CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

A Phonological History of Chinese

The phonological history of Chinese can be traced back to two main traditions: one starting with the *Qieyun* of 601, and the other starting with the *Zhongyuan Yinyun* of 1324. The former marks the beginning of Middle Chinese, and the latter marks the beginning of Old Mandarin. Both of these systems, as well as reconstructed Old Chinese, should be understood as ideal phonological standards and composite in nature. Until modern times, phonological standards were never based strictly on the phonology of a single dialect. This book provides the first study written in English of the phonological history of Chinese. It provides information about the standard phonological systems for each of the language's major historical periods, drawing on a range of historical materials such as dictionaries, rhyming tables, and poetry, and is a reference book for understanding the key developments in the Chinese sound system.

PROFESSOR ZHONGWEI SHEN is a Full Professor of Chinese Linguistics in the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures at University of Massachusetts Amherst. He has served as a co-editor of the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, and co-editor-in-chief of the *Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics.*

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

A Phonological History of Chinese

Zhongwei Shen

University of Massachusetts Amherst

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107135840
DOI: 10.1017/9781316476925

© Zhongwei Shen 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Shen, Zhongwei, author.
Title: A phonological history of Chinese / Zhongwei Shen.
Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2020. |
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019036955 (print) | LCCN 2019036956 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781107135840 (hardback) | ISBN 9781316501658 (paperback) |
ISBN 9781316476925 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Chinese language–Phonology, Historical.
Classification: LCC PL1201 .S456 2020 (print) | LCC PL1201 (ebook) |
DDC 495.1/15–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019036955
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019036956

ISBN 978-1-107-13584-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Contents

List of Figures *page* xi
List of Tables xiii
Foreword by William S-Y. Wang 王士元 xxx
Preface xxxiii
Major Periods of Chinese History xxxv
Locations of Ancient Capitals of China xxxvi

Part I The Keys to Traditional Phonology 1

1 An Introduction to Chinese Historical Phonology 3
1.1 Defining Chinese 4
1.2 The Nature of Phonological History 6
1.2.1 Chinese Phonology through Written Record 6
1.2.2 Phonological Categories in Logographic Systems 7
1.2.3 Terminology of Traditional Chinese Phonology 8
1.2.4 Syllable Structure 9
1.2.5 Nonsyllabic Phonological Characteristics 10
1.3 *Yùnshū* 韻書 'Rhyme Dictionaries' 11
1.3.1 The *Qièyùn* 切韻 (601) 12
1.3.2 *Fǎnqiè* 反切 16
1.3.3 *Zhíyīn* 直音 Notation 19
1.3.4 *Shēngdiào* 聲調 'Tones' 20
1.3.5 *Yùnxì* 韻系 'Rhyme Series' 21
1.4 *Yùntú* 韻圖 'Rhyme Tables (Rhyme Charts)' 22
1.4.1 The Thirty-Six Initials 25
1.4.2 The *Qīngzhuó* 清濁 System 27
1.4.3 *Yīndiào* 陰調 and *Yángdiào* 陽調 29
1.4.4 *Děng* 等 'Division' and 'Rank' 30
1.4.5 *Kāihé* 開合 35
1.4.6 *Chóngniǔ* 重紐 and *Chóngyùn* 重韻 36
1.4.7 *Sìhū* 四呼 38
1.4.8 *Wàizhuǎn* 外轉 and *Nèizhuǎn* 內轉 39
1.4.9 *Shè* 攝 'Rhyme Groups' 46
1.4.10 *Yīnshēng Yùn* 陰聲韻, *Yángshēng Yùn* 陽聲韻, and *Rùshēng Yùn* 入聲韻 48

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

1.5 Nonanalytical Source Materials 48
1.5.1 Poem Rhyming 48
1.5.2 Foreign Transcriptions and Sino-Xenic Pronunciation 49
1.5.3 *Xiéshēng* Characters 諧聲字 50
1.6 The Availability and Reliability of Source Materials 51
1.7 Periodization 54
1.8 Reconstruction 54
1.9 Transcriptions 56

Part II Old Chinese 57

2 Old Chinese 59
2.1 Introduction 59
2.1.1 The Tibeto-Burman Connection 61
2.1.2 Methodology and Working Principles 61
2.2 Source Materials 62
2.2.1 *Shījīng* 詩經 Rhyming 63
2.2.2 *Xiéshēng* Characters 諧聲字 63
2.2.3 Partially Reduplicated Words 65
2.2.4 The *Qièyùn* 切韻 System 65
2.3 Reconstruction 66
2.3.1 The Reconstruction of Syllable Structures 67
2.3.2 The Reconstruction of Onsets 69
2.3.3 The Reconstruction of Rhymes 78
2.3.4 The Reconstruction of Syllable Structures 97
2.3.5 Recent Advances 99
2.4 Examples of Old Chinese 102

Part III Middle Chinese 105

3 Middle Chinese: The *Qièyùn* 切韻 107
3.1 Special Notes on the *Qièyùn* 切韻 and *Fǎnqiè* 反切 108
3.1.1 The *Fǎnqiè* of Rank-III 108
3.1.2 The Information Contained within the *Qièyùn* 110
3.1.3 Some Main Issues of the *Qièyùn* 112
3.1.4 A Single System or a Composite System 112
3.1.5 The *Qièyùn* Rhymes and the Nature of the *Yùn* 韻 116
3.1.6 The Revisions of the *Qièyùn* and the Splitting of Rhymes 119
3.2 The Nature of the Rhymes 120
3.2.1 New Approaches 122
3.2.2 A Possible Solution 123
3.3 Complementary and Near-Complementary Relationships 126
3.4 Syllable Structure 128
3.4.1 Suprasegmental Tones 129
3.4.2 Segmentals 130
3.4.3 Initials (I) 131
3.4.4 Medials (M) 132
3.4.5 Main Vowels (V) 133
3.4.6 Codas (E) 134

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

3.5 Phonological Characteristics of Middle Chinese 134
3.5.1 The Tripartite Distinction of Stop and Affricate Initials 134
3.5.2 The Labials 135
3.5.3 The Retroflex Stops 135
3.5.4 The Four Ranks (Divisions) 137
3.5.5 The *Kāihé* 開合 Contrast 141
3.5.6 The Contrast of *Chóngniǔ* 重紐 Syllables 141
3.5.7 The Contrast of *Chóngyùn* 重韻 Rhymes 143
3.5.8 Final Types 143
3.6 Modern Evidence of the Phonological Contrasts 146
3.6.1 The Three-Way Contrast of Phonation Types 146
3.6.2 The Coda System 147
3.6.3 The *Chóngniǔ* 重紐 Contrast 148
3.6.4 The *Chóngyùn* 重韻 Contrast 148
3.6.5 The Contrast of Rank-III and Rank-IV 150
3.7 Examples of Middle Chinese Phonology 150

4 Middle Chinese: The Tang and Song Dynasties 152
4.1 The Tang Dynasty (618–907) 152
4.1.1 Xuánzàng's 玄奘 Inscriptions 152
4.1.2 Simplification and *Tóngyòng* 同用 Marking 154
4.1.3 The New Standard 155
4.1.4 Devoicing of Voiced Stops and Affricates 159
4.1.5 Labiodentalization 160
4.1.6 Later Middle Chinese 162
4.2 The Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907–960) 163
4.2.1 *Ěryǎ Yīntú* 爾雅音圖 (tenth century) 163
4.2.2 Northwest Dialects 165
4.3 Northern Song (960–1127) 166
4.3.1 *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (1008) 166
4.3.2 *Jíyùn* 集韻 (1039) and *Lǐbù Yùnlüè* 禮部韻略 (1037) 168
4.3.3 *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú* 聲音唱和圖 169
4.3.4 Summary 179
4.4 Southern Song (1127–1297) 180
4.4.1 Hangzhou Dialect 181
4.4.2 The *Sìshēng Děngzǐ* 四聲等子 183
4.4.3 The *Qièyùn Zhǐzhǎngtú* 切韻指掌圖 187
4.4.4 The *Qièyùn Zhǐnán* 切韻指南 189
4.5 Examples of Tang Poetry 192

