝開口二等
去 25-yuàn 願 anH-3a	入 10-yuè 月 at-3a	山攝開口三等
去 33-xiàn 線 anH-3b	入 17-xuē 薛 at-3b	山攝開口三等

山攝開口四等	下平 1-xiān 先 an-4	上 27-xiǎn 銑 anQ-4
山攝合口一等	上平 26-huán 桓 wan-1	上 24-huǎn 緩 wanQ-1
山攝合口二等	上平 27-shān 刪 wan-2a	上 25-shǎn 潛 wanQ-2a
山攝合口二等	上平 28-shān 山 wan-2b	上 26-chǎn 產 wanQ-2b
山攝合口三等	上平 22-yuán 元 wan-3a	上 20-ruǎn 阮 wanQ-3a
山攝合口三等	下平 2-xiān 仙 wan-3b	上 28-xiǎn 獮 wanQ-3b
山攝合口四等	下平 1-xiān 先 wan-4	上 27-xiǎn 銑 wanQ-4
Xiàoshè		
效攝[開口]一等	下平 6-háo 毫 au-1	上 32-hào 皓 auQ-1
效攝[開口]二等	下平 5-xiáo 肴 au-2	上 31-qiǎo 巧 auQ-2
效攝[開口]三等	下平 4-xiāo 宵 au-3	上 30-xiǎo 小 auQ-3
效攝[開口]四等	下平 3-xiāo 蕭 au-4	上 29-xiǎo 篠 auQ-4
Guǒshè		
果攝開口一等	下平 7-gē 歌 e-1	上 33-gě 哿 eQ-1
果攝開口三等	下平 8-gē 戈 e-3	上 34-guǒ 果 eQ-3

去 32-xiàn 霰 anH-4	入 16-xiè 屑 at-4	山攝開口四等
去 29-huàn 換 wanH-1	入 13-mò 末 wat-1	山攝合口一等
去 30-jiàn 諫 wanH-2a	入 14-xiá 黠 wat-2a	山攝合口二等
去 31-jiàn 禫 wanH-2b	入 15-xiá 鎋 wat-2b	山攝合口二等
去 25-yuàn 願 wanH-3a	入 10-yuè 月 wat-3a	山攝合口三等
去 33-xiàn 線 wanH-3b	入 17-xuē 薛 wat-3b	山攝合口三等
去 32-xiàn 霰 wanH-4	入 16-xiè 屑 wat-4	山攝合口四等
去 37-hào 号 auH-1	入 — —	效攝[開口]一等
去 36-xiào 效 auH-2	入 — —	效攝[開口]二等
去 35-xiào 笑 auH-3	入 — —	效攝[開口]三等
去 34-xiào 嘯 auH-4	入 — —	效攝[開口]四等
去 38-gè 箇 eH-1	入 — —	果攝開口一等
去 39-guò 過 eH-3	入 — —	果攝開口三等

果攝合口一等	下平 8-gē 戈 we-1	上 34-guǒ 果 weQ-1
果攝合口三等	下平 8-gē 戈 we-3	上 34-guǒ 果 weQ-3
Jiǎshè		
假攝開口二等	下平 9-má 麻 a-2	上 35-mǎ 馬 aQ-2
假攝開口三等	下平 9-má 麻 a-3	上 35-mǎ 馬 aQ-3
假攝合口二等	下平 9-má 麻 wa-2	上 35-mǎ 馬 waQ-2
Dàngshè		
宕攝開口一等	下平 11-táng 唐 ang-1	上 37-dàng 蕩 angQ-1
宕攝開口三等	下平 10-yáng 陽 ang-3	上 36-yǎng 養 angQ-3
宕攝合口一等	下平 11-táng 唐 wang-1	上 37-dàng 蕩 wangQ-1
宕攝合口三等	下平 10-yáng 陽 wang-3	上 36-yǎng 養 wangQ-3
Gěngshè		
梗攝開口二等	下平 12-gēng 庚 eing-2a	上 38-gěng 梗 eingQ-2a
梗攝開口二等	下平 13-gēng 耕 eing-2b	上 39-gěng 耿 eingQ-2b
梗攝開口三等	下平 12-gēng 庚 eing-3a	上 38-gěng 梗 eingQ-3a

去 39-guò 過	入 —	果攝合口一等
weH-1	—	
去 39-guò 過	入 —	果攝合口三等
weH-3	—	
去 40-mà 禡	入 —	假攝開口二等
aH-2	—	
去 40-mà 禡	入 —	假攝開口三等
aH-3	—	
去 40-mà 禡	入 —	假攝合口二等
waH-2	—	
去 42-dàng 宕	入 19-duó 鐸	宕攝開口一等
angH-1	ak-1	
去 41-yàng 漾	入 18-yào 藥	宕攝開口三等
angH-3	ak-3	
去 42-dàng 宕	入 19-duó 鐸	宕攝合口一等
wangH-1	wak-1	
去 41-yàng 漾	入 18-yào 藥	宕攝合口三等
wangH-3	wak-3	
去 44-zhèng 諍	入 21-mò 麥	梗攝開口二等
eingH-2b	eik-2b	
去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬)	入 20-mò 陌	梗攝開口二等
eingH-2a	eik-2a	
去 45-jìng 勁	入 22-xí 昔	梗攝開口三等
eingH-3b	eik-3b	

梗攝開口三等	下平 14-qīng 清 eing-3b	上 40-jìng 靜 eingQ-3b
梗攝開口四等	下平 15-qīng 青 eing-4	上 41-jiǒng 迥 eingQ-4
梗攝合口二等	下平 12-gēng 庚 weing-2a	上 38-gěng 梗 weingQ-2a
梗攝合口二等	下平 13-gēng 耕 weing-2b	上 — —
梗攝合口三等	下平 12-gēng 庚 weing-3a	上 38-gěng 梗 weingQ-3a
梗攝合口三等	下平 14-qīng 清 weing-3b	上 40-jìng 靜 weingQ-3b
梗攝合口四等	下平 15-qīng 青 weing-4	上 41-jiǒng 迥 weingQ-4

Zēngshè

曾攝開口一等	下平 17-dēng 登 eng-1	上 43-děng 等 engQ-1
曾攝開口三等	下平 16-zhēng 蒸 eng-3	上 42-zhěng 拯 engQ-3
曾攝合口一等	下平 17-dēng 登 weng-1	上 — —
曾攝合口三等	平 — —	上 — —

Liúshè

流攝[開口]一等	下平 19-hóu 侯 ou-1	上 45-hòu 厚 ouQ-1
流攝[開口]三等	下平 18-yóu 尤 ou-3b	上 44-yǒu 有 ouQ-3b

