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<td>Oshima, Shôji</td>
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北海道大学文学部紀要 = The annual reports on cultural science, 19(3): 27-48
Preliminary Study on a Black Miao Dialect: Phonology
Preliminary Study on a Black Miao \(^1\)
Dialect: Phonology

Shôji Oshima

0. The Miao language is spoken over the area extending from 貴州 and the eastern part of 湖南, China to the mountainous regions of North Vietnam, Laos, and northern Thailand. The Miao tribe, the speakers of the Miao language, is generally divided into five main groups depending on the colours of their costumes: namely, Red, Black, White, Green and Flowery Miao.

1. The Miao language with which we deal in this paper is one of the Black Miao dialects spoken at 施同口, 台拱県 of 貴州 province. As these Black Miao people, the speakers of this dialect, differ from the other mountainous Black Miao, and make their living through fishing or trading along the river 清水江, we name this dialect "清水江 Miao dialect" after the name of river.

1.1. The material for this study is taken entirely from the data \(^2\) gathered by Professor Li Fang-Kuei in 1941, from the speech of Mr. Yang Lao-Sheng. We have no particulars on the informant except that he was about fifty years old at the time when his speech was recorded, and that he spoke with clarity and also could understand Chinese.

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2) The data consist of more than 1400 vocabularies, with many phrases, and three stories. The glosses in the field notes are all in Chinese.
2. **Phonemes**

The dialect has the following consonant and vowel phonemes:

**Consonant phonemes:**
- **Plosives**: /p, t, k, q : ph, th, kh, qh/  
- **Affricates**: /č : čh/
- **Fricatives**: /f, s, ʂ, ʂ : fh, sh, ɬh, ɬh : x, h : y : v/  
- **Nasals**: /m, n, ŋ : mh, nh, ŋh : ŋ/
- **Others**: /l, : N : y/

**Vowel phonemes**: /i, e, ɛ, a, ə, o, u/

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4) Phoneme symbols are in / /, and phonetic symbols for which the Broad Transcription is used in this paper are in [ ].

5) The author assumes the aspirated and unaspirated fricative consonants as separated phonemes respectively for 黨江 Miao dialect, but changes may be made in the future when the further work proceeds. 

*cf.* In disagreement with Prof. H. MASPERO's negative opinion on the opposition of aspirated and unaspirated fricatives in T'ang Chinese, Prof. B. KARLGREN advocates again the possibility of these opposition:

"M. MASPERO (Phonét. Ann. p. 39) semble être d'avis que la différence entre fei ɭ : fouf était plutôt théorique que réelle : Le chinois ancien [c.-à-d. ce que nous appelons ici chinois moyen] possédait deux spirantes labiales, sourde et sonore, ɭ et ɣ, dont la première..."
2.1. Consonant phonemes

2.1.1. Plosives

2.1.1.1. Plosive phonemes are /p, t, k, q : ph, th, kh, qh/; /p, ph/ are bilabials, /t, th/ are dentals, /k, kh/ are velars and /q, qh/ are uvulars.

The features which these have in common are interrupted- ness and mellowness. /p, t, k, q/ are opposed to /ph, th, kh, qh/ by the distinctive feature, lax vs. tense, /p, t : ph, th/ are to /k, q : kh, qh/ by diffuse vs. compact, and /p, q : ph, qh/ are to /t, k : th, kh/ by grave vs. acute.

2.1.1.2. The sounds which fall under /p, t, k, q/ are unaspi- rated voiceless [p, t, k, q].

Ex. /pa 5/ [pa] pig
/tə 5/ [ta] to kill
/ka 5/ [ka] green
/qə 5/ [qa] cock-crow

est, dans les tableaux phonétiques, répartie en deux classes suivant l'origine p ou p' de l'initiale." Cette vue n'est peut-être pas inadmissible, mais je n'en vois pas la nécessité. Il serait parfaitement naturel que p' produise un f plus fort que celui né de p. Les faits témoignent des divers dictionnaires distinguent scrupuleusement entre f et f'. Cela est vrai même pour le Tcheng yun, qui est très indépendant des anciennes traditions philologiques, et même quand ce dictionnaire a choisi d'autres ts'ie initiaux que les autres lexiques, il ne confond pas f et f'." (Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise. Archives d' études orient- tals publiées par J.-A. Lundell, vol.15, 1915-1926, reprinted in Pekin. 1931. p.553)

6) Raised numerals after the forms denote tones, see below.
2.1.1.3. The sounds which fall under /ph, th, kh, qh/ are aspirated voiceless [p', t', k', q'].

