Oldřich Švarný

Prosodia linguae Sinensis

David Uher
and Tereza Slaměníková (ed.)

Oldřich Švarný

Prosodia linguae Sinensis

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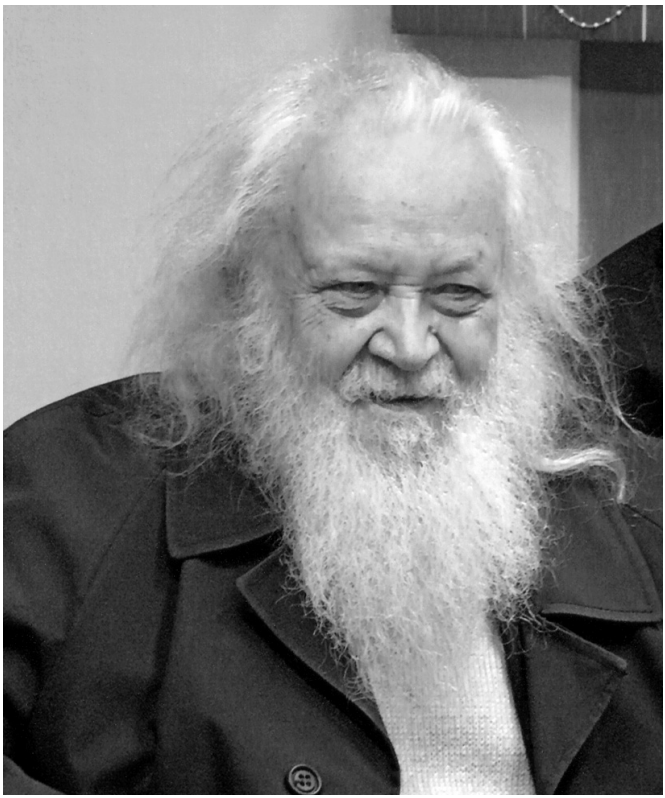

Oldřich Švarný (1920–2011)
September 26, 2007 in Olomouc

OLDŘICH ŠVARNÝ: *PROSODIA LINGUAE SINENSIS*

EDITORIAL

This issue of our journal is a collection of works in foreign (i.e. non-Czech) languages, mostly articles written by Oldřich Švarný. The total number of the texts in this issue is fifteen, nine of them in English, three in Chinese and three in German. The articles are made reference here in accordance with their original date in the following list:

1966 Zum Problem der Differenzierung der undebonten Silben im Peking Dialekt[1]
1967 Zur Frage der Reduktion der Vokalelemente in den atonischen Silben im Pekinger Dialekt[2]
1968 Prosodic features and their functioning in modern Chinese[3]
1970 Grammatikalische und phonetische Anzeigen im Chinesischen Wörterbuch[4]
1972 Pekinese tones – proposal for a new approach[5]
1974 Variability of tone prominence in Chinese (Pekinese): Some remarks concerning the reform of Chinese script[6]
1991a The functioning of the prosodic features in Chinese (Pekinese)[7]
1991b Prosodic features in Chinese (Pekinese): Prosodic transcription and statistical tables[8]
1991c Rhythmic features of spoken Chinese: Quantitative and grammatical analysis (methodology)[9]
1998a Rhythmic features and prosodic transcription of Chinese[10]
1998b *Xiandai Hanyu Lianxi Juz*[11]
1998c *Xiandai Hanyu changyong yusu huibian*[12]
2000 Prosodic transcription of modern Chinese: Experimental research and teaching practice[13]

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1 Originally: *Archiv Orientální* 1966, 34, pp. 165–211.
2 *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 1967, 16, pp. 249–250.
3 In *Papers of the CIC Far Eastern Language Institute*. Ann Arbor 1968, pp. 77–80.
4 *Probleme der Lexicografie*. Berlin 1970, pp. 53–58.
5 In *AUC Philologica 1*, *Phonetica Pragensia III*. Praha 1972, pp. 257–260.
6 In Černý, Václav A.: *Asian and African Languages in Social Context*. Prague 1974, pp. 127–186.
7 *ArOr* 1991, 59, 2, pp. 208–216.
8 *ArOr* 1991, 59, 3, pp. 234–254.
9 *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 1991, xlviii, 2, pp. 131–137.
10 In Švarný, Oldřich a kol.: *Hovorová čínština v příkladech* III. Olomouc 1998, pp. 7–21.
11 In Švarný, Oldřich a kol.: *Hovorová čínština v příkladech* I. Olomouc 1998, p. 9.
12 In Švarný, Oldřich: *Učební slovník jazyka čínského* 1. Olomouc 1998, p. 6.
13 In Palková, Zdena and Hans-Walter Wodarz ed.: *Papers in Phonetics and Speech Processing*.

2001a *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*[14]
2001b *Xiandai Hanyu*[15]

We chose a distinctly reverent adaptation, only interfering with the texts in the technical sense, most often unifying the graphics of the quotation marks and apostrophes. The articles are ordered strictly chronologically from the oldest to the newest ones, with the exception of the texts in Chinese, which are "Prefaces" of two university textbooks and of the *Learning Dictionary of Chinese Language*, and as such are included at the end of our journal issue.

We have removed the authorship of the texts or affiliation of the authors: with the exception of the texts **1966**, **1967**, which Guan Mingzhe co-operated on and **1991b**, co-authored by Tang Yunling Rusková; Oldřich Švarný is the exclusive author of all the texts listed in this issue of our journal.

The lines under the words are used to emphasize important facts and are only left in some parts of the text. Since it blends, however, with the base of the letters in the Times New Roman style, we have decided to replace it with capitals. The inconsistent use of italics (Chinese terms, book titles, or article titles, etc.) was retained: unifying them would only delay the publication of this anthology. In addition, we believe that these disproportions will only minimally affect the overall reader's impression. With the exception of "References," we also decided to ignore completely the fluctuations in the capitalization of book and articles titles.

The notes, which were usually included at the end of the text, have been moved for clarity to the appropriate pages below the line. We have also placed the Chinese character references directly into the text: in the original versions they are mostly in the attachments. Where we did not do so, there was too much relevant material.

The texts were supplemented with abstracts and lists of "References" in order to comply with the current standards for publishing the results of research activities, with the exception of the texts **1968**, **1970** and **2000**. These are not texts, however, written by Oldřich Švarný. Their authors are both editors of this issue: in **1968**, the first paragraph of the original text was used as the abstract. In **2000** it was, however, the first footnote, and therefore the numbering and their total amount compared with the original text were changed. In **1970**, the abstract in English has already been included.

In some texts, we took into consideration the manuscript modifications that were preserved in the estate of Oldřich Švarný.

The greatest change in the original texts was the unification of Švarný's prosodic transcription systems. It exists in at least three versions (contained in the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese – Úvod do hovorové čínštiny*, *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples – Gramatika hovorovej čínštiny v príkladoch*, or *Learning*

Frankfurt am Main 2000, pp. 149–159.

[14] Originally a booklet attached to the recording of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*. *Učebního slovníku jazyka čínského* I–IV.

[15] In Švarný, Oldřich a David Uher: *Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny*. Olomouc 2001, p. 10.

Dictionary of Chinese Language – Učební slovník jazyka čínského). Therefore, it would be extremely complicated for readers to grasp all three versions. When possible, we have modified the transcription to its current form, i.e. the fourth version, which is particularly suitable for its computer processing: arcs joining isolated syllables into segments were replaced by dashes, vertical short lines from the upper part of the lines by commas, weakened tonal arses are denoted by a number in superscript, theses by a number in subscript, and emphasized tonic syllables are marked in bold. The fourth version of the prosodic transcription was introduced in the *Textbook of Colloquial Chinese – Učebnice čínské konverzace* 2.

In the transcription, we mark the third tone almost everywhere in its original form, i.e. we disregard the tonal changes caused by its surroundings.

The most significant interference with the content occurred in the text **1998b**. The exemplifications are only given in the Czech version of the text and the Chinese characters in another part of the book. For clarity, the exemplifications with Chinese characters were transferred to the English text presented in this issue of our journal. We recommend that those unfamiliar with Švarný's research of modern spoken Chinese prosody begin by reading his works with this very text.

For the text **2001b**, there are two versions (the first one from 1997): since the *Learning Dictionary of Chinese Language* was published between 1998 and 2000, we reprint here a newer one. The original six ninety-minute cassettes of the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* were also expanded to ten.

As concerns the addresses given in the texts, only the address of the Publishing House of Palacky University is valid: the Department of Asian Studies, formerly the Far East Cabinet, was moved from Wurmova to Křížkovského Street, and the Oriental Institute, the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, from Lázeňská Street to Ládví.

Although we have made every effort to minimize their occurrence, we apologize for any mistakes we have made in digitization and subsequent editions of the original texts. Please send your comments to: D. Uher, KAS FF UP Křížkovského 14, 771 80 Olomouc, Czech Republic

D. Uher and T. Slaměníková
Olomouc 20 October 2019

LONGUM ITER EST PER PRAECEPTA, BREVE ET EFFICAX PER EXEMPLA

David Uher

Motto:
Chinese without tones
is like licking chocolate over its tinfoil

The Sinologist, Orientalist, phonetician and linguist Oldřich Švarný would have been one hundred years old next year. His work is remarkable not only for its breadth but also for its contribution to understanding the true form of modern colloquial Chinese as speech that ceases to be a tonal language. His contribution to Chinese language teaching is generally overlooked. In my opinion, however, Švarný was primarily a teacher. I will try to explain this statement with the following lines. I want to mention only the basic facts from the life of Švarný, which in my opinion were directly related to his activities as a teacher. Since he interests me primarily as a teacher, I rank the facts about him not strictly chronologically, but loosely as the topic of this article requires.

Švarný's teaching career began after graduating from English and Russian at Masaryk University in Brno in 1947. His interest in phonetics and especially in the Chinese language forced him, however, to leave his position as a secondary school teacher as well as his birthplace, i.e. South Moravia, for Prague and undergo the uncertainty of doctoral studies at Charles University. Jaroslav Průšek, director of the Oriental Institute at the Academy of Sciences of the Czechoslovak Republic in Prague, soon recognized Švarný's strong interest in Chinese and decided to offer him work in the institute in 1951.

Shortly thereafter, Průšek established a team of authors consisting of Švarný, Jarmila Kalousková and Josef Bartůněk, the team responsible for compiling a new textbook of modern Chinese. The project of modern Chinese teaching, as not only an aid for university students, but also for a growing group of people interested in the Chinese language, was established in the 1950s by the Oriental Institute. Průšek was very well aware that his *Textbook of Spoken Chinese* (*Učebnice mluvené čínštiny*) published in Zlín in 1938 was already obsolete and understood the need to create and publish a new textbook.

It was once again Průšek who conceived the structure of this textbook and became its scholarly editor. The text and vocabulary of the original Zlín textbook were replaced by new, more modern language material and supplemented by an explanation of grammar with examples. Along with this, a solid introduction to the Chinese writing system was drawn up, with an emphasis on its structure, meaning, and the culminating reform movement at that time.

It took nearly twenty years to complete the textbook, resulting in a two-volume *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese*. In my opinion, the most important parts of the textbook are prosodic transcription of teaching texts and an analysis of the meaning of the 1617 most frequent Chinese characters. Respecting a phoneme implementation depended on its surroundings and the transcription based on the International Phonetic Alphabet not only describes in details the pronunciation of the individual syllables, but also comments on the structure of the text and most importantly on the prominence of its individual syllables that reflect the rhythm of modern colloquial Chinese.

Levels of prominence were only described in three degrees at this stage of the analysis, but it is also possible to demonstrate the rhythmic plasticity of the utterance. An important part of the meaning analysis of Chinese characters is information about the independence or binding of the syllabosememes of the Chinese language. The main purpose of the prosodic transcription and analysis of syllabosememes is to make the system of Chinese language phonologically and graphically accessible as much as possible, and therefore remove the two most difficult obstacles in its mastering. This textbook is not only the first modern textbook of Chinese in the Czech language, but the main ideas contained therein have become the cornerstones of Švarný's later scholarly and research activities.[1]

Although some parts of the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese*, especially the texts themselves, are obsolete, its theoretical parts remain an integral part of the new Chinese language teaching methods in the Czech Republic. They also constitute an indispensable basis for compilation of new teaching materials. Many linguistic problems, especially those related to Chinese linguistic terminology and its translation into Czech, are also solved here for the first time in the history of Czech Sinology. This is where I see the crucial contribution of this textbook.

The *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* naturally has a number of other advantages. There is no doubt that at the end of the 1960s it was accompanied by an audio recording, which is unprecedented considering the technical level at that time. It is a gramophone record, being a recording of only the most important parts of the textbook. There is also no need to emphasize the benefits of an audio recording for a student of a tone language. Since transcription is not able to record the actual plasticity of the relevant phonetic phenomena in the language, the audio recording has become an integral part of Švarný's teaching materials, which I will mention later in the text.

Although the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* is a collective work, I believe that Švarný is the main author of its prosodic transcription and syllabus analysis.

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[1] Unfortunately, the textbooks by Švarný and his main pedagogical work are mostly written in the Czech language. Apart from more than ten articles written in English or German, there are English and Chinese translations of only some parts of his *Colloquial Chinese in the Sentence Examples*. This is also one of the reasons why Švarný's pedagogical work abroad is almost unnoticed and he is known there primarily as a phonetist and linguist. This situation will I hope change with the publication of the English version of the *Learning Dictionary of Chinese Language*.

The reason for this belief is not only the themes and content of Švarný's doctoral (PhDr.)[2] and candidate (CSc.) thesis[3], but also his other studies and many articles related to these issues. Working on the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese*, Švarný began to realize the depth of both these problems and decided to work them out. Průšek recognized, however, that both of these questions were too complicated for the author to deal with in the textbook itself and suggested that the third part of the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* be devoted to them. In the form of a dictionary, Švarný dealt with the problem of syllabosems recorded by about the two thousand most frequent characters. Based on a precise analysis of more than sixteen thousand sentence examples, counting one hundred and fifty thousand characters, he converted them into prosodic transcription and supplemented them with detailed grammatical characteristics.

Unfortunately, the fate of the textbook and hence the dictionary was unfortunate. In the period of normalization that followed almost immediately after the first two parts of the textbook were published, the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* was withdrawn from circulation due to the author's personal views. Moreover, the publication of its third part was postponed several times and eventually completely rejected, as was the possibility of the second edition of the first two volumes. Despite these unfortunate facts, Švarný continued tirelessly to complete the project, especially the prosodic analysis of a nearly sixty-hour set of example sentences recorded on a tape, throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

After his involuntary departure from the Oriental Institute, Švarný found refuge in Chinese language courses at the cultural centre of Prague 6. Under his leadership, students of Sinology at Charles University also "secretly" perfected their Chinese. At the end of the 1980s, Švarný's erudition received partial satisfaction in the interest of Slovak Sinologists, in particular Marián Gálik, to cooperate on the formation of Sinology at Comenius University in Bratislava. To test the results of his research, although at that time Švarný was already sixty-eight years old, he began teaching Chinese there in 1988.

Teaching in Bratislava led Švarný to the idea of publishing the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples*. This original methodological guide for teachers of the Chinese language can be divided into two parts: the core of the first one consists of example sentences and short dialogues that illustrate the basic phenomena of modern colloquial Chinese grammar in sixty-six articles divided into 260 sections. The second part is a systematic detailed explanation of the Chinese phonological system and grammar. Special attention is paid to the structure of the Chinese syllable, rhythmic characteristics of Chinese texts and the unique prosodic transcription of Chinese.

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[2] *Prosodické vlastnosti slabiky v čínštině a jejich modifikace v řeči souvislé* [Prosodic Qualities of the Syllable in Chinese and their Modifications in Connected Speech] (unpublished thesis). Praha: Univerzita Karlova 1952.

[3] *K otázce morfému a slova v moderní čínštině* [Morpheme and Word in Modern Chinese] (unpublished thesis). Praha: Orientální ústav 1963.

The main contribution of the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in the Sentence Examples* is the combination of a theoretical explanation and the practical application of the principles. The author no longer pays attention to the syllabosemes, but concentrates fully on a detailed description of the prosodic transcription. It is very practical to divide the whole of the material into theoretical and practical parts as well as to split the example sentences into two texts – in Chinese characters and transcription. In this way, the student can first listen to the recording, then read the text from the prosodic transcription and consult the dictionary. He or she then goes through the explanation of the relevant grammar, and finally decodes the text in Chinese characters. In this way it is possible to imitate the approach children have when learning a foreign language: first they listen, then they try to imitate what they have heard, and only after they understand the meaning are they able to read and write. Such a study of the Chinese language can also be applied to the usage of the *Learning Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, since all the sentence examples in it are simultaneously written in the prosodic transcription and recorded. A detailed explanation of grammatical and lexical phenomena is also incorporated.

In September 1994, one year after the establishment of the Chinese Philology study programme at the Cabinet of the Far East at the Department of Romance Languages, Faculty of Arts at Palacký University, Švarný began teaching the Chinese language in Olomouc. In this way, unprecedentedly fruitful cooperation was initiated. In 1998, associate professor and two years later full professor Švarný prepared a new version of the original Chinese teaching materials in order to support the formation of the new study programme in Olomouc. The first of them was an *Introduction to the Study of Colloquial Chinese*[4]. The publication of this title was supposed to precede, however, the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples*, as its main part is an explanation of grammar using the examples of this textbook.

The *Introduction to the Study of Colloquial Chinese* is actually an excerpt from the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* from 1967. It seemed too difficult and technically almost impossible to publish it again after thirty years as some of its parts were outdated. A struggle for a better integration of the two teaching texts culminated in a new revised edition of the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* entitled *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples*[5]. It differs from the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* in the second set of examples in the same order as the first one, but with more vocabulary intended for more advanced students. It is actually a repetition and at the same time an extension of previously acquired knowledge and working skills in contact with Chinese texts. The main, but by no means the only, goal of *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* is to transcribe the prosody of the Chinese sentences, describe their linear segmentation and the multi-layered hierarchy of the Chinese syllable prominence.

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[4] Švarný, Oldřich and David Uher: *Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny*. Olomouc: Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého 1997 (1st edition), 2001 (2nd revised edition).

[5] Švarný, Oldřich and collective: *Hovorová čínština v příkladech*. Olomouc: Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého 1998.

The main reason for the compilation of the *Learning Dictionary of Chinese Language*[6], was the completion of the Chinese textbooks with material about the essence of Chinese words and the method of Latinizing the Chinese text. The dictionary undoubtedly represents the Opus Magnum not only of Švarný, but also of Czech Sinology in the field of linguistics, grammar and phonetics, but above all in education. It is strongly connected to the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese*, the *Introduction to Study of Colloquial Chinese* and the *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples*, which are practical applications of its theories. Its scope is much wider of course.

In essence, it goes back to the questions that have already been outlined in the *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese*, namely the questions of Chinese morphology and phonetics, as I mentioned above. It was undoubtedly important for the completion of the project to verify the theory in teaching practice both in the Czech Republic and abroad. Švarný worked at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1964; two years later at the École des langues orientales vivantes in Paris; between 1969 and 1970, he tested his theoretical knowledge using experimental phonetics at the University of Princeton and the University of Berkeley, USA. All this, however, without the possibility of a longer stay in China: he visited the country only for four months as a member of the Ministry of Education delegation in 1955.

The *Learning Dictionary of Chinese Language* is an atypical teaching material. It is a dictionary and a textbook at the same time, although neither the dictionary nor the textbook are completely sufficient. It is filled with information important for practical and theoretical mastery of the Chinese language. The information is missing in common reference guides or only included there in a rudimentary form. First of all, it helps us deal with the question of how to understand the functional characteristics[7] of those units within the Chinese language that are equivalent to words in European languages. At the same time, it maps the wider use of prosodic characteristics than we are used to reading about. All the examples are again recorded and rewritten by prosodic transcription, which is very similar to the transcription used in the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples*.

A wonderful man, a demanding teacher who loved his students, a passionate researcher and a scholar, left us. But he did not live only for prosody. He was sincerely interested in the Prague Astronomical Clock, loved Prague, especially the Romanesque one, and would engagingly talk about her for hours and hours in the cellars of the Old Town. He could appreciate a good joke and admire female beauty. He was keen on things that were not entirely related to his field of study. Despite his advanced age, he was still very vital up until the the very end. His departure therefore surprised his wife, his family, his colleagues and friends as well as me. I viewed him as a constant in our specialization. But I was wrong and I am so very sorry that we can no longer enjoy his kind presence. His work, however, will still be with us…

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6 Švarný, Oldřich: *Učební slovník jazyka čínského*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého 1998– 2000.

7 Considering the nature of Chinese words, Švarný as a member of the Prague School and a functional linguist, he preferred the term "functional characteristics" instead of "parts of speech".

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our thanks go first and foremost to Božena Gartler and Eliška Švarná, who were so kind and as heirs of Oldřich Švarný's copyright expressed their consent with our intention to re-publish his texts.

PhD students Mgr. Ondřej Vicher, Mgr. Renáta Čižmárová and Mgr. Kateřina Šamajová, students of the *Languages and Cultures of China and Japan* program at the Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts at Palacký University in Olomouc, were willing to help and took part in the digitization and first proofreading of Švarný's texts. They contributed significantly to the compilation of this issue of our journal and therefore deserve our thanks.

The cover of this issue of our journal bears the word "Chinese" in the languages that Švarný mastered or at least studied. It was prepared in co-operation with: Mgr. Jan Ičo, Ph.D. (Vietnamese), PhDr. Jiří Šubrt, Ph.D. (Latin and Ancient Greek) from the Department of Classical Philology, Faculty of Arts at Palacky University in Olomouc, PhDr. Lenka Uličná, Ph.D. (Hebrew and Ivrit) from the Center for Jewish Studies, Faculty of Arts at Palacky University in Olomouc, doc. Daniel Berounský, Ph.D. (Tibetan), director of the Institute of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague, PhDr. Zdeněk Štipl, Ph.D. (Sanskrit) the Institute of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague, Mgr. Ondřej Pokorný, PhD. (Indonesian) from the Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts at Palacky University in Olomouc, Mgr. Kamil Hanák (French), Mgr. Ondřej Beránek, Ph.D. (Arabic), director of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Mgr. Martin Bažil, Ph.D., director of the Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague and Mgr. Pavlína Šípová, Ph.D. (Modern Greek) from the Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague. Dr. Šubrt then has a double thanks for having kindly participated in the creation of this anthology title – i.e. ***Prosodia linguae Sinensis***.

Last but not least, our thanks belong to the Confucius Institute at Palacký University and the Faculty of Arts of Palacký University in Olomouc for their significant financial contribution to the compilation of the book in its current form.

True to the neglected tradition, which was established by Oldřich Švarný at our department, we would also like to thank the employees of the Publishing House of Palacký University, who made our intention to honor his work possible, namely to the responsible editor Bc. Otakar Loutocký, the technical editor RNDr. Helena Hladišová and the author of the cover Jiřina Vaclová.

editors
Olomouc, 20 October 2019

ZUM PROBLEM DER DIFFERENZIERUNG DER UNBETONTEN SILBEN IM PEKING-DIALEKT

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Reduktion der Vokale Analyse der Schlagwörter in BQC
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C. Anordnung des Materials nach den Finalen
Schlußfolgerungen

Einleitung

Da der Peking-Dialekt die phonetische Grundlage der chinesischen Nationalsprache (der sogen. *putonghua* 普通话)[1] bildet, is das Studium der verschiedenen Erscheinungen, die für den Peking-Dialekt charakteristisch sind, auch für die Erforschung der modernen (gesprochenen) chinesischen Sprache von Wichtigkeit. Die Frage der Betonung in einer Sprache mit Tonemen, wie dem Chinesischem, ist aber auch vom Standpunkt der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft von Interesse.[2]

Die Frage der Betonung, die im Peking-Dialekt und allgemein im modernen Chinesischen genug kompliziert und bei weitem noch nicht genügend aufgeklärt worden ist, kann hier freilich nicht systematisch behandelt werden. Wir wollen vielmehr nur die Probleme auf diesem Gebiet kurz andeuten, in erster Linie aber wollen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit einer Erscheinung widmen, die nach unserer Ansicht auch für die Weiterentwicklung der Sprache von Bedeutung sein könnte, nämlich der Frage der Reduktion der Vokalverte der Finalen in den unbetonten Silben.

Die Betonung im Chinesischen[3] und speziell im Peking-Dialekt ist von ausgesprochen „expiratorischem" Charakter und somit gewissermaßen im Widerspruch mit dem „tonischen" Charakter der Sprache. Die Spannung, die dadurch entsteht,

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[1] Anmerkung des Editors: Chinesische Schriftzeichen, die ursprünglich am Ende des Textes als Tabelle I und Tabelle II aufgeführt waren, wurden aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit direkt in den Text eingefügt.

[2] Auch die Frage der Satzintonationen in einer Tonensprache bietet ein interessantes Thema der phonetischen Forschung. Es wird geplant, unsere bisherigen Ergebnisse auch auf diesem Gebiete zu veröffentlichen, umsomehr als Betonung und Satzintonation prosodische Qualitäten sind und im Peking-Dialekt auch eng verknüpft sind.

[3] Wenn wir weiterhin vom Chinesischen sprechen, verstehen wir darunter die moderne gesprochene Sprache, die sog. *putonghua,* deren phonetisches und phonologisches System dem Peking-dialekt entliehen ist. Wenn wir verschiedene Erscheinungen, die nur dem Peking-dialekt und nicht unbedingt auch der *putonghua* eigen sind, behandeln wollen, sprechen wir vom Peking-Dialekt.

spiegelt sich dann in den weiteren Eigenschaften und Charakteristiken des prosodischen Phonems (Prosodems), das wir hier als Betonung bezeichnen. Auch die Verknüpfung der Betonung als einer prosodischen Eigenschaft der Silbe mit der Betonung als einer Eigenschaft solcher Einheiten der Sprache, die z. B. als Wort bezeichnet werden (in diesem Fall sprechen wir hier von der Betonungsverteilung), ist schwierig, da die Frage der Existenz solcher Einheiten wie Wort, Phrase usw. im Chinesischen immer noch sehr unklar ist.

Wir setzen hier voraus, daß es im Chinesischen verschiedene zwei- und mehrsilbige Strukturen gibt (ohne Unterschied, ob es sich um ganz frei, ad hoc gebildete oder mehr oder weniger feste Strukturen lexikalischen Charaktere handelt), für die gewisse Typen der Verteilung der Betonung auf die einzelnen Silben charakteristisch sind. Die Betonung der Silbe muß freilich im Chinesischen als eine mehrstufige Eigenschaft betrachtet werden und die Verknüpfung der verschiedenen Typen der Betonungsverteilung mit den verschiedenen grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Strukturen kann größtenteils nur sehr frei aufgefaßt werden.