去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬)	入 20-mò 陌	梗攝開口三等
eingH-3a	eik-3a	
去 46-jìng 徑	入 23-xí 錫	梗攝開口四等
eingH-4	eik-4	
去 44-zhèng 諍	入 21-mò 麥	梗攝合口二等
weingH-2a	weik-2a	
去 45-jìng 勁	入 22-xí 昔	梗攝合口三等
weingH-2b	weik-2b	
去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬)	入 20-mò 陌	梗攝合口二等
weingH-3a	weik-3a	
去 —	入 23-xí 錫	梗攝合口四等
weingH-3b	weik-3b	
去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬)	入 20-mò 陌	梗攝合口三等
—	weik-4	
去 48-dèng 瞪	入 25-dé 德	曾攝開口一等
engH-1	ek-1	
去 47-zhèng 證	入 24-zhí 職	曾攝開口三等
engH-3	ek-3	
去 —	入 25-dé 德	曾攝合口一等
—	wek-1	
去 —	入 24-zhí 職	曾攝合口三等
—	wek-3	
去 50-hòu 候	入 —	流攝[開口]一等
ouH-1	—	
去 49-yòu 宥	入 —	流攝[開口]三等
ouH-3b	—	

流攝[開口]三等	下平 20-yōu 幽 ou-3c	上 46-yōu 黝 ouQ-3c
Shēnshè 深攝[開口]三等	下平 21-qīn 侵 em-3	上 47-qīn 寢 emQ-3
Xiánshè 咸攝開口一等	下平 22-tán 覃 am-1a	上 48-gǎn 感 amQ-1a
咸攝開口一等	下平 23-tán 談 am-1b	上 49-gǎn 敢 amQ-1b
咸攝開口二等	下平 26-xián 咸 am-2a	上 53-xiàn 賺 amQ-2a
咸攝開口二等	下平 27-xián 銜 am-2b	上 54-jiàn 檻 amQ-2b
咸攝開口三等	下平 28-yán 嚴 am-3a	上 52-yǎn 儼 amQ-3a
咸攝開口三等	下平 24-yán 鹽 am-3b	上 50-yǎn 琰 amQ-3b
咸攝開口四等	下平 25-tiān 添 am-4	上 51-tiǎn 忝 amQ-4
咸攝合口三等	下平 29-fán 凡 wam-3a	上 55-fàn 范 wamQ-3a

去 51-yòu 幼 ouH-3c	入 — —	流攝[開口]三等
去 52-qìn 沁 emH-3	入 26-qī 緝 ep-3	深攝[開口]三等
去 53-kàn 勘 amH-1a	入 27-hé 合 ap-1a	咸攝開口一等
去 54-kàn 闞 amH-1b	入 28-hé 盍 ap-1b	咸攝開口一等
去 58-xiàn 陷 amH-2a	入 31-xiá 洽 ap-2a	咸攝開口二等
去 59-jiàn 鑑 amH-2b	入 32-xiá 狎 ap-2b	咸攝開口二等
去 57-yàn 釅 amH-3a	入 33-yè 業 ap-3a	咸攝開口三等
去 55-yàn 豔 amH-3b	入 29-yè 葉 ap-3b	咸攝開口三等
去 56-tiàn 禱 amH-4	入 30-tiē 帖 (帖) ap-4	咸攝開口四等
去 60-fàn 梵 wamH-3a	入 34-fá 乏 wap-3a	咸攝合口三等

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF FORMS BY *GUǎNGYÙN* RIME

The following list shows the transcriptions for the rimes in the *Guǎngyùn*, listed in the order found in the *Guǎngyùn*. The transcription advocated in the present paper is followed by Dǐng's notation, abbreviated to *shè*, *kāi-hé*, and *děng*. Note that there are separate columns for *kāikǒu* and *hékǒu*.

tone	name of rime	<i>kāikǒu</i>		<i>hékǒu</i>	
上平	1- <i>dōng</i> 東			ung-1b	通[合]一
	"			ung-3b	通[合]三
上平	2- <i>dōng</i> 冬			ung-1c	通[合]一
上平	3- <i>zhōng</i> 鍾			ung-3c	通[合]三
上平	4- <i>Jiāng</i> 江	ong-2	江[開]二		
上平	5- <i>zhī</i> 支	i-3b	止開三	wi-3b	止合三
上平	6- <i>zhī</i> 脂	i-3c	止開三	wi-3c	止合三
上平	7- <i>zhī</i> 之	i-3d	止開三		
上平	8- <i>wéi</i> 微	i-3a	止開三	wi-3a	止合三
上平	9- <i>yú</i> 魚			uo-3b	遇[合]三
上平	10- <i>yú</i> 虞			uo-3c	遇[合]三
上平	11- <i>mú</i> 模			uo-1	遇[合]一
上平	12- <i>qí</i> 齊	ei-4	蟹開四	wei-4	蟹合四
上平	13- <i>jiā</i> 佳	ei-2a	蟹開二	wei-2a	蟹合二
上平	14- <i>jiē</i> 皆	ei-2b	蟹開二	wei-2b	蟹合二
上平	15- <i>huī</i> 灰			wei-1a	蟹合一
上平	16- <i>hāi</i> 哈	ei-1a	蟹開一		
上平	17- <i>zhēn</i> 真	en-3b	臻開三	wen-3b	臻合三
上平	18- <i>zhūn</i> 諄			wen-3c	臻合三
上平	19- <i>zhēn</i> 臻	en-3c	臻開三		
上平	20- <i>wén</i> 文			wen-3a	臻合三
上平	21- <i>xīn</i> 欣	en-3a	臻開三		

also <i>yīn</i> 殷				
上平 22- <i>yuán</i> 元	an-3a	山開三	wan-3a	山合三
上平 23- <i>hún</i> 魂			wen-1	臻合一
上平 24- <i>hén</i> 痕	en-1	臻開一		
上平 25- <i>hán</i> 寒	an-1	山開一		
上平 26- <i>huán</i> 桓			wan-1	山合一
上平 27- <i>shān</i> 刪	an-2a	山開二	wan-2a	山合二
上平 28- <i>shān</i> 山	an-2b	山開二	wan-2b	山合二
下平 1- <i>xiān</i> 先	an-4	山開四	wan-4	山合四
下平 2- <i>xiān</i> 仙	an-3b	山開三	wan-3b	山合三
下平 3- <i>xiāo</i> 蕭	au-4	效[開]四		
下平 4- <i>xiāo</i> 宵	au-3	效[開]三		
下平 5- <i>xiáo</i> 肴	au-2	效[開]二		
下平 6- <i>háo</i> 毫	au-1	效[開]一		
下平 7- <i>gē</i> 歌	e-1	果開一		
下平 8- <i>gē</i> 戈			we-1	果合一
"	e-3	果開三	we-3	果合三
下平 9- <i>má</i> 麻	a-2	假開二	wa-2	假合二
"	a-3	假開三		
下平 10- <i>yáng</i> 陽	ang-3	宕開三	wang-3	宕合三
下平 11- <i>táng</i> 唐	ang-1	宕開一	wang-1	宕合一
下平 12- <i>gēng</i> 庚	eing-2a	梗開二	weing-2a	梗合二
"	eing-3a	梗開三	weing-3a	梗合三
下平 13- <i>gēng</i> 耕	eing-2b	梗開二	weing-2b	梗合二
下平 14- <i>qīng</i> 清	eing-3b	梗開三	weing-3b	梗合三
下平 15- <i>qīng</i> 青	eing-4	梗開四	weing-4	梗合四
下平 16- <i>zhēng</i> 蒸	eng-3	曾開三		
下平 17- <i>dēng</i> 登	eng-1	曾開一	weng-1	曾合一
下平 18- <i>yóu</i> 尤	ou-3b	流[開]三		

