

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	
1.1. The traditional approach in phonological study	1
1.2. The expansion of the field	3
1.3. Problems and methods of this study	4
CHAPTER II: THE SOUNDS OF ANCIENT CHINESE	
2.1. Source materials and related terminologies	8
2.2. A brief review of previous studies	10
2.3. Sounds of Ancient Chinese	13
2.3.1. Vowels	14
2.3.1.1. High front vowel	15
2.3.1.2. Mid-high front vowel	17
2.3.1.3. Mid-low front vowel	17
2.3.1.4. Low front vowel	18
2.3.1.5. High non-front vowel	20
2.3.1.6. Mid non-front vowel	22
2.3.1.7. Low non-front vowel	24
2.3.2. Medials	27
2.3.2.1. Unrounded medial	27
2.3.2.2. Rounded medial	28
2.3.2.3. Contrast pairs	29
2.3.2.4. Palatalization in Ancient Chinese	32
2.3.2.5. <i>wj</i> for prevocalic cluster	33
2.3.3. Consonants	34
2.3.3.1. Retroflex(1) for Karlgren's palatal stops	34
2.3.3.2. Voiced fricative in retroflex(2)	35
2.3.3.3. Palatal nasal or liquid	36
2.3.3.4. "Voiced initials"	37
2.3.4. Tones	37
2.3.5. Conclusion	39
CHAPTER III: THE CHINESE hP'AGS-PA TRANSCRIPTION AND RELATED MATERIALS	
3.1. Data for Early Mandarin	42
3.2. The <u>Ku-chin yün-hui chü-yao</u>	43
3.2.1. The <u>Meng-ku yün-lüeh</u> and the <u>KYC</u>	44
3.2.2. The language revealed in the <u>KYC</u>	44
3.2.3. A textual examination	45
3.3. The <u>Meng-ku tzu-yün</u>	45
3.3.1. The language of the <u>MT</u>	45
3.3.2. Textual examination	46
3.3.3. <u>Li-pu yün-lüeh ch'i-yin san-shih-liu-mu t'ung-k'ao.</u>	47
3.3.4. The tone classes of the <u>MT</u>	47
3.3.5. "Voiced initials"	47
3.4. The <u>Chung-yüan yin-yín</u>	52
3.4.1. Non-uniqueness of solutions for the <u>CYYY</u>	52
3.4.2. Entering tone in the <u>CYYY</u>	53

3.5. Sorted data for Early Mandarin	54
3.5.1. Sound classes	55
3.5.1.1. Sound classes for initials	56
3.5.1.2. Sound classes for finals	57
3.5.1.3. Sound classes for tones	58
3.5.2. Correspondence sets	58
 CHAPTER IV: THE SOUNDS OF EARLY MANDARIN	62
4.1. Methodology	62
4.2. The finals of the MT	63
4.2.1. Graphic similarities in transcription	63
4.2.2. Functions of the letters	66
4.2.2.1. Some cases of complementary distribution . . .	67
4.2.2.2. Syllabics	70
4.2.2.3. More cases of complementary distribution . . .	71
4.2.3. The finals revealed in the <u>hP'ags-pa</u> transcription .	72
4.2.3.1. Six vowels	72
4.2.3.2. Four medials	74
4.2.3.3. Endings	75
4.2.4. Conclusion	76
4.3. The finals of the CYYY	76
4.4. Initials of the MT	76
4.4.1. Velars	79
4.4.2. Dentals(I)	81
4.4.3. Retroflex	83
4.4.4. Labials	84
4.4.5. Dentals(II)	85
4.4.6. Glottal and zero initials	85
4.4.7. Palatalization of velars	86
4.4.8. Conclusion	87
 CHAPTER V: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE IN ANCIENT CHINESE AND EARLY MANDARIN	91
5.1. Synchronic description of Ancient Chinese phonology .	91
5.1.1. Segment structure rules	92
5.1.2. Sequence constraints	95
5.2. Synchronic description of Early Mandarin phonology .	99
5.2.1. Segment structure rules	102
5.2.2. Sequence constraints	103
5.3. Conclusion	107
 CHAPTER VI: THE PHONETIC CHANGES FROM ANCIENT CHINESE THROUGH EARLY MANDARIN	108
6.1. Changes of initials	108
6.1.1. Redistribution of <u>dž</u> and <u>ž</u>	108
6.1.2. Split of <u>dž</u> and <u>ž</u>	110
6.1.3. Labiodentalization of labials	110
6.1.4. Merger of retroflex and palatal stridents	112
6.1.5. Merger of retroflex stops and alveopalatal affricates	112
6.1.6. Devoicing of "voiced initials"	113
6.1.7. Denasalization of **ŋ and <u>m</u>	114
6.1.8. Palatalization of velars	115

6.2. Changes of finals	117
6.2.1. Deletion of w after labials	117
6.2.2. Splits of <u>hen</u> 痕 and <u>hun</u> 魂, and <u>hsin</u> 欣 and <u>wen</u> 文 rimes	119
6.2.3. Split of <u>chen</u> 真 and <u>chen</u> 臻 rimes	120
6.2.4. Mergers of <u>chih</u> 支 and <u>chih</u> 脂, and <u>yu</u> 虞 and <u>yu</u> 虞 rimes	122
6.2.5. Rounding of non-front vowels	125
6.2.6. Redistribution of the low vowels	126
6.2.7. Addition and deletion of some on-glides	127
6.2.8. Split of <u>chen</u> 真 and <u>chun</u> 淳 rimes	128
6.2.9. Redistribution of high vowels	131
6.2.10. Merger of <u>a</u> , <u>a</u> and <u>a</u>	135
6.2.11. Deletion of stop endings	136
6.3. Changes of tones	136
CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION	138
FOOTNOTES	142
BIBLIOGRAPHY	151
APPENDIX I: Summaries of the sound changes	158
APPENDIX II: Correspondences of finals of the <u>KYC</u> , the <u>MT</u> and the <u>CYYY</u>	168
中文摘要	177