Es ist vorteilhaft, bei der Darstellung des mehrstufigen Charakters der Betonung der chinesischen Silbe sich der wichtigsten prosodischen Qualität der Silbe im Chinesischen, der Tonität, als der Grundlage der Beschreibung zu bedienen. Es gibt eine unterbrochene Reihe von phonetischen Realisationen der Tonität der Silbe von einer ganz klaren, sehr ausgeprägten Realisation, wo alle charakteristischen Merkmale des betreffenden Tonems voll bewahrt sind, über solche Realisationen, wo die Merkmale nur teilweise bewahrt sind, bis zur solchen Realisationen, wo die Oppositionen zwischen den Tonenem ganz aufgehoben sind.[4]

Für die Darstellung des mehrstufigen Charakters der Betonung genügt es aber und entspricht auch sehr gut der sprachlichen Wirklichkeit, nur wenige Typen, z. B. volltonische, halbtonische und atonische Silben zu unterscheiden. Für die verschiedenen Typen der Betonungsverteilung ergeben sich dann, wenn wir z. B. nur zweisilbige Strukturen in Betracht nehmen, solche Typen, wie volltonisch-volltonisch, halbtonisch-volltonisch, volltonisch-halbtonisch, volltonisch-atonisch; wir können aber weiter noch feststellen, daß es Strukturen mit stabilisierter Betonungsverteilung und nicht stabilisierter Betonungsverteilung gibt.[5] Im letzteren

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[4] Mit keinem Tonem gesprochene Silben werden oft als Silben mit der Realisation eines besonderen „leichten" Tons (*qingsheng* 轻声) bezeichnet. Solche Terminologie sollte besser vermieden werden, da sie auch vom rein beschreibend-phonetischen Standpunkt nicht richtig ist. Solche Silben schließen sich immer anderen Silben, die mit einem Tonem versehen sind, an und, wie die experimentell-phonetischen Analysen der Melodiekurven zeigen, ein Segment der Melodiekurve des Tonems (regelmäßig das Silben folgen) realisiert sich auf der unbetonten Silbe, siehe die schematische Darstellung der Melodiekurven: a) der Silben mit den vier Tonemen; b) der Kombinationen der betonten Silben (mit den vier Tonemen) mit den unbetonten Silben auf der Tabelle I am Ende dieses Aufsatzes folgt.

[5] Alle angeführten Typen der Betonungsverteilung (mit Ausnahme des Typs voll-tonisch-atonisch) können eigentlich alle als nicht stabilisiert bezeichnet werden, da auch sie unter dem Einfluß von Rythmus (d. h. Position im Satze), Satzintonation, Kontrasthervorhebung usw. gewissen geringeren Schwankungen unterliegen (z. B. voll-tonisch-halbtonisch wird oft fast zu volltonisch-atonisch, volltonisch-volltonisch wird zu volltonisch-halbtonisch oder

Fall gibt es dann verschiedene Kombinationen von Betonungsverteilungstypen (z. B. halbtonisch-volltonisch und volltonisch-atonisch, volltonisch-halbtonisch und volltonisch-atonisch usw.).[6] Das Feststellen der so aufgefaßten Betonungsverteilung bei den konkreten sprachlichen Einheiten, die wir z. B. in einem Wörterbuch finden können, stößt auf verschiedene Schwierigkeiten: es muß auf Grund einer großen Zahl einzelner Realisationen der gegebenen sprachlichen Einheit mit Rücksicht auf alle Faktoren durchgeführt werden, die die Betonungsverteilung beeinflussen können; obgleich die Betonungsverteilungstypen weit genug definiert werden, kann man bei dem sich im allgemeinen erst almählich festsetzenden Charakter der Betonung im Chinesischen nicht wenige idiolektische Verschiedenheiten feststellen; das Feststellen des Grades der Stärke der expiratorischen Betonung der Silbe infolge der Verknüpfung der Betonung mit den vier verschiedenen Tonemen (deren Realisationen, was die expiratorische Stärke und ihre Verteilung während der Dauer der Silbe betrifft, auch teilweise verschieden sind) ist nicht immer leicht usw.

Reduktion der Vokale

Die Aufstellung von drei Stufen der Betonungsstärke der Silbe im Chinesischen: volltonisch, halbtonisch und atonisch ist für den Peking-Dialekt nicht ausreichend, da die atonischen, d. h. unbetonten Silben keinesfalls eine einheitliche Gruppe bilden. Es ist wohl bekannt, daß im Peking-Dialekt viele von den atonischen Silben mit verschiedenen Veränderungen gesprochen werden, die als Konsonantenabschwächungen und Vokalabschwächungen oder Vokalreduktionen bezeichnet werden könnten.[7] Ganz analogisch der Abschwächung der Tonität der Silben wird auch die Vokalreduktion[8] in den atonischen Silben stufenweise realisiert

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halbtonisch-volltonisch usw.). Auch ein wirklicher Wechsel des Betonungsverteilungstyps kommt in diesen Fällen vor, aber nur unter ganz besonderen Bedingungen, z. B. bei einer starken Kontrasthervorhebung eines Morphems, bei einigen besonderen Satzintonationen usw. In diesem Aufsatz, da wir hier andere Zwecke verfolgen, unterscheiden wir freilich nur tonische und atonische (keine halbtonische) Silben.

[6] Die Realisation dieser oder jener Betonungsverteilung hängt meistens auch bei nicht stabilisierter Betonungsverteilung wenigstens teilweise von der Umgebung und anderen Bedingungen ab, unter denen die sprachliche Einheit vorkommt; diese Bedingungen können aber den Wechsel der Betonungsverteilung nicht völlig erklären.

[7] Vgl. *Huang Borong*黄伯荣: *Beijing yuyin xuexi* 北京语音学习, Wuhan 1957, S. 71–72 (welter als BYX abgekürzt); siehe auch die Bemerkungen über veränderte Aussprache einzelner chinesischer Schriftzeichen in *Jin Shoushen*金受申: *Beijinghua Yuhui* 北京话语汇, Peking 1964 (weiter als BY abgekürzt).

[8] Die Konsonantenveränderungen in den atonischen Silben im Peking-Dialekt sind, wenn sie auch manchmal sehr durchgreifend sind, nicht so wichtig wie die Vokalveränderungen, da das Konsonantensystem (zum Unterschied von Vokalsystem) in den betonten und unbetonten Silben im Grunde dasselbe bleibt. Die Konsonantenveränderungen werden hier deswegen nicht systematisch behandelt.

und wir möchten in dieser vorliegenden Arbeit eben diese Vokalreduktionen, ihre stufenweisen Realisationen usw. systematisch behandeln und aufzuklären versuchen.[9]

Als Materialgrundlage unserer Arbeit dienten Aufzeichnungen von gehörten Aussagen und magnetophonische Aufnahmen[10] natürlicher und ungehemmter Pekinger Umgangssprache (*Beijing tuhua* 北京土话). Die Sätze wurden teils auf ganz frei gewählte Themen, teils auf die Themen der in *Beijinghua qingsheng cihui* (*Zhang Xunru*张洵如: *Beijinghua qingsheng cihui* 北京话轻声词汇, Peking 1957, weiterhin als BQC abgekürzt) angeführten Schlagwörter gesprochen. Das in diesem Wörterbuch angeführte Material wurde mehrmals durchgearbeitet, die einzelnen Schlagwörter wurden in verschiedene Kontexte gesetzt gesprochen und alle magnetophonischen Aufnahmen wurden dann sorgfältig in Bezug auf eventuelle Vokalreduktionen in den unbetonten Silben (auditiv) analysiert.

Es erwies sich als zweckmäßig, die Vokalreduktionen der unbetonten Silben im Rahmen der sogen. Finalen (*yunmu* 韵母) mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die vorhergehende Initiale (*shengmu* 声母) zu betrachten. Die phonetischen Werte der reduzierten Silben werden in Anlehnung an die in BYX und BY benutzte Methode verzeichnet, d. h. Silben mit solchen Veränderungen und Reduktionen, die als Folgen der Verkürzung und Erschlaffung der Artikulation erklärt werden können und keine grundsätzlichen Veränderungen der Vokalqualität darstellen, lassen wir bei der Bezeichnung unverändert, diejenigen Silben aber, deren Finalen infolge der Reduktion so verändert werden, daß sie von gewissen anderen Finalen nicht mehr zu unterscheiden sind, werden durch diese mit einem vorgesetzten Symbol zur Bezeichnung, daß es sich um eine Reduktion handelt, wiedergegeben.[11]

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[9] Die erste Anregung zur Forschung in dieser Richtung erhielt O. Švarný während seinem Aufenthalt in Peking im Jahre 1955, in der Form wertvollster Angaben und Bemerkungen über die Vokalreduktionen in den unbetonten Silben, die ihm Prof. Xu Shirong 徐世荣 erteilt hat. Systematische Forschung auf diesem Gebiete wurde aber erst durch die Zusammenarbeit der beiden Mitautoren O. Švarný und *Guan Mingzhe* 关明哲 ermöglicht. Guan Mingzhe (Mingzhe Janoušová) ist 1936 in Peking geboren, wo sie auch bis zu ihrer Übersiedlung in die Tschechoslowakei Ende 1958 ununterbrochen lebte (mit Ausnahme von kürzeren Perioden, insgesamt von ungefähr 35 Monaten Länge, die sie in einer Ortschaft im Anci 安次-Bezirk in der Nähe von Peking verbrachte) und wohin auch nach ihrer Ausreise aus China wieder gelegentlich wiederkehrte. *Guan Mingzhe* hat in erster Linie als Informatin mitgearbeitet, hat aber auch mit wertvollsten Anregungen beigesteuert. Für eventuelle Ungenauigkeiten in den theoretischen Ausführungen und in der Interpretation des gesammelten Materials ist aber O. Švarný allein verantwortlich. — Die hier untersuchte Sprache ist genau genommen der Idiolekt von *Guan Mingshe* (weiter verkurzt: G.), kann aber verläßlich den Peking-Dialekt repräsentieren, da alle Ergebnisse der Forschung mit den Ergebnissen der von O. Švarný im Jahre 1955 in Peking angestellten Untersuchungen (die auch mit Hilfe des Magnetophons aufgenommen wurden) im wesentlichen völlig übereinstimmen.

[10] Die magnetophonischen Aufnahmen der ganz natürlichen und ungehemmten Pekinger *tuhua* bedurften seitens der Informantin gewisser Übung und es mußte anfänglich die „musterhafte“ Aussprache, bei der die Vokalreduktionen teilweise unterdrückt werden können, bewußt vermieden werden. Grundsätzlich wurden bei unseren Untersuchungen keine gelesenen Texte in Betracht genommen.

[11] Durch Reduktion der Finale entstehen so einige Silben, die sonst in der Sprache (was

ANALYSE DER SCHLAGWÖRTER IN BQC

A. Erklärung der Symbole, deren wir uns bei der Analyse der Schlagwörter in BQC bedienen

RI oder *RII*: da auch die Reduktion der Finalen stufenweise vor sich geht, werden bei einzelnen Silben (alle Finalen sind immer in Verbindung und mit Rücksicht auf die Initialen, d. h. im Rahmen der Silbe, untersucht worden) eine bis zwei Stufen der Reduktion unterschieden, die mit den Symbolen *RI* und *RII* bezeichnet werden.

RI oder RII: zur Bezeichnung der regelmäßigen Reduktion der Finale der unbetonten Silbe eines Schlagwortes (bei einer natürlichen, ganz ungehemmten Aussprache und wenn auch die Gesamtheit aller übrigen Elemente der Aussage als Pekinger *tuhua* bezeichnet werden kann), bedienen wir uns des Zeichens RI oder RII je nachdem es sich um die Reduktion der ersten oder zweiten Stufe handelt.

BI oder BII: die Reduktion erfolgt unter günstigen Bedingungen, d. h. wenn das Tempo beschleunigt wird, die Artikulation der Sprachorgane eventuell ein bischen nachlässig wird usw.

AI oder AII: die Reduktion kommt nicht vor, wird aber manchmal in der angegebenen Richtung angedeutet.

F: Reduktion der unbetonten Silbe kommt nicht vor.

X: das Schlagwort wurde außer acht gelassen, da es G. entweder nicht geläufig (wenn auch eventuell wohl bekannt) ist, oder es wird von G. anders ausgesprochen, als es im BQC angegeben ist (in den Klammern wird gelegentlich angegeben, wie es von G. in diesem Fall gesprochen wird; die kakuminale Aussprache der unbetonten Finale bei G. Wird durch ein *-r* angedeutet[12]).

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die Kombination der Initiale mit der Finale betrifft) nicht vorkommen, z. B. *be*, *pe*, *fe*. Die phonetischen Werte der Finalen unterliegen in diesen Fällen keinem Zweifel, da sie mit den phonetischen Werten der Finalen der analogisch gebildeten Silben (in unserem Fall z. B. *te*, *de*, *ge* usw.) identisch sind. Wenn wir bei den Bezeichnungen der reduzierten Vokalwerte solche Fälle treffen, die mit Hilfe der *pinyin* Alphabet nicht verläßlich verzeichnet werden können, treffen, so bedienen wir uns der eckigen Klammern, um die phonetischen Werte genauer zu bezeichnen (so z. B. die oben angeführten *be*, *pe*, *fe* sind als ein [ə] Vokal enthaltende Silben zu betrachten, falls aber z. B. die Silbe *be* in „besser" in unserer Umschrift verzeichnet werden sollte, müßte man *be* (*e:* [e]) schreiben).

[12] Die in BQC angegeben Schlagwörter mit kakuminaler Finale der unbetonten Silbe (d. h. die mit dem Suffix *er* 儿 versehenen Schlagwörter), wurden zwar analysiert, aber nicht in unsere Übersicht der Reduktionen der unbetonten Silben aufgenommen, da die Veränderungen und Reduktionen der kakuminalen Finalen den Veränderungen und Reduktionen der nichtkakuminalen Finalen ganz analog sind. Ganz außer acht ließen wir auch die Finalpartikeln (in BQC als *zhuci* 助词 bezeichnet); diese einsilbigen Einheiten sind atonisch nicht infolge der Unbetontheit, sondern infolge ihrer Natur als solche Elemente der Sprache, die dem Zwang des Tonemsystems der Sprache nicht unterliegen und dem Ausdruck solcher Funktion der Sprache dienen, die in anderen Sprachen meist durch Satzintonationen zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Die Finalpartikeln werden auch bei weitem nicht immer unbetont ausgesprochen (der Melodieverlauf auf diesen Silben richtet sich in diesem Fall vielmehr nach den allgemeinen Regeln der Satzintonation, die es auch im Chinesischen gibt; freilich spricht man im Chinesischen besser von den „relativen" Satzintonationen) und die eventuellen Veränderungen

U: bei den reduzierten Finalen, besonders bei der reduzierten Finale *-e* ([ə]) einiger Schlagwörter könnten manchmal unerwartete Färbungen der Vokalqualität in der Richtung [a], [e], [o] usw. beobachtet werden, die in der Form U[a], U[e], U[o] usw. verzeichnet sind. Es wird ganz hypothetisch vorausgesetzt, daß diese Färbungen durch die Umgebung (z. B. durch den Einfluß der Vokalqualität der Finalen der benachbarten Silben usw.), hervorgerufen worden sind, da die Artikulationsstelle der reduzierten Finalen gelockert erscheint.[13]

Bemerkung 1. Die im BQC angeführten Schlagwörter, die solche unbetonte Silben enthalten deren Reduktion der ersten Stufe in unserem Bezeichnungssystem durch keine besondere Form widergegeben und mit „*RI* unbezeichnet" versehen sind, wurden sorgfälltig in derselben Weise wie die anderen Schlagwörter analysiert, da freilich auch in diesen Fällen eine Möglichkeit der Reduktion der zweiten Stufe und verschiedener Veränderungen, die vermerkt werden sollten, vorlag.

Bemerkung 2. Die Reihenfolge der in BQC angeführten unbetonten Silben (es ist begreiflich, daß nicht alle in der Sprache vorkommenden Silben auch unbetont vorkommen,[14] die der Reihenfolge der *zhuyinzimu* 注音字母 — Alphabet folgt, ist nicht geändert worden (die Nummern in den Klammern beziehen sich auf die Seiten in BQC), die Umschrift ist der jetzt in China geläufigen *pinyin*-Umschrift angepaßt worden.

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und Schwankungen der Vokalqualität dieser Elemente sind ganz verschieden und ganz anders bedingt als die Reduktionen der wirklich atonischen Silben, d. h. der Silben, die ihr Tonem infolge der Unbetontheit verloren hatten.

[13] Es ist selbstverständlich, daß das Gruppieren der in BQC angeführter Schlagwörter in solche mit RII, BII, AII, RI, BI, AI, F keine absolute ist. Besonders beim Unterscheiden zwischen benachtarten Gruppen (z. B. RI-BI, BI-AI, AI-F) sollten die Schwierigkeilen der Erforschung, die am Ende der Einleitung erwähnt worden sind, auch mit in Betracht genommen werden.

[14] Das Fehlen einiger unbetonten Silben, z. B. *yi*, muß jedoch als Unvollständigkeit des gesammelten Materials gelten. Was die Vollständigkeit der zu jeder angeführten Silbe gesammelten Schlagwörter betrifft, ist er leicht verständlich, daß es eine absolute Vollstädindigkeit nicht geben kann, jedenfalls aber nähert sich das gesammelte Material, wenigstens insofern wir nur zweisilbige Konstruktionen in Betracht nehmen, der VoIlständigkeit; die dreisilbigen Konstruktionen (unbetonte Silbe in der Mitte), die für unsere Forschung von großer Bedeutung sind, da in diesen Fällen häufig Reduktionen der ersten und besonders auch der zweiten Stufe vorkommen, wurden in BQC nur gelegentlich angeführt und könnten leider auch von uns nicht sehr vermehrt werden.

B. Analyse

1) *ba* (S. 9—10), *RI:be*
RI: *lāba* 拉巴, *yǐba* 尾巴, *yǎngba jiǎoz* 仰巴脚子, *yǎngbajiǎor* 仰八脚儿, *xībalārde* 稀扒拉儿的; BI: *gāba* 嘎巴, *gānba* 干巴, *zuǐba* 嘴巴, *líba* 篱笆, *lièba* 劣巴, *lìbatōur* 力把头儿; AI: übrige Schlagwörter, vgl. *hǎba* 哈巴, *xiàba* 下巴, *yǎba* 哑巴; X: *jība* 鸡巴.

Anm. 1. *RI:be* in *zuǐba* wurde auch mit U[e] (vgl. z. B. *dǎle ta yíge zuǐba ya* 打了一个嘴巴呀) gesprochen.
2. *RI:be* in *xībalārde* wird mit U[e] gesprochen.
3. *RI:be* in *tíba* wurde auch mit U[u] (vgl. *tíba dao zhèr lái de* 提拔到这儿来的) gesprochen.

2) *bo* (S. 10—11), *RI:be*
RI: *dēbo* 嘚啵, *huǒbo* 火勃, *dābo* 搭膊; BI: *luóbo* 萝卜, *dānbo* 单薄, *qīngbo* 轻薄, *guǎngbo diàntái* 广播电台; AI: *kèbo* 刻薄; F: *bōbo* 饽饽, *zhǔbōbo* 煮饽饽, *zǐsūn bōbo* 子孙饽饽, *tiǎobo* 挑拨; X: *shuǐbolàngr* 水波浪儿 (G.: *shuǐbōlangr*), *sōngbozhīr* 松柏枝儿

Anm. 1. *RI:be* in *huǒbo* wird regelmäßig mit [a] Färbung gesprochen.
2. *RI:be* in *dābo* wird oft [a] Färbung gesprochen.
3. Anstatt *gēbo* 肢膊 G. spricht regelmäßig *gēbei* 肢臂; siehe auch die Bemerkungen zum Schlagwort *lán gē bei* 拦肢膊 in BY, S. 116.

3) *bai* (S. 11—12), *RI:bei* (*RII:be*)
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *míngbai* 明白, *huǎbai* 花白, *qiǎngbai* 抢白(nur *bai* 拜 in *lǐbaiyī* 礼拜一, *líbai'èr* 礼拜二 usw. wird mit AI gesprochen).

Anm. 1. *xiǎnbai* 显白 in einem Satz von stark emotionellem Charakter (*qiáo zhè xiǎnbai jìnrde*! 瞧这显白劲儿 auch mit einer Konsonantveränderung (*b* → *p*) gesprochen. Aspiration von ursprünglich unaspirierten Konsonanten ist bei einigen Schlagwörtern in ähnlichen Fällen ganz üblich.
2. *bai* 百 wird in einigen Fällen auch mit *BII:be* gesprochen, z. B. in einer Konstruktion mit *lai*: *èrbai lái kuài qián* 二百来快钱 (3d). *BII:be* ist phonetisch als *be* (*e*:[ə]) aufzufassen, nicht vielleicht als *bei* mit dem abgefallenen Element *-i*; das Abfallen der Endelemente *-i*, *-u* in den reduzierten Finalen *-ei*, *-ou*, *-ui* (phonetisch genauer: [uei]), *-iu* (phonetisch genauer: [iou]) ist nämlich ganz üblich und wird bei uns nicht vermerkt.

4) *bei* (S. 11—12), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *qiǎngbei* 抢背, *shǒubei* 守备

5) *bao* (S. 12), *RI:bou*
RI: *xiāobao*削薄; X: *hébao* 荷包

6) *ban* (S. 12), *RI:ben*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *dǎban*打扮, *mǎiban*买办, *diànban* 垫办

Anm. Bei den Schlagwörter *xiǎobandàr* 小半大儿, *hòubantiār* 后半天儿, *qiánbantiār*前半天儿,*wǎnbantiār*晚半天儿,*xiébanqiār*斜半签儿,fakultativ auch bei *shàngbanjiér* 上半截儿, *xiàbanjiér* 下半截儿 wird die Finale von *RI:ben* bei verschlossener Mundhöhle gesprochen, d. h. der Verschluß des

Konsonanten *b* von *ben* geht (eventuell über die Artikulationsstelle von *n* in derselben Silbe) ununterbrochen in den Verschluß des Konsonanten der nachfolgenden Silbe über. In *xiébanqiānr* geht manchmal auch die nasale Artikulation der Silbe *ben* teilweise (oder auch ganz?) verloren und *ben* verliert fast ihre Selbstständigkeit als eine Silbe. Ähnliche Erscheinungen sind bei den Finalen in *-n*, *-ng* bei verschiedenen Schlagwörtern bei stärkerer Abschwächung öfters zu beobachten.

7) *ben* (S. 12), *RI* unbezeichnet.

Anm. 资本 wird von G. *zīben* gesprochen.

8) *bang* (S. 12), *RI:beng*
RI: *sāngbang* 桑棒

9) *beng* (S. 12), *RI* unbezeichnet.

Anm. *beng* in *zhèngbeng* wird in einigen Konstruktionen (z. B. … *zhèngbengkaile* 挣绷开了 manchmal mit verschlossener Mundhöhle und teilweise mit Verlust der nasalen Artikulation gesprochen.

10) *bi* (S. 13), *RI* unbezeichnet.
X: *zhíbi* 纸笔

11) *bie* (S. 13), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:bi*
RII: *wōbie*窝憋; BII: *zhǎibie* 窄憋

Anm. 1. *bie* in *fēnbie*分别, *qūbie* 区别 wird nicht zu *RII:bi* reduziert.
2. Als Reduktion (?) von *bie* in *zhǎibie* hört man seltener auch noch die Form *bei*.

12) *bian* (S. 12), *RI: bin*
RI: *bāobian* 褒贬, *língbian* 灵便, *huóbian* 活便, *jìnbian* 近便, *fābian* 发变, *zhébian* 折变; BI: *fāngbian* 方便, *lìbian* 利便, *jiǎnbian* 简便, *jìngbian* 净便, *zhuǎnbian* 转变

13) *bing* (S. 13—14), *RI* unbezeichnet.
X: *bìbing* 弊病, *guǐbing* 诡病

14) *bu* (S. 14—15), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:be*
RII: *zhānbu* 沾补, *zhǎnbu* 搌布, von den mehrsilbigen *bānbudǎor* 搬不倒儿, *niānbujīr* 蔫不咭儿, *kànbuqǐ* 看不起; BII: *diànbu*点补, *tiānbu*添补, *zháobu* 找补, *-bu- -不-* (*nábudòng* 拿不动; *yàobuyao* 要不要), *bude* 不得 (*chībude* 吃不得), *buliǎo* 不了 (*chībuliǎo*吃不了, *huàibuliǎo* 坏不了), *chàbuduō* 差不多; AII: *tiēbu* 贴补, *bābudé* 巴不得, *dòngbudòngr* 动不动儿, *liǎobude* 了不得, *kànbushàng* 看不上, *zàiburán* 再不然, *yàobu* 要不, *yàoburán* 要不然; *RI* oder F: übrige Schlagwörter, vgl. *miáobu* 描补, *tíbu* 提补, *qìbufèr* 气不忿儿.

Anm. 1. *kěbushì* 可不是, G. auch *kěbúshi*,
2. *RII:be* in *bānbudǎor* und ähnlich auch in *chībuliǎo*, *huàibuliǎo* usw. wird manchmal bei verschlossener Mundhöhle gesprochen und die Selbständigkeit der Silbe *RII:be* geht fast verloren.

15) *po* (S. 15—16), *RI:pe*
BI: *huópo* 活泼, *lǎopo* 老婆; AI: *pópo* 婆婆; F: *yāpo* 压迫; X: *hǔpo* 琥珀.