下平 19-hóu 侯	ou-1	流[開]一		
下平 20-yōu 幽	ou-3c	流[開]三		
下平 21-qīn 侵	em-3	深[開]三		
下平 22-tán 覃	am-1a	咸開一		
下平 23-tán 談	am-1b	咸開一		
下平 24-yán 鹽	am-3b	咸開三		
下平 25-tiān 添	am-4	咸開四		
下平 26-xián 咸	am-2a	咸開二		
下平 27-xián 銜	am-2b	咸開二		
下平 28-yán 嚴	am-3a	咸開三		
下平 29-fán 凡			wam-3a	咸合三
上 1-dǒng 董			ungQ-1b	通[合]一
上 2-zhǒng 腫			ungQ-3c	通[合]三
上 3-jiǎng 講	ongQ-2	江[開]二		
上 4-zhǐ 紙	iQ-3b	止開三	wiQ-3b	止合三
上 5-zhǐ 旨	iQ-3c	止開三	wiQ-3c	止合三
上 6-zhǐ 止	iQ-3d	止開三		
上 7-wěi 尾	iQ-3a	止開三	wiQ-3a	止合三
上 8-yǔ 語			uoQ-3b	遇[合]三
上 9-yǔ 麌			uoQ-3c	遇[合]三
上 10-mǔ 姥			uoQ-1	遇[合]一
上 11-jì 霽	eiQ-4	蟹開四		
上 12-xiè 蟹	eiQ-2a	蟹開二	weiQ-2a	蟹合二
上 13-hài 駭	eiQ-2b	蟹開二		
上 14-huì 賄			weiQ-1a	蟹合一
上 15-hǎi 海	eiQ-1a	蟹開一		
上 16-zhěn 軫	enQ-3b	臻開三	wenQ-3b	臻合三
上 17-zhǔn 準			wenQ-3c	臻合三
上 18-wěn 吻			wenQ-3a	臻合三

上 19-yǐn 隱	enQ-3a	臻開三		
上 20-ruǎn 阮	anQ-3a	山開三	wanQ-3a	山合三
上 21-hùn 混			wenQ-1	臻合一
上 22-hěn 很	enQ-1	臻開一		
上 23-hàn 旱	anQ-1	山開一		
上 24-huǎn 緩			wanQ-1	山合一
上 25-shǎn 潛	anQ-2a	山開二	wanQ-2a	山合二
上 26-chǎn 產	anQ-2b	山開二	wanQ-2b	山合二
上 27-xiǎn 銑	anQ-4	山開四	wanQ-4	山合四
上 28-xiǎn 獮	anQ-3b	山開三	wanQ-3b	山合三
上 29-xiǎo 篠	auQ-4	效[開]四		
上 30-xiǎo 小	auQ-3	效[開]三		
上 31-qiǎo 巧	auQ-2	效[開]二		
上 32-hào 皓	auQ-1	效[開]一		
上 33-gě 哿	eQ-1	果開一		
上 34-guǒ 果			weQ-1	果合一
"	eQ-3	果開三	weQ-3	果合三
上 35-mǎ 馬	aQ-2	假開二	waQ-2	假合二
"	aQ-3	假開三		
上 36-yǎng 養	angQ-3	宕開三	wangQ-3	宕合三
上 37-dàng 蕩	angQ-1	宕開一	wangQ-1	宕合一
上 38-gěng 梗	eingQ-2a	梗開二	weingQ-2a	梗合二
"	eingQ-3a	梗開三	weingQ-3a	梗合三
上 39-gěng 耿	eingQ-2b	梗開二		
上 40-jìng 靜	eingQ-3b	梗開三	weingQ-3b	梗合三
上 41-jìng 迥	eingQ-4	梗開四	weingQ-4	梗合四
上 42-zhěng 拯	engQ-3	曾開三		
上 43-děng 等	engQ-1	曾開一		
上 44-yǒu 有	ouQ-3b	流[開]三		
上 45-hòu 厚	ouQ-1	流[開]一		
上 46-yǒu 黝	ouQ-3c	流[開]三		

上 47-qǐn 寢	emQ-3	深[開]三		
上 48-gǎn 感	amQ-1a	咸開一		
上 49-gǎn 敢	amQ-1b	咸開一		
上 50-yǎn 琰	amQ-3b	咸開三		
上 51-tiǎn 忝	amQ-4	咸開四		
上 52-yǎn 儼	amQ-3a	咸開三		
上 53-xiàn 謙	amQ-2a	咸開二		
上 54-jiàn 檻	amQ-2b	咸開二		
上 55-fàn 范			wamQ-3a	咸合三
去 1-sòng 送			ungH-1b	通[合]一
"			ungH-3b	通[合]三
去 2-sòng 宋			ungH-1c	通[合]一
去 3-yòng 用			ungH-3c	通[合]三
去 4-jiàng 絳 (降)	ongH-2	江[開]二		
去 5-zhì 寘	iH-3b	止開三	wiH-3b	止合三
去 6-zhì 至	iH-3c	止開三	wiH-3c	止合三
去 7-zhì 志	iH-3d	止開三		
去 8-wèi 未	iH-3a	止開三	wiH-3a	止合三
去 9-yù 御			uoH-3b	遇[合]三
去 10-yù 遇			uoH-3c	遇[合]三
去 11-mù 暮			uoH-1	遇[合]一
去 12-jì 霽	eiH-4	蟹開四	weiH-4	蟹合四
去 13-jì 祭	eiH-3b	蟹開三	weiH-3b	蟹合三
去 14-tài 泰	eiH-1b	蟹開一	weiH-1b	蟹合一
去 15-guà 卦	eiH-2a	蟹開二	weiH-2a	蟹合二
去 16-guài 怪	eiH-2b	蟹開二	weiH-2b	蟹合二
去 17-guài 夬	eiH-2c	蟹開二	weiH-2c	蟹合二
去 18-duì 隊			weiH-1a	蟹合一
去 19-dài 代	eiH-1a	蟹開一		