Part IV The Beginnings of Mandarin 195

5 The Chinese of the Liao, Jin, and Xixia Dynasties 197
5.1 The Liao Dynasty (916–1125) 197
5.1.1 The Khitan Materials 197
5.1.2 Diphthongization of Middle Chinese Syllables with Coda -k 200
5.1.3 Devoicing of Middle Chinese Voiced Obstruents 201
5.1.4 Labiodentalization 202
5.1.5 The Merger of the Middle Chinese *zhī* 知 and *zhào* 照 Initial Series 203
5.1.6 The Loss of the Middle Chinese Stop Codas -p, -t, -k 204

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

5.1.7 The Status of the Middle Chinese Velar Nasal Initial ŋ- 204
5.1.8 The Middle Chinese Bilabial Nasal Coda -m 204
5.1.9 Middle Chinese *má*-III (麻) Syllables 205
5.1.10 The Foundations of Mandarin 206
5.1.11 Examples 206
5.2 The Jin Dynasty (1115–1234) 207
5.2.1 The *Gǎibìng Wǔyīn Jíyùn* 改併五音集韻 (1212) 208
5.2.2 The Jurchen Materials 210
5.3 The Xixia Dynasty (1038–1227) 215
5.3.1 The Tangut Script 215
5.3.2 Phonological Characteristics and Differences of Northern Dialects 225

Part V A New Standard 229

6 Old Mandarin: The *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 蒙古字韻 231
6.1 The ḥP'ags-pa Script 234
6.1.1 Adaptations between Tibetan and ḥP'ags-pa Script 234
6.1.2 The Syllable Block 238
6.1.3 The Problems of the Script 238
6.1.4 Phonological Contrasts That Cannot Be Reflected 240
6.2 The Phonological System of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 蒙古字韻 241
6.2.1 The Fifteen Rhyme Groups 243
6.2.2 The Phonetic Values of the ḥP'ags-pa Letters 244
6.2.3 The Spelling of Finals 244
6.2.4 The Subsystems of Finals 245
6.2.5 Tonal Marks 246
6.3 Sound Changes in the Initial System 247
6.3.1 The Loss of Voiced Obstruents 247
6.3.2 Labiodentalization of Middle Chinese Bilabial Initials 248
6.3.3 The Loss of the Middle Chinese *yí* 疑 ŋ- Initial 248
6.4 Sound Changes in the Final System 249
6.4.1 The Medial 249
6.4.2 The Reduction of the Vowel System 250
6.4.3 *Chóngniǔ* 重紐 Reflexes in the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 251
6.4.4 The Loss of Final Consonant Codas 255
6.4.5 Diphthongization of Middle Chinese Syllables with Coda -k 255
6.4.6 The Loss of the Parallel Relationship between *yáng* and *rù* Syllables 256
6.4.7 The Contrast of jan/jɛn and jaw/jɛw 257
6.4.8 The High Central (Apical) Vowel 258
6.4.9 Vowel Raising 259

7 Old Mandarin: The *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 中原音韻 262
7.1 The Base Dialect 264
7.1.1 The Influence of Southern Mandarin 268
7.2 The *Zhèngyǔ Zuòcí Qìlì* 正語作詞起例 270
7.2.1 Dialect Features 270
7.3 The Phonetic Reconstruction 272
7.3.1 Initials (21) 272
7.3.2 Finals (47) 276

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

7.4 Innovative Characteristics of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 中原音韻 278
7.4.1 Devoicing of the Middle Chinese Voiced Obstruents in the Initial Position 279
7.4.2 The Emergence of the Labiodental Fricative 279
7.4.3 The Development of the High Central (Apical) Vowels 281
7.4.4 The New Four-Tone System 282
7.4.5 The Loss of the Middle Chinese *yí* 疑 Velar Nasal Initial 285
7.4.6 The Disappearance of the Four-Rank System of Finals 286
7.4.7 The Preservation of the -m Coda 290
7.4.8 The *jiān-tuán* 尖團 Distinction 290
7.5 Examples of Yuan Pronunciation 291
7.6 Summary 293

8 Old Mandarin: The Persian Transcriptions 294
8.1 The Ancient Persian Script 294
8.2 *History of China* 295
8.2.1 Middle Chinese Voiced Stops and Affricates 296
8.2.2 The Loss of Velar Nasal Initial *yí* 疑 ŋ- 296
8.2.3 Middle Chinese *rì* 日 Initial 298
8.2.4 Middle Chinese *wēi* 微 Initial 299
8.2.5 The Coda of *rù* 入 Syllables 300
8.2.6 High Centralized (Apical) Vowels 301
8.2.7 Main Vowel -e 301
8.2.8 Summary of Features 302
8.3 The *Mài Jué* 脈訣 302
8.3.1 The Stop Codas of the *rù* 入 Syllables 304
8.3.2 The Inconsistency of the Stop Coda in the Transcription 306
8.3.3 The Dialectal Features Reflected in the Transcription 307
8.3.4 The Nebulous Nature of Early *Guānhuà* 官話 313

Part VI Toward Modern Mandarin 317

9 The Mandarin of the Ming Dynasty 319
9.1 North Versus South 319
9.1.1 *Guānhuà* 官話 320
9.2 The *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻 (1375) 320
9.2.1 Initials 322
9.2.2 Finals 322
9.2.3 Tones 323
9.2.4 A Coherent System 325
9.2.5 *Zhèngyīn* 正音 and *Súyīn* 俗音 325
9.2.6 Revision of the *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn* 326
9.3 The *Yùnluè Yìtōng* 韻略易通 (1442) 327
9.3.1 Initials and the *Zǎo Méi* 早梅 'Early Plum Blossom' Poem 328
9.3.2 Finals and the Twenty Rhyme Groups 329
9.3.3 Běnwù's 本悟 Revision 331
9.3.4 Tones 333
9.4 The *Sìshēng Tōngjiě* 四聲通解 (1517), *Fānyì Lǎo Qǐdà* 翻譯老乞大, and *Fānyì Piáo Tōngshì* 翻譯朴通事 334
9.4.1 Initials 335

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

9.4.2 Finals 336
9.4.3 Tone Sandhi 340
9.5 The *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 西儒耳目資 (1626) 342
9.5.1 Initials 342
9.5.2 Finals 345
9.5.3 Tones 349
9.6 The *Děngyùn Tújīng* 等韻圖經 (1606) 350
9.6.1 Initials 350
9.6.2 Finals 355
9.6.3 Tones 356
9.6.4 Innovative Features 356

10 The Mandarin of the Qing Dynasty and the Modern Era 360
10.1 The Qing Dynasty (1644–1912) 360
10.1.1 The *Yùdìng Pèiwén Yùnfǔ* 御定佩文韻府 (1711) 361
10.1.2 The *Yīnyùn Chǎnwēi* 音韻闡微 (1728) 366
10.1.3 The Wade Textbook (1867) 369
10.2 Post-Imperial China (1912–present) 377
10.2.1 The Old National Standard 377
10.2.2 The New National Standard 378
10.2.3 Modern Standard Phonology 379
10.2.4 Modern Dialects (*Fāngyán* 方言) 379

References 385
Index 395

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Figures

1.1 A page from the *Kānmiù Bǔquē Qièyùn* 刊謬補缺切韻. *page* 13
1.2 The first table in the *Yùnjìng* 韻鏡 'Mirror of Rhymes', one of the earliest rhyme tables. 24
1.3 A page from the *Sìshēng Děngzǐ* 四聲等子. 32
1.4 The *Yùnjìng* pages for the rhymes *dōng* 東, *dōng/zhōng* 冬/鍾, and *jiāng* 江, and their *zè* 仄 tone equivalents. 40
2.1 Baxter and Sagart's representation of the Old Chinese root. 100
3.1 Middle Chinese (and Modern Mandarin) syllable structure. 128
4.1 A page from the Ze-Cun-Tang version (澤存堂本 *zécúntáng běn*) of the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻. 167
4.2 Two pages from the *Sìshēng Děngzǐ*, showing the merger of the syllables of the *dōng* 東, *dōng* 冬, and *zhōng* 鍾 rhyme series. 184
4.3 The first table in the *Qièyùn Zhǐzhǎngtú* 切韻指掌圖. 188
4.4 The first page of the tables in the *Qièyùn Zhǐnán* 切韻指南. 190
4.5 A page from the *Qièyùn Zhǐnán*, showing the *Ménfǎ Yùyàoshi* 門法玉鑰匙. 191
5.1 A rubbing from the *Dàozōng Āicè* 道宗哀冊. 199
5.2 The titles of Yélǜ Gù 耶律固. 207
5.3 A page from the *Zhǎng Zhōng Zhū* 掌中珠. 217
6.1 A page from the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 蒙古字韻. 232
6.2 A comparison of the Tibetan and ḥP'ags-pa scripts. 235
6.3 A vowel chart demonstrating vowel raising in the Yuan era. 260
7.1 A page from the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 中原音韻. 263
7.2 A page from the second part of the *Zhèngyǔ Zuòcí Qǐlì* 正語作詞起例. 271
8.1 A page of the *Mài Jué* 脈訣. 303
9.1 A page from the *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻 (*Sìkù Quánshū* 四庫全書 version). 321
9.2 A page from the *Lǎo Qǐdà Yànjiě* 老乞大諺解. 343
9.3 Two pages from the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 西儒耳目資. 344