16) *pai* (S. 16), *RI:pei*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *zhāopai*招牌, *pūpai*铺排, *ānpai*安排; X: *wāipai* 歪派
17) *pei* (S. 16), *RI* unbezeichnet
18) *pao* (S. 16), *RI:pou* (*RII:pe*)
RI: *suīpao* 尿胞 (auch mit BII)
19) *pan* (S. 16), *RI:pen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *suànpan* 算盘, *fǎnpan* 反叛
20) *peng* (S. 16), RI unbezeichnet
21) *pi* (S. 16—17), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *bōpi* 拨皮, *sāngpizhǐ* 桑皮纸
22) *pie* (S. 17), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. Das angeführte Wort *huǎpie* 话撇 wird auch *huǎbei* ausgesprochen, was aber genau genommen ein Synonymun *huǎbai* 花白 (mit *RI:bei*) ist (?).
23) *ping* (S. 17), *RI* unbezeichnet
24) *pu* (S. 17), *RI* unbezeichnet
25) *ma* (S. 17), *RI:me*
RI: *dàma* 大妈; BI: *zhīma* 芝麻, *háma* 蛤蟆; AI: übrige Schlagwörter; X: *àma* 阿妈, *díngma* 顶马
26) *me* (S. 18),
Anm. 1. Die atonische Silbe *me* 么 in den angeführten Schlagwörtern soll als schon abgeschwächte Form anderer Formen gelten?
2. Die in BQC zuletzt angeführten Schlagwörter werden hier bei der Besprechung der Silbe *mo* behandelt; in diesen Fällen wurde nämlich die Reduktion der Finale *mo* auch vom Verfasser des BQC bemerkt und die Schlagwörter wurden entsprechend dem Ergebnis der Reduktion (*me*) eingereiht.
27) *mo* (S. 18), *RI:me*
RI: *jièmo* 芥末, *qiǎomoshēngr* 悄默声儿, *yāmoqiǎojìng*r 鸦默雀静儿, *gūmo* 估摸, *yuēmo* 约摸, *dǎmo* 打磨, *chánmo* 缠磨, *yānmo* 淹没; BI: *tùmo* 唾沫, *zuómo* 捉摸, *gémo* 隔膜, *qiǔmo* 糗磨, *cuómo* 挫磨, *chuǎimo* 惴摩, *guǒmo* 裹抹; AI: *zhémo* 折磨, *mòmoliǎor* 末末了儿; F: *guīmo* 规模, *zhuómo* 琢磨, *máimo* 埋没, *bǐmo* 笔墨, *wénmo* 文墨; X: *qièmo* 砌末, *ànmo* 按摩, *xuèmo* 血脉(G.: *xuèmai*, mit *RI:mei*)
Anm. 1. Die Schlagwörter 砌末, 唾沫, 芥末, 悄默声儿, 鸦默雀静儿 werden in BQC als *kième*, *tuòme*, *gième*, *kiǎumeshēngr*, *jāmekiǎugìngr* angeführt, siehe oben die Anmerkung bei der Besprechung der Silbe *me*; das Wort 唾沫wird von G. *tùmo* (mit *RI:me*) gesprochen, d. h. durch ein Synonymum 吐沫 ersetzt.
2. *RI:me* in *gūmo* wird mit U[u] gesprochen.
3. *RI:me* in *dǎmo* wird mit U[a] gesprochen.
4. *RI:me* in *chǎnmo* wurde auch mit U[o] (*nǐ bié lao chánmo wo la* 你别老缠磨我了) gesprochen; vgl. aber dasselbe Wort mit *RI:me* (*e:* [ə]) in *zhèi háiz*

ke zhēn chánmo rén 这孩子可真缠磨人 (die Zeichen für *chánmo* wurden irrtümmlicherweise ausgelassen).

28) *mai* (S. 20), *RI:mei*, (*RII:me*)
RI: beide angeführten Schlagwörter: *mǎimai* 买卖, *shāomai* 烧麦

Anm. *RI:mei* kann gelegentlich weiter zu *RII:me* reduziert werden, vgl. z. B. *RI:mei* → *RII:me* in *mǎimai*: *zuò mǎimai de shíhour*… 作买卖的时候儿… .

29) *mei* (S. 20), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *cìmei* 刺梅, *huàmei* 画眉

30) *mau* (S. 20), *RI:mou*, *RII:me*
RI: *yèmaoz* 夜猫子, *méimao* 眉毛, *hánmao* 寒毛, *miànmao* 面貌, *xiàngmao* 象貌, *róngmao* 容貌(*hánmao* auch mit BII); BI: *pímao* 皮毛; X: *dàimao* 玳瑁.

31) *mou* (S. 20), *RI* unbezeichnet

32) *man* (S. 20), *RI:men*
RI: *zhàngman*帐幔; BI: *zhuānman yuànz* 砖墁院子; AI: *làngman* 浪漫

33) *men* (S. 20—21), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *lánmenqiángr* 拦门墙儿, *màimenzěr* 迈门子儿

34) *mang* (S. 21)

Anm. *mang* im angeführten Schlagwort *bēnmang* 奔忙 wird nicht zu *meng* reduziert.

35) *meng* (S. 21), *RI* unbezeichnet

36) *mi* (S. 21), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:me*
BII: *yùmihuār* 玉米花儿, *yùmishēr* 玉米粑儿; X: *xiǎoshāmi* 小沙弥

Anm. *BII:me* wurde auch bei anderen dreisilbigen Wörtern mit *yùmi* festgestellt, vgl. z. B. noch *yùmidòur* 玉米豆儿.

37) *mian* (S. 21—22), *RI:min*
RI: *piànmian* 片面; BI: *-mian* -面 (in *qiánmian* 前面, *hòumian* 后面usw.), *fāngmian* 方面, *qíngmian*情面, *chǎngmian* 场面, *yǎnmianqiár* 眼面前儿, *tàngmianjiǎor* 烫面饺儿; A: *pùmianfáng* 铺面房, *tǐmian* 体面, *liǎnmian* 脸面, *quánmian* 全面, *xímian* 席面, *shìmian* 世面; F: *ménmian* 门面, *júmian* 局面; X: *tóumian* 头面

Anm. Das Schlagwort *chǎngmian* 场面 wird von G. geläufig in der Bedeutung „Situation“ benutzt (*zài zhè zhong chǎngmian zhi xià*… 在这种场面之下), nicht in der Bedeutung, die in BQC angeführt ist.

38) *ming* (S. 22), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *zhìming* 职名

39) *mu* (S. 22—23), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:me*
RII: *gōngmuliǎ* 公母俩, *jiùmu* 舅母, *zhàngmuniáng* 丈母娘; BII: *dàmugē* 大拇哥, *xiǎomugēr* 小拇哥儿; AII: *tóumu* 头目, *tóumurér* 头目人儿, *kēmu* 科目, *jiàmu* 价目, *xiàngmu* 项目; *RI* oder F: übrige Schlagwörter, vgl. *dìmu* 地亩, *méimu* 眉目, *miànmu* 面目usw.

Anm. *RII:me* in *jiùmu* 舅母 wird manchmal auch mit [a]-Färbung gesprochen; *RII:me* (und auch die [a]-Färbung?) könnten vielleicht auch durch den

Einfluß von Wörtern mit *-ma* -妈 (39b) mit *RI:me* erklärt werden, vgl. z. B. *dàma* 大妈.

40) *fa* (S. 23—24), *RI:fe*
RI: *kāifa* 开发, *wángfa* 王法; BI: *dǎfa*打发, *dàfa*大发, *qǐfa* 启发, *shēngfa* 生发, *tóufa* 头发; AI: *qǐfa* 起发, *xìfa* 细发, *yuèfa* 越发, *bànfa* 办法; X: *shāfa* 沙发 (G.: *shāfā*), *-fa* -法 (G.: -r)

Anm. *RI:fe* in *kāifa* hie und da mit [u]-Farbung.

41) *fei* (S. 24—25), *RI* unbezeichnet

42) *fan* (S. 25), *RI:fen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *fānfan*翻翻, *dāofan*叨翻, *dōufan* 兜翻usw.

Anm. *RI:fen* wird beim Wort *sōngfan* 松泛 auch in BY, S. 194 vermerkt.

43) *fen* (S. 25—26), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *bùxuānfen*不宣分, *róngfen*荣分, *wèifen* 位分

Anm. 1. *xuèfen* 血分 wird von G. *xuěfen* gesprochen.
2. *f* der (reduzierten) Silbe *fen* wird oft stimmhaft gesprochen (dies auch bei anderen mit *f* beginnenden Silben).

44) *fang* (S. 26), *RI:feng*
RI: *bǐfang* 比方, *dàfang* 大方, *máofang* 茅房, *duīfang* 堆房, *zuōfang* 作坊, *yóufang* 油坊, *náfang* 拏放, jìfang 寄放; BI: *dīfang* 隄防; AI: *jiēfang* 街坊, *péifang* 陪房, *cháfang* 茶房; F: *dìfang* 地方, *guānfang*关防; X: *lúfang* 炉房

Anm. *RI:feng* in *máofang* 茅房 manchmal mit U[u]

45) *feng* (S. 27), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *dǎqiūfeng* 打秋风

46) *fu* (S. 27—29), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:fe*
RII: *dòufu* 豆腐, *dáfu* 答复; BII: *gūfu* 姑父, *jiěfu* 姐夫, *yífu* 姨父, *pèifu* 佩服, *lǐfuní* 礼服呢, *shīfu* 师傅, *bàofu* 报复, *qīfu* 欺负; AII: *dàifu* 大夫, gōngfu 工夫, *zhàngfu* 丈夫, *kèfu* 克服, *shūfu* 舒服, *shuōfu*说服, *máifu* 埋伏, *xiángfu* 降伏, *shōufu* 收伏, *yāfu* 压伏, *bāofu* 包袱, *biānfu* 边幅, *táofugār* 桃脯干儿, *duìfu* 对付, *zhǔfu* 嘱咐, *gūfu*姑父, *yífu* 姨父, *guǎfu*寡妇, *xīnfurén* 心腹人; RI oder F: *jìngfu* 敬服, *xìnfu* 信服, *yīfu* 衣服, *piānfu*篇幅, *fǎngfu* 仿佛, *tuōfu* 托付, *yìngfu* 应付, *fēnfu* 吩咐, *píngfu* 平复, *fǎnfu* 反复, *huīfu* 恢复, *huífu* 回复, *chóngfu* 重复, *bàofu* 抱负, *dānfu* 担负, *gūfu* 辜负, *kuīfu* 亏负, *fēngfu* 丰富; X: *rúfuren* 如夫人, *bīnfu* 宾服.

Anm. 1. *shīfu* mit *RII:fe* besonders in der Verbindung mit dem Familiennamen, vgl. *Zhāng shifu* 张师傅, *Lǐ shifu* 李师傅,
2. die Finale der atonischen Silbe *fu* (auch wenn nicht reduziert) wird manchmal (besonders bei einer stark emotionellen Intonation und bei einer starken Hervorhebung der vorangehenden tonischen Silbe) sehr verkürzt, so daß sie vom Ohre kaum wahrgenommen wird.

47) *da* (S. 29—30), *RI:de*
RI: Mehrzahl der Schlagwörter (d. h. alle Schlagwörter mit Ausnahme der weiter unten angeführten), vgl. z. B. *dōuda* 兜搭, *ràoda* 绕搭, *chuīda* 吹打;

BI: *tiàoda* 跳打, *hǎdamén* 哈达门; AI: *bāda* 吧嗒, *fāda* 发达, *lǎodagē* 老大哥; F: *bàoda* 报答; X: *hǎda* 哈达

Anm. 1. *RI:de* in *ràuda* 绕搭 wird manchmal mit einer [u]-Färbung gesprochen.
2. *RI:de* in *chuīda* wird auch mit U[o] (…*chuīda chuīda* 吹打吹打: beim ersten *chuīda* mit U[o]; beim wiederholten *chuīda* wird *RI:de* eventuell auch mit einer [a]-Färbung realisiert) oder U[e] (*chuīda liǎng xiàr* 吹打两下儿 gesprochen.

48) *de* (S. 30—31), *RI* unbezeichnet

49) *dai* (S. 31), *RI:dei*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *hòudai*后代, *jiāodai* 交代, *nǎodai* 脑袋; BI: *cháodai* 朝代; X: *dǐngdai* 顶戴, *guāndai* 冠带

50) *dao* (S. 32—33), *RI:dou* (*RII:de*)
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *mádao* 麻刀, *zhāngdao* 张叨, *sháodao* 勺刀usw.

Anm. 1. *RI:dou* 到 in *xiǎngdao* 想到, *zǒudao* 走道, *pǎodao* 跑道 usw. auch BII; *dao* in diesen Konstruktionen wird nach Umständen als *dao*, *RI:dou*, *RII:de* realisiert;
2. *RI:dou* in *láudao* 唠叨, *dàodao jiǎo* 倒倒脚, *bàdao* 霸道 wird auch mit AII gesprochen.

51) *dou* (S. 33), *RI* unbezeichnet

52) *dan* (S. 33—34), *RI:den*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *mǔdan* 牡丹, *hùdan* 护单usw.; BI: *lěngdan* 冷淡

53) *dang* (S. 34), *RI:deng*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *biàndang* 便当, *dídang* 适当, *tuǒdang* 妥当 usw.; BI: *tíngdang* 停当, *zhèngdang* 正当

54) *deng* (S. 34), *RI* unbezeichnet

55) *di* (S. 34—35), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *cìdi* 次第, *tiándi* 田地

56) *die* (S. 35), *RI* unbezeichnet

57) *dian* (S. 35), *RI:din*
RI: *ēndian* 恩典, *dádian* 打点, *zhèndian* 镇旬; BI: *quēdian* 缺点, *yōudian* 优点, *jìdian* 祭奠; AI: *zhídian* 指点

58) *ding* (S. 36), *RI* unbezeichnet

59) *du* (S. 36—37), *RI* unbezeichnet (*RII:de*)
BII: *gūdu* 咕嘟, AII: *diédu* 叠肚, *chuǎidu* 揣度; *RI* oder F: übrige Schlagwörter, vgl. *dūdu* 都督, *tídu* 提督, *zǒngdu* 总督; X: *wéndu*文牍, *qìdu* 气度

60) *duo* (S. 37), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:de*
BII: *hēnduo*哏哆, *duōduo*哆哆; AII: *diānduo*掂掇, *cuānduo* 撺掇

Anm. 1. Bei allen Schlagwörtern mit Ausnahme von *duo* 多 (*ershi duo rén*二十多人, *èrbai duo jiān* 二百多间 usw.) kann bei der atonischen Silbe *duo* eine Tendenz zur Monophtongisierung beobachtet werden, so daß *duo* einigemal mehr als *do* (mit geschlossenem [o]) oder *dou* (mit fakultativem *-u*), einigemal mehr als [du] wahrgenommen wird.

2. *cuānduo* 撺掇 wird in BY als *cuān dui* umgeschrieben. Soll auch durch die Schreibung *dui* eine Reduktion *RII:de* angedeutet werden?
3. *ěrduo* 耳朵 wird auch fakultativ mit einer Konsonantenveränderung *d* → *t* gesprochen.

61) *dui* (S. 37—38), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Bei allen Schlagwörtern (vielleicht nur mit der Ausnahme von *jǐdui* 挤对, *chāidui* 拆兑 bemerkt man eine Tendenz, das *-u-* Element in Triphthong *-ui* (phonetisch genauer: [uei]) als ein selhständiges Element auszuschalten, die Rundung der Lippen wird aber wenigstens teilweise beibehalten und während der Artikulation von *-ei* realisiert, so daß man ein schwach labialisiertes [öi] anstatt von *-ui* zu hören glaubt. Da die *-i*, *-u* Elemente in den Diphtongen *-ei*, *-ou* (und auch in dem eben erwähnten [öi]) in den reduzierten Finalen fakultativ auch abfallen können, macht sich da eine Tendenz zur Monophtongisierung sogar von Triphthongen geltend

62) *duan* (S. 38), *RI:dun*
RI: alle Schlagwörter

Anm. Bei den Schlagwörtern *shǒuduan* 手段, *géduan* 隔断, *juéduan* 决断 bemerkt man neben *RI:dun* oft noch, dac auch die Labialisierung (bei einer gleichzeitigen entsprechenden Verschiebung der Artikulationsstelle der Zunge ein wenig nach vorne) der Finale teilweise aufgehoben wird, so daß man in einigen Fällen fast ein *den* hört.

63) *dun* (S. 38), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Eine teilweise Delabialisierung der Finale *-un* der Silbe *dun* können wir hie und da z. B. bei *āndun* 安顿 bemerken.

64) *dong* (S. 38), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *gúdong* 古董 (G. meistens: *gǔdōng*, *gǔdōngr*)

Anm. Die Finale der Silbe *dong* in *gǎndong* 感动, *huódong* 活动, *jīngdong* 惊动, *jǔdong* 举动 kann teilweise delabialisiert werden, bei *chòngdong* 冲动 ist diese Erscheinung regelmäßig. Die teilweise durchgeführte Delabialisierung der Finale der atonischen Silbe in diesen und ähnlichen Fällen kann auch als eine Art Reduktion angesehen werden; vgl. z. B. auch *nǐ děi chūqu huódong huodong* 你得出去活动活动, wo die Finale *-ong* der Silbe *dong* beim wiederholten *huodong* meistens teilweise delabialisiert wird (bei dieser Art Reduplikation wird das zweite Glied – hier das wiederholte *huodong* – meistens stark abgeschwächt, wobei die teilweise Delabialisierung der Finale *-ong* auch als eine Anzeige dieser Abschwächung gelten kann).

65) *ta* (S. 39), *RI:te*
BI: beide angeführten Schlagwörter: *zāota* 糟蹋, *láta*邋遢

Anm. 1. *BI:te* in *zāuta* wird auch mit U[o] (*bié zhème zāuta dōngxi* 别这么糟蹋东西), U[a] (*bǎ dōngxi dōu gei zāota la* 把东西都给糟蹋了) gesprochen;
2. *BI:te* in *láta* kommt besonders inmitten der dreisilbigen Konstruktionen vor, vgl. z. B. *látaguǐ* 邋遢鬼.

66) *tai* (S. 39), *RI:tei*
RI: *yàntai* 砚台; BI: *tàitai* 太太, *lǎotàitai* 老太太, *yítàitai* 姨太太; X: *fántai* 藩台, *dàotai* 道台, *niètai* 臬台, *lǎotai* 老台, *zhìtai* 制台

67) *tao* (S. 39), *RI:tou*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *āotao* 熬慆, *hétao* 核桃, *yīngtao* 樱桃, *pútao* 葡萄

68) *tou* (S. 39—42), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jiàntou* 件头, *rèntou* 纫头, *cāngtou* 苍头; folgende Schlagwörter bei G. auch mit -r: *miáotou* 苗头, *míngtou* 名头, *láitou* 来头, *làotou* 落头, *tiělángtou* 铁狼头, *zhǔntou* 准头, *zhuāngtou* 庄头

69) *tan* (S. 42), *RI:ten*
RI: alle angeführte Schlagwörter: *dòngtan*动弹, *shūtan*舒坦, *shìtan* 试探

70) *tang* (S. 42), *RI:teng*
RI: alle angeführte Schlagwörter: *mǐtang* 米汤, *shóutang* 熟汤, *fótang* 佛堂, *cítang* 祠堂, *huāngtang* 荒唐; X: *zhōngtang* 中堂

71) *teng* (S. 42), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *shēngteng* 升腾

72) *ti* (S. 43), *RI* unbezeichnet

73) *tie* (S. 43), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Die Schlagwörter *làotie* 烙铁, *tuǒtie* 妥帖 werden von G. *làotei*, *tuǒtei* gesprochen. Soll die Veränderung *tie* → *tei* auch als Abschwächung, einer Art Reduktion, Erleichterung der Artikulation, angesehen werden?

74) *tiao* (S. 43—44), *RI:tiu*
RI: alle angeführten Schlagwörter, vgl. *fēngtiao* 封条, *tōngtiao* 通条, *lèitiao* 肋条; X: *lā pítiaoqiàn* 拉皮条纤, *kǒutiao* 口条

75) *tian* (S. 44), *RI:tin*
BI: *dōngtian* 冬天, *hòutian* 后天, *qiūtian* 秋天, *xiàtian* 夏天, *chūntian* 春天; AI: *míngtian* 明天, *jīntian* 今天, *qiántian* 前天, *xīntian* 心田, *xiāngtian* 香甜; F: *rètian* 热天, *zuótian* 昨天, *miǎntian* 腼腆

76) *ting* (S. 44), *RI* unbezeichnet

77) *tu* (S. 44), *RI* unbezeichnet

78) *tuo* (S. 44—45), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *tǐngtuo* 挺托, *wéituo* 韦驮

Anm. 1. Bei den Schlagwörtern *kāituo* 开脱, *chūtuo* 出脱, *sǎtuo* 洒脱, d. h. bei allen Schlagwörtern mit Ausnahme von *tuītuo* 推托 kann eine Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung der Finale der Silbe *tuo* festgestellt werden, vgl. Anm. 1 bei der Besprechung der Silbe *duo*,
2. *luòtuo* 骆驼 wird von G. meistens als *lètou* gesprochen. (In BQC sind die Zeichen von *luòtuo* verkehrt geschrieben.)

79) *tui* (S. 45), *RI* unbezeichnet

80) *tun* (S. 45), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Bei dem angeführten Schlagwort *húntun* 馄饨 wird gelegentlich die Finale der Silbe *tun* teilweise delabialisiert.

81) *tong* (S. 45), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *sōngtong* 松通

Anm. Beim Schlagwort *hétong* 合同 könnte gelegentlich eine teilweise Delabialisierung der Finale der Silbe *tong* bemerkt werden.

82) *na* (S. 45)
X: *suǒna* 唢呐 (G.: *suǒnà*)

83) *ne* (S. 45)

Anm. Im angeführten Schlagwort *neme* 那么 wird eigentlich die Reduktion *na* → *ne* auch im BQC vermerkt.

84) *nai* (S. 45—46), *RI:nei*
RI: *nǎinai* 奶奶, *néngnai* 能耐; BI: übrige drei Schlagwörter

85) *nao* (S. 46), *RI:nou* (*RII:ne*)
RI: *zhuānao* 抓挠 (gelegentlich auch AII), *cìnao* 刺挠, *rènao* 热闹; X: *fánnao* 烦恼

86) *nan* (S. 48), *RI:nen*
BI: *jiānnan* 艰难; AI: *kùnnan* 困难, *wéinan* 为难

87) *nen* (S. 46), *RI* unbezeichnet

88) *nang* (S. 46—47), *RI:neng*
RI: *wōnang* 窝囊

Anm. 1. Neben *dūnang* 嘟囔 G. spricht noch ein synonymes Wort *dūnong* 嘟哝,
2. *RI:neng* in *wōnang* 窝囊, *wōnangfèi* 窝囊废 usw. wird auch mit U[u] gesprochen.

89) *neng* (S. 47), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. 1. Das Wort *dìneng* 嘀咬 wird von G. *dìnong* ausgesprochen (soll die Schreibung der Form *dìneng* in BQC eine Reduktion von *dìnong* andeuten?),
2. Das Wort *hùneng* 糊弄 wird von G. in der Bedeutung 瞒哄 *hùneng* sowie auch *hùnong*, in der Bedeutung 敷衍 meistens *hùneng* gesprochen.

90) *ni* (S. 47), *RI* unbezeichnet

91) *nie* (S. 47), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:ni*
BII: *nánie* 拏捏, *zuìnie* 罪孽

Anm. *i* in *RII:ni* kann als Monophthongisierung der Finale der Silbe *nie* betrachtet werden (vgl. oben über die Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung der Finale der Silbe *duo*). Wenn auch *nie* gesprochen wird, verschwindet oft das *-i-* Element in der Palatalisierung des vorhergehenden Konsonanten. Dasselbe gilt z. B. auch von den atonischen Silben *niu*, *nian*, *niang*, und anderen Silben mit einer palatalisierten Initiale (*j, q, x*) mit nachfolgendem Halbvokal *-i-*.

92) *niu* (S. 47), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Im Schlagwort *bièniu* 别扭 wird niu meistens zu [ńo], dessen Finale auch teilweise delabialisiert werden kann.

93) *nian* (S. 47), *RI:nin*
RI: *niánnianzhuàr* 捻捻转儿; BI: *nian* 年 (in *jīnnian* 今年, *qùnian* 去年 usw.), *dáonian*捯念; AI: *jìnian*纪念, *xìnnian* 信念

94) *niang* (S. 47), *RI:ning*
RI: *gūniang* 姑娘; F: *niángniang* 娘娘

95) *nuo* (S. 48), RI unbezeichnet

Anm. Neben *nuónuowōr* 挪挪窝儿 G. spricht noch auch zweisilbiges *nuónuo* 挪挪.

96) *nuan* (S. 48), *RI:nun*
RI: *huínuan* 回暖

97) *nong* (S. 48), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Über das Wort *hùnong* 糊弄, siehe *hùneng* bei der Besprechung der Silbe *neng*.

98) *nü* (S. 48), *RI* unbezeichnet

99) *la* (S. 48—49), *RI:le*
RI: *bùlatiáor* 布拉条儿; BI: *bāla* 扒拉, *bōla* 拨拉, *bēila* 背拉, *pūla* 扑拉, *tāla* 趿拉, *wàla* 挖拉, *pāla* 啪啦, *lála* 喇喇, *zhāla* 咋喇, pōla 泼辣, *pīla* 皮辣, *hāla* 哈喇, *piěla* 苤蓝, *zhàlamér* 栅拦门儿; AI: *pála* 扒拉, *dāla* 耷拉, *tuōla huála* 拖拉划拉, *bāla* 疤瘌, *xíla* 锡镴, *zīla* 吱喇; F: *huāla* 哗啦, X: *tuōlajī* 拖拉机, *sūla* 苏拉, *báilagānz* 白蜡杆子, *kālaní* 哈喇呢

Anm. *RI:le* in *bùlatiáor*布拉条儿, *bōla* 拨拉 wird mit U[o] gesprochen.

100) *le* (S. 49—50), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *bēile* 贝勒

Anm. *le* in *dēle* wird auch mit U[e] (*...yi dēleqilai jiù méi wán* 一嘚嘞起来就没完), U[a] (*nǐ bié lao zài zhèr xiā dēle la* 你别老在这儿瞎嘚嘞了) gesprochen.

101) *lai* (S. 50), *RI:lei*, *RII:le*
RII: *zìlaibái* 自来白, *zìlaihóng* 自来红; RI: *lai* 来 (in *shí lai lǐ dì* 十来里地; *nálai* 拿来, *dàilai* 带来usw.), *guòlairén* 过来人, *kànlai* 看来 (in der an der ersten Stelle angeführten Bedeutung), *jìnlai* 近来, *jìnlai* 进来, *xiàlai* 下来, *shànglai* 上来, *rénlaifēng* 人来疯; BI: *hòulai* 后来, *huílai* 回来; AI: *kànlai* 看来 (in der an der zweiten Stelle angeführten Bedeutung); X: *běnlai* 本来 (bei G.: *běnlái*)

Anm. *RI:lei* in *shí lai lǐ dì* 十来里地 wird auch oft zu *RII:le* reduziert (vgl. aber *èrshi lai lǐ dì* 二十来里地, *sānshi lai lǐ dì* 三十来里地, wo *lai* zwar meistens atonisch, aber ohne irgendwelche Reduktion gesprochen wird).

102) *lei* (S. 50), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *lei* in *dàilei* auch mit U[lai] (*dàileishang wǒ…* 带累上我).