去 20-fèi 廢	eiH-3a	蟹開三	weiH-3a	蟹合三
去 21-zhèn 震	enH-3b	臻開三	wenH-3b	臻合三
去 22-zhùn 稔			wenH-3c	臻合三
去 23-wèn 問			wenH-3a	臻合三
去 24-xìn 焮	enH-3a	臻開三		
去 25-yuàn 願	anH-3a	山開三	wanH-3a	山合三
去 26-hùn 恩			wenH-1	臻合一
去 27-hèn 恨	enH-1	臻開一		
去 28-hàn 翰	anH-1	山開一		
去 29-huàn 換			wanH-1	山合一
去 30-jiàn 諫	anH-2a	山開二	wanH-2a	山合二
去 31-jiàn 禫	anH-2b	山開二	wanH-2b	山合二
去 32-xiàn 霰	anH-4	山開四	wanH-4	山合四
去 33-xiàn 線	anH-3b	山開三	wanH-3b	山合三
去 34-xiào 嘯	auH-4	效[開]四		
去 35-xiào 笑	auH-3	效[開]三		
去 36-xiào 效	auH-2	效[開]二		
去 37-hào 号	auH-1	效[開]一		
去 38-gè 箇	eH-1	果開一		
去 39-guò 過			weH-1	果合一
"	eH-3	果開三	weH-3	果合三
去 40-mà 禡	aH-2	假開二	waH-2	假合二
"	aH-3	假開三		
去 41-yàng 漾	angH-3	宕開三	wangH-3	宕合三
去 42-dàng 宕	angH-1	宕開一	wangH-1	宕合一
去 43-yìng 映	eingH-2a	梗開二	weingH-2a	梗合二
" also jìng 敬	eingH-3a	梗開三	weingH-3a	梗合三
去 44-zhèng 諍	eingH-2b	梗開二	weingH-2b	梗合二
去 45-jìng 勁	eingH-3b	梗開三	weingH-3b	梗合三
去 46-jìng 徑	eingH-4	梗開四		
去 47-zhèng 證	engH-3	曾開三		

去 48-dèng 嶝	engH-1	曾開一		
去 49-yòu 宥	ouH-3b	流[開]三		
去 50-hòu 候	ouH-1	流[開]一		
去 51-yòu 幼	ouH-3c	流[開]三		
去 52-qìn 沁	emH-3	深[開]三		
去 53-kàn 勘	amH-1a	咸開一		
去 54-kàn 闕	amH-1b	咸開一		
去 55-yàn 豔	amH-3b	咸開三		
去 56-tiàn 楝	amH-4	咸開四		
去 57-yàn 釅	amH-3a	咸開三		
去 58-xiàn 陷	amH-2a	咸開二		
去 59-jiàn 鑑	amH-2b	咸開二		
去 60-fàn 梵			wamH-3a	咸合三
入 1-wū 屋			uk-1b	通[合]一
"			uk-3b	通[合]三
入 2-wò 沃			uk-1c	通[合]一
入 3-zhú 燭			uk-3c	通[合]三
入 4-jué 覺	ok-2	江[開]二		
入 5-zhí 質	et-3b	臻開三	wet-3b	臻合三
入 6-shù 術			wet-3c	臻合三
入 7-zhì 櫛	et-3c	臻開三		
入 8-wù 物			wet-3a	臻合三
入 9-qì 迄	et-3a	臻開三		
入 10-yuè 月	at-3a	山開三	wat-3a	山合三
入 11-mò 沒			wet-1	臻合一
入 12-hé 曷	at-1	山開一		
入 13-mò 末			wat-1	山合一
入 14-xiá 黠	at-2a	山開二	wat-2a	山合二
入 15-xiá 鎋	at-2b	山開二	wat-2b	山合二

入 16-xiè 屑	at-4	山開四	wat-4	山合四
入 17-xuē 薛	at-3b	山開三	wat-3b	山合三
入 18-yào 藥	ak-3	宕開三	wak-3	宕合三
入 19-duó 鐸	ak-1	宕開一	wak-1	宕合一
入 20-mò 陌	eik-2a	梗開二	weik-2a	梗合二
"	eik-3a	梗開三	weik-3a	梗合三
入 21-mò 麥	eik-2b	梗開二	weik-2b	梗合二
入 22-xí 昔	eik-3b	梗開三	weik-3b	梗合三
入 23-xí 錫	eik-4	梗開四	weik-4	梗合四
入 24-zhí 職	ek-3	曾開三	wek-3	曾合三
入 25-dé 德	ek-1	曾開一	wek-1	曾合一
入 26-qí 緝	ep-3	深[開]三		
入 27-hé 合	ap-1a	咸開一		
入 28-hé 盍	ap-1b	咸開一		
入 29-yè	ap-3b	咸開三		
入 30-tiē 帖 (帖)	ap-4	咸開四		
入 31-xiá 洽	ap-2a	咸開二		
入 32-xiá 狎	ap-2b	咸開二		
入 33-yè 業	ap-3a	咸開三		
入 34-fá 乏			wap-3a	咸合三

APPENDIX 2: TRADITIONAL INITIAL CATEGORIES

#	<i>qīng</i>				<i>zhuó</i>			
	<i>quánqīng</i>		<i>cìqīng</i>		<i>quánzhuó</i>		<i>cìzhuó</i>	
1	<i>bāng</i> 幫 p	<i>pāng</i> 滂 ph	<i>bìng</i> 並 b	<i>míng</i> 明 m				
2	<i>duān</i> 端 t	<i>tòu</i> 透 th	<i>dìng</i> 定 d	<i>ní</i> 泥 n <i>lái</i> 來 l				
3	<i>zhī</i> 知 tr	<i>chè</i> 徹 thr	<i>chéng</i> 澄 dr	—				
4	<i>jīng</i> 精 ts	<i>qīng</i> 清 tsh	<i>cóng</i> 從 dz	—				
	<i>xīn</i> 心 s	—	<i>xié</i> 邪 z	—				
5	<i>zhuāng</i> 莊 tsr	<i>chū</i> 初 tshr	<i>chóng</i> 崇 dzr	—				
	<i>shēng</i> 生 sr							
6	<i>zhāng</i> 章 tsy	<i>chāng</i> 昌 tshy	<i>shàn</i> 禪 ¹⁵ dzy	<i>rì</i> ny				
	<i>shū</i> 書 sy	—	<i>chuán</i> 船 zy					
7	<i>jiàn</i> 見 k	<i>qī</i> 溪 kh	<i>qún</i> 群 g	<i>yí</i> 疑 ng				
8	<i>xiǎo</i> 曉 h		<i>xiá</i> 匣 } gh	<i>yáng</i> 羊 ¹⁶ y				
	<i>yǐng</i> 影 [zero]		<i>yún</i> 云 }					

1. *labials* (*chúnyīn* 唇音)
2. *plain dentals* (*shétóuyīn* 舌頭音)
3. *retroflex dentals* (*shéshàngyīn* 舌上音)
4. *plain sibilants* (*chǐtóuyīn* 齒頭音)
5. *retroflex sibilants* (*zhèngchǐyīn* 正齒音)
6. *palatal sibilants* (also *zhèngchǐyīn* 正齒音)
7. *velars* (*yáyīn* 牙音)
8. *laryngeals* (*hóuyīn* 喉音)

¹⁵ Note that this initial should be called *shàn* in phonology, even if in other circumstances one pronounces this word *chán* (among other readings).

¹⁶ This initial is also called *yǐ* 以, which however can cause confusion with *yí* 疑 when named in Mandarin, as the Chinese do: *yímǔ* 疑母 vs. *yǐmǔ* 以母. For this reason I will always use the name *yáng* rather than *yǐ* for it.

APPENDIX 3: PÍNGSHUǏYÙN AND TÓNGYÒNG CATEGORIES

The Píngshuǐyùn is the traditional rime system of Chinese officialdom. It simplifies the *Guǎngyùn* rime corpus very substantially, though in a far more conservative way than the *shè* system with which it coexists. It appears to have been in use already in Táng times, and was eventually made the basis of rhyming in poetry for the official examination system, with the result that it is the basis of standard rime-books even in the present day. In Manchu time it was also used as a rough system of classification for characters in reference books.