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

10.1 The first three pages of the *Pèiwén Yùnfǔ* 佩文韻府 (*Sìkù Quánshū* version). 363
10.2 The first page of the *Yīnyùn Chǎnwēi* 音韻闡微 (*Sìkù Quánshū* version). 367
10.3 The cover of 語言自邇集 *Yü-yen tzŭ-êrh chi*. 370

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Tables

1.1 Additional syllable terms with their component segments *page* 10
1.2 Tone sandhi in modern Beijing dialect 11
1.3 Illustration of the *Qièyùn* structure, as excerpted from the *Kānmiù Bǔquē Qièyùn* 14
1.4 The representative characters of each rhyme of the *Qièyùn* 15
1.5 The structure of *fǎnqiè* spellers 17
1.6 An example of the *fǎnqiè* system 17
1.7 The pronunciation of *zhuāng* 樁 'stake' throughout history 19
1.8 More examples of *fǎnqiè* spellings that are obsolete in Modern Standard Mandarin 19
1.9 The basic syllable structure with the medial broken down into its component parts 19
1.10 Categorical combinations realized differently phonetically 20
1.11 The four tones of Middle Chinese, with *píng-zè* and *shū-cù* tones demarcated 21
1.12 Rhyme series with both nasal and nonnasal *píng* tone endings 21
1.13 An example of allophonic variants of the columns of rhyme tables 25
1.14 The thirty-six initials in the *Qīyīn Lüè*, with their reconstructions 25
1.15 The reconstructed values of three groups of the syllables from the thirty-six initial characters 26
1.16 A comparison of the initial characters and their categorical terminologies 26
1.17 Definitions and categorizations of the *Jīngshǐ Zhèngyīn Qièyùn Zhǐnán* 27
1.18 Categories in the *Yùnjìng* directly compared to their modern phonemic analogues 27
1.19 An analysis of the four groups of *qīngzhuó* patterns 28
1.20 The eight tones divided along traditional tonal categories and the *yīndiào–yángdiào* distinction 29

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

1.21 The eight register-tones as commonly labelled in Chinese phonology 29
1.22 The names and Middle Chinese representations of Mandarin tones 30
1.23 Divisions reflected in their reconstruction through similar vowels or through different medials 31
1.24 Divisions reflected in their reconstruction through different initials 33
1.25 Divisions allowed among each initial group 33
1.26 Subdivision of *zhào* 照 initials into *zhào-èr* 照二 initials and *zhào-sān* 照三 initials 34
1.27 The relationship between divisions and ranks 34
1.28 The relationship between the *Qièyùn* and rhyme tables (Rank-III rhymes) 34
1.29 Division placements of syllables of the Rank-III *yáng* 陽 rhyme 35
1.30 Division placements of syllables of the Rank-III *zhī* 支 rhyme 35
1.31 A comparison of rhyme groups in the *Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn*, showing a rhyme split along the *kāihé* contrast 35
1.32 A comparison of the classification of *kāihé* in the *Yùnjìng* and the *Gǔjīn Zìyīn Duìzhào Shǒucè* 36
1.33 The four *kāihé* labeled tables in the *Yùnjìng* 36
1.34 Examples of the *sìhū* 38
1.35 The medial systems of Middle Chinese and the *sìhū* 39
1.36 The division assignments of different rhymes within the rhyme groups (*shè*), divided by their *zhuǎn* 43
1.37 The vowel quality of rhymes in the *nèizhuǎn* and *wàizhuǎn* rhyme groups, according to Luó Chángpéi 43
1.38 The phonetic values of *nèizhuǎn* and *wàizhuǎn* rhyme groups, according to the phonetic components of the Zhuang characters 45
1.39 A summary of the long and short vowels in Table 1.38 45
1.40 A summary of the long and short vowels in Table 1.37 46
1.41 The sixteen *shè* with their basic main vowels and codas 47
1.42 The *shè* system systematically categorized into different vowel-coda pairings 47
1.43 The parallel structure of *Rùshēng Yùn* and *Yángshēng Yùn* seen through a comparison of their codas 48
1.44 The *xiéshēng* characters of *gōng* 工 51
1.45 A grading of different source materials by six categories in historical phonology 53
1.46 The availability of different source materials for the study of the major historical periods 53

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

1.47 A generalization of the phonological information available at each period of Chinese phonological history 54
1.48 An example of the reconstruction format, using the character *luò* 落 56
2.1 The periodization of Old Chinese associated with different Chinese dynasties 60
2.2 The four language families, and some of their constituent languages, in the Sino-Tibetan language family 60
2.3 Some poems from the *Shījīng* 64
2.4 Examples from the *gōng* 工, *chéng* 成, *mén* 門, *jiān* 監, and *měi* 每 *xiéshēng* series 65
2.5 Examples of partially reduplicated words 66
2.6 Two analyses of Chinese syllable structure 67
2.7 A common analysis of an Old Chinese syllable 68
2.8 Reconstructions exemplifying the varied syllable structure of Old Chinese, with as many as six segments CCCVCC 68
2.9 Li Fang-Kuei's reconstruction system (thirty initials) 69
2.10 Baxter's reconstruction system (thirty-seven initials) 69
2.11 Zhèngzhāng's reconstruction system (twenty-five initials) 70
2.12 The nineteen universal initials seen throughout Old Chinese reconstructions 70
2.13 Some characters with component *bā* 巴, categorized by Middle Chinese initial 71
2.14 *Xiéshēng* characters from the *gè* 各 and *jiān* 監 components 71
2.15 Jaxontov's reconstruction of several words with their cognates 72
2.16 Li Fang-Kuei's reconstruction of *gè* 各 component *xiéshēng* characters 72
2.17 A summary of Li Fang-Kuei's explanation of the -r- medial being responsible for the creation of the retroflex series 73
2.18 Jaxontov's reconstructions of sC- clusters across different nasals and approximants 74
2.19 Li Fang-Kuei's initial reconstruction of *cì* 賜 'bestow' and *xiē* 楔 'wedge' as alveolar and palatal stop consonant initials, respectively 74
2.20 Zhèngzhāng's reconstruction of sC- and hC- clusters 75
2.21 Li Fang-Kuei's reconstruction of voiceless nasals and laterals 75
2.22 Jaxontov's examples of three types of syllables with l- and syllables from Rank-II with other initials 76
2.23 Jaxontov's examples of syllables with l- and syllables from Rank-IIIb with other initials 77
2.24 Some examples of Old Chinese rhyme groups (*yùnbù*) 78