103) *lao* (S. 50—51), *RI:lou* (*RII:le*)
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *gōnglao* 功劳, *kàolao* 犒劳, *táolao* 掏捞, *huòlao* 攉捞, *dāolao* 叨唠, *shǔlao* 数唠, *lǎolao* 姥姥 (*huòlao*, *shǔlao* auch mit BII); X: *gūlaoyé* 姑老爷

Anm. 1. *BII:le* in *huòlao* wird auch mit U[a] (*huòlao wánle…* 攉捞完了) gesprochen.
2. Neben *huòlao* wird von G. auch *huòlong* ausgesprochen; ähnliche Nasalierungen, die recht häufig vorkommen, werden nicht systematisch vermerkt.

104) *lou* (S. 51), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:le*
BII: *gáilou*概搂, *xuélou* 旷瞍, *hélou* 合漏
Anm. Neben *dēnglou* 灯笼 wird auch *dēnglong* ausgesprochen.
105) *lan* (S. 51), *RI:len*
RI: *yùlan* 玉兰
106) *lang* (S. 51—52), *RI:leng*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *bīnglang* 槟榔, *mālang* 蚂螂; X: *shìlang* 侍郎
107) *leng* (S. 52), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. *leng* in *gēlengbàr* 胳棱瓣儿 wird auch mit U[u] (Einfluß des nachfolgenden labialen Konsonanten b?) gesprochen.
108) *li* (S. 52—54), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *lǚli* 膂力, *yǎngli* 养力, *gěli* 蛤蜊(G.: *gěle*), *tǐli* 体例, *shūli* 书吏, *zhíli* 直隶
Anm. *li* in *zhàoli* 笊篱 wird regelmäßig mit einer Abschwächung der Finale ausgesprochen, fast wie ein *le* (*e:* [e]) (anstatt *zhàoli* wird auch noch *zhàolin* ausgesprochen). Ähnliche potentielle Abschwächung (*li* → *le*) wird in BY, S. 227 auch für *yǎnlijiàr* 眼力见儿 vermerkt (G. spricht in diesem Falle *li* ohne bemerkbare Abschwächung aus).
109) *lie* (S. 54—55), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:li*
BII: *rèlie* 热烈
110) *liao* (S. 55), *RI:liu*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *liáoliao* 聊聊, *zhàoliao* 照料, *cáiliao* 材料, (G. meistens: *-r*), *yánliao* 颜料
Anm. *RI:liou* inmitten der dreisilbigen Konstruktion *yánliaofáng* 颜料房 wird meistens noch weiter reduziert und fast [liə] oder [liö] (wobei das *i*-Element als ab in der Palatalisierung des *l* verschwindet) gesprochen.
111) *liu* (S. 55), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. *guāngliu* 光溜, *huáliu* 滑溜, *chūliu* 出溜, *shùnliu* 顺溜, *shòuliu* 瘦溜, *xīliu* 唏嘹 bei G. auch mit *-r*.
112) *lian* (S. 56), *RI:lin*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *dālian* 褡裢, *xiánlian* 涎脸, *jūlian* 拘挛; AI: *xùnlian* 训练; X: *málianbāo* 麻练包, *lìlian* 历练, *chēnlian* 抻练
Anm. 1. Bei *RI:lin* in *dālian* 褡裢, *lǜlian* 虑恋(112a) kann man öfters anstatt *-in* ein [en] ([e] sehr ungespannt, vordere Artikulation, besonders am Anfang bewahrt) hören. Diese Erscheinung, die man als weitere Reduktion der Finale von *RI:lin* betrachten kann, könnten wir als teilweise durchgeführte Depalatalisierung (analogisch der teilweise durchgeführten Delabialisierung) der Finale bezeichnen.
2. *RI:lin* wird auch in BY, S. 26 bei dem Schlagwort *chēnlian* 抻练 angegeben; auch bei dem Schlagwort 牧敛, S. 145 wird auf *RI:lin* aufmerksam gemacht (bei diesem Schlagwort wird nur die Form *mūlin* angegeben).
113) *lin* (S. 56)
X: beide angeführten Schlagwörter: *hànlin* 翰林, *shàulin* 少林

114) *liang* (S. 56—57], *RI:ling*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *fēngliang* 风凉, *huāngliang* 荒凉, *gāoliang* 高粱; BI: *liang* 两[*dà liang suì xiǎo liang suì de méi guānxi* 大两岁小两岁的没关系); AI: *lìliang*力量, *yuánliang* 原谅

Anm. 1. Bei *RI:ling* in den Schlagwörtern *fēngliang* 风凉, *huāngliang* 荒凉, *gāoliang* 高粱, *dǎliang* 打量, *héngliang* 衡量, *róngliang* 容量, *piàoliang* 漂亮, *hèliang* 豁亮, *xiǎngliang* 响亮, *tǐliang* 体谅 kann gelegentlich auch teilweise durchgeführte Depalatisierung der Finale festgestellt werden (bei *hèliang* ist diese Erscheinung ganz regelmäßig).
2. Das auditive Unterscheiden zwischen *-iang* und *RI:ing* mit teilweise durchgeführten Depalatalisierung ist hinsichtlich der Kurze der Finale manchmal schwierig (der Unterschied besteht hauptsächlich in dem genug ausgeprägten diphthongischen Charakter von *-ia-* in *-iang* und in der teilweise verschiedenen Vokalqualität). So z. B. bei Verdoppelung des Zeitworts *héngliang*: *héngliang hengliang* 衡量衡量 hört man beim ersten Glied der Konstruktion ein *RI:ling*, beim zweiten Glied der Reduplikation ungefähr ein [lieng], was in diesem Fall nur als *RI:ling* mit teilweise durchgeführter Depalatalisierung der Finale aufgefaßt werden kann. Auch z. B. bei *jīling* 机伶 (siehe weiter bei Besprechung der Silbe *ling*), wenn wir ein [leng] oder ein [lieng] hören, kann es sich nur um eine teilweise durchgeführte Depalatalisierung handeln, da ein ursprüngliches *liang* hier überhaupt nicht vorliegt.

115) *ling* (S. 57—58), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *miàoling* 妙伶, *zhèngling* 政令, *yuèling* 月令 (G.: *-r*)

Anm. *ling* in *jīling* 机伶wird auch mit teilweise durchgeführter Depalatalisierung der Finale gesprochen.

116) *lu* (S. 58), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:le*
BII: *dūlu* 嘟噜, *tūlu*秃鲁; *RI* oder F: übrige Schlagwörter, vgl. *gūlu* 咕噜, *hūlu* 呼噜, *húlu* 葫芦; X: *pǔlu* 氆氇, *ménlu* 门路 (G.: *-r*], *kāilu* 开路

Anm. Beim Schlagwort 掮掳 werden in BQC zwei Formen vermerkt: *húlu* und *húluo*, die beide auch bei G. üblich sind. Soll die Form *húlu* als Abschwächung von *húluo* gelten? Vgl. auch die Bemerkung über die Aussprache von *húlu* 拂落in BY, S. 90.

117) *luo* (S. 59—60), *RI:lou*, *RII:le*
RII: *guàluozǎo*r 挂络枣儿; RI: *zhāngluo* 张罗, *pǒluo* 笸箩, *bàiluo* 败落, *duòluo* 堕落 (*duòluo* 堕落 auch mit BII, *pǒluo* 笸箩mit AII); BI: *gǎnluo* 赶罗, *sīluo* 撕萝, *téngluo* 藤萝, *xīluo* 奚落, *shǔluo* 数落, *liánluo* 联络; AI: *húluo* 掮掳, *duànluo* 段落, *lěngluo* 冷落, *xiàluo* 下落, *chūluo* 出落, *shíluo* 实落, *yuànluo* 院落, *huōluo* 豁络; F: *lóuluo* 喽啰, *bùluo* 部落, *tuōluo* 脱落; X: *juēluo* 觉罗, *zhuóluo* 着落 (G.: *zhuóluor*, *zháoluor*), *huìluo* 贿赂 (G.: *huìlu*)

Anm. 1. *RII:le* in *guàluozǎor* wird mit U[a] gesprochen;
2. *BII:le* in *duòluo* (…*duòluocheng zhè yangr le* 堕落成这样儿) wird auch mit U[a] gesprochen.

3. Die erste Stufe der Abschwächung der Finale in der Silbe *luo*, die analogisch nach anderen Silben mit dieser Finale als „*RI* unbezeichnet“ vermerkt werden sollte, wird hier vernachlässigt; *RI:lou* ist eigentlich schon weitere Stute der Abschwachung. Vergleiche auch weiter änhlich zhuo → *RI:zhou*.

118) *luan* (S. 60), *RI:lun*
RI: beide angeführten Schlagwörter: *mángluan* 忙乱, *huòluan* 霍乱

Anm. Beide Wörter auch mit teilweise durchgeführter Delabialisierung der Finale der Silbe *RI:lun*. Neben *huòluan* (mit *RI:lun*) spricht G. auch noch *huóluàn*.

119) *lun* (S. 60), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. 1. *lun* in *tánlun* 谈论 wird auch mit teilweise durchgeführter Delabialisierung der Finale gesprochen.
2. Bei *lun* in *tánlun* wurde auch eine Artikulation bei verschlossener Mundhöhle beobachtet (*tǎolunde jiéguǒ zěnme yàng?* 讨论的结果怎么样?).

120) *long* (lung S. 60), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *huǒlong*火笼, *yuánlong* 圆笼

121) *lü* (S. 61), *RI* unbezeichnet

122) *lüe* (S. 61), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *tāolüe* 韬略

123) *ga* (S. 61), *RI:ge*
RI: *gāgazǎor* 嘎嘎枣儿; F: *gāga* 嘎嘎

124) *ge* (S. 61—62), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *yāngge* 秧歌(G.: *-r*), *gēge* 格格, *guāge* 瓜葛

Anm. Über *yāngge* 央告, wo auch in BQC die Reduktion *gao* → *ge* vermerkt wurde, siehe weiter bei der Besprechung der Silbe *gao*.

125) *gai* (S. 62), *RI:gei*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *pūgai* 铺盖, *wǔgai* 捂盖, *qìgai* 气概

126) *gei* (S. 62), *RI* unbezeichnet

127) *gao* (S. 62), *RI:gou*, *RII:ge*
RII: *yānggao* 央告; RI: *bàogao* 报告, *dǎogao* 祷告(*dǎogao* in gewissen Fällen auch *dǎogào*)

Anm. *yānggao* wird regelmäßig mit *RII:ge* gesprochen, ursprüngliches *gao* erscheint z. B. bei Vorlesung der Texte u. ä.

128) *gou* (S. 62), *RI* unbezeichnet

129) *gan* (S. 62—63), *RI:gen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *tiángan* 甜甘, *niāngan* 蔫甘, *fēnggan* 风干

130) *gen* (S. 63), *RI* unbezeichnet

131) *geng* (S. 63), *RI* unbezeichnet

132) *gu* (S. 63—64), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *zhǎnggu* 掌故

Anm. 1. *gu* in *jǐgu* 挤咕 wird sehr verkürzt.
2. Bei einigen Schlagwörtern [z. B. *mógu* 蘑菇, *cígu* 慈姑, *pìgu* 屁股) bemerkt man in *gu* unter Bedingungen, die allgemein für die Reduktion günstig sind, auch eine mehr offene Artikulation von *u*, fast ein [o] oder [uo].

133) *gua* (S. 64—65), *RI:guo*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *dōnggua* 冬瓜, *huánggua* 黄瓜

Anm. Die Finale in *RI:guo* bei einigen Schlagwörtern unter gewissen Bedingungen, besonders inmitten der dreisilbigen Wörter oder Konstruktionen, wird beinahe oder ganz monophthongisiert, d. h. wird zu [u] oder geschlossenem [o] (auch [uo] mit sehr geschlossenem [o]), vgl. *RI:guo* in *xīguazǐr* 西瓜子儿, *lǎowōgua* 老倭瓜, *wōguarǎngr* 倭瓜瓤儿).

134) *guo* (S. 65), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Die Tendenz zu Monophthongisierung der Finale der Silbe *guo* unter Bedingungen, die sonst für die Reduktion günstig sind, bemerkt man bei folgenden Schlagwörtern (in Klammern wird ein [u] oder [o] angegeben, je nachdem das Ergebnis der Monophthonglsierung einem [u] oder [o] näher steht): *shāoguo* 烧锅([u]), *zhīguowǎr* 支锅瓦儿([o]), *jiáoguo* 浇裹([o]), *zāguo* 扎裹([o], [u]), *guo* 过 (vgl. *jiànguo* 见过, *qùguo* 去过 usw.) ([o]), *sàiguo* 赛过 ([o]).

135) *guai* (S. 66), *RI:gui*
RI: *gūguai* 孤枴, *gǔguai* 古怪, *yāoguai* 妖怪; BI: *guāiguai* 乖乖, *yào guāiguai* 要乖乖

136) *gui* (S. 66), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jīngui* 金贵

137) *guan* (S. 66—67), *RI:gun*
RI: *zhǎngguan* 长官, *liǔguan* 柳罐; BI: *tángguan* 堂官, *wènguan* 问官; AI: *fèngguan* 凤冠; F: *zìguan* 自管, *xíguan* 习惯; X: *zóngguan* 总管

Anm. *RI:gun* in *liǔguan* wird auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

138) *gun* (S. 67), *RI* unbezeichnet

139) *guang* (S. 67), *RI:gong*
RI: *sǎnguang sǎnguang* 散逛散逛; BI: *fēngguang* 风光

140) *gong* (S. 67), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *yīngong* 阴功, *qiāngong* 谦恭, *bágong* 拔贡

141) *ke* (S. 68), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *sèke* 啬刻, *áoke* 熬剋

142) *kai* (S. 68), *RI:kei*
RI: *-kai* 开 (vgl. *dǎkai* 打开, *lākai* 拉开, *fēnkai* 分开)

143) *kao* (S. 68), *RI:kou*
RI: *láokao* 牢靠

144) *kou* (S. 69), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *kou* in *hùkou* nähert sich in der Aussprache einem *ku* (Einfluß der Finale *-u* der vorhergehenden Silbe?), besonders z. B. in *hùkouběr* 户口本儿.

145) *kan* (S. 69), *RI:ken*
RI: *zhàokan* 照看, *chákan* 查看; BI: *kànkan* 看看

146) *ken* (S 69), *RI* unbezeichnet

147) *kang* (S. 69), *RI-keng*
RI: *ǎikang* 矮糠; BI: *lángkang* 狼抗

148) *ku* (S. 69), *RI* unbezeichnet
149) *kuo* (S. 69), *RI* unbezeichnet
150) *kuai* (S. 69—70), *RI:kui*
RI: *tòngkuai* 痛快, *liángkuai* 凉快, *qīngkuai* 轻快, *sōngkuai* 松快; AI: *shuǎngkuai* 爽快, *-kuai* 块 (z. B. in *shíkuai qián* 十块钱)
151) *kuan* (S. 70), *RI:kun*
RI: *miànkuan* 面宽
152) *kuang* (S. 70), *RI:kong*
BI: *zhāngkuang* 张狂; AI: *jǐngkuang* 景况
153) *kong* (S. 70), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. Beide angeführten Schlagwörter, d. h. *miànkòng* 面孔 und gelegentlich auch *kuīkong* 亏空 werden auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale der Silbe *kong* gesprochen.
154) *ha* (S. 70)
Anm. Die unbetonte Silbe *ha* im angeführten Schlagwort *dǎhāha* 打哈哈 wird mit einer Reduktion gesprochen, die vielmehr ein *he* (*e:* [ɛ]) als ein *he* (*e:* [ə]) bezeichnet werden könnte.
155) *he* (S. 70—71), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *ǒuhe* 藕荷 (G.: *ǒuhé*)
156) *hai* (S. 71), *RI:hei*
RI: *pāohai* 抛海, *lìhai* 厉害, *kēnghai* 倾害, *huòhai* 祸害, *xiànhai* 陷害; X: übrige Schlagwörter
157) *hao* (S. 72), *RI:hou*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *páihao* 牌号, *huīhao* 徽号, *xiāohao* 消耗; X: *miàohao* 庙号, *shìhao* 谥号
158) *hou* (S. 72), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *xièhou* 谢候
Anm. Die Finale der Silbe *hou* in *cìhou* 伺候 wird öfters fast bis zu einem [u] monophtongisiert.
159) *han* (S. 72—73), *RI:hen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *mānhan* 颟顸, *dānhan* 单寒, *bāohan* 包涵
160) *hen* (S. 73), *RI* unbezeichnet
161) *hang* (s. 73), *RI:heng*
RI: *dàohang* 道行
162) *heng* (S. 73), *RI* unbezeichnet
163) *hu* (S. 73—74), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *dǎhuāhushào* 打花胡哨, *nìhu* 腻糊(G.: *-r*), *niánhu* 粘糊 (G.: *-r*), *lànhu* 烂糊 (G.: *-r*), *jiànghu* 糨糊, *báhu* 跋扈
Anm. 1. Die Finale der Silbe *hu* in *duànhu* 断乎, *zhāohu* 招呼, *juéhu* 绝户 wird oft in derselben Weise wie die Finale der Silbe *gu* in *mógu*, *cígu*, *pìgu* gesprochen (siehe Anm. 2 bei Besprechung der Silbe *gu*). Gelegentlich wird so auch die Finale der Silbe *hu* in *zhùhu* 住户, *chuānghu* 窗户, *zūhu* 租户gesprochen.

164) *hua* (S. 74—75), *RI:huo*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *báihuashér* 白话舌儿, *miánhua* 棉花, *liáohuarér* 聊花人儿; X: *tànhua* 探花, *liúhua* 流滑, *shóuhua* 熟化

Anm. 1. *RI:huo* bei den Schlagwörtern *báihua*白话, *liáohuarér* 聊花人儿 wird auch in BY, SS. 9, 126 vermerkt; mit einer Bemerkung über *hua* → *huo* wird in BY, S. 9 noch das Wort 摆划 angeführt.
2. Die Finale der Silbe *RI:huo* in *kéhua* wird öfters mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung (→ fast ein [u]) gesprochen, z. B. in *kéhuabutòng* 剋化不动, *kéhuabuliǎo* 剋化不了; ähnlich auch *xiàohua* 笑话 (hier wird die Finale in *RI:huo* fast zu einem geschlossenen [o]).
3. Das Wort *biànhua* 变化 wird mit *RI:huo* gesprochen, wenn es als Zeitwort, nicht als Hauptwort gebraucht wird.

165) *huo* (S. 75—76), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jíhuo* 即或, *gǔhuo* 蛊惑, *kāihuo* 开豁, *cháohuo* 潮豁, *tiáohuo* 调货, *bǐhuo* 秕获, *wēnhuo* 温和(G.: *-r*)

Anm. Die Finale der Silbe *huo* in *xiéhuo* 斜活, *yíhuo* 疑惑 wird auch mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung (*huo* → *hu*) gesprochen (*xiéhuo*, z. B. in *nǐ qiáo ni zhei xiéhuojir*! 你瞧你这斜活劲儿!).

166) *huai* (S. 77), *RI:hui*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *bàihuai* 败坏, *pòhuai* 破坏, *huàihuaile* 坏坏了

167) *hui* (S. 77—78), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *zhīhui* 知会

Anm. Das Wort *zāohui* 糟毁 wird von G. auch *zāohei* gesprochen. Soll *hei* in *zāohei* als Reduktion von *hui* in *zāohui* (vielleicht auch unter Einfluß des Morphems *hai* 害) betrachtet werden, oder handelt es sich um ein Synonymum?

168) *huan* (S. 78), *RI:hun*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *xǐhuan* 喜欢, *pánhuan* 盘桓, *tiánhuan* 填还

Anm. 1. Die Schlagwörter *pánhuan* 盘桓, *jiàohuan* 叫唤, *biànhuan* 变换, *diàohuan* 调换 werden auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale der Silbe *RI:hun* gesprochen.
2. In *xǐhuan* geht gelegentlich die Initiale *h* der atonischen Silbe verloren, so daß anstatt von *RI:hun* auch ein *wen* oder [un] gesprochen werden kann.

169) *hun* (S. 78), *RI* unbezeichnet

170) *huang* (S. 78—79), *RI:hong*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *jīhuang* 饥荒, *yùhuang* 玉皇, *fènghuang* 凤凰

Anm. RI:hong in *-huang* (in *mèndehuang*闷得慌, *èdehuang* 饿得慌 usw.) wird meistens mit vollständig delabialisierter Finale gesprochen, so daß es von *heng* nicht unterschieden wird.

171) *hong* (S. 79), *RI* unbezeichnet

172) *ji* (S. 79—81), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *xiūji* 修积, *yóuji* 游击, *fǔji*俯给, *lièji* 劣迹

Anm. *ji* in *huǒji* 活计 (*huo* soll richtig mit dem Zeichen, das aus dem Radikalen 亻 „Mensch“ und dem Zeichen für *huo* 火 „Feuer“ zusammengesetzt ist, wiedergegeben werden) wird gelegentlich, z. B. wenn *huǒji* als Anrede gebraucht wird, mi teinem sehr ungespanneten *i*, das sich einem [e] oder [ɛ] nähert ausgesprochen.

173) *jia* (S. 81), *RI:jie*, *RII:ji*
RI: *-jia* 家 (in *Zhāngjia* 张家, *Lǐjia* 李家usw.), *pójia* 婆家, *dàjiahuǒr* 大家伙儿, *diànjia* 店家, *dōngjia* 东家, *niángjia* 娘家, *rénjia* 人家, *zhuāngjia* 庄稼, *zhuāngjiaren* 庄稼人, *zhěngtiānjia* 整天家*:* in diesen Fällen oft auch mit BII; *qìngjia* 亲家, *zhǐjia* 指甲 (G.: *zhījia*): in diesen Fällen auch gelegentlich mit BII; *gōngjia* 公家, *yuānjia* 冤家; BI: *guǎnjia* 管家, *lǎorenjia* 老人家; F: *gèngjia* 更加; X: *bòjiasuǒr* 百家锁儿 (G.: *báijiasuǒr*), *guānjia* 官家, *hángjia* 行家 (G.: *hángjiar* oder *hángjiā*)

Anm. *RI:jie* in *zhěngtiānjia* wird auch in BY, S. 225 erwähnt; in BY wird auch noch auf andere Fälle von *jia* → *jie* in Wörtern, die in BQC nicht behandelt werden, aufmerksam gemacht.

174) *jie* (S. 82), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:ji*
BII: *biéjie* 别咖, *bùhǎojie* 不好咖, *bājie* 巴结; AII: *shújie* 秫秸, *shìjie* 世界; X: *-jie -*姐 (in *Zhāngjie* 张姐, *Líjie* 李姐; G.: *Zhāngjiě*, *Líjiě*)

175) *jiao* (S. 82), *RI:jiu*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl, *bājiao* 芭蕉*, língjiao* 菱角*, jījiao* 犄角; X: *bājiaogǔr* 八角鼓儿*, bājiaogǔz* 八角鼓子

Anm. *RI:jiu* in *dàojiao* 道叫 wird auch noch weiter abgeschwächt bis zu *ji*, diese Abschwächung wird auch in BY, S. 47 erwähnt. Ähnliche Reduktion, wenn auch nicht so ausgeprägt (vielmehr: *jiu* → *jie*, *e:* [e] oder [ə]) wird z. B. auch bei *lǐngjiao* 领教 beobachtet. Vgl. auch noch BY, S. 128, wo das Wort 劣角 mit der Form *liè jie* angegeben wird.

176) *jiu* (S. 83), *RI* unbezeichnet

177) *jian* (S. 83—84), *RI:jin*
RI: *tiāojian* 挑拣*, dàijian* 待见*, hánjianwùr* 罕见物儿*, yǐnjian* 引见*, wénjian* 闻见*, yùjian* 遇见*, yānjian* 淹践*, xiàjian* 下贱*, tàijian* 太监; BI: *shíjian* 时间*, shìjian* 事件*, ànjian* 案件*, qiáojian* 瞧见*, zhuàngjian* 撞见*, zuójian* 作践; AI: *yīnjian* 阴间*, yángjian* 阳间*, shéngjian* 省俭*, tīngjian* 听见*, kànjian*看见*, yìjian* 意见*, zāojian* 糟践; F: *-jian -*件(in *zuò jian yīfu ba* 做件衣服吧), *tiáojian* 条件*, wùjian* 物件*, pèngjian* 碰见*, mèngjian* 梦见; X: *yìnjian* 印鉴

178) *jin* (S. 84), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *fūjin* 福晋, *hánjin* 寒噤

179) *jiang* (S. 84), *RI:jing*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *kuājiang* 夸奖, *mùjiang* 木匠, *tiějiang* 铁匠, *shíjiang* 石匠, *wǎjiang* 瓦匠

Anm. Gelegentlich kann z. B. *RI:jing* in *mùjiang* auch mit teilweise depalatalisierter Finale gesprochen werden.