The earliest clear statement of the *Píngshuǐ* system is attested in a ninth-century edition of the *Qièyùn*, in the table of contents of each of the five volumes. There each rime is listed either as *dúyòng* 獨用 (“used independently”), or as *tóngyòng* 同用 (“interrhyming”) with certain other rimes. The *tóngyòng* assignments of the *Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn* are in the main the same as the conflation made in later rime-books of the *Píngshuǐ* tradition.

Below, on left-hand pages, are listed the 31 rime groups of the Píngshuǐ system (represented here by *píngshēng* rimes only), together with the one or more *Guǎngyùn* rimes subsumed in them. Medieval transcription is given in boldface for the first *Guǎngyùn* rime in each group. On right-hand pages are comments about actual rhyming practice in Suí and Táng poetry. *Tóngyòng* assignments in the *Guǎngyùn* should be assumed to be the same as the *Píngshuǐ* system unless otherwise specified.

Generally speaking, the formation of the *shè* as empirical rhyming groups is evident in *gǔtǐshǐ* of the mid-Táng. Some of the *gǔtǐshǐ*'s main exceptions are as follows:

- ong*₂ is in contact with both *ung* and *ang*;
- ei*₁, *ei*₂, and *ei*_{3b} / *ei*₄ are mainly separate, rather than unified;
- e* and *a* seem to be coalescing, rather than separate;
- eing* and *eng* seem to be coalescing, rather than separate;
- am*₁ remains separate from the rest of *am*₂, *am*₃, and *am*₄.

PRESCRIPTIVE RHYMING SYSTEMS

<i>Píngshuǐyùn</i>		<i>Medieval transcription</i>	<i>Guǎngyùn rimes</i>
1-dōng 東	⎧	ung-1b	平 1-dōng 東 上 1-dǒng 董 去 1-sòng 送 入 1-wū 屋
		ung-3b	平 1-dōng 東 上 — 去 1-sòng 送 入 1-wū 屋
2-dōng 冬	⎧	ung-1c	平 2-dōng 冬 上 — 去 2-sòng 宋 入 2-wò 沃
		ung-3c	平 3-zhōng 鍾 上 2-zhǒng 腫 去 3-yòng 用 入 3-zhú 燭
3-jiāng 江	⎧	ong-2	平 4-jiāng 江 上 3-jiǎng 講 去 4-jiàng 絳 (降) 入 4-jué 覺

OBSERVED RHYMING

Miscellaneous notes on actual rhyming practice in the Suí-Táng

— Early Táng poetry (both *gǔtǐ* and *jìntǐ* tends to merge these two *tōngyòng* groups, but by the mid-Táng, *jìntǐ* poetry is dividing them again. The merged group constitutes what we now know as *Tōngshè*. Its formation was thus evident in early Táng times, and the conservatism of the *jìntǐ* style was likewise evident by the mid-Táng.

— Mid-Táng *gǔtǐ* poetry has a tendency to rhyme *ong₂* with *ung* or *ang*. The *shè* system, however, distinguishes it as *Jiāngshè*. This is an example of a *shè* that does not seem to reflect real popular rhyming practice.

4-zhī 支	{	[w]i-3b	平 5-zhī 支 上 4-zhǐ 紙 去 5-zhì 寘
		[w]i-3c	平 6-zhī 脂 上 5-zhǐ 旨 去 6-zhì 至
		i-3d	平 7-zhī 之 上 6-zhǐ 止 去 7-zhì 志
5-wéi 微	{	[w]i-3a	平 8-wéi 微 上 7-wěi 尾 去 8-wèi 未
6-yú 魚	{	uo-3b	平 9-yú 魚 上 8-yǔ 語 去 9-yù 御
7-yú 虞	{	uo-1	平 11-mú 模 上 10-mǔ 姥 去 11-mù 暮
		uo-3c	平 10-yú 虞 上 9-yǔ 麌 去 10-yù 遇

— These three *Guǎngyùn* rimes are independent in much medieval poetry, but only *[w]i_{3b}* retains its partial independence as late as the Suí. By Táng times they are fully merged.

— From early Táng times, *gǔtǐ* poetry exhibits rhyming among the four *i* rimes, forming what we know as *Zhǐshè*. *Jǐntǐ* poetry, however, keeps rime *[w]i_{3a}* stringently distinct.

— By the early Táng, *gǔtǐ* poetry already tends to merge these three rimes into what we now know as *Yùshè*.

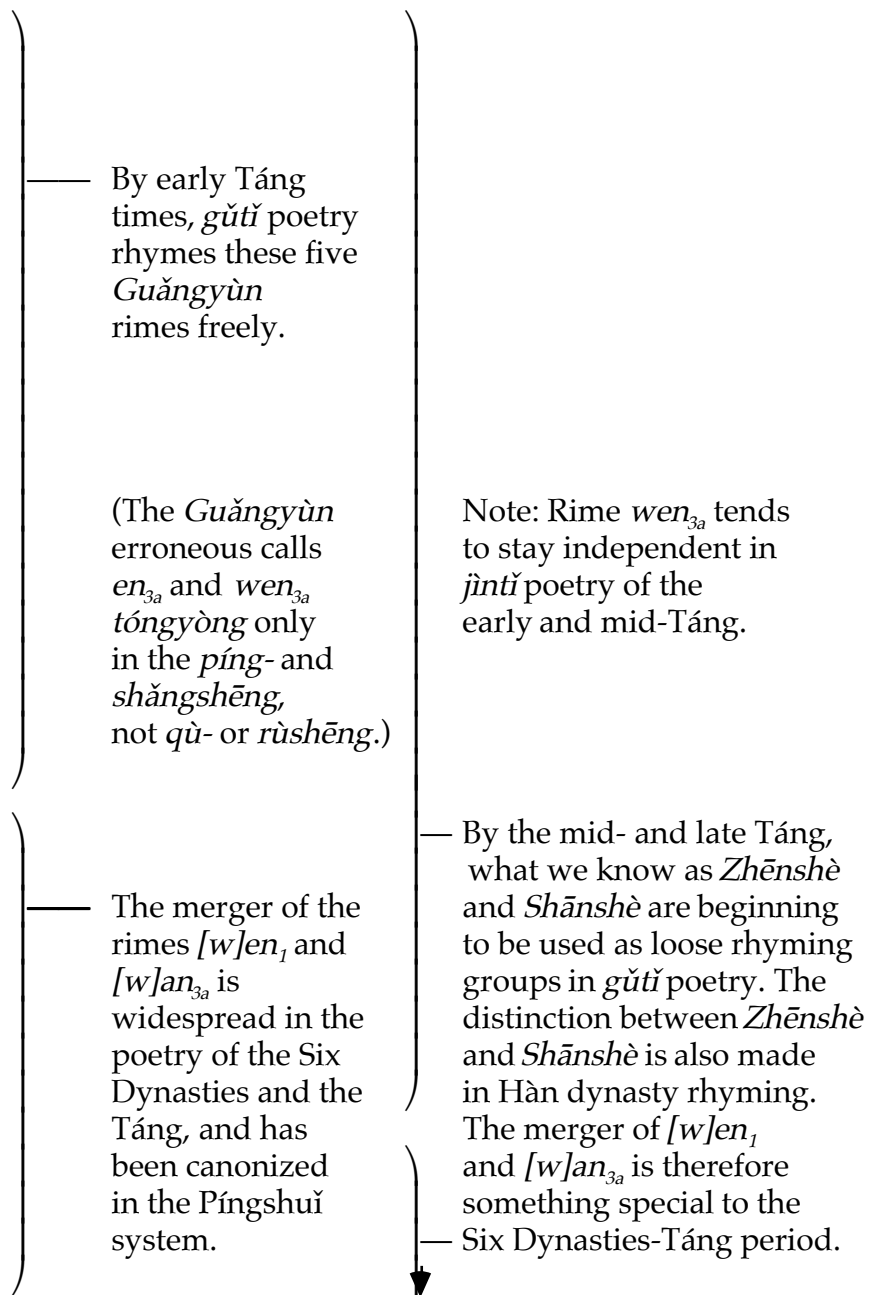
8- <i>qí</i> 齊	([w]ei-4	平 12- <i>qí</i> 齊
			上 11- <i>jì</i> 齊
			去 12- <i>jì</i> 霽
		[w]eiH-3b	去 13- <i>jì</i> 祭
9- <i>jiā</i> 佳	([w]ei-2a	平 13- <i>jiā</i> 佳
			上 12- <i>xiè</i> 蟹
			去 15- <i>guà</i> 卦
		[w]ei-2b	平 14- <i>jiē</i> 皆
			上 13- <i>hài</i> 駭
			去 16- <i>guài</i> 怪
		[w]eiH-2c	去 17- <i>guài</i> 夬
去 9- <i>tài</i> 泰	([w]eiH-1b	去 14- <i>tài</i> 泰
10- <i>huī</i> 灰	(ei-1a	平 16- <i>hāi</i> 哈
			上 15- <i>hǎi</i> 海
			去 19- <i>dài</i> 代
		wei-1a	平 15- <i>huī</i> 灰
			上 14- <i>huì</i> 賄
			去 18- <i>duì</i> 隊
		[w]eiH-3a	去 20- <i>fèi</i> 廢