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

2.25 The *yùnbù* of Old Chinese arranged according to three types of codas 79
2.26 Some of Kǒng Guǎngsēn's paired *yīn-yáng* rhymes with their reconstructions 79
2.27 Dài Zhèn's suggested relationship between the *yīn*, *yáng*, and *rù* 入 syllables 80
2.28 The *xiéshēng* components of the rhyme groups *zhī bù* 之部, *zhí bù* 職部, and *zhēng bù* 蒸部 80
2.29 The possible combinations of medials in Middle Chinese, and their respective *kāihé* and rank 81
2.30 The four rhyme patterns listed by Jaxontov 82
2.31 Jaxontov's proposal 82
2.32 The frequency of *Qièyùn* rhymes (ignoring tone) by their rank 83
2.33 Rank-III syllables in the Taishun dialect 84
2.34 *Go-on* and *kan-on* readings of Rank-III characters 85
2.35 More examples of *go-on* readings lacking palatal glides otherwise seen in *kan-on* 85
2.36 Length contrast and vowel quality in Chinese dialects 85
2.37 The *fǎnqiè* spellings of Rank-III syllables 86
2.38 Karlgren's fourteen reconstructed vowels 87
2.39 Li Fang-Kuei's four-vowel system 88
2.40 Baxter's six-vowel system 89
2.41 Zhèngzhāng's six-vowel system 89
2.42 A comparison of -ŋ coda syllables in Li Fang-Kuei's four-vowel system and Zhèngzhāng's six-vowel system. 90
2.43 Relationship between tones in Middle Chinese and coda clusters in Old Chinese 91
2.44 Rhyming words in the *Shījīng* and *Chǔcí* 91
2.45 Zhèngzhāng's suggested tones that coexisted with different finals 92
2.46 Basic words in the *shǎng* tone 93
2.47 Middle Chinese *qù* syllables with -s coda in Sino-Korean 94
2.48 Sanskrit -s and -ʂ transcribed by using *qù* tone syllables 94
2.49 Middle Chinese *qù* tone characters used to transcribe syllables with a stop coda in Sanskrit transcription 94
2.50 *Xiéshēng* characters with *qù* tone and *rù* tone 94
2.51 More examples of rhymes *jì* 祭, *tài* 泰, *guài* 夬, and *fèi* 廢 95
2.52 The reconstructed earlier forms of *jì* 祭, *tài* 泰, *guài* 夬, and *fèi* 廢 95
2.53 Reconstructed finals of *jì* 祭, *tài* 泰, *guài* 夬, and *fèi* 廢 for Old Chinese and Middle Chinese 95

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

2.54 Examples of -s functioning as a morphological particle 96
2.55 Further examples of the morphological function of -s with different characters 96
2.56 A summary of the relationship between the codas and tones 97
2.57 A comparison of two-way and three-way contrast for the alveolar codas 97
2.58 Morphologically related pronoun pairs 98
2.59 Some examples illustrating the devoicing regular-causative pattern in Old Chinese 98
2.60 Baxter and Sagart's reconstruction of Type A and B syllables 100
2.61 Nonpharyngealized Old Chinese initial alveolar stops and nasals and Middle Chinese palatal affricates and nasals 101
2.62 The Old Chinese onsets with initial or medial *r and Middle Chinese retroflex initials 101
2.63 The Old Chinese nasal pre-initial and Middle Chinese voiced stops and affricates 101
2.64 Correspondence table between Pān's uvular proposal (uvulars and velars) for Old Chinese, and the Middle Chinese reflexes 102
2.65 The reconstructions of various stages of Chinese, reflecting the original Old Chinese pronunciation of *Jìng Nǚ* 靜女 103
2.66 The reconstructions of various stages of Chinese, reflecting the original Old Chinese pronunciation of *Táo Yāo* 桃夭 103
3.1 Evidence of codas -m, -n, -ŋ and -p, -t, -k in the *Qièyùn* system 108
3.2 The *fǎnqiè* spellings and Middle Chinese reconstruction for Rank-III syllables, with the lower speller of *jū* 居 or *yú* 魚 109
3.3 Karlgren and his successors' reconstructions 109
3.4 Upper spellers of Rank-III and non-Rank-III characters 109
3.5 The divisional placement of the *Qièyùn* rhymes in the rhyme tables 110
3.6 The divisional placement of the Rank-III syllables of the *Qièyùn* in the rhyme table *Yùnjìng* 111
3.7 The nature of the *Qièyùn* rhymes 115
3.8 The parallel nature of rhymes across different tones 116
3.9 195 rhymes from Wáng Rénxù's version of the *Qièyùn* 117
3.10 Pān's reconstruction organized in table style 117
3.11 Main vowels and medials of Pān's reconstruction 118
3.12 Pān's reconstructed main vowels organized by medial 118
3.13 The rhyme splits between the *Qièyùn*, *Kānmiù Bǔquē Qièyùn*, and *Guǎngyùn* 119
3.14 Rhyme splitting from the *Kānmiù Bǔquē Qièyùn* to the *Guǎngyùn* 120

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

3.15 Samples of two different approaches (Mài 1995; Pān 2000) 121
3.16 An example of Mài's reconstruction of Middle Chinese rhymes 121
3.17 The Main Vowel Approach and the Medial Approach to *yùn* 韻 analysis 123
3.18 Rhyme categories of Yán Zhītuī's *Guān Wǒ Shēng Fù* 123
3.19 An interpretation of Lù Fǎyán's judgments 124
3.20 Examples of the rhymes that split or not along the medial difference 125
3.21 The *zhēn* 真 rhyme and the *zhēn* 臻 rhyme are in complementary distribution 126
3.22 The type-distribution of Rank-III rhymes 127
3.23 The relationship between the *gēng*-III 庚三 and *qīng* 清 rhyme series 127
3.24 The relationship between the *yōu* 幽 and *yóu* 尤 rhyme series 127
3.25 A basic outline of the syllable structure as analyzed from the *Qièyùn* 128
3.26 Simplification of the Chinese syllable structure 129
3.27 The parallelism of reconstructed pronunciations categorized by tone 130
3.28 The Chinese-Sanskrit transcriptions in the *Yíqiè Jīng Yīnyì* by Buddhist monk Huìlín 130
3.29 Some descriptions of tones in the *Xī Tán Zàng* by the Japanese monk Annen 131
3.30 The sporadic organization of initials in different rhymes 132
3.31 Pān's reconstruction of thirty-seven initials 133
3.32 An example of the twelve-vowel system needed to maintain non-medial based rhyme differentiation 134
3.33 Three phonation types of stops and affricates for each place of articulation 135
3.34 The labial series before the split 136
3.35 Sanskrit letters for retroflex stops and nasals and corresponding *zhī* 知 initial series characters 136
3.36 The retroflex obstruent and nasal syllables in Sanskrit and the corresponding Chinese characters 137
3.37 The coexistence of retroflex and palatal affricates, and retroflex stops 137
3.38 The changes of grave and acute initials, and the -r- of Old Chinese 138
3.39 The four ranks of the *xiào* 效 rhyme group, illustrating Karlgren's reconstruction the four ranks of the *Guǎngyùn* 138
3.40 Karlgren's reconstruction in terms of medials and main vowels 138

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

3.41 Redundancy in criteria for distinguishing the syllables of the four ranks 139
3.42 The relationship between the four ranks as related to the medials -ɯ- and -j- 139
3.43 Simpler main vowels reconstructed phonemically 140
3.44 Calculations of the prevalence of the rank of upper spellers for Rank-III characters in the *Qièyùn* 140
3.45 The complementary distribution of syllables with labial initials in rhymes with -n coda 141
3.46 Sino-Sanskrit proof of the existence of the medial -r- in IIIb characters 142
3.47 Examples of *chóngniǔ* contrasts across all eight rhymes that contain them 142
3.48 The traditional *chóngyùn* rhymes 143
3.49 Some samples of the reconstructed phonetic values of the *chóngyùn* pairs 144
3.50 A series of minimal pairs, exemplifying a difference in the manner of articulation of the coda 144
3.51 The parallel relationship between syllables with a nasal coda and syllables with a stop coda 145
3.52 Rhymes *jì* 祭, *tài* 泰, *guài* 夬, and *fèi* 廢 with no equivalent *píng* and *shǎng* tone rhymes 145
3.53 A comparison of the Beijing, Suzhou, Wenzhou, and Shuangfeng dialects, highlighting the maintenance of a three-way phonation type contrast in the Wu and Xiang dialects 147
3.54 A comparison of the Beijing, Suzhou, Guangzhou, and Yangjiang dialects, highlighting different coda systems, each descended from Middle Chinese, maintaining different contrasts, and merging others 147
3.55 An example of *chóngniǔ* contrast reflexes 148
3.56 Some examples of the *chóngyùn* contrast of Rank-I rhymes *hāi* 咍 and *tài* 泰 149
3.57 The *chóngyùn* contrast between the *yú* 魚 and *yú* 虞 rhyme groups in the Wu dialects 149
3.58 The contrast between Rank-III and -IV in the Wu dialects 150
3.59 The reconstructed Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Qiān Zì Wén* 151
3.60 The reconstructed Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Běi Zhǔ* 151
4.1 Reconstructions of Xuánzàng's transliterations 153