Ex. /pha 5/ [p'a] (to split (firewood))
/tha 5/ [t'a] (to disperse)
/kha 5lya 2/ [k'a lja] (magpie)
/qha 5/ [q'a] (guest)

2.1.2. Affricates

2.1.2.1. Affricate phonemes are /'C, 'Ch/; Both of them are palatals.

The features which these have in common are interruptedness and stridency. /'C/ is opposed to /'Ch/ by the distinctive feature, lax vs. tense.

2.1.2.2. The sound which falls under /c/ is unaspirated voiceless [t~].

Ex. /ca 1/ [tca] (poison)
/choN 2/ [tcong] (root (of a tree))

2.1.2.3. The sound which falls under /ch/ is aspirated voiceless [t~'].

Ex. /chu 1/ [tc'u] (stomach)
/chi 3 tu 8/ [tc'i tu] (to kindle a fire)

2.1.3. Fricatives

2.1.3.1. Fricative phonemes are /f, s, ʃ, ʒ : fh, sh, ʈh, ʂh : x, h, v/; /f, fh, v/ are labio-dentals, /s, sh/ are dentals /ṭ, ʈh/ are laterals, /ʃ, ʂh/ are palatals, /x/ is velar and /h/ is uvular.

The features which these have in common are continuant and stridency. /fh, sh, ʈh, ʂh/, /f, s, ʃ/ and /v/ are opposed to one another by the distinctive feature, tense vs. tense-lax, vs. lax, /f, fh, s, sh, v/, /ʃ, ʂh, ʈh/ and /x, h/ are opposed
to one another by diffuse vs. diffuse—compact vs. compact, /f, fh, v, h/ are to /s, sh, š, šh, ɟh, x/ by grave vs. acute.

2.1.3.2. The sounds which fall under /f, s, ɟ, š, x, h/ are unaspirated voiceless [f, s, ɟ, š, x, ɣ].

Ex. /fa/ [fa] {very}
    /sa/ [sa] {firewood knife}
    /ɟa/ [ɟa] {to cut off, sever}
    /šaN/ [šang] {shaman}
    /xa/ [xa] {to attend a funeral}
    /ha/ [χa] {to pity}

2.1.3.3. The sounds which fall under /fh, sh, ɟh, šh/ are aspirated voiceless [f', s', ɟ', š'].

Ex. /fhaN/ [f'æŋ] {desert rice field}
    /sha/ [s'ə] {sand}
    /ɟha/ [ɟ'ə] {thread}
    /šha/ [ç'ə] {to shift a sieve}

2.1.3.4. The sounds which fall under /v, y/ is unaspirated voiced [v, y].

Ex. /va/ [va] {I, me}
    /yə/ [yə] {to be late}

2.1.4. Nasals

2.1.4.1. Nasal phonemes are /m, n, ŋ : mh, nh, ŋh : ɣ /; /m, mh/ are bilabials, /n, nh/ are dentals, /ŋ, ŋh/ are palatals, /ɣ/ is velar.

The feature which these have in common is nasality. /mh, nh, ŋh/ are opposed to /m, n, ŋ/ by the distinctive feature, tense vs. lax, /m, mh, n, nh, ŋ, ŋh/ are to /ɣ/ by diffuse vs. compact, /m, mh/ to /n, nh, ŋ, ŋh/ by grave vs. acute.