)— *Jintǐ* does not rhyme $[w]eiH_{3b}$ with $[w]eiH_4$. *Gǔtǐ* poetry does rhyme them.

)— Rime $[w]eiH_{2c}$ is sometimes excluded from the rest of this group in rhyming.

)—The *Guǎngyùn* declares $[w]eiH_{3a}$ to be *dúyòng*.
)— *Gǔtǐ* poetry tends to include $[w]eiH_{1b}$ in rhyming with the other three rimes.

11-zhēn 真	{	[w]en-3b	平 17-zhēn 真 上 16-zhěn 軫 去 21-zhèn 震 入 5-zhí 質
		en-3c	平 19-zhēn 臻 上 — 去 — 入 7-zhì 櫛
		wen-3c	平 18-zhūn 諄 上 17-zhǔn 準 去 22-zhùn 稕 入 6-shù 術
12-wén 文	{	en-3a	平 21-xīn 欣(yīn 殷) 上 19-yǐn 隱 去 24-xìn 焮 入 9-qì 迄
		wen-3a	平 20-wén 文 上 18-wěn 吻 去 23-wèn 問 入 8-wù 物
13-yuán 元	{	en-1	平 24-hén 痕 上 22-hěn 很 去 27-hèn 恨 入 —
		wen-1	平 23-hún 魂 上 21-hùn 混 去 26-hùn 慁 入 11-mò 沒
		[w]an-3a	平 22-yuán 元 上 20-ruǎn 阮 去 25-yuàn 願 入 10-yuè 月



14- <i>hán</i> 寒	{	<p>an-1</p> <p>wan-1</p>	<p>平 25-<i>hán</i> 寒 上 23-<i>hàn</i> 旱 去 28-<i>hàn</i> 翰 入 12-<i>hé</i> 曷 平 26-<i>huán</i> 桓 上 24-<i>huǎn</i> 緩 去 29-<i>huàn</i> 換 入 13-<i>mò</i> 末</p>
15- <i>shān</i> 刪	{	<p>[w]an-2a</p> <p>[w]an-2b</p>	<p>平 27-<i>shān</i> 刪 上 25-<i>shǎn</i> 潛 去 30-<i>jiàn</i> 諫 入 14-<i>xiá</i> 黠 平 28-<i>shān</i> 山 上 26-<i>chǎn</i> 產 去 31-<i>jiàn</i> 禫 入 15-<i>xiá</i> 鎋</p>
1- <i>xiān</i> 先	{	<p>[w]an-3b</p> <p>[w]an-4</p>	<p>下平 2-<i>xiān</i> 仙 上 28-<i>xiǎn</i> 獮 去 33-<i>xiàn</i> 線 入 17-<i>xuē</i> 薛 下平 1-<i>xiān</i> 先 上 27-<i>xiǎn</i> 銑 去 32-<i>xiàn</i> 霰 入 16-<i>xiè</i> 屑</p>

(See p. 95, above.)

By the early
T'ang, *gǔtǐ*
poetry already
rhymes these
six *Guǎngyùn*
rimes as a
single loose
group, the
beginning
of what will
become
Shānshè.

2-xiāo 蕭	⎧ au-3 au-4 ⎫	下平 4-xiāo 宵 上 30-xiǎo 小 去 35-xiào 笑 下平 3-xiāo 蕭 上 29-xiǎo 篠 去 34-xiào 嘯
3-xiáo 肴		⎧ au-2 ⎫
4-háo 毫	⎧ au-1 ⎫	下平 6-háo 毫 上 32-hào 号 去 37-hào 號

— By the early Táng, these three rimes are found rhyming together in *gǔtǐ* poetry.

— By mid-Táng, what we know as *Xiàoshè* is in use as a rhyming group in *gǔtǐ* poetry.

5-gē 歌	(e-1 we-1 [w]e-3)	下平 7-gē 歌 上 33-gě 哿 去 38-gè 箇 下平 8-gē 戈 上 34-guǒ 果 去 39-guò 過 下平 8-gē 戈 上 34-guǒ 果 去 39-guò 過	
6-má 麻		([w]a-2 a-3)	下平 9-má 麻 上 35-mǎ 馬 去 40-mà 禡 下平 9-má 麻 上 35-mǎ 馬 去 40-mà 禡
7-yáng 陽			([w]ang-1 [w]ang-3)

— These three *Guǎngyùn* rimes rhymed together as a stable unit during the whole Suí and Táng. What we know as *Guǒshè* is thus one of the earlier *shè* to coalesce. In mid-Táng *gǔtǐ* poetry (never *jìntǐ*), they exhibit some rhyming contact with *Jiǎshè*. This is the probable reason *Guǒshè* and *Jiǎshè* are placed together in the *Qièyùn*.

— These rimes have been a cohesive rhyming group throughout the Suí and Táng, forming from an early date what we know as *Dàngshè*. There is some contact with *Jiāngshè* in mid-Táng *gǔtǐ* poetry.