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

4.2 The rhyming words in poems composed during the imperial examinations before the year 717 155
4.3 The twelve -ŋ coda rhymes of the *Qièyùn* 155
4.4 The seven groups according to *tóngyòng* labels 155
4.5 The twelve rhymes in the *Qièyùn* system with -n coda 155
4.6 The additional *tóngyòng* of *wén* 文 and *yīn* 殷, added in 1037 156
4.7 All *tóngyòng* rhymes, organized by coda 156
4.8 A rhyme chart arranged according to *tóngyòng* markings 157
4.9 The values of *Qièyùn* and post-717 Tang poetry rhymes 158
4.10 The relationship between the phonetic, phonemic, and rhyming systems of Tang-era Middle Chinese 159
4.11 The progression of devoicing across Tang-era Northwestern Chinese dialects 159
4.12 The Tang era Chinese three-way contrast within labiodental sounds, reconstructed as f-, v-, and ɱ-, respectively 160
4.13 The labiodentalization of labials preceding the medial -j- in Tang-era Chinese 161
4.14 The labiodental fricatives realized as /f/ and /v/ in Sino-Vietnamese 161
4.15 The distinction of Early and Late Middle Chinese in Pulleyblank's reconstruction 162
4.16 The distribution of *Qièyùn* initials in the *Ěryǎ Yīntú* 164
4.17 The devoicing pattern in the *Ěryǎ Yīntú* 164
4.18 The twelve *Yīn Tú* tables, with their respective reconstructed initials for each row's gaps 170
4.19 The twenty-one initials of the *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú* 170
4.20 Shào Yōng's assignment of bh- initials resembles Indic phonology 171
4.21 The relationship between voiced *píng* and voiced *zè* syllables 171
4.22 The complementary distribution of labiodentals across tones 172
4.23 The distribution of labiodentals in the *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú*, categorized by Middle Chinese initial and tone 172
4.24 A comparison of different texts' reconstructions of the bilabial and labiodental series, showcasing the evolution of the series from Middle Chinese to Modern Mandarin 173
4.25 The seven non-empty *Shēng Tú* tables, with their respective reconstructed finals for each row 174
4.26 The merger of syllables with -k coda and a back vowel with syllables with -w coda 175
4.27 The merger of syllables with -k coda and a non-back vowel with syllables with -j coda 175

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

4.28 The phonological conditions for the reflexes with -w and -j coda 176
4.29 The main vowel of *shuāi* 衰 and *shuài* 帥 in Song-era Chinese 176
4.30 A comparison of Middle Chinese -ŋ rhymes and those of the *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú* 177
4.31 The simplification of rhymes with -ŋ codas, resulting in a four-way contrast 178
4.32 A final chart of the *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú* 178
4.33 The tonal reflexes of Middle Chinese tone II syllables according to different types of initials 179
4.34 The tonal reflexes of Middle Chinese tone II syllables according to different types of initials (tones written in full) 179
4.35 A correspondence table between Middle Chinese, the Chinese of the *Shēngyīn Chànghè Tú*, and Modern Mandarin 180
4.36 Láng Yīng's referenced characters 182
4.37 Middle Chinese *shǎng* tone syllables merge differently both historically and geographically 183
4.38 Chao's noted features in the Hangzhou dialect 183
4.39 The *kāihé* divide in the *jiāng* 江 rhyme series 185
4.40 The reflexes of the syllables *jiāng* 江 rhyme in Modern Mandarin 186
4.41 A comparison of the ordering of tone and division in the *Yùnjìng* and *Sìshēng Děngzǐ* 186
4.42 The double listing of the *rùshēng* syllables in the *Sìshēng Děngzǐ* 187
4.43 An allophonic split in the *zhī* 之 and *zhī* 支 rhyme series 189
4.44 The reconstructions of Middle Chinese, reflecting the original Tang dynasty Chinese pronunciation of *Lù Zhài* 193
4.45 The reconstructions of Middle Chinese, reflecting the original Tang dynasty Chinese pronunciation of *Xīn Yí Wū* 193
5.1 Diphthongization of coda -k syllables as shown in Khitan sources 201
5.2 Khitan characters illustrate a Mandarin-like obstruent devoicing pattern 202
5.3 Devoicing as shown in Khitan materials 202
5.4 Labiodentalization of phu in Sino-Khitan 203
5.5 Initial series, *zhī* 知 and *zhào* 照, merge in Sino-Khitan 203
5.6 The loss of stop codas in Sino-Khitan 204
5.7 Velar nasals in the onset position of Sino-Khitan 205
5.8 Nasal codas' three-way distinction in Sino-Khitan 205
5.9 Conditioned vowel raising after a palatal glide in Sino-Khitan 206
5.10 A multidialectal gloss of the titles of Yélǜ Gù 208

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

5.11 Examples of different rhymes merging in the *GYJ* 209
5.12 Rank and *chóngniǔ* mergers during the Jin dynasty 210
5.13 A comparison of mergers across three texts before, during, and after the Jin dynasty 210
5.14 Diphthongization of coda -k syllables as shown in Jurchen sources 211
5.15 Diphthongization of coda -k causes mergers between *rù* and non-*rù* syllables 212
5.16 Devoicing patterns in Sino-Jurchen as a comparison of *píng* tone characters 213
5.17 The labiodentalization process of Sino-Jurchen 213
5.18 Obstruent coda loss in Sino-Jurchen 214
5.19 The velar nasal in the onset position of Sino-Jurchen 214
5.20 Nasal codas' three-way distinction in Sino-Jurchen 215
5.21 The initial system of Sino-Tangut 216
5.22 The Sino-Tangut vowel system 218
5.23 Obstruent devoicing across different tones in Sino-Tangut 219
5.24 Voiced and voiceless fricatives merge in Sino-Tangut 219
5.25 The labiodentalization process of Sino-Tangut 220
5.26 Initial series, *zhī* 知 and *zhào* 照, merge in Sino-Tangut 221
5.27 The loss of stop codas in Sino-Tangut 222
5.28 No velar nasal coda transcribed in Sino-Tangut 223
5.29 Tangut words transcribed by syllables both with and without velar nasal coda 223
5.30 The loss of nasal codas in Sino-Tangut 223
5.31 High front vowels of Middle Chinese *zhī* 支, *zhī* 脂, and *zhī* 之 rhyme undergo a conditioned centralization in Sino-Tangut 224
5.32 A comparison of five modern Fenghe dialects 226
5.33 A comparison of northern and northwestern dialect sound changes 227
6.1 The *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* as a fusion of previous works 233
6.2 A comparison of syllable creation in Tibetan and ḥP'ags-pa script 235
6.3 Non-consonantal alloglyphs 236
6.4 The realization of different FT/vowel combinations in ḥP'ags-pa script 237
6.5 The realization of ḥP'ags-pa finals in different locations 237
6.6 Types of syllable blocks for transcribing Chinese characters 239
6.7 Differences across the orthographic-phonological interface 240
6.8 Transcription of *dōng* 東 and *gēng* 庚 rhyme groups 241