2.1.4.2. The sounds which fall under /m, n, ŋ, ɣ/ are unaspir-
Preliminary Study on a Black Miao Dialect: Phonology

rated voiced, [m, n, ŋ, y]

Ex. /ma/ [ma] (eyes)
    /na/ [na] (bamboo shoot)
    /ña/ [ña] (husband of the younger sister)
    /ŋa/ [ŋa] (dry)

2.1.4.3. The sounds which fall under /mh, nh, ŋh/ are aspirated voiceless [m', n', ŋ']

Ex. /mha/ [m'ha] (to talk)
    /nha/ [ŋ'ha] (sky)
    /ŋhu/ [ŋ'u] (year)

2.1.5. /N/

/N/ is the only one phoneme which can not occur except in final position of a syllable.

2.1.5.1. The sound which falls under /N/ is divided into two, dental [n] and velar [ŋ]: that is, [n] falls under /N/ after /i/ and /e/, and [ŋ] does after /a/ and /o/.

Ex. /phiN/ [p'ın] (dust)
    /siN/ [si'n] (to ask)
    /teN/ [ten] (cup)
    /neN/ [nen] (flour)
    /paN/ [paŋ] (flower)
    /qaN/ [qaŋ] (frog)
    /tyoN/ [tjoŋ] (valley)
    /shoN/ [s'oŋ] (bone)

2.1.6. Lateral /l/

2.1.6.1. The sound which falls under /l/ is voiced lateral [l].

Ex. /la/ [la] (to snap fingers)
    /liN/ [lin] (to be crowded)
2.1.7. Glottal /, /

2.1.7.1. The sound which falls under /, / is glottal plosive [ʔ].

Ex. /a⁵/ [ʔa] {to make, weave}
     /o⁵/ [ʔo] {younger brother}

2.1.8. Semi-vowel phoneme /y/.

2.1.8.1. The sound which falls under /y/ is the glide [j], the friction is very weak.

This phoneme occurs only before a vowel, never after a vowel, and among initial consonant phonemes, only /p, t, č, ʧ, s : ph, th, čh, ʧh, ʃh : l/ can be combined with /y/.

Ex. /ya¹/ [ja] {young rice plants}
     /pye¹/ [pje] {three}
     /phye³/ [p'je] {to burn}
     /tya⁸/ [tja] {elder brother}
     /thyo⁵/ [t'jo] {rope}
     /čyu⁶/ [t'ju] {needle}
     /čyu¹/ [t'cju] {belly}
     /ćye⁷/ [t'je] {tadpole}
     /ćhyu⁵/ [t'c'ju] {to blow (one's nose)}
     /lyu⁸/ [lju] {tomato}
     /šyo⁷/ [cjo] {red}
     /šhye⁸/ [c'je] {to see}

2.2. Vowel phonemes

Vowel phonemes are /i, e, ε, a, o, u/, and these are phonologically opposed as follows:
Among these vowels, /e/ can be combined with /i/: /a/ can be combined with /i/ and /u/.

2.2.1. /i/

The sound which falls under /i/ is a close, front vowel [i].
Ex. /phi7/ [p'i] 〈girl〉
    /yi4/ [ji] 〈eight〉

2.2.2. /e/

The sound which falls under /e/ is a half-close, front vowel [e]. When this is combined with /i/, the sound which falls under /ei/ is a rising diphthong [ei].
Ex. /ke3/ [ke] 〈road, street〉
    /xe3/ [xe] 〈to count〉
    /nei2/ [nei] 〈he, him: she, her〉
    /lei1/ [lei] 〈monkey〉

2.2.3. /ɛ/

The sound which falls under /ɛ/ is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ].
Ex. /nɛ2/ [nɛ] 〈ear〉
    /4ɛ’/ [4ɛ] 〈to run〉

2.2.4. /a/

The sound which falls under /a/ is an open, back vowel [a]. When this is combined with /i/ and /u/, the sound of /ai/, /au/ is a rising diphthong [ai], [au] respectively.
Ex. /pa5/ [pa] 〈swine〉.
2.2.5. /ə/

The sound which falls under /ə/is a half-open, back vowel [ə].

Ex. /qə 5/ [qə] {old, worn out}
/kə 6/ [kə] {to fall down}

2.2.6. /o/

The sound which falls under /o/ is a half-close, back vowel [o].