180) *jing* (S. 85—86), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *zhāngjing* 章京
Anm. Die Finale *-ing* der Silbe *jing* in *xiàjingtiār* 夏景天儿, *dōngjingtiār* 冬景天儿 wird oft bei verschlossener Mundhöhle gesprochen.
181) *ju* (S. 86), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *géju* 格局, *wōju* 莴苣, *kǎoju* 考据
182) *jue* (S. 86), *RI* unbezeichnet
183) *juan* (S. 87), *RI: jun*
RI: *jiājuan* 家眷
Anm. *RI:jun* in *jiājuan* wird auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.
184) *jun* (S. 87), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *hànjun* 汉军
185) *qi* (S. 87-89), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *shàqi* 煞气 (G.: *shàqì*), *fàqi* 法器, *yíqi* 彝器
Anm. Das Schlagwort *fūqi* wird mit atonischem *qi* z. B. in *fūqi liǎ* 夫妻俩 gesprochen (vgl. aber: *tāmen liǎ shi fūqi* 他们俩是夫妻).
186) *qie* (S. 89), *RI* unbezeichnet
187) *qiao* (S. 89), *RI:qiu*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *tuīqiao* 推敲, *kǒngqiao* 孔雀, *xǐqiao* 喜鹊, *qīngqiao* 轻巧
188) *qiu* (S. 89), *RI* unbezeichnet
189) *qian* (S. 90), *RI:qin*
RI: *gēnqian* 跟前 (in *nín gēnqian jǐ ge xiǎohair* 您跟前几个小孩儿), *-qian* -钱 (in *gōngqian* 工钱, *fànqian* 饭钱), *dìngqian* 定钱, *cháqian* 茶钱; BI: *běnqian* 本钱, *shǎngqian* 赏钱; AI: *lìqian* 利钱, *jiàqian* 价钱; F: *chènqian* 衬钱; X: *mǎqian* 马钱 (G.: *-r*), *jiǔqian* 酒钱 (G.: *-r*)
Anm. 1. *RI:qin* in gēnqian auch in BY, S. 73 belegt.
2. Die Finale von *RI:qin* in *gōngqian*, *fànqian* kann öfters auch teilweise depalatalisiert werden.
190) *qin* (S. 90), *RI* unbezeichnet
191) *qiang* (S. 90), *RI:qing*
RI: *yāngqiang* 央戗; AI: *gāngqiang* 刚强
192) *qing* (S. 90), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jiānqing* 奸情
193) *qu* (S. 91), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:qi*
RII: *-qu* -去 (in *shàngqu* 上去, *chúqu* 出去, *guòqu* 过去)
Anm. 1. Das soeben angeführte Beispiel von *RII:qi* ist das einzige sichere Beispiel der Reduktion *-ü* → *-i* (die als vollständige Delabialisierung betrachtet werden kann)
2. In *yǎqu* 雅趣 kann man öfters eine Tendenz zur teilweisen Delabialisierung der Finale der Silbe qu beobachten.
194) *que* (S. 91), *RI* unbezeichnet

195) *quan* (S. 91), *RI-qun*
RI: *zhōuquan* 周全, *chéngquan* 成全; AI: *xiàngquan* 项圈, *qíquan* 齐全, *wánquan* 完全; F: *ānquan* 安全
196) *qun* (S. 91), *RI* unbezeichnet
197) *xi* (S. 91—92), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jiàoxi* 教习
Anm. Das *cúxi* 促狭 gebraucht G. nicht, aber in BY, S. 36 ist dieses Wort auch angeführt und zwar in der Form *cú xie* mit der Bemerkung, daß anstatt *xie* auch *xi* gesprochen werden kann. In diesem Falle wurde also in BY die Reduktion *xie* → *xi* (Monophthongisierung) vermerkt, in BQC ist nur die reduzierte Form angeführt.
198) *xia* (S. 92—93), *RI:xie*, *RII:xi*
RII: *dǐxiarén* 底下人, *jiéxia* 节下, *xiāngxia* 乡下, *xiānshuōxia* 先说下; RI: *dǐxia* 底下, *dìxia* 地下, *hēixia* 黑下(*dǐxia, dìxia* auch mit BII); BI: *-xia* -下 (in *paxiā* 趴下, *shōuxia* 收下), *dìngxia* 定下, *tìxia* 替下, *niánxia* 年下 (*-xia*, *niánxia* gelegentlich auch mit BII); F: *tiānxia* 天下; X: *fēngxia* 封下
199) *xie* (S. 93), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:xi*
RII: *piēxie*撇斜, *miēxie*乜斜; AII: *pángxie* 螃蟹
200) *xiao* (S. 93—94), *RI:xiu*
RI: alle fünf Schlagwörter: *bàoxiao* 报销, *kāixiao* 开销, *huāxiao* 花销, *cháoxiao* 嘲笑, *bàoxiao* 报效
Anm. *-iu* (phonetisch genauer: [-iou]) in *RI:xiu* in *kāixiao*, *huāxiao* wird manchmal teilweise delabialisiert, so daß man ungefähr ein sehr kurzes [-iə] zu hören glaubt (z. B. …*kāixiaowánle* 开销完了).
201) *xiu* (S. 94), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *shùxiu* 束脩
202) *xian* (S. 94), *RI:xin*
RI: *xīnxian* 新鲜, *shuǐxian* 水仙, *shénxian* 神仙, *qīngxian* 清闲, *duōxian* 多嫌, *niánxian* 粘涎, *zhēnxian*针线; BI: *gòngxian* 贡献; AI: *júxianxìng* 局限性; F: *-xiansheng* 先生, *wúxiandiàn* 无线电, *jièxian* 界限
203) *xin* (S. 94—95), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *cùxin* 醋心 (G.: *cùxin*)
204) *xiang* (S. 95—96), *RI:xing*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *dīngxiang* 丁香, *sōngxiang* 松香, *fēngxiang* 风箱; BI: *xiángxiang* 想想, *zhìxiang* 志向; AI: *jìxiang* 迹象, *xiànxiang* 现象; F: *piānxiang* 偏向, *fāngxiang* 方向, *qìxiangtái* 气象台, *qìxiangxué* 气象学, *xíngxiang* 形象, *duānxiang*端相; X: *yáoxiang* 爻象
Anm. 1. Bei einigen Schlagwörtern (z. B. *sōngxiang* 松香, *jíxiang* 吉祥, *xiángxiang* 想想, *xiéxiangyǎr*斜向眼儿, *yìnxiang* 印象 wird die Finale der Silbe *RI:xing* auch noch depalatalisiert.
2. *RI:xing* in *shàoxiang* 少相 ist auch in BY, S. 181 vermerkt (die Reduktion wird auch von den chinesischen Sprechern wahrgenommen!). In BY, S. 233 ist weiter noch *yí xing* 疑相 mit der Bemerkung über *xiang* → *xing* angeführt.

205) *xing* (S. 96—97), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jiǎxīngxing*假惺惺, *zuǒxing* 左性

Anm. In einigen Wörtern wird die Finale in xing mit einer Tendenz zur teilweisen Depalatalisierung gesprochen, vgl. *lǎoshòuxing* 老寿星, *shòuxinglǎor* 寿星老儿, *rénxing* 人性.

206) *xu* (S. 97—98), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Eine teilweise durchgeführte Delabialisierung der Finale *-ü* der Silbe *xu* kann gelegentlich in *kōngxu*空虚, *chuīxu* 吹嘘 beobachtet werden.

207) *xue* (S. 98), RI unbezeichnet
X: *dàoxue*道学, *gūxue* 骨血

Anm. 1. Die Finale *-üe* der Silbe *xue* in *dàxue* 大学 wird öfters mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung gesprochen, so daß man ein sehr kurzes *-u* zu hören glaubt;
2. *wénxue* wird auch *wénxué* gesprochen, vgl. *tā xué wénxué* 他学文学.

208) *xuan* (S. 98), *RI:xun*
BI: *páixuan* 排揎; AI: *zhōuxuan* 周旋

209) *xun* (S. 98), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *yīnxun* 因循

210) *xiong* (S. 99), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Das diphthongische Element *-io-* (phonetisch genauer: [üu]) in *xiong* wird in den angeführten Wörtern (*dìxiong* 弟兄, *xīnxiong* 心胸, *yīngxiong* 英雄) manchmal mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung gesprochen, so daß man anstatt *-io-* ein sehr kurzes *-ü-* oder [-ö-] zu hören glaubt.

211) *zhi* (S. 99—100), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *lìzhi* 荔枝 (G.: *lìzhī*), *gōngzhi* 工致, *fǎzhi* 法制, *fúzhi* 服制, *tǐzhi* 体制, *pàozhi* 炮制, *huǒzhi* 火炽, *zīzhi* 资质, *yīnzhi* 阴鸷

212) *zha* (S. 100), *RI:zhe*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *yóuzhaguǐ* 油炸鬼, *yǎnzhamáo* 眼眨毛, *bàzha* 跁眨, *zhàzha* 囗囗; X: *màzha* 蚂蚱 (G.: *màzheng*)

Anm. *RI:zhe* inmitten der dreisilbigen Wörter *yóuzhaguǐ*, *yǎnzhamáo* wird mit einer Tendenz zu *zhi* gesprochen.

213) *zhe* (S. 100—101], *RI* unbezeichnet

214) *zhai* (S. 101), *RI:zhei*
RI: *zhǐzhai* 指摘

215) *zhou* (S. 101), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *zhou* in *tiáozhou* 笤帚, *chuīzhou* 炊帚(G. öfters: *cuīzhou*), *sàozhou* 扫帚 wird gelegentlich auch mit delabialisierter Finale (*zhou* → *zhe*) gesprochen, meistens aber spricht G. hier chou anstatt *zhou*.

216) *zhao* (S. 100), *RI:zhou*, *RII:zhe*
RI: g*uīzhao* 归赵, *zhēnzhao* 真着, *shízhao* 实着 (*guīzhao* auch mit BII); F: *hàozhao* 号召 (G. auch noch *hàozhāo*)

Anm. *guīzhao* 归着 (Synonymum zu *guīzhi* 归置) wird mit *RI:zhou* oder auch oft mit *RII:zhe* gesprochen. In BY, S. 79 bei Besprechung des Schlagwortes

guīzhi 归置 wird auch auf die Form mit *RI:zhou* aufmerksam gemacht, in *Hanyu pinyin cihui* 汉语拼音词汇 (weiterhin als HPC abgekürzt) sind zwei synonyme Schlagwörter: *guīzhi* (归置) und *guīzhe* 归着 angeführt.

217) *zhan* (S. 101), *RI:zhen*
RI: *jiǎozhan* 狡展, *shīzhan* 施展, *shūzhan* 舒展, *bàzhan* 霸占; X: *pòzhan* 破绽

218) *zhang* (S. 102), *RI:zheng*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *pūzhang* 铺张, *kuāzhang* 夸张, *huāngzhang* 慌张; AI: *bāzhang* 巴掌; F: *zhǔzhang* 主张, *wénzhang* 文章; X: *qiānzhang* 千张, *túzhang* 图章, *qiānzhang* 千章

Anm. *RI:zheng* in *pàozhang* 炮仗 wird gelegentlich mit U[o] oder U[u] gesprochen (es wird in diesem Wort von G. meistens auch noch *ch* anstatt *zh* gesprochen).

219) *zheng* (S. 103), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *yìnzheng* 印证

220) *zhu* (S. 103), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *guánzhu* 管主

Anm. 1. Die Finale von -*zhu* (in *lāzhu* 拉住, *zhànzhu* 站住usw.) kann bei gewissen Satzintonationen auch teilweise delabialisiert werden;
2. *zhu* in *zhīzhu* wird atonisch nur in *zhīzhuwang* 蜘蛛网 gesprochen.

221) *zhuo* (S. 103), *RI:zhou*
RI: *zhēnzhuo* 斟酌

222) *zhuai* (S. 103), *RI:zhui*
RI: *sǐzhuai* 死拽

223) *zhui* (S. 103), *RI* unbezeichnet

224) *zhuan* (S. 103), *RI:zhun*
RI: *wānzhuan* 剜转, *zuǒzhuan* 左转

Anm. Beide Wörter, besonders *zuǒzhuan* werden Finale der Silbe *RI:zhun* gesprochen.

225) *zhuang* (S. 104), *RI:zhong*
RI: alle Scihlagwörter, vgl. *zhěngzhuang* 整庄, *wěnzhuang* 稳庄, *jiàzhuang* 嫁妆; X: *jiàzhuang* 架桩.

Anm. *RI:zhong* in *zúzhuang* 足壮 wird oft mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

226) *zhong* (S. 104), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *lángzhong* 郎中, *tánglángzhong* 堂郎中, *mángzhong* 芒种

Anm. *kōngzhong* 空中, auch 空钟 geschrieben, wird bei G. meistens mit vollständig delabialisierter Finale der Silbe zhong gesprochen.

227) *chi* (S. 104—105), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *zhùchi* 住持

228) *cha* (S. 105), *RI:che*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *yècha* 夜叉, *ècha* 恶叉, *chuāncha* 穿插

229) *che* (S. 105—106), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. *lāche* 拉扯 in der Bedeulung 扶养 wird bei G. auch *lāchi* gesprochen. Man könnte vielleicht *chi* als Reduktion von *che* betrachten.
230) *chai* (S. 106), *RI:chei*
RI: *pǐchai* 劈柴
231) *chao* (S. 106), *RI: chou*
RI: *kuanchao* 宽绰
Anm. 宽绰 wird in Wörterbüchern meistens in der Form *kuānchuo* (vgl. z. B. HPC) angeführt; so wird eigentlich in BQC indirekt die Reduktion *chuo* → *chou* angegeben, die der Reduktion *zhuo* → *zhou* in *zhēnzhuo* 斟酌 analogish ist.
232) *chou* (S. 106), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *chōuchou* 抽抽 (G.: *-r*)
Anm. Die Finale der Silbe *chou* in *yìngchou* 应酬 wird mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung (*chou* → *chu*) gesprochen.
233) *chan* (S. 106), *RI:chen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *pánchan* 盘缠, *niánchan* 粘缠, *chūchan* 出产
Anm. Im dreisilbigen Wort *pánchanqián* 盘缠钱 bemerken wir nebst *RI:chen* auch noch U(i).
234) *chen* (S. 106), *RI* unbezeichnet
235) *chang* (S. 106—107), *RI:cheng*
RI: *jiāchang* 家常, *guànchang* 灌肠, *xīnchang* 心肠, *tíchang* 提倡; F: *xiàchang* 下场
236) *cheng* (S. 107), *RI* unbezeichnet
237) *chu* (S. 107), *RI* unbezeichnet
238) *chuai* (S. 108), *RI:chui*
RI: *dēngchuai* 蹬踹
239) *chui* (S. 108), *RI* unbezeichnet
240) *chuan* (S. 108), *RI:chun*
RI: *xuānchuan* 宣传, *guànchuan* 贯串; X: *pánchuan* 盘川
Anm. 1. *RI:chun* in *guànchuan* wird mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.
2. Anstatt *pánchuan* sagt G. das Synonymum *pánchan* 盘缠.
241) *chun* (S. 108), *RI* unbezeichnet
Anm. Die Finale von *chun* in *lǜchun* 驴唇 wird teilweise delabialisiert.
242) *chuang* (S. 108), *RI:chong*
RI: *kǒuchuang* 口疮, *zhìchuang* 痔疮
243) *chong* (S. 108), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *huángchong* 蝗虫, *tuīchong* 推崇
Anm. Die Finale von chong in *chángchong* 长虫, *chòuchong* 臭虫 wird teilweise delabilisiert.
244) *shi* (S. 108—112), RI unbezeichnet X: *jūnshi* 军师, *hāshi* 哈失, *yīnshi* 殷实, *jūshi* 居士, *tōngshi* 通事, *lùshi* 录事, *gòngshi* 供事, *xíngshi* 刑事, *zōngshi* 宗室

245) *sha* (S. 112), *RI:she*
RI: *zhūsha* 朱砂, *zhāsha* 挓挲; AI: *dèngsha* 澄沙
Anm. Die Silbe *sha* von *dèngsha* in dreisilbigen Wörtern wie *dèngshanbāor* 澄沙包儿 wird mit einer Tendenz zu *shi* gesprochen.
246) *she* (S. 112—113), *RI*: unbezeichnet
Anm. Die Silbe *she* in *shuǐsheyāo* 水蛇腰 wird mit einer Tendenz zu *shi* gesprochen (es wird aber auch *shuǐshenyāu* gesprochen).
247) *shai* (S. 113), *RI:shei*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *huīshai* 灰色, *chéngshai* 成色, *yánshai* 颜色
248) *shao* (S. 113), *RI:shou*
RI: *huǒshao* 火烧, *huāshao* 花稍, *jièshao* 介绍; AI: *duōshao* 多少
Anm. *RI:shou* in *huǒshao* kann manchmal bis zu einem sehr kurzen *she* oder *shi* (meistens unter gleichzeitigem Wandel *sh* → stimmhaftes *sh* → *r*) reduziert werden.
249) *shou* (S. 113—114), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *tōushou* 偷手, *láoshou* 老手(G.: *-r*), *jiūshou* 揪手
250) *shan* (S. 114), *RI:shen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *dāshan* 搭讪, *hūshan* 呼扇, *shīshan* 失闪, *géshan* 隔扇, *gùshan* 顾瞻
251) *shen* (S. 114), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jìnshen* 缙绅
252) *shang* (S. 114—115), *RI:sheng*
RI: fast alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *yīshang* 衣裳, *gǎnshang* 赶上, *kànshang* 看上; AI: *fǔshang* 府上
253) *sheng* (S. 115), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *wǎnsheng* 晚生
Anm. Bei den Silben mit „*RI* unbezeichnet", wo die Reduktion auditiv einigermaßen schwierig festzustellen ist, können hie und da leichter solche Fälle, wo es zu keiner Reduktion kommt, vermerkt werden; es können auch verschiedene indirekte Anzeigen einer nicht reduzierten Aussprache vorliegen, wie z. B. bei *chǎnsheng* 产生 das Fehlen der stimmhaften Artikulation der Initiale *sh*, die sonst im Falle der Abschwächung der Silben ganz üblich ist.
254) *shu* (S. 116), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *túshu* 图书, *shàngshu* 尚书
255) shua (S. 117), *RI:shuo*
RI: *hùshua* 糊刷
Anm. *RI:shuo* in *hùshua* wird oft mit einer Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung (→ *shu* oder *sho* mit geschlossenem [o]) gesprochen.
256) *shuo* (S. 117), *RI* unbezeichnet
257) *shuai* (S. 117), *RI:shui*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *píshuai* 皮率, *zhíshuai* 直率, *cǎoshuai* 草率, *yuánshuai* 元帅

Anm. 1. Das Element *-u-* in *RI:shui* wird in *píshuai*, *yuánshuai* oft abgeschwächt oder eliminiert. (Realisiert sich die Rundung der Lippen teilweise bei der Artikulation der Initiale *sh*?),
2. *RI:shui* in *píshuai* wird auch in BY, S. 157 vermerkt.

258) *shui* (S. 117), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *xiǎoshui* 小水

Anm. *shui* in *fēnshui* 分水 wird oft mit abgeschwächtem *-u-* (oder fast ihne *-u-*) realisiert.

259) *shun* (S. 117), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Die Finale von shun in *xiàoshun* 孝顺 wird teilweise delabialisiert.

260) *ri* (S. 117), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jìri* 忌日

261) *re* (S. 118), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *re* in *zhaore* 招惹 wird mit einer Tendenz zu *ri* gesprochen.

262) *rao* (S. 118), *RI:rou*
BI: *zāorao* 遭扰

263) *rou* (S. 118), *RI* unbezeichnet

264) *ran* (S. 118), *RI:ren*
RI: *tǎnran* 坦然; AI: *dāngran* 当然; F: *zìran* 自然,, *zòngran* 纵然, *suīran* 虽然

265) *ren* (S. 118), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *nóngren* 农人, *gōngren* 公人

266) *rang* (S. 119), *RI:reng*
RI: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *hōngrang* 轰嚷, *chāorang* 吵嚷, *rāngrang* 嚷嚷

267) *ru* (S. 119—120), *RI* unbezeichnet

268) *ruo* (S. 120), *RI* unbezeichnet

269) *ruan* (S. 120), *RI:run*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *miánruan* 绵软, *huóruan* 活软, *róuruan* 柔软

Anm. *RI:run* in *miánruan*, *róuruan* wird oft mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

270) *run* (S. 120), *RI* unbezeichnet

271) *rong* (S. 120), *RI* unbezeichnet

272) *zi* (S. 120—139), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. 1. Die Finale in *zi* 子 (Suffix zahlreicher Wörter) wird oft erscihlafft ausgesprochen, so daß es sich in der Aussprache ungespanntem [a] nähert.
2. Die mit dem Suffix *zi* 子gebildeten Wörter, die bei G. nicht üblich sind, werden hier nicht vermerkt.

273) *za* (S. 139), *RI:ze*
RI: *āza* 腌臜

274) *ze* (S. 139), *RI* unbezeichnet

275) *zai* (S. 139), *RI:zei*
RI: *xiánzai* 闲在, *shízai* 实在, *zìzai* 自在; BI: *-zai* 在 (in *zhùzai jiāli* 住在家里, *zuòzai yǐzishang* 坐在椅子上 usw.)

Anm. *shízai* wird mit *RI:zei* nur in den an der zweiten und der dritten Stelle angeführten Bedeutungen (*zhei ren xīnyǎr tǐng shízai* 这人心眼儿挺实在, *chī shízai diǎr* 吃实在点儿, *miǎnde lùshang è* 免得路上饿) gesprochen, im Satze *zhèi háiz shízai cōngmíng* 这孩子实在聪明) wird es ohne Reduktion gesprochen.

276) *zao* (S. 139), *RI:zou*
R: alle Schlagwörter, vgl. *bàozao* 暴躁, *fánzao* 烦躁, *gòuzao* 构造

Anm. Anstatt *RI:zou* in *duōzaowǎr* 多早晚儿, *zhèzaowǎr* 这早晚儿 wird auch *ze*, *zen* gesprochen. Gelegentlich wird *ze* (weitere Reduktion von *RI:zou*) auch in *fánzao* gesprochen. Anstatt *gèzao* 虼蚤wird meistens *gèzi* gesprochen (*zi* so gesprochen, wie das Suffix *zi* 子) gesprochen wird); handelt es sich hier um eine weitere Reduktion von *RI:zou* oder ist es eine Analogie-Bildung nach dem Vorbild der so vielen mit dem Suffix *zi* gebildeten Wörter?

277) *zan* (S. 140), *RI:zen*
RI: *duōzan* 多喒

278) *zang* (S. 140), *RI:zeng*
RI: *āngzang* 肮脏; F: *gānzang* 肝脏, *shènzang* 肾脏

279) *zuo* (S. 140), *RI* unbezeichnet

280) *zui* (S. 140), *RI* unbezeichnet

281) *zun* (S. 141), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *zun* in *qūzun* 屈尊 wird oft mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

282) *zong* (S. 141), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *bázong* 把总, *qiānzong* 千总

283) *ci* (S. 141), *RI* unbezeichnet

284) *ca* (S. 141), *RI:ce*
BI: *móca* 摩擦

285) *ce* (S. 141), *RI* unbezeichnet

286) *cai* (S. 141), *RI:cei*
RI: *réncai* 人才, *wéncai* 文才, *guāncai* 棺材, *shēncai* 身材, *yàocai* 药材, *jiècai* 芥菜, *jiǔcai* 韭菜, *zhàcai*榨菜; BI *núcai* 奴才, *réncai* 人材, *guāngcai* 光彩, *làcai* 辣菜

287) *cao* (S. 142), *RI:cou*
RI: *cáocao* 曹操, *cūcao* 粗糙, *dēngcao*灯草; X: *bùcaoyīshang* 布糙衣裳, *tōngcao* 通草

288) *cang* (S. 142), *RI:ceng*
RI: *lǎocang*老苍

289) *ceng* (S. 142), *RI* unbezeichnet

290) *cuo* (S. 142), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *guòcuo* 过错 (G.: *-r*)

Anm. *cuo* in *róucuo* wird oft auch bis zu einem *ce* (in einigen Fällen weiter fast bis zu einem *ci*, z. B. gelegentlich in *róucuolànle* 揉搓烂了 abgeschwächt. Die veränderte Aussprashe von *cuo* in *róucuo* wird auch in BY, S. 173 vermerkt.

291) *cun* (S. 142), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. *cun* in *chǐcun* 尺寸 wird auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

292) *si* (S. 142), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *jìsi* 祭祀 (G.: *jìsì*)

293) *sa* (S. 142—143), *RI:se*
BI: *piāosa* 飘洒, *púsa* 菩萨; F: *māsa* 摩撒, *dāsa*, *hàsa* 哈撒

Anm. Neben dem Wort *piāosa* gibt es noch ein 搭撒Synonymum *piāosou* 飘飕; in der Existenz der verschiedensten Synonyma besteht so auch eine Gefahr, daß gewisse Formen, die Synonyma sind, nicht als Synonyma, sondern als Abschwächungen von anderen Formen gelten könnten (in diesem Fall z. B. *piāosa* mit *RI:se* moglicherweise auch als reduzierte Form von *piāosou*). Anderseits ist es aber möglich, daß durch die Existenz verschiedener Synonyma, die nur gering in den atonischen Silben verschieden sind, wirkliche Abschwächungen von gewissen atonischen Silben in diesen Wörtern gefördert werden können.

294) *se* (S. 143), *RI* unbezeichnet

295) *sai* (S. 143), *RI:sei*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *zhàsai* 痄腮, *bìsai* 闭塞, *tángsai* 搪塞

296) *sao* (S. 143), *RI:sou*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *láosao*牢骚, *dásao* 打扫

297) *sou* (S. 143), *RI* unbezeichnet, *RII:se*
BII: *késou* 咳嗽

298) *san* (S. 143—144), *RI:sen*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *pēisan* 披散, *fásan* 发散, *fēnsan*分散, *lānsan* 懒散

299) *sang* (S. 144), *RI:seng*
RI: alle Schlagwörter: *tiánsang* 填嗓, *guànsang* 灌嗓, *kūsangzhe liǎn* 哭丧着脸, *háosang* 号丧

300) *su* (S. 144), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *lūsu* 噜嗦, *xīngsu* 星宿 (G.: *xīngsuo*), *púsu* 朴素 (G.: *pǔsù*)

301) *suo* (S. 144), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. Das Element *-u-* der Silbe *suo* wird stark reduziert, so daß es auch verschwinden kann. Da in den atonischen Silben mit dem Dihpthong *-ou* dieser Diphthong oft monophthongisiert wird (das abschließende Element *-u* kann nämlich bei der reduzierten Aussprache leicht wegfallen), kommt es in den atonischen Silben leicht zur Verwechslung von *suo* und *sou*. In BY, S. 124 wird z. B. das Schlagwort *lì sou* 俐嗖 mit der Bemerkung, daß dasselbe Wort oft auch *lì sou* 俐索 geschrieben wird, angeführt (in BQC und HPC ist dasselbe Wort eben in der Form *lìsuo* angeführt). Soll auch durch die Weise, wie das Wort 俐索 in BY angeführt wird, bewiesen werden, daß es in den atonischen Silben leicht zur Verwechslung von *suo* und *sou* kommt?

302) *sui* (S. 144), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *wàisui* 外祟

303) *suan* (S. 144), *RI:sun*
RI: *pánsuan* 盘算, *dǎsuan* 打算, *tuīsuan* 推算, *diàosuan* 调算; F: *hésuan* 核算, *jìsuan* 计算

Anm. *tuīsuan* wird oft mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale der Silbe *RI:sun* gesprochen.

304) *sun* (S. 145), *RI* unbezeichnet

305) *song* (S. 145), *RI* unbezeichnet

306) *ai* (S. 145)
X: *guà'ai* 挂碍, *zhì'ai* 滞碍, *zhàng'ai* 障碍

Anm. Die Finale *ai*, wenn mit keiner Initiale kombiniert, wird nicht etwa zu einem *ei* reduziert, vgl. *ai* in *ēn'ai* 恩爱, *fáng'ai* 妨碍, *zǔ'ai* 阻碍.

307) *ao* (S. 145)

Anm. Die Finale *ao* in *jiāo'ao* 骄傲 (das einzige angeführte Schlagwort) wird nicht zu *ou* reduziert (es macht sich hier höchstens nur eine schwache Tendenz zur Reduktion in dieser Richtung geltend).

308) *an* (S. 145)

Anm. Die Finale an im angeführten *ping'an* 平安 wird nicht etwa zu *en* reduziert.