8-gēng 庚	⎧	[w]eing-2a	下平 12-gēng 庚 上 38-gěng 梗 去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬) 入 20-mò 陌
		[w]eing-2b	下平 13-gēng 耕 上 39-gěng 耿 去 44-zhèng 諍 入 21-mò 麥
		[w]eing-3a	下平 12-gēng 庚 上 38-gěng 梗 去 43-yìng 映 (jìng 敬) 入 20-mò 陌
		[w]eing-3b	下平 14-qīng 清 上 40-jìng 靜 去 45-jìng 勁 入 22-xí 昔
9-qīng 青	⎧	[w]eing-4	下平 15-qīng 青 上 41-jǐng 迥 去 46-jìng 徑 入 23-xí 錫
10-zhēng 蒸	⎧	[w]eng-1	下平 17-dēng 登 上 43-děng 等 去 48-dèng 磴 入 25-dé 德
		[w]eng-3	下平 16-zhēng 蒸 上 42-zhěng 拯 去 47-zhèng 證 入 24-zhí 職

— Although *jìntǐ* poetry observes the distinction between *Píngshuǐ* rimes 8-*gēng* 庚 and 9-*qīng* 青, in Suí poetry as well as Táng *gǔtǐ*, the two are often merged. As a group, these rimes make up what we know as *Gěngshè*.

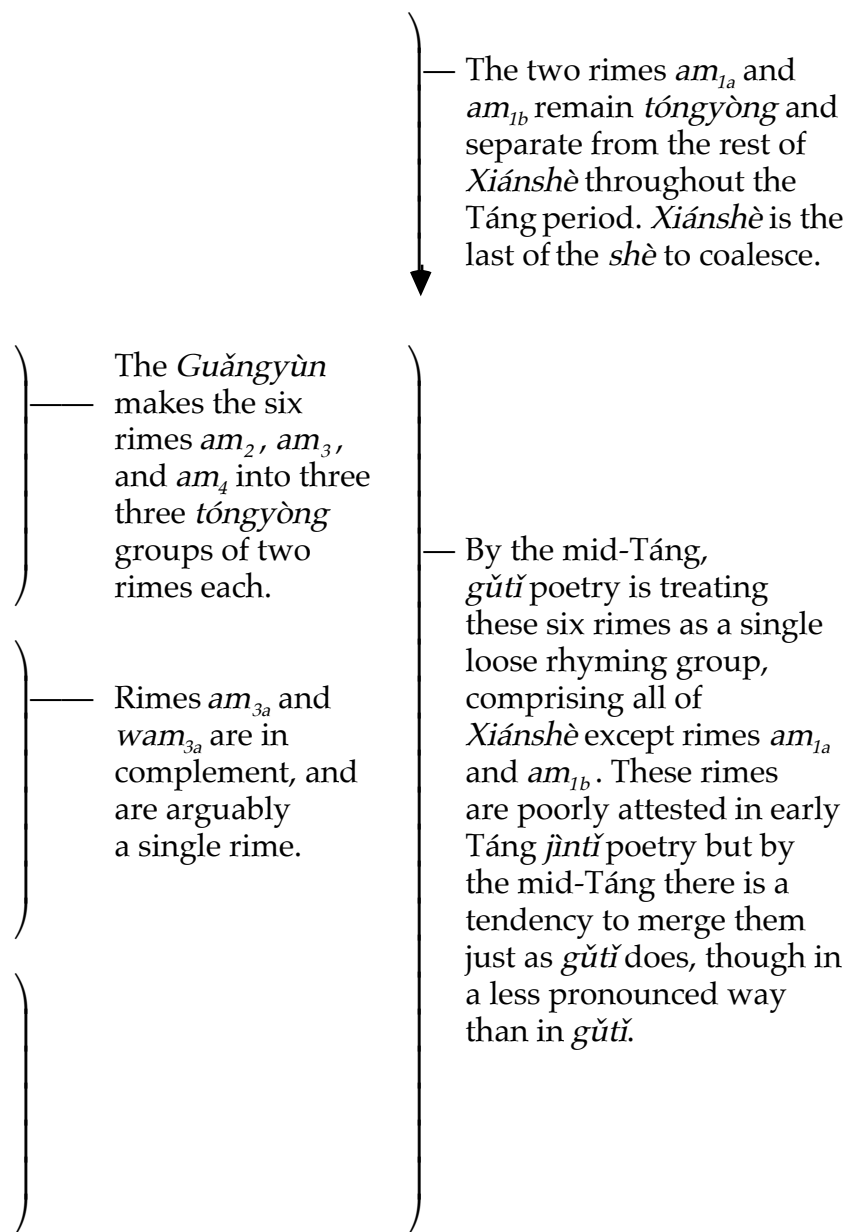
— Táng *gǔtǐ* poetry shows a slight tendency to merge what we now know as *Zēngshè* and *Gěngshè*.

11-yóu 尤	⎧	ou-1	下平 19-hóu 侯 上 45-hòu 厚 去 50-hòu 候
		ou-3b	下平 18-yóu 尤 上 44-yǒu 有 去 49-yòu 宥
		ou-3c	下平 20-yōu 幽 上 46-yǒu 黝 去 51-yòu 幼
12-qīn 侵	⎧	em-3	下平 21-qīn 侵 上 47-qǐn 寢 去 52-qìn 沁 入 26-qī 緝

— These three rimes have been a cohesive rhyming group throughout the Suí and Táng, forming from an early date what we know as *Liúshè*.

— *Shēnshè* is always kept separate from the rimes of *Xiánshè* in Suí-Táng poetry.

13-tán 覃	{	am-1a	下平 22-tán 覃 上 48-gǎn 感 去 53-kàn 勘 入 27-hé 合
		am-1b	下平 23-tán 談 上 49-gǎn 敢 去 54-kàn 闕 入 28-hé 盍
14-yán 鹽	{	am-3b	下平 24-yán 鹽 上 50-yǎn 琰 去 55-yàn 豔 入 29-yè 業
		am-4	下平 25-tiān 添 上 51-tiǎn 忝 去 56-tiàn 楸 入 30-tiē 帖 (帖)
		am-3a	下平 28-yán 嚴 上 52-yǎn 儼 去 57-yàn 釅 入 33-yè 業
15-xián 咸	{	wam-3a	下平 29-fán 凡 上 55-fàn 范 去 60-fàn 梵 入 34-fá 乏
		am-2b	下平 27-xián 銜 上 54-jiàn 檻 去 59-jiàn 鑑 入 32-xiá 狎
		am-2a	下平 26-xián 咸 上 53-xiàn 賺 去 58-xiàn 陷 入 31-xiá 洽



**APPENDIX 4: CŪYÙN GǎO JIǎNZÌBIǎO 麤韻稿簡字表
(INDEX OF READINGS FROM THE DRAFT CŪYÙN 麤韻)**

The *Cūyùn* 麤韻, or “Rough Rimes”, my own statement of *Qièyùn* phonology, is still in draft form. The present index is extracted from that draft, and transcribes the medieval phonological values of certain common literary characters, using the system described in the foregoing essay.