Ex. /so 7/ [so] {to escape, flee}
/kə 7/ [ko] {hard, tough}

2.2.7. /u/

The sound which falls under /u/is a close, back vowel [u].

Ex. /pu 7/ [pu] {to open (door)}
/su 5/ [su] {small, little}

3. Syllables

3.1. When we consider all possibilities of occurrences, the syllable of the dialect can be formulated as CyVN/T (C indicates an initial consonant, y a semi-vowel, N a final consonant, and T a tone).

This sequence actually occurs according to the existence or non-existence of y and N as follows:

1) CV/T
2) CyV/T
3) CVN/T
4) $CyVN/T$

Note: 1) Every initial consonant can occur in the place of $C-$.
2) The consonants which can occur in the position of $Cy-$ are /p, t, č, š, ph, th, čh, 4h, šh, l/.
3) Every vowel can occur in the position of $-V$.
4) The vowels which can occur in the position of $-VN$ are /i, e, a, o/.

3.2. The following table shows the $CV, CyV, CVN$ and $CyVN$ combinations found in our material. The symbol x indicates that there are examples of such combinations; — indicates that the examples are not found.

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- 38 -
4. Tones

4.1. There are eight tones in the dialect.

1. Mid-high level (⁺44)
2. Falling from high to low (\151)
3. High level (\155)
4. Mid-low level (\22)
5. Rising from mid to high (\35)
6. Mid level (\33)
7. Rising from low to mid (\13)
8. Low level (\11)

The tone will here be designated by raised numerals to the right of the word, as in /pa 1/ (to send), /pa 2/ (to fall), /pa 3/ (to fill (water)), /han 3pa 4/ (net), /pa 5/ (pig, swine), /pa 6/ (style (of hair)), /pa 7/ (father), /kaN 1 /aN 6pa 8/ (spider).

4.2. The following table shows the distribution of tones according to the initial consonant C- and Cy-. Clusters with /y/ as second number, ex. /py-, ty-, cy-, ..., /, are listed in the same horizontal line as the initial consonant alone. The symbol x under a given number (representing a tone) and after a given initial indicates that syllables occur with that tone and that initial, and the symbol - does that syllables do not occur with that tone and that initial. Where a consonant and a cluster are listed together, there is a separate x or - for each.

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- 40 -
### 北大文学部紀要

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Ex. /pa ¹/ 〈to send〉, /pa ²/ 〈to fall〉, /pa ³/ 〈to fill(water)〉, /han ³/ pa ⁴/ 〈net〉, /pa ⁵/ 〈pig,swine〉, /pa ⁶/ 〈style (of hair)〉, /pa ⁷/ 〈father〉, /kaN ¹/ aN ⁶/ pa ⁸/ 〈spider〉

/pye ¹/ 〈three〉, /pye ⁴/ 〈slope (of a hill)〉, /pye ⁵/ te ¹/ 〈to
Preliminary Study on a Black Miao Dialect: Phonology