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

6.9 The thirty-six initial characters with their ḥP'ags-pa equivalents, enumerated 242
6.10 Three *zìmǔ* split according to their allophonic variations 243
6.11 The fifteen rhyme groups of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 243
6.12 An example of the initial arrangement pattern in the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 244
6.13 The thirty-two initial sounds of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 245
6.14 Phonetic values of the finals in the fifteen rhyme groups 246
6.15 ḥP'ags-pa spellings of the transcriptions in Table 6.14 246
6.16 Vowels of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 247
6.17 The vowel-coda subsystem of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 247
6.18 No tonal distinction in ḥP'ags-pa transcriptions 247
6.19 The voicing reversal of stop initials 248
6.20 Labiodentalization in the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 248
6.21 Conditional loss of Middle Chinese initial ŋ- 249
6.22 Differences in the realization of medials depending on *kāihé* 249
6.23 Changes to the Middle Chinese medial -ɯ- in different contexts 250
6.24 Vowel Reduction in the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* from the Middle Chinese final system 251
6.25 The phonetic values of -Vŋ/-Vk finals before and after the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn*'s vowel reduction 251
6.26 Type A and Type B rhyme groups 252
6.27 *Chóngniǔ* contrasts maintained between Rank-III and Rank-IV 252
6.28 More examples showing the contrast of IIIa and IIIb syllables 253
6.29 A summary of *chóngniǔ* reflexes 253
6.30 The *chóngniǔ* reflexes of Type A and Type B rhyme groups 254
6.31 Diphthongization of syllables with Middle Chinese coda -k 256
6.32 Middle Chinese -k syllable changes and their rules 257
6.33 Change of relationship between *yáng* and *rù* syllables 257
6.34 The contrast between the finals of Rank-II and Rank-III/IV syllables 258
6.35 The changes between the Chinese of the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* and Modern Mandarin, with the data from Table 6.34 reorganized as examples of each change 259
6.36 Centralization of high vowels in the *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 259
6.37 A set of rules determining vowel raising in Yuan-era Mandarin 260
7.1 A comparison of the arrangement of the *Qièyùn*, *Ménggǔ Zìyùn*, and *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 264

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

7.2 All the rhyme groups of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 264
7.3 Middle Chinese *rù* tone syllables found in the *xiāoháo* rhyme group 265
7.4 Some characters that maintain the -aw reflex from Dadu dialect 266
7.5 The presence and absence of -w coda in the relevant modern dialects 266
7.6 A comparison of rhyme-ending realizations between the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn*, and the modern Luoyang and Beijing dialects 267
7.7 The irregular changes of modern Luoyang and Beijing dialects 267
7.8 Contrast of -on and -wan in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 268
7.9 A comparison of rank contrast across many modern dialects 269
7.10 Dual pronunciation of some Chinese characters 269
7.11 Characteristics of different Mandarin subdialects during the Yuan era 270
7.12 Some contrasts listed by Zhōu Déqīng in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 273
7.13 The initial system of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 274
7.14 Minimal triplets imply a three-way contrast 274
7.15 A comparison of different hypotheses for the value of the retroflex series 275
7.16 Reconstructed values of finals in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn*, organized by rhyme group 276
7.17 A comparison of the vowel systems of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* and *Ménggǔ Zìyùn* 277
7.18 Summary of the vowel system in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 277
7.19 The vowel system of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* before null and -n codas 278
7.20 The vowel system of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* before -ŋ coda 278
7.21 Devoicing pattern of Middle Chinese voiced stops and affricates 279
7.22 The *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* demonstrates a merger of voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates 280
7.23 The merger of labiodental fricatives 280
7.24 The merger of three labial stops in *qù* syllables 280
7.25 The loss of nasality of the *wēi* ɱ- initial 281
7.26 The contrast between the *wēi* ɱ- and the *yǐng* Ø- initials 281
7.27 A comparison of the vowels of the Middle Chinese *zhǐ* 止 rhyme group within *zhī* 知, *zhāng* 章, and *zhuāng* 莊 group initials 281

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

7.28 The rhyme and tone of non-*zhǐ* 止 rhyme group words with vowel -i 282
7.29 Centralization of high vowels in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 282
7.30 The merging and splitting conditions between Middle Chinese and the early Mandarin of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 283
7.31 Mergers of the *rù* tone with three other tones 284
7.32 Middle Chinese codas are lost and *rù* tone syllables with different codas merge 285
7.33 Interference between two changes to the Middle Chinese velar nasal initial 285
7.34 Rank-II syllables merged with different finals based on rhyme and place of articulation of the initial 286
7.35 The *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* merge between Rank-III and Rank-IV syllables 286
7.36 A comparison of *chóngniǔ* contrasts (Middle Chinese IIIa and IIIb) present in reflexes of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* and modern Beijing dialect 287
7.37 The contrast of Rank-II and Rank-III syllables in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 288
7.38 The syllables of the *chē-zhē* rhyme group 289
7.39 A correspondence table showing the Beijing dialect reflexes of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn chē-zhē* rhyme 289
7.40 Contrasts between the -m and -n coda that remained in the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 290
7.41 Contrasts of the *jiān-tuán* distinction 291
7.42 A four-stage process resulting in the merging of velars and coronals in front of high vowels 291
7.43 The pronunciation of Mǎ Zhìyuǎn's *Qiūsī* in the Mandarin of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* compared with Modern Mandarin 292
8.1 The Persian letters present in the *Mài Jué* and their IPA values 295
8.2 A comparison of transcriptions of voiceless aspirated and unaspirated Middle Chinese initials into Persian script in various personal names 297
8.3 Persian transcriptions follow the same devoicing pattern present in Mandarin 297
8.4 A loss of the *yí* 疑 initial is evident in the *History of China* 298
8.5 Examples highlighting the non-rhotic transcription of the Middle Chinese *rì* 日 initial in the *History of China* 298
8.6 Character *èr* 二 transcribed as a rhotacized vowel 298

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

8.7 Different renderings of ḥP'ags-pa ʊ- initial 299
8.8 *History of China* features a lack of *rù* syllable stop codas 300
8.9 *Rù* syllables transcribed with ‹ h › and ‹ q › endings 300
8.10 Transcription of high central vowels 301
8.11 Zero form of vowels -e and -ɛ 301
8.12 A series of *rù* syllables in the Persian *Mài Jué* that maintain their coda in transcription 305
8.13 A transcription of the *Rènfù Shānghán Gē* 305
8.14 Middle Chinese codas and their transcriptions in the Persian *Mài Jué* 306
8.15 Chinese characters with different transcriptions in the Persian *Mài Jué* 307
8.16 Phonological attributes of the PMJ-1; contrast with Table 8.17 309
8.17 Phonological attributes of the PMJ-2; contrast with Table 8.16 310
8.18 A comparison of characters across phonological attributes of the Persian *Mài Jué*, along with modern Beijing, modern Guangzhou, and the dialect of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 311
8.19 A compact generalization of the phonological attributes shown in Table 8.18 312
8.20 A comparison of Beijing and Suzhou dialects, reflecting the differences in *rì* 日 initial syllables and Rank-II *kāikǒu* syllables 314
9.1 The thirty-one initials of the *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn* 322
9.2 The relationship between Hangul letters, the intrinsic values of Hangul, and Ming Chinese values 323
9.3 The phonetic values of the finals in the *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn Yìxùn* 324
9.4 A final chart of the *Hóngwǔ Zhèngyùn Yìxùn* 324
9.5 A comparison of the *zhī* 支 rhyme before and after the split 327
9.6 A comparison of the modern Beijing and Hefei dialects 327
9.7 *Zǎo Méi* poem with phonetic values and pinyin 328
9.8 By reorganizing the characters of *Zǎo Méi*, the initial system of the Ming dynasty is illuminated 329
9.9 Conditional variants of *zhī* 枝, *chūn* 春, and *shàng* 上 initials 329
9.10 Rhyme groups of the *Yùnluè Yìtōng* and their respective finals 330
9.11 Examples of the mergers in Běnwù's revision 331
9.12 The loss of the palatal medial -j- after retroflex initials 331
9.13 The contrast of the *rù* syllables in Mandarin dialects 332
9.14 In a retroflex initial environment, -i becomes centralized, and merges with -ɨ syllables 332
9.15 The main vowel system of the *Yùnluè Yìtōng* 333