309) *er* (S. 145)

Anm. Von den Finalen mit kakuminaler Artikulation ist in unserem Verzeichnis nur die nicht charakterisierte, neutrale Finale *er*, die selbständig eine Silbe bildet, erwähnt. Was eventuelle Modifikationen dieser Silbe, wenn atonisch gesprochen, betrifft, ist nichts zu bemerken. Was die Modifikationen der übrigen kakuminalen Finalen, die durch das Anfügen des „suprasegmentalen Suffixes" *er* entstehen, betrifft, sind sie im großen und ganzen den Modifikationen der nicht-kakuminalen Finalen ähnlich.

310) *ya* (S. 145)

Anm. *ya* im angeführten *dòuyacài* 豆芽菜 wird nicht etwa zu *ye* reduziert.

311) *ye* (S. 145—146), *RI* unbezeichnet (*RII:yi*)
X: *gōngye* 公爷

Anm. Unter den für die Reduction günstigen Bedingungen wird *ye* in einigen von den angeführten Wörtern (z. B. *fóye* 佛爷, *lǎoye* 老爷, *gūye*姑爷, *wángye* 王爷) zu *yi* (eine Art Monophthongisierung) reduziert.

312) *yao* (S. 146), *RI:you*
RI: *shēnlǎnyao* 伸懒腰, *zhāoyao* 招摇, *gāoyao* 膏药, *sháoyao* 芍药, *shānyao* 山药, *róngyao* 荣耀; AI: *zhòngyao* 重要

Anm. *RI:you* in *gāoyao* wird oft mit stark delabialisierter Finale gesprochen, es wird fast zu *ye* (*e:* [ə]).

313) *you* (S. 146—147), *RI* unbezeichnet

Anm. you in *zhuànyou* 转悠 wird unter für die Reduktion günstigen Bedingungen fast zu *ye* (*e:* [ə]).

314) *yan* (S. 147), *RI:yin*
RI: *zhēnyan* 针眼, *jīngyan* 经验; BI: *gūyan* 箍眼, *jīyan* 鸡眼, *fūyan* 敷衍, *jiǎnyan* 检验, *yìngyan* 应验; AI: *yáoyan* 谣言, *língyan* 灵验, *kǎoyan* 考

验, *shìyan* 试验; F: *chíyan* 迟延, *lángyan* 廊檐, *zhēyan* 遮掩, *tǐyan* 体验; X: *xiāngyan* 香烟, *qìyan* 气焰, *xiàoyan* 效验

Anm. *yan* in *jiǎnyan*检验, *jīngyan* 经验 wird zu *RI:yin* reduziert, wenn die angeführten Wörter als Zeitwörter gebraucht werden.

315) *yin* (S. 147), *RI* unbezeichnet

316) *yang* (S. 147—148), *RI:ying*
RI: *sǐyang*死秧, *yuānyang* 鸳鸯, *tàiyang* 太阳, *yīnyang* 阴阳, *jiāngyang* 将养, *ēnyang* 恩养, *zhǎnyang* 展样, *zuóyang* 作样; BI: *hányang* 涵养; AI: *báoyang* 保养, *tiáoyang* 调养, *yǎngyang* 痒痒, *bǎngyang* 榜样; X: *túyang* 图样(G.: *-r*), *guānyang* 官样, *huāyang* 花样(G.: *-r*).

Anm. *RI:ying* in *jiāngyang*, *zuóyang* wird auch mit teilweise depelatalisierter Finale gesprochen.

317) *ying* (S. 148), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *yáoying* 淆婴

Anm. *ying* in *cāngying* 苍蝇, *bàoying* 报应, *zhàoying* 照应 und besonders in *dǎjiēying* 打接应 wird auch mit teilweise depalatalisierter Finale gesprochen.

318) *wu* (S. 149—150), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *tángwu* 堂屋, *zhèngwu* 政务, *shùwu* 庶务

Anm. *wu* in den angeführten Schlagwörtern ist phonetisch eher einem kurzen [u] als einem *wu* nahe.

319) *wa* (S. 150)

Anm. Das angeführte Schlagwort *wáwa* 娃娃 wird manchmal mit einer Reduktion der atonischen Silbe zu *we* gesprochen; dieses *we* wird aber eher mit [e], als mit [ə] gesprochen.

320) *wo* (S. 150), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *chǔwoz* 杵窝子(G.: chǔwōz), *zuòwo* 坐窝, *dǎowo* 倒卧

Anm. *wo* in den Schlagwörtern *bèiwo* 被窝, *juěwo* 蹶窝, *zhuǎiwo* 拽窝 wird öfters mit Tendenz zur „Monophthongisierung“ gesprochen, d. h. es nähert sich einem *wu*. Das Wort *bèiwo* wird auch *bèihu* oder *bèiho* ([o] in *ho* scheint hier das Ergebnis einer Entspannung von *u* zu sein) gesprochen.

321) *wai* (S. 150), *RI:wei*
RI: beide Schlagwörter: *wāiwai* 歪歪, *yuánwai* 员外

322) *wei* (S. 150—151), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *píwei* 脾味, *xiàowei* 校尉, *shìwei* 侍卫

Anm. 1. *wei* in *zuòwei* 坐位 wird von G. öfters mit wenigstens teilweise erhaltenem Ton gesprochen.
2. Das Element *-i* in der Finale *wei* (sowie auch *wai* → *RI:wei*] fällt selbst in der reduzierten Aussprache kaum ganz weg.

323) *wan* (S. 151), *RI:wen*
RI: *yoúwan* 游玩, *qiānwan*千万; X: *wèiwan* 胃脘

324) *wen* (S. 151—152), *RI* unbezeichnet

325) *wang* (S. 152), *RI:weng*
RI: *yóuwangwangrde* 油汪汪儿的, *lóngwangyé* 龙王爷, *zàowangyé* 灶王爷, *yánwangyé* 阎王爷, *láiwang* 来往, *jiāowang* 交往, *chuānwang* 穿往, *fāwang* 发旺, *xīngwang* 兴旺; BI: *míngwang* 名望; AI: *zǒuwang* 走往, *yuānwang* 冤枉, *xīwang* 希望; F: *bàiwang* 拜望, *pànwang* 盼望, *kànwang* 看望, *zhǐwang*指望, *yuànwang* 愿望; X: *zhuīwang* 追往, *bù chéngwang* 不承望

Anm. Die phonetische Realisation von *RI:weng* in den Wörtern *lóngwangyé*, *zàowangyé*, *yánwangyé* nähert sich oft einem kurzen [uŋ], in einigen anderen Fällen z. B. *chuānwang*, *fāwang*, *xīngwang* schwankt es zwischen *weng* und [woŋ].

326) *yu* (S. 152—153), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *fūyu* 敷余, *kǎoyu* 考语, *huàyu* 话语, *zhàyu* 诈语, *zhānyu* 谵语, *gūyu* 谷雨, *zhìyu* 智育

Anm. *yányu* 言语, wenn als Zeitwort gebraucht, wird meistens *yuányi* (Übertragung der Labialisierung von der unbetonten auf die vorhergehende betonte Silbe) gesprochen.

327) *yue* (S. 153), *RI* unbezeichnet.
X: *yīnyue* 音乐(G.: *yīnyuè*)

Anm. *yue* in *bāyuejié* 八月节 wird oft delabialisiert und als *ye* gesprochen.

328) *yuan* (S. 153—154), *RI:yun*
RI: *dòngyuan* 动员, *quányuan* 泉源, *chángyuan* 长远, *mányuan* 埋怨, *hányuan* 含怨; BI: *bàoyuan* 抱怨; F: *zhuàngyuan* 状元, *wěiyuan* 委员, *wěiyuanhuì* 委员会, *tuányuan* 团圆

Anm. Auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale wird z. B. *RI:yun* in *hányuan* gesprochen; in BY, S. 184 wird die Delabialisierung der Silbe (*yuan* →) *RI:yun* in *shōu yuán jié guǒ* 收园结果 vermerkt (*RI:yun* → *yin* 因).

329) *yun* (S. 154), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *qìyun* 气运

Anm. *yun* in *mìngyun* 命运, *shíyun* 时运 wird auch mit teilweise delabialisierter Finale gesprochen.

330) *yong* (S. 154), *RI* unbezeichnet
X: *chīyong* 喫用, *shòuyong* 受用

Anm. In einigen Wörtern, z. B. *zhōngyong* 中庸, *fèiyong* 费用, *xiàoyong* 效用, *zuòyong* 作用 wird *yong* phonetisch gelegentlich als [üŋ] oder *yung* (*u:* [ü]) realisiert (hie und da wird es auch teilweise delabialisiert).

C. Anordnung des Materials nach den Finalen

Der Übersichtlichkeit halber wollen wir jetzt die gesamten in BQC angeführten unbetonten Silben noch einmal von neuem in Bezug auf die Finalen anordnen; die Finalen werden dabei mit Rücksicht auf das Ergebnis der Reduktion der ersten Stufe gruppiert mit zusammenfassenden Bemerkungen über das Reduktion der ersten Stufe (wie häufig, nach welchen Initialen usw.), über die Reduktion der zweiten Stufe und andere weitere Reduktionen (d. h. weitere Abschwächungen von den Formen

RI) und wichtigere Veränderungen. Zuerst werden die Finalen, die aus einfachen Vokalen bestehen, dann die Diphthonge (zuerst die mit dem Hauptelement am Anfang, d. h. der Typ *-ei*, und dann die mit dem Hauptelement am Ende, d. h. der Typ *-ie*), Triphthonge, Nasal-Finalen (die Finalen mit *-n*, *-ng*) mit einfachen Vokalen und zuletzt die Nasal-Finalen, die mit *u-*, *i-* und *ü-* beginnen, angeführt. (Die Nummern in den Klammern beziehen sich auf die Numerierung der unbetonten Silben, wie sie in unserer Obersicht dieser Silben durchgeführt worden ist.)

Einfache Vokale

-u → *RI* unbezeichnet
-ü → *RI* unbezeichnet
-i → *RI* unbezeichnet
-o, *-e*, *-a* → *RI:e*

Finale *-u*: *bu* (14), *pu* (24), *mu* (39), *fu* (46); *du* (59), *tu* (77), *lu* (116); *gu* (132), *ku* (148), *hu* (163); *zhu* (220), *chu* (237), *shu* (254), *ru* (268); *su* (300); *wu* (320)

Finale *-ü*: *nü* (98), *lü* (121): *jü* (181), *qü* (193), *xü* (206); *yü* (323)

Finale *-i*: *bi* (10), *pi* (21), *mi* (36); *di* (55), *ti* (72), *ni* (90), *li* (108); *ji* (172), *qi* (185), *xi* (197); *zhi* (211), *chi* (227), *shi* (244), *ri* (260); *zi* (272), *ci* (283), *si* (292)

Finale *-o*; *bo* (2), *po* (15), *mo* (27)

Finale *-e*: (*me* (26)); de (48), (*ne* (85)), *le* (100); *ge* (124), *re* (141), *he* (135); *zhe* (213), *che* (229), *she* (246), *re* (261); *ze* (274), *ce* (285), *se* (294)

Finale *-a*: *ba* (1), *ma* (25), *fa* (40); *da* (47), *ta* (65), *la* (99); *ga* (123), (*ha* (154)); *zha* (212), *cha* (228), *sha* (245); *za* (273), *ca* (284), *sa* (293)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-u* → *RII:e* bemerkt man bei einigen Schlagwörtern bei den mit den labialen und dentoalveolaren Konsonanten beginnenden Silben (*bu*, *mu*, *fu*; *du*, *lu*); was die weiteren Typen der Reduktion von *RI* der Finale *-u* betrifft, siehe noch die mit velaren Konsonanten beginnenden Silben *gu*, *hu*.
2. *-ü* → *RII:i* bemerkt man nur bei *-qu* 去.
3. *-i* → *RII:e* ist verhältnismäßig sehr selten (siehe *mi*, *ji*; zi) und die Vokalqualität von *-e* ist einzelnen Fällen genug verschieden.
4. *-o*, *-a* → *RI:e* kommt bei den meisten Silben nur bei einem Teil der angeführten Schlagwörter vor. Nach den Konsonanten *zh*, *ch*, *sh* bemerkt man bei einigen Schlagwörtern eine Tendenz zur weiteren Reduktion von *RI:e* in der Richtung → *-i*.
5. Das Bezeichnen von gewissen Veränderungen als *RI* und nicht als *RII* und umgekehrt geschieht nach keinen absoluten phonetischen Kriterien, sondern in einigen Fällen geschieht es auch mit Rücksicht auf die Übersichtlichkeit der Anordnung. So z. B. die Reihe — *-u* → *RI* unbezeichnet → *RII:e* — könnte auch in eine Reihe *-u* → *RI:e* umgestaltet werden. Die Veränderung, die phonetisch ungefähr als *u* → [ʊ] beschrieben werden könnte und die in der ersten Reihe durch das mittlere Glied „*RI* unbezeichnet“ dargestellt wird, könnte man

nämlich in der Reihe: *-u* → *RI:e* als eine Annäherung zur Reduktion der ersten Stufe, d h. als AI zu *RI:e*, auffassen. Ganz analogisch könnte man z. B. die Reihe *-a* → *RI:e* in eine Reihe *-a* → *RI* unbezeichnet → *RII:e* umwandeln, usw. Es muß aber bemerkt werden, daß die Rücksichten auf die Übersichtlichkeit der Anordnung erst dann in Betracht gezogen wurden, wenn die verschiedenen möglichen Auffassungen von phonetischen Standpunkt aus gesehen als gleichwertig erschienen.

Diphthonge, Typ: *ei*

-ou, *-ao* → *RI:ou*
-ei, *-ai* → *RI:ei*

Finale *-ou*: *mou* (31); *dou* (51), *tou* (68), *lou* (104); *gou* (128), *kou* (144), *hou* (158); *zhou* (215), *chou* (231), *shou* (249), *rou* (263); *sou* (297)

Finale *-ao*: *bao* (5), *pao* (18), *mao* (30); *dao* (50), *tao* (67), *nao* (85), *lao* (103); *gao* (127), *kao* (143), *hao* (157); *zhao* (216), *chao* (231), *shao* (248), *rao* (262); *zao* (276), *cao* (287), *sao* (296); *ao* (307)

Finale *-ei*: *bei* (4), *pei* (17), *mei* (29), *fei* (41); *lei* (102); *gei* (126)

Finale *-ai*: *bai* (3), *pai* (16), *mai* (28); *dai* (49), tai (66), *nai* (84), *lai* (101); *gai* (125), *kai* (142), *hai* (156); *zhai* (214), *chai* (230), *shai* (247); *zai* (275), *cai* (286), *sai* (295); *ai* (306)

Bemerkungen

1. *-ao* → *RI:ou*, *-ai* → *RI:ei* geschieht praktisch bei allen Schlagwörtern aller angeführten Silben (mit Ausnahme von *ao*, *ai*, die selbständig eine Silbe bilden).
2. *RII:e* ist gemeinsam allen Diphthongen (Typ: *ei*), ist aber verhältnismäßig selten, vgl. *lou*, *sou*; *pao*, *mao*, *dao*, *nao*, *lao*, *gao*, *zhao*, *zao*; *bai*, *mai*, *lai*; bei *-ei* wurde *RII:e* nicht beobachtet — *RI:e* (*e:* [ə]) darf freilich nicht mit der Monophthongisierung *-ei* → *-e* (*e:* [e]), die im Bereich der Reduktion der ersten Stufe liegt, verwechselt werden; über einen anderen Typ der weiteren Reduktion von *RI* der Diphthonge (Typ: *ei*) siehe noch die mit velaren Konsonanten beginnenden Silben *kou*, *hou*.
3. Die reduzierte Finale *-e* ([ə]), die auch als Endergebniß der Reduktion (wenn wir von *-o*, *-a* → *RI:e* → *-i* nach *zh*, *ch*, *sh* und von einem vollkommenen Schwund der Finale absehen wollen) betrachtet werden kann, treffen wir also bei den einfachen Vokalen (bei *-o*, *-e*, *-a* als *RI*, bei *-u* als *RII* bezeichnet) und bei den Diphthongen, Typ: *ei* (hier als *RII* bezeichnet); wir treffen sie noch in einigen Fällen — als *RII* bezeichnet — bei der Finale *-uo*, wo sie aber, wenigstens teilweise, als das Endprodukt der Reduktion der Finale *-uo* über die Mittelstufe *-ou* betrachtet werden könnte.

Diphthonge, Typ: *ie*

-uo, *-ua* → *RI:uo*
-ie, *-ia* → *RI:ie*
-üe → *RI* unbezeichnet

Finale *-uo*: *duo* (60), *luo* (78), *nuo* (95), *luo* (117); *guo* (134), *kuo* (149), *huo* (165); *zhuo* (221), *shuo* (256), *ruo* (268); *zuo* (279), *cuo* (190), *suo* (301); *wo* (320); (siehe auch *chao* (231))

Finale *-ua*: *gua* (133), *hua* (164), *shua* (255); (*wa* (319))

Finale *-ie*: *bie* (11), *pie* (22); *die* (56), *tie* (73), *nie* (91), *lie* (109); *jie* (174), *qie* (186), *xie* (199); *ye* (311)

Finale *-io*: *jia* (173), *xia* (198); *ya* (310)

Finale *-üe*: *lüe* (122); *jue* (182), *que* (194), *xue* (207); *yue* (327)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-ua* → *RI:uo* erfolgt bei allen, *-ia* → *RI:ie* fast bei allen Schlagwörtern der angeführten Silben (*wa* und *ya*, d. h. selbständig eine Silbe bildende Finalen, müssen auch hier als besondere Fälle betrachtet werden).
2. Bei den Silben *luo*, *zhuo* wurden *lou*, *zhou* einfachheitshalber als Reduktionen der ersten Stufe angeführt; der Wandel *-uo* → *-ou* bei den Silben *luo*, *zhuo* sowie auch bei weiteren Silben, z. B. *suo*, ähnlich wie auch der weniger übliche Wandel *-ie* → *-ei* (siehe *bie*, *tie*), könnte vielleicht auch als eine fortschreitende Reduktion der ersten Stufe gelten, die als „*RI* unbezeichnet" dargestellt worden könnte.
3. Die weiteren Reduktionen von RI sind bei den Dihpthongen, Typ: *ie*, nicht einheitlich (siehe auch schon die vorhergehende Bemerkung). Bei der Finale *-uo* finden wir bei einigen Schlagwörtern einiger Silben (*duo*, *luo*, eventuell auch *cuo*, *suo*) *RII:e*, bei anderen (mit velaren Konsonanten beginnenden) Silben, sowie bei allen Silben mit der ursprünglichen Finale *-ua*, finden wir vielmehr nur eine Tendenz zur Monophthongisierung (in der Richtung: → *u*). Die Reduktion der zweiten Stufe von *RI:ie* (ursprüngliche Finalen *-ie*, *-ia*) ist verhältnismäßig einheitlich, und zwar *RII:i*, die auch als Monophthongisierung bezeichnet werden kann (siehe *bie*, *nie*, *lie*, *jie*, *xie*, *ye*). Bei der Finale *-üe* kann man, wenn auch selten, eine Tendenz zur Delabialisierung beobachten (siehe *xue*, *yue*).

Triphthonge

-iu, *iao* → *RI:iu*
-ui, *-uai* → *RI:ui*

Finale *-iu*: *niu* (92), *liu* (111); *jiu* (176), *qiu* (188), *xiu* (201); *you* (313)

Finale *-iao*: *tiao* (74), *liao* (110); *jiao* (175), *qiao* (187), *xiao* (200); *yao* (312)

Finale: *-ui*: *dui* (61), *tui* (79); *gui* (136), *hui* (167); *zhui* (223), *chui* (239), *shui* (258); *zui* (280), *sui* (302); *wei* (322)

Finale *-uai*: *guai* (135), *kuai* (150), *huai* (166); *zhuai* (222), *chuai* (239), *shuai* (1257); *wai* (321)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-iao* → *RI:iu*, *-uai* → *RI:ui* geschieht praktisch bei allen Schlagwörtern aller angeführten Silben (vgl. dieselbe Erscheinung bei den Diphthongen *-ao -ai*).
2. Es machen sich gewisse Tendenzen zur weiterer Reduktion der Formen *RI:iu*, *RI:ui* geltend (vgl. *niu, you; liao, jiao, xiao, yao; dui, hui, shui; shuai*).

Nasal-Finalen mit einfachen Vokalen

-eng, *-ang* → *RI:eng*
-en, *-an* → *RI:en*

Finale *-eng*: *beng* (9), *peng* (20), *meng* (35), *feng* (45); *deng* (54), *teng* (71), *neng* (89), *leng* (107); *geng* (131), *heng* (162); *zheng* (219), *cheng* (236), *sheng* (253); *ceng* (289)

Finale *-ang*: *bang* (8), *mang (*34), *fang* (44); *dang* (53), *tang* (70), *nang* (88), *rang* (106); *kang* (147), *hang* (161); *zhang* (218), *chang* (235), *shang* (252), *rang* (266); *zang* (278), *cang* (288), *sang* (299)

Finale *-en*: *ben* (7), *men* (33), *fen* (43); *nen* (87); *gen* (130), *ken* (146), *hen* (180); *chen* (234), *shen* (251), *ren* (265)

Finale *-an*: *ban* (6), *pan* (19), *man* (32), *fan* (42); *dan* (52), *ran* (69), *nan* (86), *lan* (105); *gan* (129), *kan* (145), *han* (159); *zhan* (217), *chan* (233), *shan* (250), *ran* (264); *zan* (277), *san* (298); *an* (308)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-ang* → *Rl:eng* und *-an* → *RI:en* kommen fast bei allen angeführten Silben vor und zwar bei fast allen angeführten Schlagwörtern (bezüglich geringer Ausnahmen siehe z. B. *mang, fang, kang, zang; nan, zan, an*).
2. *RI:eng* und *RI:en* werden nicht weiter reduziert und könnten auch als Endergebnis der Reduktion der Nasal-Finalen überhaupt betrachtet werden.

Nasal-Finalen, die mit *u-* beginnen

-ong, *-uang* → *RI:ong*

-un, *-uan* → *RI:un*

Finale *-ong*: *dong* (64), *tong* (81), *nong* (97), *long* (120); *gong* (140), *hong* (153), *hong* (171); *zhong* (221), *chong* (263), *rong* (271); *zong* (281), *song* (305)

Finale *-uang*: *guang* (139), *kuang* (152), *huang* (170); *zhuang* (225), *chuang* (242); *wang* (325)

Finale *-un*: *dun* (63), *tun* (80), *lun* (119); *gun* (138), *hun* (169); *chun* (241), *shun* (259), *run* (270); *zun* (281), *cun* (291), *sun* (304); *wen* (324)

Finale *-uan*: *duan* (62), *nuan* (96), *luan* (118); *guan* (137), *kuan* (151), *huan* (168); *zhuan* (224), *chuan* (240), *ruan* (269); *suan* (303); *wan* (323)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-uang* → *RI:ong* und *-uan* → *RI:un* (diese Reduktionen können als Monophthongisierung des Elementes *-ua-* betrachtet werden) geschieht bei allen angeführten Silben, und zwar bei last allen angeführten Schlagwörtern (bezüglich der Ausnahmen siehe z. B. *wang*, *kuang*; *guan*).
2. Als weitere Reduktion von *RI-ong* und *RI:un* kann die oft genug beobachtete teilweise Delabialisierung betrachtet werden (in wenigen Fällen können wir eine vollkommene Delabialisierung *RI:ong* → *eng*, siehe *zhong*, *huang*, feststellen).

Nasal-Finalen, die mit *i-* beginnen

-ing, *-iang* → *RI:ing*

-in, *-ian* → *RI:ün*

Finale *-ing*; *bing* (13), *ping* (23), *ming* (38); *ding* (58), *ting* (76), *ling* (115); *jing* (180), *qing* (192), *xing* (205); *ying* (317)

Finale *-iang*: *niang* (94), *liang* (114); *jiang* (179), *qiang* (191), *xiang* (204); *yang* (316)

Finale *-in*: (*lin* (113)); *jin* (178), *qin* (190), *xin* (203); *yin* (315)

Finale *-ian*: *bian* (12), *mian* (37); *dian* (57), *tian* (75), *nian* (93), *lian* (112); *jian* (176), *qian* (188), *xian* (202); *yan* (314)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-iang* → *RI:ing* und *-ian*→ *RI:in* (diese Reduktionen können als Monophthongisierungen des Elementes *-ia* betrachtet werden) geschieht bei allen angeführten Silben bei einem Teil der angeführten Schlagwörter.
2. Als weitere Reduktion von *RI:ing* (seltener *RI:in*) kann die hie und da beobachtete teilweise Depalatalisierung gelten.

Nasal-Finalen, die mit *ü-* beginnen

-iong → *RI* unbezeichnet

-ün, *-üan* → *RI:ün*

Finale *-iong*: *xiong* (210); *yong* (330)
Finale *-ün*: *jun* (184), *gun* (196), *xun* (209); *yun* (329)
Finale *-üan*: *juan* (183), *quan* (195), *xuan* (208), *yuan* (328)

Bemerkungen:

1. *-üan* → *RI:ün* (diese Reduktion kann als Monophthongisierung des Elementes *-üa-* betrachtet werden) geschieht bei allen angeführten Silben, meistens aber nur bei einem Teil der angeführten Schlagwörter.
2. Die Reduktion der Finale *-iong*, ale hier unbezeichnet bleibt, kann ähnlich der Reduktion *RI:ün* als eine wenigstens teilweise Monophthongisierung des Elementes *-io-* (*-io-* → *ü*) betrachtet werden.
3. Als weitere Reduktion von *RI:ün* und der reduzierten Finale *-iong* kann die hie und da beobachtete teilweise Delabialisierung gelten.