sleep\(\backslash tyu^2pye^6\) \{back (gate)\}
\(\backslash phiN^1\) \{dust\}, \(\backslash phe^3\) \{pumpkin\}, \(\backslash pha^5\) \{to split (wood)\},
\(\backslash phi^6\) \{broad\}, \(\backslash phi^7\) \{girl\}
\(\backslash phye^3\) \{to burn\}
\(\backslash mo^1\) \{to pain\}, \(\backslash mo^2\) \{you\}, \(\backslash kaN^1mo^3\) \{a kind of insects\},
\(\backslash mo^4\) \{to go\}, \(\backslash miN^5\) \{a well\}, \(\backslash ma^6\) \{eyes\},
\(\backslash mo^7\) \{woman\}, \(\backslash me^8\) \{thumb\}
\(\backslash kaN^1mhai^1\) \{flea\}, \(\backslash mhe^3\) \{teeth\}, \(\backslash mha^5\) \{to speak\},
\(\backslash mhoN^2\) \{?\}
\(\backslash fai^1\) \{cucumber\}, \(\backslash faN^3\) \{wide\}, \(\backslash fa^4\) \{day\}, \(\backslash fa^5\) \{very\},
\(\backslash fa^6\) \{?\}, \(\backslash the^7\) \{riverside\}, \(\backslash fa^8\) \{to escape\}
\(\backslash fhaN^1\) \{desert rice field\}, \(\backslash fhaN^2\) \{bright\}, \(\backslash fha^3\) \{?\},
\(\backslash qa^6\) \(\backslash fha^5\) \{not heavy\}, \(\backslash fhaN^7\) \{to lose\}
\(\backslash vaN^1sha^3\) \{dust-pan\}, \(\backslash va^2\) \{south\}, \(\backslash ve^3\) \(\backslash yu^6\) \{husband and wife\},
\(\backslash vi^4\) \{pan, pot\}, \(\backslash vaN^6\) \{to cut into two pieces\}, \(\backslash vu^6\) \{taro\}, \(\backslash vu^7\) \{old woman\}, \(\backslash va^8\) \{I, me\}
\(\backslash ta^1\) \{nephew\}, \(\backslash ta^2\) \{to fall (rain)\}, \(\backslash ta^3\) \{to take, use, etc.\},
\(\backslash to^4\) \{far\}, \(\backslash ta^5\) \{to kill, break\}, \(\backslash ta^6\) \{to die\}, \(\backslash tai^7\)
\{wings\}, \(\backslash ta^8\) \{classifier for animals\}
\(\backslash tyu^1\) \{pine\}, \(\backslash tyu^2\) \{door\}, \(\backslash tyo^3\) \{idiot\}, \(\backslash tyoN^4\) \{valley\},
\(\backslash tyu^5\) \{six\}, \(\backslash tyo^6\) \{broom\}, \(\backslash tyu^7\) \{knife\}, \(\backslash tyu^8\)
\{waist\}
\(\backslash thaN^1\) \{ladder\}, \(\backslash tha^3\) \{to strip\}, \(\backslash tho^5\) \{socks\}, \(\backslash the^7\)
\{to drop\}
\(\backslash thya^1\) \{fork (of a tree)\}, \(\backslash thyo^3\) \{to change\}, \(\backslash thyo^5\)
\{rope\}, \(\backslash thyu^7\) \{?\} \{to have diarrhoea\}
\(\backslash ne^1\) \{liver\}, \(\backslash na^2\) \{person\}, \(\backslash no^3\) \{cool\}, \(\backslash ne^4\) \{fish\},
\(\backslash no^5\) \{many, much\}, \(\backslash na^6\) \{bamboo shoot\}, \(\backslash tyaN^7\) \{\} \{nai\} \{?\}
《北京大学文史部紀要》

〈to cut into small pieces〉，/ta³ nau⁸/〈glutinous rice〉

/nha¹/〈day〉，/nhaN³/〈to listen, hear〉，/nha⁵/〈sky〉，
/ku⁵ nhau⁷/〈cough〉

/sai¹/〈good,fine〉，/sa²/〈even, smooth〉，/se³/〈house,home〉，
/sei⁴/〈cold〉，/sa⁵/〈firewood knife〉，/siN⁶/〈to ask〉，/so⁷
/〈to flee〉，/so⁷/〈to play with〉

/sha¹/〈the day after tomorrow〉，/shei²/〈money〉，/sha³/
〈uncooked rice〉，/sha⁵/〈umbrella〉，/sheN⁶/〈the 9th of the
cyclic terms〉，/sho⁷/〈to close〉

/⁴ɛ¹/〈to run〉，/⁴oN²/〈?〉，/⁴ɛ³/〈dog〉，/⁴ai⁴/〈to enter〉，
/⁴a⁵/〈to cut off〉，/⁴ai⁶/〈to coax,beguile〉，/⁴aN⁸/〈horn〉
/⁴yo¹/〈squirrel〉，/⁴yoN²/〈ring〉，/⁴yu³/〈heart〉，/⁴yaN⁴
qoN³/〈?〉，/⁴yoN⁵/〈nightingale〉，/⁴yu⁶/〈hair〉，/⁴yu⁷/〈to
save〉，/⁴yo⁸/〈to pull〉