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

9.16 A final chart representing the phonological system of the *Yùnluè Yìtōng* 333
9.17 The tonal system of the *Yùnluè Yìtōng* 333
9.18 *Yīnpíng* and *yángpíng* syllables as in the *Yùnluè Yìtōng* 333
9.19 The initial system of the *Sìshēng Tōngjiě* 335
9.20 Some of the exceptional words 336
9.21 The phonetic transcriptions of finals in the *Sìshēng Tōngjiě* 336
9.22 A final chart of the Chinese phonology based on the Hangul spellings 337
9.23 Rank-III syllables of the *tōng* 通 rhyme group in the *súyīn* and the *jīn súyīn* 338
9.24 The merging of the *dàng* 宕 and *jiāng* 江 groups 338
9.25 The change of syllables with final -jaj 339
9.26 The change of syllables with final -waw 339
9.27 The merger of Rank-II and Rank-III/IV syllables with coda -n or -m 339
9.28 The merger of Rank-II and Rank-III/IV syllables with coda -w 339
9.29 The merger of Rank-II and Rank III/IV finals conditioned by codas 340
9.30 The change of words with final -iw 340
9.31 Tone sandhi as explained in the *Sìshēng Tōngjiě* 341
9.32 Tone sandhi for longer phrases 341
9.33 The dialogue as presented in Figure 9.2, with pinyin and gloss 342
9.34 Initials of the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 345
9.35 Initial chart of the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 345
9.36 Some examples of finals transcribed by Trigault 346
9.37 The spellings of each of the fifty final tables as written in the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 346
9.38 The phonetic interpretations of the spellings in the fifty final tables of the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 347
9.39 The phonetic interpretations (fifty-four finals) of the spellings in the fifty final tables of the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī*, arranged by medial and rime 348
9.40 Phonetic features of central vowels and other relevant vowels 349
9.41 Medials, main vowels, and codas of Trigault's *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 349
9.42 The tones of the *Xīrú Ěrmù Zī* 349
9.43 The twenty-two initials given in the *Děngyùn Tújīng* 350
9.44 The nineteen actual initials of the *Děngyùn Tújīng* 351
9.45 The merger of k- initial series and ts- initial series 351
9.46 Three possible contrasts between the two initial groups 351

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

9.47 The change order of the palatalization from Middle Chinese to Modern Mandarin 352
9.48 The change order of palatalization from Middle Chinese to modern Zhongyuan Mandarin 353
9.49 The centralization of main vowel i after retroflex initials 353
9.50 The change of front vowels after retroflex initials 353
9.51 The loss of palatal medial -j- after retroflex initials 354
9.52 The thirteen rhyme groups of the *Děngyùn Tújīng* 355
9.53 A comparison of the rhyme groups of the *Děngyùn Tújīng* and of the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 355
9.54 Medials, main vowels, and codas of the *Děngyùn Tújīng* 356
9.55 Some examples of the *zhī* 知 and *zhào* 照 initials merger 357
9.56 Some examples of the *wēi* 微 and *yǐng* 影 initials merger 357
9.57 Some examples of the loss of the *yí* 疑 initial merger 357
9.58 The rounded central vowel of the *Děngyùn Tújīng* 358
9.59 The change of the rounded central vowel 358
10.1 Examples of the *jiān-tuán héliú* 361
10.2 The merging process of *jiān* (ts- group) and *tuán* (k- group) initials 361
10.3 The complementary distribution of the tɕ-group and other initial groups 361
10.4 An example of the new *fǎnqiè* method of the *Yīnyùn Chǎnwēi* 368
10.5 A schematic illustration of the new *fǎnqiè* method of the *Yīnyùn Chǎnwēi* 369
10.6 A correspondence table showing a comparison of the *Yü-yen tzu-êrh chi* with modern pinyin, and accompanying IPA 372
10.7 The orthographical difference of the alveolar and retroflex initials 372
10.8 The retroflex serials and palatal series represented by the same letters, ch and ch‘ 373
10.9 The *Yü-yen tzŭ-êrh chi* finals in comparison with Modern Standard Mandarin in pinyin spelling 374
10.10 The *Yü-yen tzŭ-êrh chi* multiple readings of *jiǎo* 角, *què* 卻, *lüè* 略 374
10.11 The *Yü-yen tzŭ-êrh chi* multiple readings of *jué* 爵, *què* 卻, *lüè* 略 374
10.12 Labial initial or initial-less syllables with *êng* finals 375
10.13 The tonal pitch of the four tones described as different intonations 376
10.14 *-rh* as a suffix of the preceding syllable 376
10.15 Some examples of characters with multiple readings 377

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

10.16 The Modern Standard Phonology, as represented by pinyin and IPA 380
10.17 The *píng-zè* voicing mergers with unvoiced syllables, as represented by p, ph, and b 381
10.18 A schematic representation of the geographical distribution of the devoicing patterns of the major dialect groups 382
10.19 A comparison of colloquial and literary pronunciations of Min Chinese 383

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Foreword by William S-Y. Wang 王士元

Studies in the history of languages in the West may be dated to the famous lecture in Kolkata by William Jones, when he compared Sanskrit with the classical languages of Europe. Over the ensuing century and a half, the comparative method and internal reconstruction, originating from Indo-European studies, have been increasingly refined and applied to a great diversity of languages across the world. These achievements have become the pride of linguistics as a science.

In contrast, language study in China took a different trajectory, in large part due to the millennia of centralized power structure of the dynastic tradition, maintained through its nonalphabetic writing system. Although a pioneering study of how words differed from region to region was reported several centuries before the Common Era (*Fāngyán* 方言 by Yáng Xióng 揚雄), scholarly attention has always focused exclusively on the Sinitic language of the Central Plain, first recorded in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions three millennia ago. The writing system that has evolved from inscriptions on bone and bronze has remained the exclusive method to represent the language, in spite of the deep influence of Buddhism early in the Common Era, with its original sutras written alphabetically in Sanskrit. Unfortunately, the diversity of hundreds of other languages that covered the Chinese landscape aroused little scientific interest across the dynasties.

The Chinese tradition of language study has always centered on its writing system, dating back some two thousand years to a dictionary of over nine thousand characters (*Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* 說文解字), preferably called 'sinograms.' The spoken language, therefore, was studied through various ways of grouping these sinograms according to their pronunciation at the time. A primary purpose of these studies was for the analysis and composition of poetry. An early rime book of some fifteen centuries ago first grouped the sinograms by their lexical tone, then by their initial consonant, and finally by the remainder of the syllable. (See Figure 1.1.)

Several centuries after that, rime tables were developed wherein various phonetic parameters were introduced to describe the consonants and vowels in

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

terms of their articulation and perception. (See Figure 1.2.) In this connection, one might note that the science of musical acoustics had flourished much earlier. People in China understood the relations between vibrating bodies and the pitches they produce by the middle of the first millennium before the Common Era – witness the ingenious design of the massive bronze bells that can resonate at two different frequencies according to where they are struck. By around AD 1600, a prince of the Ming dynasty (Zhū Zàiyù 朱載堉) had published the world's first account of the twelve-tone equal temperament scale in terms of the twelfth root of two. Unfortunately, little of this acoustic knowledge carried over to language studies. The vocal tract was never analyzed as an acoustic tube, and experimental phonetics never developed indigenously.

Philological studies in the Chinese tradition reached their zenith in the Qing dynasty, largely motivated by the desire to understand the pronunciations of the poems of the *Shījīng* 詩經, composed three millennia ago. Scholars began to distinguish types of evidence that support various types of conclusions concerning phonetic events that took place over these three millennia, as well as to invent many technical terms beyond the straightforward articulatory descriptors used in the rime tables.

Some of these terms are traditional words given new phonetic meanings, such as *yīn* 陰 and *yáng* 陽, *qīng* 清 and *zhuó* 濁; others are more opaque, such as *shè* 攝, *děng* 等, *zhuǎn* 轉, *chóngniǔ* 重紐, and many others. Much information about language change that is of great interest to linguistics at large, beyond Chinese linguistics as a subfield, has not been accessible to international scholarship because of these terminological hurdles. For the first time, Professor Shen Zhongwei's volume promises to change that. His discussion of the phonological history of Chinese draws upon the relevant philological literature in a most effective and lucid fashion, couched in the familiar framework of modern phonetics, so that the lay reader will not become disoriented by the forbidding terminology. This is an important contribution the volume makes toward integrating Chinese linguistic scholarship into international linguistics at large.

By the same token, this volume additionally makes an important contribution in presenting the phonological research of many Chinese scholars, who have primarily published just in Chinese sources, and thus are not easily accessible internationally. In addition to the well-known works of Wáng Lì 王力 of Peking University, Shen also draws upon the contributions of less publicized papers of indigenous scholars such as Lù Zhìwéi 陸志韋, Mài Yún 麥耘, Pān Wùyún 潘悟雲, Yóu Rǔjié 游汝傑, and especially the insightful Zhèngzhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳. Integrated with Western publications, starting with the great Bernhard Karlgren, who introduced the comparative method to China, followed by works of Edwin Pulleyblank, Jerry Norman,

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

William Baxter, Laurent Sagart, and many others, this volume offers a more balanced account of the varied scholarship in this field.