Phonological values here are taken mainly from the *Guǎngyùn*, with a very few important alternate readings from other sources, such as the *Qièyùn* fragments, the *Jíyùn*, and later rime books of the same august and canonical tradition.

I have inserted a hyphen between initial and rime, so that the boundaries of each are as clear as possible, for the benefit of the novice: *tshy-i-3*, *dr-uo-3b*, *y-wi-3c*. This practice is not necessary to observe under ordinary circumstances. When the initial is “zero”, no initial is specified. The *x* and *y* marking *chóngniǔ* categories are omitted here, since literature evidently does not reflect this distinction.

Characters are arranged in the index by the number of strokes they contain. I follow usual stroke-counting practice most of the time; e.g., 艸 has four strokes rather than three or six (艸), 卩 has three strokes rather than two or seven (卩) or eight (阜). But in cases where alternate varieties of a single graph compete, I follow the stroke-count of the specific form in question; i.e., 者 is counted as eight strokes rather than nine because there is no dot above the element 日. Each stroke-group of characters is itself ordered according to the traditional “radicals” (*bùshǒu* 部首, “section heads, classifiers”). The radical-system I follow is the Western sinological standard, that of the *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 康熙字典 of 1716 C. E., itself based on the *Zìhuì* 字彙 of Méi Yǐngzuò 梅膺祚 in Míng times. I use the traditional forms of the characters, not the drastically simplified ones that have put such immense aesthetic distance between the modern People’s Republic and the orthographic habits of the past thousand years.

This index contains approximately 5,000 characters, a number chosen chiefly for roundness. Early versions of the *Cūyùn* were derived from my own reading notes. Therefore let the reader be cautious! The index certainly does not exhaust the inventory of important characters found in pre-modern Chinese literature. It does not exhaust the set of graphic variants of any given character. It does not necessarily even list all the known readings of any given character, nor again does it indicate the different meanings of those multiple readings. For all those things, the reader must turn to a fuller source of traditional forms and sounds. This index is merely intended to be a quick and handy guide to medieval readings, for use in the absence of (or as an adjunct to) some more comprehensive reference work. The final arbiters of medieval readings are the traditional rime-books, a select one or two works among the many modern compendia on the subject (e.g., Dǐng and Lǐ 1956), and the usage of medieval writers. The rime-books can be tricky to use by themselves because it is not always possible to make sense of *fǎnqiè* just by looking at them.

When a single character has more than one pronunciation, the rime-books are sometimes consistent, sometimes not, in how they assign sound to meaning. At times, it is not entirely clear what rime-book glosses are trying to tell us in the first place. Sometimes there is a clear relationship between variant readings, suggesting ancient morphological processes, but sometimes we are simply dealing with different and unrelated words that happen to be written with the same character. Again, let the reader beware! And at such moments, recall the words of the philologist Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武 (1667), master of us all:

如唐人律詩至嚴其中、略舉一二、如翰字或平或去、看字或平或去、望字忘字或平或去、醒字或平或上、且得謂之有兩義乎、此正六書所謂轉注之字、而韻中之兩收三收、以示天下作詩之人、隨其遲疾輕重而用之者也

Let me just cite one or two examples from among the strictest regulated verse of the Táng: 翰 is read sometimes in the *píngshēng*

and sometimes in the *qù*, 看 sometimes in the *píng* and sometimes in the *qù*, 望 and 忘 sometimes *píng* and sometimes *qù*, 醒 sometimes *píng* and sometimes *shǎng* — and can you say these are cases where there are two different meanings? This is precisely what in the study of ancient scripts is called *zhuǎnzhù* [change and confluence]. The fact that the rime-books admit such words in two or three different places indicates that the poets of the world used these words differently depending on whether they were spoken slowly or quickly, lightly or heavily.

Gù's opinion, that natural aberrations in speech produced many of the ancient variant readings, is no longer taken seriously. Yet we who dismiss him are ourselves at a loss over what to make of these alternate readings that mean the same thing.

Another irksome problem is that the *Guǎngyùn* and its kin are not absolute repositories of all our modern graphs. For one thing, they sometimes disguise common morphemes behind unusual alternate graphs. An example is *bì* 篦 “fine-toothed bamboo delousing comb”, a morpheme that remains alive as a free verb in modern Chinese, “to delouse with such a comb”. The primary reading of this character should be *biH_{3cy}* (in the same *xiǎoyùn* as *bí* 鼻 “nose”), but the specific form 篦 only appears in the *Guǎngyùn* under *pei₄*. The primary reading *biH_{3cy}* for the morpheme is, however, found in the form of the character 枇, glossed “細櫛 [fine-toothed comb]”.

Examples of this kind are legion. Consider the modern Mandarin word *bāi* “to twist apart in the hands (for instance, an orange)”, which we write 掰. 掰 is not found in the *Guǎngyùn*. But *bāi* is nevertheless found, in the form of 擘, under the reading *pei_{2b}*. The novice reader perceives some of the sublimity of Chinese linguistic history on realizing that 擘, ordinarily read *bob* in Mandarin, is in truth a learned doublet of the same morpheme that in speech is pronounced *bāi* and written with 掰, a character of near-modern invention. (This graph 掰 is probably what we are warned not to call an ideograph — let us instead call it a graphic pun, and read it *liǎngshǒu fēn* “dividing with two hands”, from which we recall the word *bāi*.) *Dāi* “foolish” appears not in our familiar form 呆

but as 𪛗 (read *ngei*_{1a}, corresponding to our learned reading *ái*), for 𪛗 is, again, a late character. *Zào* “stove” appears, not as our 灶 but as the traditional 竈. And many modern words appear not at all, because they were unknown or non-standard in medieval documents. *Chī* “to eat” appears, at the dimmest outer edges of plausibility, as the obscure character 𪛗 *tshret*_{3b} but certainly not as our 吃 *ket*_{3a} (= *jí*) or 喫 *kheik*₄ (= *qì*). *Diū* “to discard” we write as 丟, but this is evidently another graphic pun: 𪛗 去 (= 撇去) “to cast away”, or perhaps 一去 “completely gone”.

To make matters worse, the Mandarin word *diū*, believe it or not, has no place at all in the medieval phonological system. Its initial requires a *siděng* rime category, and its final points to *Liúshè* or just possibly to *Tōngshè* in the *rùshēng*. But there are no *siděng* rimes in these *shè*. Where then do we place it? Fortunately for us, *diū* has not yet been reported seen in medieval poetry.

Such are the hazards of “stirring up the faltering waves of antiquity”!

My thanks to Shujen Yeo for her generous and patient help while I was compiling this index. The errors that remain are my own responsibility. I have checked the material repeatedly, but I am sure that many oversights will inevitably be discovered here, and for these I beg tolerance. Needless to say, all earlier versions of this system that have been distributed (including that printed in Branner 2000:414-420, which accidentally reverses the *a* and *b* after the numerals in *eing*) should be considered superseded by the present version.

I would be grateful to hear from any reader who cares to notify me of errata or omissions. I can be reached in care of the Publisher.

[Appendix 4 has now been completely superseded by a newer version of the *Cūyùn*. Please contact author for more details.]