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Analyse der Vokalqualität der Finalen der unbetonten Silben (der sogen. *qingsheng*-Silben) zeigt deutlich, daß das Vokalsystem dieser Silben im Peking-Dialekt sehr kompliziert ist, oder vielmehr daß es mehrere Systeme gibt, die koexistieren. Sehr annähernd könnte man die Lage so darstellen, daß es neben dem System, in welchem alle Oppositionen des Vokalsystems (wie wir es auch bei den tonischen Silben finden) bewahrt sind, noch ein System, wo mehrere Oppositionen aufgehoben sind, existiert. Das erstere System umfaßt solche Fälle, in welchen weder *RI* noch *RII* eintritt, d. h. den größeren Teil der unbetonten Silben mit einfachen Vokalen, verhältnismäßig wenige Silben mit Diphthongen und Triphthongen sowie Nasal-Finalen mit einfachen Vokalen und einen kleinen Teil der Silben mit übrigen Nasal-Finalen. Der letztere System mit den teilweise aufgehobenen Oppositionen umfaßt alle Silben mit *RI*, d. h. einen Teil der Silben mit einfachen Vokalen, fast alle Silben mit Diphthongen, Triphthongen und Nasal-Finalen mit einfachen Vokalen und einen Teil der Silben mit übrigen Nasal-Finalen. Die beiden Vokalsysteme oder auch (in unserer Terminologie) Finalsysteme können folgendermaßen dargestellt werden:

I

u ü i ou ei uo üe ie iu ui eng en
o e ao ai ua ia iao uai ang an
a
ing in ong un iong ün
iang ian uang uan üan

II

u ü i au ei uo üe ie iu ui eng en
e
ing in ong un iong ün

Man sieht in dem „reduzierten“ System, daß die Oppositionen des nicht reduzierten Systems vertikal aufgehoben, im Falle der einfachen Vokale von drei zu zwei Ebenen vereinfacht sind, horizontal aber erhalten bleiben.[15]

Die wirkliche Lage ist freilich ein wenig komplizierter und die beiden Systeme sind gar nicht so scharf abgegrenzt, da es unbetonte Silben mit „bedingter“ Reduktion der ersten Stufe der Finale (BI) gibt, deren Finalen unter Umständen beiden Systemen angehören können; dann gibt es noch Reduktionen der zweiten Stufe (es ist nicht gut möglich, ein drittes System nur von den Finalen mit *RII* aufzustellen, da zu wenig Fälle und bei einigen Finalen überhaupt keine Fälle der Reduktion der zweiten Stufe vorkommen und in einigen Fällen auch nicht vorkommen können, da die Reduktion der ersten Stufe schon das Endergebnis der möglichen Reduktion darstellt), verschiedenste Veränderungen und Reduktionen, die sich nur als Tendenzen geltend machen (AI, AII, teilweise durchgeführte Delabialisierungen und Depalatalisierungen usw.), aber keine Aufhebungen von Oppositionen zur Folge haben, usw.

Zuletzt möchten wir noch die Frage der Beziehung zwischen dem nicht-reduzierten Finalsystem (System I) und dem reduzierten Finalsystem (System II) der unbetonten Silben berühren. Es scheint, daß das System II eine Vereinfachung des Systems I in dem Sinne darstellt, daß die merkmaltragenden Glieder der Oppositionen, z. B. *ai* in der Opposition *ei* — *ai*, *ao* in der Opposition *ei* — *ai*, *ao* in der Opposition *ou* — *ao*, *ua* in der Opposition *uo* — *ua* usw. verschwinden (d. h. sie werden identisch mit den merkmallosen Gliedern z. B. *ai* wird zu *ei*, *ao* wird zu *ou*, *ua* wird zu *uo*, usw.), nicht aber in dem Sinne, daß das Ergebnis der Aufhebung der Opposition eine neue Form, die mit keiner von den ursprünglichen Formen identifiziert werden kann. Es wird also immer die phonetische Verwandtschaft der reduzierten Form mit einer der ursprünglichen, die Opposition bildender Formen, anerkannt und beide Formen werden, wenn auch phonetisch ein bischen anders realisiert, identifiziert. Diese Ansicht wird durch fälschliche Schreibungen und öfters auch durch die Verwunderung des Schreibenden, warum eine gewisse Silbe eher mit einem PHONETISCH NICHT PASSENDEN und nicht etwa mit einem anderen phonetisch passenden Zeichen geschrieben wird (wobei diese fälschliche Schreibungen oder Verwunderungen die merkmaltragende Glieder der Oppositionen, d. h. z. B. *ai*, *ao*, *an*, *ang* usw., nicht die merkmallosen, d. h. *ei*,

[15] Die Silben, die bei der Analyse der Schlagwörter in BQC mit „RI unbezeichnet“ versehen worden sind, gehören in einzelnen Fällen, je nachdem die Reduktion der Finale zustande gekommen ist oder nicht, dem zweiten (d. h. dem reduzierten) oder dem ersten (d. h. nicht reduzierten) System an. In dem reduzierten System fallen in den einzelnen Finalen (mit Ausnahme von *u*, *u*, *i*, *üe* und *iong*) immer zwei oder auch mehrere Finalen des nichtreduzierten Systems zusammen, z. B. e: *o*, *e*, *a*; *ou*: *ou*, *ao*, *uo* (nach einigen Initialen); *ei*: *ei*, *ai*, in einigen Fällen möglicherweise noch *ie*; *uo*: *uo*, *ua* usw. — Es versteht sich von selbst, daß die Finalen des reduzierten Systems, obgleich sie mit denselben Formen der Umschrift, wie die Finalen in der ersten Zeile des nichtreduzierten Systems wiedergegeben werden, phonetisch doch ein wenig verschieden sind (die Artikulationsstelle bei *u*, *ü*, i wird ein wenig erniedrigt, *ei*, *ou*. werden oft ohne die Elemente *-i*, *-u* gesprochen usw.), d. h. sie werden mit allen Modifikationen und Veränderungen die allgemein für RI charakteristisch sind, gesprochen.

ou, *en*, *eng* usw., betreffen). Es muß aber bemerkt werden, daß solche fälschliche Schreibungen und Verwunderungen meistens erst dann vorkommen, wenn auch eine morphophonologische Umdeutung stattgefunden hat, wobei diese Umdeutung auch wenigstens teilweise eben durch die phonetische Veränderung bedingt ist. So z. B. *qian* in *gēnqian* (*nǐ mǔqin gēnqian…* 你母亲跟前) wird mit *qin* 亲, *xiang* in *záxiang* 杂项 mit *xing*星, *ruan* in *róuruan* 柔软 mit *run* 润, *nang* in *wonang* 窝囊 mit *neng*能, *bo* in *tanbo* 单薄 mit *ba* 巴 (巴wird sehr oft mit *RI* gesprochen, so ist sie hier als *RI:be* zu betrachten), usw. geschrieben oder zu schreiben „vorgeschlagen". Sonst aber besteht auch kein Zweifel darüber, daß in anderen Fällen die reduzierte Form keine morphophonologische Umdeutung erleidet und als ein weiterer Allomorph des „ursprünglichen" Morphems betrachtet werden muß, z. B. *RI:lei* von *lai* in *nálai* 拿来 (Allomorphe des Morphems *lái* „kommen": *lái*, *lai*, *RI:lei*), *RI:hong* von *huāng* in *huānghuang-zhāngzhāng* 慌慌张张 (Allomorphe des Morphems *huāng* „eilig": *huāng*, *huang*, *RI:hong*), *RI:qiu* von *qiao* in *qiáoqiao* 瞧瞧 (Allomorphe des Morphems *qiáo* „sehen": *qiáo*, *qiao*, *RI:qiu*) usw.

Sehr interessant ist auch die Frage der Scheidung des lexikalischen Materials, dessen atonische Silben den verschiedensten Reduktionen unterliegen (oder regelmäßig unterliegen) und eines solchen lexikalischen Materials, dessen atonische Silben von den Reduktionen nicht (oder nicht regelmäßig) betroffen werden. Es gibt Anzeichen dafür, daß hauptsächlich die atonischen Silben des im alltäglichen Leben gebräuchlichsten Wortschatzes und solcher Elemente der Sprache, die als Pekinger *tuhua* bezeichnet werden könnten, von den Reduktionen betroffen werden; die verläßliche Beantwortung dieses Problems muß aber freilich erst auf Grund einer speziellen Untersuchung erfolgen.

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Tabelle I

"On the problem of differentiation of unstressed syllables in the Beijing dialect"

Abstract: Since Pekinese forms the phonetic basis of the Chinese national language (i.e. *putonghua*), the study of the various phenomena that are characteristic for Pekinese is also of importance for our understanding of the modern (spoken) Chinese language. The question of emphasis in a language with tonemes, such as Chinese, is also of interest from the point of view of general linguistics. Emphasis, which in Pekinese and generally in modern Chinese has been sufficiently complicated and far from sufficiently elucidated, cannot, of course, be treated systematically here. We will, however, briefly mention certain problems in this field, but first and foremost we want to focus our attention on a phenomenon which, in our opinion, could also be important for the further development of the language, namely the question of reducing the vocal parts of the finals in the unstressed syllables.

Key words: modern spoken Chinese, Pekinese, pronunciation, unstressed syllables

ZUR FRAGE DER REDUKTION DER VOKALELEMENTE IN DEN ATONISCHEN SILBEN IM PEKINGER DIALEKT

Es ist wohl bekannt, daß im Pekinger Dialekt, der die phonetische Grundlage der chinesischen Nationalsprache, der sogenannten *putonghua,* bildet, in den atonischen Silben verschiedene Veränderungen der Qualität der vokalischen Elemente, der sogenannten Finalen, vorkommen. Diese Veränderungen, die als Reduktion der Vokalwerte bezeichnet werden könnten, dringen in beschränktem Maße auch in die *putonghua* ein, wo sie als fakultativ gelten dürften; selbstverständlich müssen wir aber stets bedenken, daß die prosodische Qualität der Betonung im Chinesischen in jeder Hinsicht vielen Schwankungen unterliegt und viel schwieriger als zum Beispiel der phonematische und tonematische Bestand der Sprache im allgemeinen und der verschiedenen lexikalischen Einheiten im einzelnen zu normalisieren ist. Um so schwieriger ist es, selbst im Pekinger Dialekt, vielleicht die Listen von Wörtern und anderen sprachlichen Einheiten aufzustellen, wo die besprochenen Reduktionen unbedingt vorkommen. Die Erscheinung ist doch in der Weise regelmäßig, daß sie eine systematische Darstellung ermöglicht.

Wenn auch in der Praxis, z. B. beim Unterricht, der Reduktion der Vokale in den atonischen Silben keine große Bedeutung beigemessen wird, vom theoretischen Standpunkt ist diese Erscheinung nach unserer Meinung sehr wichtig. Es machen sich da in der phonetischen Entwicklung der Sprache solche Tendenzen geltend, die für die morphonologische (morphophonemische) Wertung verschiedener Elemente der Sprache von überaus großer Bedeutung sein könnten. Die Zahl der Allomorphe verschiedener Morpheme wird bereichert (zu den tonischen, halbtonischen und atonischen Allomorphen eines einzelnen Morphems kommt noch der atonische reduzierte Allomorph) und in einzelnen Fällen infolge der Reduktion geht das Bewußtsein der Zusammengehörigkeit der Form mit der Reduktion mit den anderen Allomorphen eines bestimmten Morphems verloren. Dies letztere geschieht dadurch, daß gewisse Finalen (ein *a* als Hauptelement enthaltende) infolge der Reduktion so verändert werden, daß sie von gewissen anderen Finalen (ein phonologisches *e* — siehe weiter — als Hauptelement enthaltende) nicht mehr unterschieden und von den Sprechern mit dem ursprünglichen Morphem nicht mehr assoziiert werden. Es muß aber bemerkt werden, daß durch die Einwirkung der chinesischen ideographischen Zeichenschrift die Zusammengehörigkeit mit dem ursprünglichen Morphem im Bewußtsein und fakultativ auch in der Aussprache meistens wiederhergestellt wird.

Bei der Darstellung der Reduktionen der einzelnen Finalen bedienen wir uns der lateinischen Umschrift, die jetzt in China gebräuchlich ist. Was die phonologische Wertung der Finalen betrifft, erscheint für unsere Betrachtungen als zweckmäßig zu bemerken, daß die Finalen *₀u, ei, uo, ie, iu, ui, ing, in, ong, un, ün,* als „mid-mix“ Vokal *e* enthaltende Finalen zu betrachten sind, d. h. phonologisch als *eu, ei,*

ue, ie, ieu, uei, ieng, ien, ueng, uen, üen gelten müssen. Bei der vollen Reduktion (die Reduktion kann stufenweise realisiert werden) wird die Opposition zwischen dem phonologischen *e* und dem *a* aufgehoben und das phonetische Ergebnis der Aufhebung der Opposition steht immer der das phonologische *e* enthaltenden Finale näher. So werden z. B. *ou* und *ao* bei der vollen Reduktion als sehr kurzes, ungespanntes *ou* (das Element *u* ist sehr flüchtig oder sogar fakultativ), *ei* und *ai* als ein sehr kurzes, ungespanntes *ei* (das Element *i* ist sehr flüchtig oder sogar fakultativ) realisiert usw. Der Einfachheit halber werden also die reduzierten Finalen durch die nicht reduzierten Formen, denen sie nahestehen, wiedergegeben, also *ou* und *au* nach der Reduktion als *ou, ei* und *ai* als *ei* usw. Als Beispiele werden nur solche Wörter und andere sprachliche Einheiten angeführt, deren Vokale in den atonischen Silben ursprünglich von dem Ergebnis der Reduktion verschieden sind; z. B. von den Finalen *ou, au,* nach der Reduktion beide als *ou,* werden nur Beispiele, die Silben mit der ursprünglichen Finale *an* enthalten, angegeben.

Reduktionen der einzelnen Finalen
e, *u*, *o*, *a* > *e*: *doufu* 豆腐, *laopo* 老婆, *zhima* 芝麻
i, *ü* > *i*: *naqu* 拿去
ou, *ao* > *ou*: *putao* 葡萄
ei, *ni* > *ei*: *chulai* 出来
uo, *ua* > *uo*: *xigua* 西瓜
ie, *ia* > *ie*: *fangxia* 放下
iu, *iao* > *iu*: *gaoyao* 膏药
ui, *uai* > *ui*: *liangkuai* 凉快
eng, *ang* > *eng*: *yishang* 衣裳
en, *an* > *en*: *shutan* 舒坦
ing, *iang* > *ing*: *guniang* 姑娘
in, *ian* > *in*: *qunian* 去年
ong, *uang* > *ong*: *kouchuang* 口疮
un, *uan* > *un*: *xihuan* 喜欢
ün, *üan* > *ün*: *zhouxuan* 周旋

In dieser kurzen Übersicht können wir nicht alle komplizierten Bedingungen besprechen, die das Zustandekommen der Reduktion beeinflussen, es kann auch nicht erörtert werden, welche Reduktionen üblich und typisch und welche dagegen selten sind usw. Es wäre auch interessant, die Reduktionen „zweiten Grades“ zu besprechen (z. B. *ie*, *ia* > *i*: *xie xie* 谢谢; *ou*, *au* > *e*: *suipao* 尿胞; *uang* > *mende huang* 闷得慌 usw.), es kann aber hier zum Abschluß nur bemerkt werden, daß das vokalische System in den atonischen Silben im Pekinger Dialekt sehr kompliziert und unbeständig erscheint, und daß sich eine ausgesprochene Tendenz zur weitgehenden Vereinfachung dieses Systems geltend macht.

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"On the question of the reduction of the vowel elements in the atonic syllables in the Beijing dialect"

Abstract: It is well known that various changes in the quality of the vocal elements occur in the atonic syllables in the Beijing dialect which represents the phonetic basis of the Chinese national language, so-called *putonghua*. These changes, which could be termed a reduction of the vowel values, also penetrate to a limited extent into *putonghua*, where they may be considered optional. Considering the fact that the prosodic quality of emphasis in Chinese is subject to many variations, it is difficult, even in the Beijing dialect, to establish lists of words and other linguistic units where the reductions are indispensable. The appearance is regular, however, in such a way that it allows for a systematic representation.

Key words: *putonghua*, Beijing Dialect, pronunciation, reduction of vowels

PROSODIC FEATURES AND THEIR FUNCTIONING IN MODERN CHINESE

Abstract: *My chief purpose now being to examine the interferences among tonemes, accentuation, and intonation in modern Chinese (Peking dialect), I should like first of all to deal with the problem of the possibility or impossibility of treating each of these phenomena in isolation. Properly speaking, this problem affects first of all any investigation concerning the nature of tonemes and of accentuation in what we might perhaps call basic rhythmical units. There is no question, in this respect, about intonation since it is quite clear that intonation is superposed, so to say, over accentuation, while accentuation is superposed over tonemes. Theoretically, it is quite evident that any isolated syllable bearing a tone is to be considered as a complete utterance, which cannot be conceived without a definite kind of intonation. It is further evident that in investigating the nature of a toneme – just as that of a segmental phoneme – we must take into consideration all its realizations in any possible environments. Practically, in investigating the nature of tonemes in Chinese, all these requirements, although recognized, are mostly neglected. I should like to present here some observations acquired by trying to analyze the problem of the nature of tonemes, accentuation and intonation in Chinese, viewed in their mutual complex interrelationship.*[1]

Key words: *phonology, modern spoken Chinese, Pekinese, tonemes, accentuation, intonation*

Trying to extract the prosodic element, which should enable us to differentiate all the four tonemes of modern Chinese by a single feature and at the same time to consider them incessantly in a close interrelationship with the accentuation of the basic rhythmical units, which are at the same time basic intonational units, I found it most convenient to consider as such element the position of the peak, the highest point of the melody curve of the syllable. This peak is generally associated with a certain "automatic" increase of articulatory energy. (This dynamic element of articulation should be distinguished from the dynamic energy of articulation, which can be observed, e. g., on the body of the syllable bearing the SHANGSHENG, maintained during a considerable portion of time in low position.)

The four tonemes of Chinese according to the position of this peak on the body of the syllable may be ranged as follows: QUSHENG, SHANGPINGSHENG, XIAPINGSHENG and SHANGSHENG. Realizations of this peak on syllables with the four tonemes in

[1] Observations presented here are based on results obtained by combining auditive methods of phonetic investigation with those of experimental phonetics, especially measuring of the intonograms. Only a small corpus of utterances being analysed experimentally, the system presented might be modified in the future and brought to a much higher degree of precision.

isolated position may be described as follows: with QUSHENG this peak is placed on the first half of the syllable (during the second half of the duration of the syllable the melody falls); with SHANGPINGSHENG the peak is placed at the middle of the syllable, with the result that the whole syllable is pronounced on a high level pitch; with XIAPINGSHENG the peak is placed on the second half of the syllable, the first half being, by contrast, rather low; with SHANGSHENG the peak is placed at both extremities of the syllable, the main body of the syllable (longer than a syllable with any other toneme) being low (by contrast).[2]

Intonational inflections are realized during the final portion of the duration of the syllable. We may observe with QUSHENG in the case of a rising inflection, that the falling during the second half of rising duration may be brought even to middle-high level position. With SHANGPINGSHENG, in the case of rising inflection there may be observed a slight rise at the end, and in the case of a falling inflection, a considerable drop at the end of the syllable. With XIAPINGSHENG we find a level ending in a high position when there is a rising inflection, or a slight falling when there is a falling inflection. With SHANGSHENG a falling inflection is accompanied by a level ending in a low position, and the end-peak is thus not realized, and a rising inflection is accompanied by a rising, more or less abrupt ending (if the end-peak is stressed, the rising reaches a middle or even half-high level of melody).

Disyllabic rhythmical units are of three types: tonic syllable + atonic syllable, tonic syllable + half-tonic syllable, half-tonic syllable + tonic syllable. The theoretical type atonic syllable + tonic syllable hardly exists. Type tonic syllable + tonic syllable is dubious, as this type might be perhaps better interpreted as two basic rhythmical units. Introducing the concept of a half-tonic syllable, we should of course bear in mind, that there are many degrees of weakening of tonemic characteristics.

Type tonic syllable + atonic syllable is realized in a contour which is the same as if the final portion of a monosyllabic rhythmical unit were transferred onto the atonic syllable. Thus, the intonational inflections are mainly realized on the atonic syllables. One of the possible interpretations of these facts is that the single toneme (with its intonational modifications) is realized across both syllables (or even more than two syllables, if there are several atonic syllables).

Types half-tonic + tonic and tonic + half-tonic are characterized by a tendency to lower and weaken the peak of the half-tonic syllable, and furthermore, in cases where the two peaks are placed on adjacent portions of the two syllables to coalesce (partly, at least) both peaks to a single one. The tendency to blend both syllables to a unit, characterized by a single peak, is supported also by eventual cutting off of certain portions especially of the half-tonic syllables. SHANGSHENG, having no peak of its own, reinforces (by contrast) the peak of the adjacent syllable, either preceding or following. In the combination SHANGSHENG + SHANGSHENG, the last syllable

[2] Strictly speaking, SHANGSHENG should be described as low-level toneme, having no peak on the syllable, which is its bearer itself, but reinforcing the peak of the adjacent syllables or, if the adjacent syllables are atonic and thus have no tonemic characterization, creating the peak on them. (Realization of SHANGSHENG or any other toneme on a single syllable functioning as an independent utterance is a rather special case.)

functions as a pivot and reinforces very strongly the end-peak of the preceding syllable. (The same phenomenon is sometimes observed even in the combination half-tonic SHANGSHENG + tonic XIAPINGSHENG.) If the rhythmical unit half-tonic + tonic, or tonic + half-tonic is a weak member in a major rhythmical unit consisting of several basic rhythmical units, the tendency to coalesce both syllables to a single unit having but one peak is still more conspicuous.

The melody-peak of disyllabic rhythmical units, which results from the interference of the tonemes of the two syllables (or from the toneme of the tonic syllable in the structure tonic + atonic), is a very simple prosodic feature, and it is also by this feature (the linear position of this peak) that all the basic rhythmical units are differentiated.

Disyllabic, like monosyllabic units may be considered as basic rhythmical units, either isolated or functioning as one of a series of members of a major unit. Similarly, a polysyllabic unit of the type tonic syllable + several atonic syllables may be equated to a disyllabic unit of the type tonic + atonic. Major rhythmical units are usually characterized by the peak of one of the component basic rhythmical units, which is more conspicuous and is to be considered as the chief one. The whole utterance may have one or several rather conspicuous peaks.

The melody peak is one of the uniting features of all the rhythmical units. Any rhythm is constituted by alternating strong and weak points, long and short segments or by some other similar alternation. The alternating units in Chinese are syllables and the chief alternating prosodic feature is duration in time (the melody peak, mentioned above, is only secondary feature). Considerable duration in time is necessary for the full maintenance of the relevant features of the four tonemes: rising or falling of the melody curve for XIAPINGSHENG or QUSHENG, high-level pitch and low-level pitch for SHANGPINGSHENG and SHANGSHENG respectively. Shortening of the syllables results in weakening and reduced conspicuousness of the features mentioned above. Very short syllables bear no characteristic features of the tonemes at all. Having in mind the rhythmical alternation of tonic syllables on the one hand and half-tonic or atonic syllables on the other hand, we may speak of alternation of accented and half-accented or unaccented syllables.[3] In this respect three main rhythmical structures may be observed: accented syllable, accented syllable + unaccented or half-accented syllable + accented syllable, accented syllable + unaccented or half-accented syllable + half-accented syllable + accented syllable. Any of these structures may be preceded by a half-accented syllable and followed by half-accented and unaccented syllables; with the first structure, that is, only one accented syllable, this is almost always the case.

Peaks of rhythmical units and alternation of long and short syllables (tonemes of the syllables being fully maintained, weakened or lost) within these units are

[3] We should note that the accented syllable is not always the bearer of the peak of a rhythmical unit. (See for example, the previous considerations of SHANGSHENG.) Furthermore, it must be stated that we very often may observe prolongation of the final syllable of a rhythmical unit for intonational purposes. In the case of tonic or half-tonic syllables this prolongation does not affect the syllable as a whole but rather only its final portion.

both phenomena derived from tonemes, but these phenomena coexist without any direct mutual relation.

I should finally like to add some remarks concerning the functioning of prosodic features in Chinese. There is not much uncertainty about the fact of interference of the distinctive function (tonemes) and the expressive function (intonation) of these features, but there is much uncertainty about the question of linguistic interpretation of accentual units in Chinese. If we consider only disyllabic rhythmical units (linguistic interpretation of these units may be considered as the crucial point of the whole problem here too), we may find a very considerable corpus of units of fixed accentuation: accented + unaccented syllable. It is quite clear that there must be some interpretation of this fact on the grammatical level of the study. Much more difficult for the grammatical interpretation are the types accented + half-accented and half-accented + accented. If we examine superficially individual units occurring with these two types of accentuation, it may seem that the majority of these units occur with both of them, the choice being regulated by rhythmical factors. I suspect that a more thorough examination will prove the existence also of two classes of disyllabic units, with a definite tendency to place the chief accent either on the first or the second syllable, displacement of accent being due to rhythmical, intonational and grammatically relevant factors. Possibly, the existence of a third class characterized by no such definite tendency may also be proved.

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GRAMMATIKALISCHE UND PHONETISCHE ANZEIGEN IM CHINESISCHEN WÖRTERBUCH

Der folgende Beitrag behandelt zwei grundlegende Probleme: 1. Welcher Typ der Sprache soll behandelt werden? 2. Welche Spracheinheiten sollen dem Wörterbuch zugrunde gelegt werden?

Erwägungen zur ersten Frage: Falls nur die moderne gesprochene Sprache (im Rahmen der „putonghua") berücksichtigt wird, gibt es hinsichtlich der grammatikalischen Angaben keine größeren Probleme, da es sich um eine natürliche Sprache handelt, die selbstverständlich ein einheitliches grammatisches System aufweist. Hinsichtlich der phonetischen Angaben ist die Lage dadurch kompliziert, daß es sich in diesem Fall hauptsächlich um Angaben über gewisse prosodische Erscheinungen handelt, die als „Akzentuierung" bezeichnet werden könnten. Diese Erscheinungen sind besonders in der modernen chinesischen Sprache solchen Charakters, daß sie nur verhältnismäßig schwer normalisiert werden können. Für die gesprochene Sprache im Rahmen der „putonghua" wurde im Wörterbuch *Hanyu pinyin cihui*, Peking 1963, der Versuch gemacht, nur die Atonität (den sog. qingsheng) einiger bestimmter Silben festzulegen (und zwar in weit geringerem Umfang, als es im Pekinger Dialekt vorzufinden ist, vgl. *Beijinghua qingsheng cihui*, Peking 1957). Viel schwieriger ist es aber mit der Bezeichnung der Abschwächung der Tonität gewisser Silben in mehrsilbigen Einheiten. Diesbezügliche Bezeichnung wurde in einigen europäischen und amerikanischen Wörterbüchern der chinesischen Sprache vorgenommen und geschieht meistens durch Unterscheidung von „akzentuierten" und „nicht akzentuierten" tonischen Silben. Bezeichnungen in dieser Hinsicht fehlt es immer noch an der erforderlichen Präzision. Es fehlen meistens Angaben über die Quellen der Unterscheidung der „akzentuierten" und „nicht akzentuierten" Silben (es ist überhaupt fraglich, ob solche Unterscheidung nur im Rahmen eines Dialekts, z. B. Pekinger Dialekts, möglich ist und ob dabei auch sogar idiolektische Eigentümlichkeiten nicht in Betracht gezogen werden müssen), und es fehlen auch Vorarbeiten über den Einfluß der rhythmischen und verschiedenen prosodischen Faktoren auf die „Akzentuierung" und Verschiebungen der „Akzentuierung" (nachdem diesbezügliche Gesetzmäßigkeiten genügend erforscht sind, werden sich wohl mehrere Grade der Stabilität der Akzentuierung hauptsächlich der zweisilbigen Einheiten ergeben; die Akzentuierung der dreisilbigen und mehr als dreisilbigen Einheiten unterliegt in weit geringerem Umfang einer Schwankung).