/⁴ho¹/〈salamander〉，/⁴ho³/〈bamboo〉，/⁴ha⁵/〈thread〉，
/⁴haN⁶/〈grandchild〉，/⁴hai⁷ yë²/〈to cut the meat〉
/⁴hya¹/〈to miss(a person)〉，/⁴yho⁴/〈?〉，/⁴hyu⁵/〈to blow
(one's nose)〉，/⁴yho⁶/〈?〉

/la¹/〈general classifier〉，/la²/〈to mow〉，/la³/〈short〉，
/la⁴/〈to move away〉，/la⁵/〈to play (string instrument)〉，
/la⁶/〈cave,den〉，/lo⁷/〈rabbit,hare〉，/la⁸/〈candle; smooth,
polished〉

/lyu¹/〈tomato〉，/qa⁵ ly⁲/〈magpie〉，/lyo³/〈ox,cow〉，
/lyaN⁴/〈to bury〉，/lyu⁵/〈cheek〉，/qo⁶ lyu⁶ še¹/〈elbow〉，
/lyi⁷/〈skin〉，/lyoN⁸/〈green〉

/ča¹/〈poison〉，/čo²/〈nine〉，/či³/〈son-in-law〉，/čo⁴/
〈camellia〉，/či⁵/〈wind〉，/čo⁶/〈west〉，/či⁷/〈noble〉，/ču⁸/〈ten〉
/čyu⁵/〈bridge〉，/čyu⁵/〈alcoholic drink〉，/čyu⁶/〈needle〉，
/čyu⁷/〈?〉
Preliminary Study on a Black Miao Dialect: Phonology

/\(\text{chu}^1\)/ {stomach}, /\(\text{cho}^3\)/ {harrow}, /\(\text{chu}^5\)/ {?},
/\(\text{che}^6\)/ {to sweep the ground}, /\(\text{tyaN}^1\)/ {fine-toothed comb}
/\(\text{chu}^1\)/ {belly}, /\(\text{ne}^4\)/ {a kind of fish}, /\(\text{chu}^5\)/ {?}
/\(\text{chu}^1\)/ {to spin}, /\(\text{ne}^2\)/ {silver}, /\(\text{noN}^3\)/ {flower}
/\(\text{chu}^1\)/ {belly}, /\(\text{nE}^4\)/ {a kind of fish}, /\(\text{chu}^5\)/ {?}
/\(\text{Iii}^1\)/ {to spin}, /\(\text{Iie}^2\)/ {silver}, /\(\text{IioN}^3\)/ {flower}
/\(\text{Iiu}^6\)/ {thick, dense}, /\(\text{Iia}^7\)/ {husband of younger sister},
/\(\text{nee}^8\)/ {tongue}
/\(\text{nho}^1\)/ {beautiful}, /\(\text{nhoN}^3\)/ {?}, /\(\text{nhu}^5\)/ {year}, /\(\text{nih}^6\)
/\(\text{ma}^4\)/ {eyes}, /\(\text{au}^1\)/ {sweat}
/\(\text{se}^1\)/ {to bark}, /\(\text{qau}^5\)/ {tiger}, /\(\text{suN}^4\)/ {seven}, /\(\text{si}^5\)
/\(\text{to starve}, /\(\text{saN}^5\)/ {shaman}, /\(\text{si}^7\)/ {wedge}
/\(\text{syo}^1\)/ {tiger}, /\(\text{tyo}^5\)/ {four-footed}, /\(\text{syaN}^3\)/ {four-footed}
/\(\text{suN}^5\)/ {to teach}, /\(\text{syaN}^6\)/ {to teach}, /\(\text{syo}^7\)/ {red}, /\(\text{syu}^8\)/
/\(\text{warm}
/\(\text{nau}^6\)/ {kingfisher}, /\(\text{sheN}^2\)/ {the 5th of the cyclic terms}, /\(\text{shaN}^3\)/ {blood}, /\(\text{sheN}^4\)/ {the 11th of the cyclic terms}
/\(\text{shin}^5\)/ {rust}, /\(\text{sha}^6\)/ {to sift, sieve}, /\(\text{sha}^7\)/ {basket}
/\(\text{sha^1}\)/ {to write}, /\(\text{shye}^3\)/ {to see}, /\(\text{sha}^5\)/ {to worry},
/\(\text{shyu}^6\)/ {to teach}, /\(\text{sha}^7\)/ {basket}
/\(\text{ya}^1\)/ {younger rice plants}, /\(\text{yeN}^2\)/ {the 9th of ten Celestial Stems}, /\(\text{kaN}^1\)/ {fly}, /\(\text{yi}^4\)/ {eight}, /\(\text{yo}^5\)/ {under},
/\(\text{ya}^6\)/ {?}, /\(\text{yo}^7\)/ {musk}, /\(\text{ye}^8\)/ {taste}
/\(\text{ka}^1\)/ {to parch}, /\(\text{kei}^2\)/ {to cry}, /\(\text{ka}^3\)/ {meal}, /\(\text{ke}^4\)/ {mantis},
/\(\text{ka}^5\)/ {green}, /\(\text{ko}^6\)/ {to fall down}, /\(\text{ki}^7\)/ {scissors},
/\(\text{kei}^8\)/ {low}
/\(\text{khoN}^1\)/ {shrimp, prawn}, /\(\text{kha}^3\)/ {?}, /\(\text{khiN}^5\)/ {basket},
/\(\text{kha}^6\)/ {duck}, /\(\text{khei}^7\)/ {harrow}
/\(\text{ta}^4\)/ {cat}, /\(\text{goN}^2\)/ {to look for}, /\(\text{gaN}^4\)/ {goose},