Another important feature of this volume is the attention it gives to the linguistic interactions in Northern China. Much of the discussion of language contact in China has centered on the South and Southwest, with Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, and Austronesian. But such a focus neglects the important linguistic interactions in the North and Northeast. These interactions were especially prominent in the second millennium of the Common Era with the Khitans, Jurchens, Tanguts, Mongols, and Manchus. The latter two peoples overpowered and governed the Hans for many centuries in the Yuan and Qing dynasties respectively. In recent years, Shen has pioneered research in this neglected area with significant findings.

Shen examines these interactions between Altaic and Sinitic in this volume, often providing source materials that greatly facilitate understanding of many unfamiliar issues. As examples, Figure 5.1 is a rubbing from the *Dàozōng Āicè* 道宗哀冊, an example of the Greater Script in the Khitan language. Figure 5.3 illustrates Tangut writing, both the phonetic and sinographic forms, from *Zhǎng Zhōng Zhū* 掌中珠. Most interestingly, Figure 6.2 is a comparison of the Tibetan script with the ḥP'ags-pa system that the Mongols used in the Yuan dynasty. One hopes that these source materials will fascinate the reader and lead them to ever deeper studies.

Gathering these source materials in a succinct overview adds much to the value of the volume, not only for linguistic knowledge, but also toward understanding that complex segment of Chinese history at the beginning of the Second Millennium, at the collapse of the Song dynasty. Shen's study of these materials has already significantly advanced our knowledge in dating the origin of Early Mandarin, which was actually earlier than the received date by more than a century. This breakthrough, which he achieved through investigations of language contact, has been amply documented in his other writings and summarized in this volume.

All in all then, Professor Shen Zhongwei has produced a volume that at once presents a balanced account of what is currently known about the phonological history of Chinese and opens a window for future work in the area with an emphasis on language contact. Much fruitful fundamental research lies ahead! Very few languages in the world offer the kind of time depth and rich cultural history that is presented in this volume. It is a great pleasure for me to recommend the volume most highly, not only to readers in linguistics, but to all readers who are interested in a fascinating chapter of human history.

William S-Y. Wang 王士元
Research Centre for Language, Cognition, and Neuroscience
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Preface

As a first attempt, writing a book with this title brings with it unique and varied difficulties. It is well-known that Chinese is a language that has an unbroken written history of more than three thousand years. Firstly, unlike the alphabetical spelling system of European languages, the Chinese writing system is logographic, and so it does not reflect the sound of one's speech in any transparent way. The sounds of historical versions of Chinese thus must be reconstructed by using the knowledge of modern linguistics. Secondly, the quality of available source materials for different historical periods varies significantly. This inconsistency in quality directly relates to the reliability of various research results. It is necessary that before presenting and discussing the research done on Chinese historical phonology, I discuss in depth the quality of various source materials. I hope that a better understanding of the source materials available for different historical periods can help the reader to better understand the nature of Chinese historical phonological research work. To me this is a more objective way to judge reliability, which is often blurred by the more subjective interests and enthusiasm of researchers. Thirdly, Chinese history is long, but the importance of each period to reconstruction varies due to available materials. In this book, the phonological history is presented in a commonly accepted way, with major periods defined by their respective source materials, which show a significant difference from previous source materials. Lastly, it should also be pointed out that not only are the main source materials in Chinese, but the vast majority of studies and related terminologies are also in Chinese. This is probably one of the main reasons why Chinese scholarship is not well known to the scholars in the West, even to those who are involved in the study of phonological history. Many of the traditional terminologies represent how phonological studies were carried out throughout history when there were no available phonetically transparent tools such as an alphabet. It is quite natural that Chinese phonological research historically centered on phonological categories rather than phonetic values, which is almost a given in an alphabetical writing.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

I began to work on this book in 2010 at the suggestion of Professor Alain Peyraube of the Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale (CRLAO) when we met during the 18th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL-18) held at Harvard University. The original plan was to jointly write a book titled *A History of the Chinese Language*. Due to a difference in the progress of our writings, we decided to write separate books instead. My part is the book you are currently reading, and Professor Peyraube's part will be another book. I appreciate Professor Peyraube's invitation, otherwise I would not have had the courage to take on such an ambitious project. During the course of writing the present book, I received help and encouragement from many colleagues and friends. Without them, finishing this book project would have been a lot more difficult. For their professional help I would like to express my special thanks to Professor William S-Y. Wang at Hong Kong Polytechnic University for his comments, Professors Sūn Bójūn and Má Xiǎofāng at the Chinese National Academy of Social Sciences for their assistance with the input of special fonts, and the anonymous reviewer for the detailed comments and suggestions, which provide an important perspective from potential readers. Finally, I would like to thank my assistant for this book project, Mr. Jack Rabinovitch, who provided valuable assistance in many aspects, including making tables and indexing, as well as reading and editing this multi-script linguistic manuscript. Of course, it is needless to say, all the views expressed and the errors that remain in this book are entirely the responsibility of the author.

This book is an attempt to introduce the scholarship of Chinese researchers to the West, where English is an academic lingua franca. In writing I have tried to keep in mind both the general phonologist and specialist of Chinese studies, as well as both beginners and experts. Due to the scale of Chinese history and the difficulty of these topics, many of the research results in this book are based on other scholars' works. However, inclusion does not necessarily mean I am totally in agreement with the viewpoints of the works presented in this book. This book should be viewed as a beginning rather than the end of the representation of the historical phonology of Chinese. As a Chinese proverb says, this book is just an effort of *pāo zhuān yǐn yù* 抛磚引玉 'casting a brick to attract jade.' I sincerely hope that more linguistic research results achieved by Chinese scholars will be introduced in English and will enrich the general discussion and understanding of historical linguistics.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Major Periods of Chinese History

Period	Years	Capital city
Shāng dynasty	1556–1046 BC	Yin (Anyang)
Western Zhōu dynasty	1045–771 BC	Fenghao (near Xi'an)
Eastern Zhōu dynasty	770–255 BC	Luoyi (Luoyang)
Spring and Autumn period	771–476 BC	
Warring States period	476–221 BC	
Qín dynasty	221–206 BC	Xianyang (near Xi'an)
Hàn dynasty	206 BC–AD 220	
Western Hàn dynasty	206 BC–AD 9	Chang'an
Eastern Hàn dynasty	AD 25–220	Luoyang
Three Kingdoms period	AD 220–280	
Jìn dynasty	AD 266–420	
Western Jìn dynasty	AD 266–316	Luoyang
Eastern Jìn dynasty	AD 317–420	Jiankang (Nanjing)
Northern and Southern dynasties	AD 420–589	
Suí dynasty	AD 581–618	Daxing (Xi'an) Luoyang
Táng dynasty	AD 618–907	Chang'an (Xi'an)
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period	AD 907–960/979	
Sòng dynasty	AD 960–1279	
Northern Sòng dynasty	AD 960–1127	Bianjing (Kaifeng)
Southern Sòng dynasty	AD 1127–1279	Lin'an (Hangzhou)
Liáo dynasty	AD 907–1125	Shangjing (Linhuang) Nanjing (Beijing)[a]
Jīn dynasty	AD 1115–1234	Zhongzhou (Beijing), Kaifeng
Western Xià dynasty	AD 1038–1227	Xingqing (Yinchuan)
Yuán dynasty	AD 1279–1368	Dadu (Beijing)
Míng dynasty	AD 1368–1644	Nanjing, Beijing
Qīng dynasty	AD 1644–1912	Beijing
Republic of China	AD 1912–1949	Nanjing
People's Republic of China	AD 1949–present	Beijing

[a]Shangjing (Linhuang) was ranked the first of five capitals of Liao. The other four capitals were Nanjing (today's Beijing), Dongjing (Liaoyang), Xijing (Datong), and Zhongjing (Dading, today's Ningcheng).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13584-0 — A Phonological History of Chinese
Zhongwei Shen
Frontmatter
More Information

Locations of Ancient Capitals of China

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org