- 44 -
5. On the basis of the preceding table, it is possible to group the tones into two types. One type consists of tones 1, 3, 5, (6) and 7, which appear in syllables with almost any initials; the other type consists of tones 2, 4, (6) and 8, which have a rather restricted occurrence.

The initials also seem to group themselves into two main types. The unaspirated voiceless plosives /p, t, k, q/ (but not /q/), the unaspirated voiceless affricate /č/, the unaspirated voiced nasals /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/ the unaspirated voiceless fricatives /f, s, ʂ, h, v, ŋ/, the lateral /l/, and the semi-vowel /y/ apparently occur with all eight tones. The aspirated voiceless plosives /ph, th, kh, qh/, the aspirated voiceless affricates /čh/, the aspirated voiceless nasals /mh, nh, ŋh/,
the aspirated voiceless fricatives /fh, sh, h, sh/, the glottal /\, and /x/ seem to permit only tones 1, 3, 5, (6) and 7, although there are a few exceptions.

6. That the tones have a definite relation to the initials in the tone languages is a well-known phenomenon. As for the tone system of the Chinese and Tai languages, there were


originally, as far as we can trace them back, four tones in both of them. These four tones, then, under the influence of different initials, later develop into eight (six in syllables without a final stop, plus two in syllables with a final stop), chiefly according to the voiced or voiceless nature of the initials. On the basis of the foregoing statement, it seems possible to assume that the original voiceless initial takes a high tone register, and the original voiced initial takes a low tone register as the result of its historical development.

We may tentatively consider that in Miao dialect, the tones 1, 3, 5, (6) and 7, which are considered to be high tone register, as developed in syllables with voiceless initials, and the tones 2, 4, (6) and 8, which are considered to be low tone register, as developed in syllables with voiced initials. These


(8) cf. Li, The distribution of initials and tones in the Sui language, op. cit. 165-166
admittedly broad statements are to be tested, and may certainly be modified by more detailed comparative studies in the future, as other undetermined factors\(^9\) may play a part in the development of the tones.

The author wishes to express his deepest appreciation to Professor Li Fang-Kuei for his generosity in allowing us use his valuable field notes, and to Miss. Julia Chin Kwan for her help and collaboration in arranging the data. However, the whole responsibility for this manuscript lies on the author alone.

\(^{(9)}\) The author tentatively assumes the pre-glottalized consonants as the source for the voiced consonants which permit 1, 3, 5, (6) and 7, but this should be examined by the future study. (cf. LI, The hypothesis of a pre-glottalized series of consonants in primitive Tai, op.cit.)