Falls im chinesischen Wörterbuch nicht nur die moderne gesprochene Sprache als Quelle benützt, sondern auch die moderne Schriftsprache, oder sogar auch ältere Phasen der (geschriebenen) chinesischen Sprache herangezogen werden, so müssen, falls auf verschiedene grammatikalische Anzeigen überhaupt nicht verzichtet werden soll, Einheiten, die in der gesprochenen Sprache schwerlich (wenn auch nur in der Sprache der gebildeten Sprecher) vorkommen können, auch als solche bezeichnet

werden (bei solchen Einheiten könnte z. B. auf direkte grammatikalische Anzeigen mit Hilfe von Symbolen, die systematisch nur für Einheiten der gesprochenen Sprache vorgesehen werden könnten, verzichtet werden). Die Bezeichnung der „Akzentuierung" solcher Einheiten, die nicht der gesprochenen Sprache angehören, sollte nach der Art vorgenommen werden, wie diese Einheiten vorgelesen werden.

Erwägungen zur zweiten Frage: Als Grundeinheit der Sprache für das Wörterbuch der chinesischen Sprache muß mit äußerster Konsequenz nicht etwa „das Wort", sondern das Morphem betrachtet werden. Es soll damit freilich nicht behauptet werden, daß zwischen der Ebene des Morphems und der (in ihrer Ausdehnung etwa durch Intonationsmittel abgegrenzten) Aussage keine Zwischenstufen anerkannt werden sollen. Jedenfalls gibt es aber in keinem Fall nur EINE Zwischenstufe (nämlich eben „das Wort"), sondern eine ganze Reihe von Typen der Morphem-Kombinationen, die viel besser eben als VERSCHIEDENE Typen der Morphem-Kombinationen betrachtet (eventuell auch bezeichnet) als alle in einer Kategorie (etwa in der Kategorie „des Wortes") zusammengefaßt werden sollten. Durch die praktische Notwendigkeit, eine Grenze zwischen Morphem-Kombinationen, die im Wörterbuch behandelt werden sollen (Kombinationen „lexikalischen" Charakters), und solchen Kombinationen und Strukturen, deren Behandlung den Grammatiken überlassen werden soll, zu ziehen, braucht auch die linguistische Tatsache der Unmöglichkeit einer (in jedem Falle) scharfen Trennung der „lexikalischen" und „syntaktischen" Strukturen im Chinesischen nicht gefährdet zu werden.

Jetzt einige Bemerkungen zur Frage, wie die Kategorie des Morphems speziell im Chinesischen aufgefaßt und im Wörterbuch behandelt werden soll.[1]

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[1] Falls nicht anders angezeigt wird, handelt es sich hier in unseren Erwägungen nur um SEGMENTALE Morpheme, deren Varianten hinsichtlich der phonetischen Gestalt nur Abschwächung oder Verlust der Tonität betreffen können, d.h. die Morpheme, die z. B. nur durch verschiedene Töne, vgl. /bei/ „Rücken" und /bei/ „auf dem Rücken tragen", unterschieden werden, werden als verschiedene Morpheme betrachtet (es wäre wohl auch eine andere Auffassung möglich). Es soll auch gleich bemerkt werden, daß das sog. erhua als suprasegmentales Morphem aufgefaßt wird.

Zur Terminologie: Da wir im Chinesischen lieber einfach von der Kombinatorik der kleinsten semantischen Grundeinheiten als von der Morphologie sprechen möchten, erscheint der Terminus „Morphem" für das Chinesische nicht als der geeignetste. Um der Verwirrung vorzubeugen, scheint es uns jedoch ratsam, diesen Terminus beizubehalten, jedoch mit der ausdrücklichen Bemerkung, daß die Einteilung der Morpheme auf „Semanteme" und „Morpheme (im engeren Sinne)" oder „lexikalische" und „grammatische" Morpheme für das Chinesische als Grundeinteilung ganz zu verwerfen ist.

Wenn wir betreffs der meisten Sprachen von Morphemen sprechen, haben wir vorwiegend, wenn nicht ausdrücklich anders gesagt, „grammatische" Morpheme oder Morpheme mit vorwiegend grammatischer Funktion im Sinne; für das Chinesische ist die Lage gerade umgekehrt: Falls nicht ausdrücklich anders gesagt, meinen wir meistens die „lexikalischen" Morpheme, von denen freilich sehr viele in verschiedenen Bereichen ihrer Anwendung semantisch „abgeschwächt" bzw. „teilweise grammatikalisiert" usw. werden (die Anzahl der segmentalen Morpheme mit rein grammatischer Funktion ist sehr gering, vgl. z. B. tonlose /d/ - mehrere synonymische Morpheme – /le/, /zhe/ usw.).

Angesichts der Homonymie so vieler Gruppen von Morphemen und dem hohen Grad der Subjektivität bei Unterscheidung der semantisch nahestehenden Morpheme im Chinesischen können wir und wollen wir auch auf die chinesischen Schriftzeichen nicht verzichten; diese Zeichen, mit Vorsicht angewandt, sind bei der Unterscheidung homonymer Morpheme anderen Mitteln, z. B. der Numerierung, aus vielen Gründen sicherlich vorzuziehen. Zur Unterscheidung verschiedener, mit ein und demselben Schriftzeichen geschriebener Morpheme und andererseits auch zur etwaigen Angabe, daß ein und dasselbe Morphem mit zwei oder mehr verschiedenen (in der Schrift einander nicht ersetzbaren) Schriftzeichen geschrieben wird, werden wir freilich einiger zusätzlicher Mittel bedürfen. Es ist aber ohne weiteres ganz klar, daß die Aufstellung des so reichen Repertoirs der Morpheme der chinesischen Sprache, bei der wir uns der chinesischen Schriftzeichen nur als eines Hilfsmittels zur Bewältigung des Problems der Homonymie und nicht als entscheidender Quelle bedienen wollen, sich auf gründlicher semantischer Analyse der Gesamtheit aller möglichen Kombinationen von semantischen segmentalen Grundeinheiten stützen muß.

Wenn das Repertoire der Morpheme, die in das Wörterbuch aufgenommen werden sollen, aufgestellt worden ist, sollte jedes einzelne Morphem in der Gesamtheit seiner Kombinationsmöglichkeiten und in der Gesamtheit aller Strukturen, „syntaktischen" sowie „lexikalischen"[2] Charakters, in denen es vorkommt, untersucht und festgestellte kombinatorische Eigentümlichkeiten mittels geeigneter Symbole verzeichnet werden.

Betreffs der Eigentümlichkeiten der Morpheme im Bereich der „syntaktischen" Strukturen wird (übrigens auch bei verschiedenen Syntagmata, d. h. Kombinationen von Morphemen, und Typen von Syntagmata) öfters ein falsches Problem von (yi ci cuo lei) „Zugehörigkeit von ein und demselben Wort zu verschiedenen Wortklassen" aufgestellt. Dieses Problem beruht auf der falschen Voraussetzung, daß auch solche linguistischen Einheiten, wie etwa die Morpheme der chinesischen Sprache, betreffs ihrer kombinatorischen Eigentümlichkeiten in eine verhältnismäßig kleine Anzahl von untereinander klar abgegrenzten Klassen aufgeteilt werden sollten. Wenn dies auch z. B. für das Lateinische oder für slawische Sprachen, wo freilich nicht Morpheme, sondern gewisse Kombinationen von Morphemen wirklich zu „Wörtern" eng integriert und in Klassen aufgeteilt werden können, gilt, wäre es dagegen verwunderlich, wenn es auch für das Chinesische, wo von der „klassischen" Morphologie keine Rede sein kann, gelten sollte. Es dürfte aber ganz zweckmäßig erscheinen, auch bei chinesischen Morphemen verschiedene kombinatorische Charakteristiken als „nominalartig", „prädikativartig", „adverbialartig" usw. zu bezeichnen, auch wenn wir bei ein und demselben Morphem gleichzeitig eventuell auch mehrere von diesen Charakteristiken aufstellen werden müssen. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß je mehr von diesen Charakteristiken aufgestellt und

[2] Es wurde schon oben angedeutet, daß die Unterscheidung von „syntaktischen" und „lexikalischen" Strukturen rein praktische Zwekke verfolgt und eine strenge Abgrenzung in dieser Hinsicht zu verwerfen ist.

untersucht werden können und je „detaillierter“ diese Charakteristiken sind, wir desto bessere Information bekommen (die Analyse bei der so großen Anzahl von Morphemen wird damit freilich sehr langwierig).

Es erscheint weiter sehr zweckmäßig, bei der Besprechung der einzelnen Morpheme im Wörterbuch gleich verschiedene ihrer kombinatorischen Eigenschaften auch in den „lexikalischen“ (vorerst freilich in den strittigen, d. h. „halb-lexikalischen, halbsyntaktischen“) Strukturen zu verzeichnen. Bei /zhuo/ „Tisch“ sollte z. B. das häufige Auftreten in der Struktur: determinatives Morphem + /zhuo/, das Ganze mit nominalartiger Funktion, bei /wan/ „enden“ das Auftreten in den „resultativen“ Strukturen, bei /hun/ „Heirat“ das Auftreten in vielen einzelnen v-n Strukturen (einsilbiges verbalartiges Morphem + einsilbiges nominalartiges Morphem) usw. usw. beachtet werden. Möglichst erschöpfende Verzeichnungen der kombinatorischen Eigenschaften der Morpheme in den „syntaktischen“ sowie den „lexikalischen“ Strukturen werden auch das Verständnis der etwaigen Angaben über die kombinatorischen Eigenschaften der im Wörterbuch angeführten Syntagmata (Kombinationen von Morphemen) erleichtern.

Von den grammatikalischen Angaben dürften im chinesischen Wörterbuch diejenigen über die kombinatorischen (d. h. funktionellen) Eigenschaften DER MORPHEME als grundlegend gelten. Bei den Syntagmata finden wir einerseits analoge kombinatorische Charakteristiken („syntaktischen“ Charakters), wie bei den einfachen Morphemen, es kommen aber auch neue vor, z. B. die diskontinuierliche Struktur v-n (vgl. /jiehun/ „heiraten“), viersilbige Strukturen (meistens prädikativ- und adverbialartig) usw. Die grammatikalischen Angaben zu kombinatorischen (funktionellen) Charakteristiken der Syntagmata (diese Angaben setzen freilich auch diesbezügliche Angaben über „lexikalische“ Strukturen bei den Besprechungen der einfachen Morpheme, aus denen die Syntagmata bestehen, voraus, siehe oben) und durch Angaben über die Akzentuierung (siehe oben) ergänzt werden.

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"Notes on phonetics and grammar in the Chinese dictionary"

Abstract: The speaker deals with explanations in the complex field of prosodic characteristics designated as emphasis on a definite part of the lexical content, as "stress pattern" or traditionally as "word stress". He points out that the stress varies in disyllabic units in which the stress is on both syllables. This variation can and must be covered by rules in all units. In the case of polysyllabic units the rules are easier to grasp. He then spoke of functional and combinational characteristics of the units dealt with, which are also traditionally regarded as "parts of speech" in Chinese, and finally on the internal structure of all combined units dealt with in the dictionary. Analysis of this structure is based on research into morpheme combination.

Key words: modern Chinese, dictionary, morpheme, morpheme combination, word class

PEKINESE TONES – PROPOSAL FOR A NEW APPROACH

Abstract: *No satisfactory theory considering the mutual interaction of tones, on the one hand, and accentuation and intonation on the other, has been elaborated as yet. This paper therefore concentrates on the observation of consistence of four tones contours. It is demonstrated by the oscillograms obtained by the author of this paper in 1969–1970 at Berkeley for three speakers where the tones are either controlled by the speaker or are the automatic result of acoustic phenomena.*

Key words: *phonology, Modern Chinese (Pekinese), four tones, accentuation, intonation*

Apparently no satisfactory theory aimed at the consideration of Pekinese tones in complex and natural interaction with the phenomena of accentuation (or stress) and intonation has been developed as yet. There are a few studies available regarding disyllabic and polysyllabic combinations, but there is general tendency to view the different phonetic forms of the Pekinese tones as "modifications" or "special cases" of tones in insolated positions. Such a treatment of tones in connected speech might have been excusable at the beginning stages of study, but it has become sterile by now. The reasonable procedure is rather to try to establish the relevant features of tones primarily from how they appear in connected speech. It is necessary to observe not only the syllable which functions as bearer proper of a give tone, but to observe adjacent syllables as well. The characteristic features of the so-called qingsheng (= atonic) syllables following or preceding the syllables bearing different tones must be considered as very important features pertaining directly to the repertory of features of the different given tones. Thus, for example the relatively conspicuous characteristics (as far as high pitch and considerable loudness are concerned) of the qingsheng (atonic) syllables adjacent to a shangsheng (3rd tone) syllable are to be considered as very important features of the shangsheng tone itself. Briefly speaking, it is necessary to extend the segmental basis of the prosodic phenomenon called "tone" in Pekinese so as to include not only the tonic syllable itself, but also the adjacent atonic syllables and to acknowledge the important fact of "overlapping" of the neighbouring tones which often results in at least partial neutralization of the relevant distinguishing features of tones, especially as far as the tones of weakly stressed tonic syllables are concerned.

Instead of considering only the static features of pitch (i. e. different levels and different inflections of pitch) as the relevant features of the Pekinese tones, it is proposed – viewing the tones in constant interaction with varying degrees of stress and intonation – to introduce the concepts of "polarization" and "integration" of the prosodic energy as the main distinguishing features of the Pekinese tones. (I would

not like here to enter into discussion regarding the terms "tone" or "toneme;" such terms as "accent" or "prosodeme" might possibly do as well.) In this way not only the static phenomena of pitch, duration and loudness may be duly taken into consideration, but also various contours, shapes and configurations of the pitch-curve, intensity patterns and duration patterns embracing more than one syllable may be more adequately evaluated.

As we have to keep the description of the various realizations of the tones very brief, we are going to mention in greater detail only the phenomena observable on the stressed syllable appearing as bearers proper of the different tones in connected speech.

The Shangsheng tone (the so-called 3rd tone) is characterized by the extreme degree of polarization of the prosodic energy: in connected speech there is mostly no peak (= point of highest pitch and the special kind of loudness accompanying the high pitch vibrations) on the body of the stressed shangsheng syllable itself, but there is movement to reinforce the peaks of the adjacent syllables, especially by contrast to the low pitch of long duration on the shangsheng syllables itself (in the case of atonic syllable the atonic syllables themselves are made bearers of the peak; notice that "peak" and "stress" are quite unrelated concepts). The considerable duration of the tonic syllable itself at the same time compensates also for the difficulty of perceiving immediately auditorily the "stressed pronunciation" of the low pitch keyed syllable. Conspicuous decrease of the amplitude of the vocal cords vibrations in the middle of the syllable at the lowest pitch may be easily conceived as a "negative" peak contrasting with the polarized "positive" peaks (these "positive" peaks being mostly placed outside the syllable itself). Of course, "negative" peak does not mean at all that the syllable as a whole might not be possibly perceived as strongly stressed.

The Xiaping tone (the so-called 2nd tone) is partially polarized: there is a slight dip in pitch at the beginning of the stressed xiaping syllable and the main peak is to be found at the very end of the xiaping syllable, uniting it prosodically with the beginning of the adjacent syllable.

The Shangping tone (the so-called 1st tone) is evenly integrated, i.e. the prosodic energy is practically evenly distributed over the main body of the high pitch keyed shangping syllable. In the case of the shangping tone, syllables adjacent to the syllable which is the bearer proper of the shangping tone are not influenced in any over conspicuous way.

The Qusheng tone (the so-called 4th tone) is characterized by strong concentration (or integration) of the prosodic energy at the beginning of the qusheng syllable. The pitch of the final portion of the preceding syllable may be raised or inflected upward.

The most interesting cases of "overlapping" of tones may be observed in rhythmical disyllabic unions of units bearing polarized tones: shangheng + shangheng, xiaping + shangsheng and xiaping + xiaping. In all these cases the second syllable of the pair retains the main characteristic feature appertaining to the bearer proper of a polarized tone: low pitch (of a concave configuration) on the more or less substantial portion of the syllable. On the other hand, the polarization of the first

syllable of the pair is largely neutralized, i.e. the low pitch characteristic (of a concave shape) disappears and the main body of the syllable bears a peak of a convex shape. Some modifications of the phenomena just described are of course observable in connection with the varying distribution of stress over the whole extent of the pair, which need not be entered into here.

The uniting feature of the polarized tones, except for the polarization of the prosodic energy away from the middle of the segmental basis of the tone in both directions, is mainly a concave configuration of the pitch curve, stretching over the whole segmental basis of the tone (this is the case with shangsheng) or its main part (in the case of xiaping). Similarly, the integrated tones are characterized by a convex configurations of the pitch curve. This convex configuration is very slight in the case of shangping and very strong in that portion of qusheng where the prosodic energy is concentrated (in the first half of the tone).

Considering the position of the so-called "peak," the four Pekinese tones may be conveniently arranged as follows: shangheng, xiaping, shangping and qusheng. In this arrangement the peak is shifted in four steps from the end towards the beginning of the segmental basis of the tone (in the case of the shangping the peak is not concentrated precisely at the middle, but is evenly stretched over the whole segmental basis).

Discussion

Grundstrom:

Are the intensity contours which accompany the four pitch contours consistent from speaker to speaker and vowel to vowel? Is there any indication that these intensity peaks are controlled by the speaker and not the automatic result of acoustic phenomena?

Bluhme:

No proof has been given here that the description of Mandarin tones by their endpoints, plus a dip for the 3rd tone, cannot handle the phenomena of spontaneous speech – neutralisation not being taken into account. The description by two peaks is applicable only to the 3rd tone, the others having either one peak or none at all. The onset of the 2nd tone can hardly be linguistically interpreted as a peak.

Neweklowsky:

Variations as to intensity cannot be relevant from the perceptional point of view not only because of the ratio between harmonic and formant structure but also because of the integration time of the ear. The integration time has been found to be approximately 0.18 seconds (von Békésy). Variations of intensity can be perceived only if the sound exceeds a duration of 0.18 seconds.

Švarný (ad Grundstrom):

According to high-speed oscillograms obtained 1969–1970 at Berkeley for three speakers, there is full consistency of intensity contours, especially for the shangsheng tone which appears to be the crucial one. The concept of peak (which is by no means defined simply as "intensity peak" and which must be carefully kept apart from "stress") is defined as a partial feature of the complex phenomenon called tone and as such is neither controlled by the speaker nor is it the automatic result of acoustic phenomena.

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VARIABILITY OF TONE PROMINENCE IN CHINESE (PEKINESE) SOME REMARKS CONCERNING THE REFORM OF CHINESE SCRIPT

Abstract: *Although strong variability of tonicity in modern Chinese (Pekinese) can hardly be overlooked, this phenomenon rarely arouses the interest of researchers. This paper therefore concentrates on this topic relying on the abundance of illustrative material. An analysis of different prosodic realisations – dependent on the context – of 29 disyllabic lexical units is reflected in the seven types of accentuation. At the end of the paper, a comparison is undertaken between the forms of accentuation in eight dictionaries and our seven types.*

Key words: *phonology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), seven types of tonicity, orthography of the prosodic features*

The publication of the semi-official orthographic and orthoepic reference book Hanyu Pinyin Cihui (Peking 1963 and 1964) seems to represent hitherto the culminating point in the Reform activities. Among other difficulties, the authors were also obviously aware of the problem as to which syllables should be pronounced tonic (or written with a tone mark respectively) and which ones should be pronounced atonic (or left without any tone mark). Our present discussion hopes to contribute some material and suggestions in this respect.

We have to point out with greater emphasis than has so far been done the problem of syllabic tonicity VARIABILITY and VARYING morphemic tonality (as far as the second morphemes of disyllabic lexical units are concerned). The variability of syllabic TONICITY (tonicity is defined as the realization of tone) cannot always be simply explained away as being fully DETERMINED by different environment (i.e. varying grammatical and rhythmical sequences in which the individual units occur, varying speech-tempo, carefulness or carelessness of the pronunciation, expressivity, contrastive stress, actualisation etc.). It will be our task to extricate various groups (types) of disyllabic lexical units with regard to the DEGREE of LIABILITY to be influenced (as far as the tonicity of the second syllable is concerned) by various pressures of realization environment. In other words, we shall try to demonstrate the varying character of the inherent morphemic TONALITY of the second morphemes in disyllabic lexical units in Chinese (Pekinese).

Variability of syllabic tonicity

First of all we have to state and demonstrate the general rules and tendencies governing the variability of syllabic tonicity.[1] To this end double, in some cases triple or multiple realizations of selected 29 disyllabic lexical units were analysed.[2]

In the following discussion, the syllabic tonicity prominence[3] is indicated by letters T, t, b and q:

T prominent tonic realization occurring at certain points within the frame of major rhythmical sections mainly under the influence of sentence stress and contrastive stress (sentence stress and contrastive stress are not distinguished in our transcription)

t tonic realization

b semi-tonic (= semi-atonic) realization[4]

q atonic realization

Taking the syllable /ba/ in the lst tone as a representative of any tonal syllable, the four degrees of prominence are marked in our transcription in the following

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[1] As to the relation between the character of tones and their highly variable realizations in connected speech in Chinese (Pekinese) cf. O. Švarný, Pekinese tones – Proposal of a new approach (*Acta Universitatis Carolina, Philologica 1*, 1972 Praha).

[2] Only realizations in connected spontaneous speech were taken into consideration. The sentences were selected from a large body of illustrative material of the 3rd part of the *Introduction to Spoken Chinese* (*Úvod do hovorové čínštiny*), which is being prepared for print. The illustrative material – about fifty hours of continuous speech, each sentence was pronounced at least two times – was tape-recorded by Mrs Tang Yunling (native from Peking) in May and June 1969. The tape-recorded material, which was analyzed for the purposes of this paper, is available at the Oriental Institute, 118 37 Praha 1, Lázeňská 4, and copies may be obtained there.

[3] In Chinese (Pekinese) we have to distinguish tonic and atonic syllables (as far as the realization of tone is concerned) against tonal (i.e. inherently tonal) and neutral (i.e. tonally neutral) morphemes, or syllables (morphemes in Chinese are typically monosyllabic). In other words, we have to distinguish between tonicity and tonality. Tonal syllables may be pronounced either tonic, semi-tonic or atonic, neutral syllables are always pronounced atonic (often with certain vowel oppositions neutralized).

Tonal as well as neutral syllables may be stressed or un-stressed: stressed TONAL syllables are conspicuous first of all by full realization of tone (or by prominent and ordinary realization of tone, if we choose to distinguish between strong and ordinary stress), stressed NEUTRAL syllables are conspicuous by various prosodic features, determined by the prosodic environment of these syllables, by a special character of the intonation etc.

As tonal syllables, when stressed, are conspicuous first of all by the prominence of their tone, we prefer to use the term "prominence" (i.e. tonal prominence) instead of "stress" in the case of tonal syllables; the term stress is used when we are speaking about the prosodic conspicuousness of neutra1 syllables, about sentence stress, contrastive stress etc.

[4] Semi-tonic (= semi-atonic) realization means that certain tonemic oppositional features are partly or fully neutralized. This kind of partial neutralization has to be distinguished from the so-called sandhi neutralization, e. g. the so-called change of 3rd tone into 2nd tone before another 3rd tone (a really pronounced 3rd tone or only an etymological one). This change of 3rd tone to 2nd tone is respected by writing the 2nd tone mark. Thus, the syllabic sequences /bábǎ/, /bába$_3$/ and /bába/ are dubious as to the etymological tone of the lst syllable.

way: T: /**bā**/, t: /bā/, b: /ba^3/ and q: /ba/. Neutral syllables, whether unstressed or stressed, are always atonic and therefore always transcribed as /ba/.

The rhythmical sections, characterized by a terminal intonation contour, are terminated in our transcription by a full stop period, the mark of exclamation or the mark of interrogation which all designate the terminal break; within the frame of these so-called terminal sections we may further distinguish major rhythmical sections, characterized by non-terminal intonation contours : these are terminated by two comas („) designating the non-terminal break; possible minor rhythmical sections within the frame of terminal or non-terminal sections are terminated by a comma (,) designating a slight break.[5]

The system of the four degrees of prominence observed in connected speech (T, t, b, q) and our evaluations of the tonicity prominence of individual syllables of the selected 29 lexical units were also checked by an auditive experiment, carried out by three groups of specialists in our field of study:

October 17, 1972: meeting of a circle of linguists of the Oriental Institute ČSAV – 6 participants (two of them sinologues);

October 25, 1972: meeting of a circle of sinologues of the Oriental Institute ČSAV – 6 participants;

November 1, 1972: seminar at the Phonetic Institute of the Charles University of Prague (Head: Professor. M. Romportl) – 15 participants.

The participants were briefly introduced to our problem both theoretically and practically (by listening to the gramophone record Supraphon DM 15116 with recorded Chinese disyllables of various types); then they listened to our tape-recorded material and strictly independently evaluated the realizations of each syllable of the indicated disyllabic lexical units as well as some additional trisyllabic structures. Thus we obtained from each of the 28 participants 52 pairs of evaluations.[6] These evaluations were then analyzed in four stages:

Stage 1. It was checked whether in a pair of realizations the tonic prominence of the second syllable of the second (respectively placed as second) realization of one and the same lexical unit RELATIVELY decreases or increases.[7]

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[5] The organization of utterances into major and minor rhythmical sections reflects the grammatical structure, being simultaneously dependent on the tempo of speech, carefulness or carelessness of the pronunciation etc.

[6] 44 pairs represent the realizations of the 29 disyllabic lexical units: two realizations of a unit make a pair, three realizations make three pairs and the six realizations of unit No. 27 /zhiyuan/ were arranged in 6 pairs; the remaining 8 pairs represent the realizations of the additional material.

[7] Thus the two realizations of the unit /chéngshi/ in the 1st part (realization a.) and the second part (realization b.) of the illustrative sentence No. 8 were evaluated by 5 most "consonant" participants (designated by letters Š, A, B, C and As) as follows:

Š: a) tt – even movement of the prominence

b) tT – increase of prominence by one step

The prominence of the second syllable of the realization b) tT relatively, i.e. in comparison with the realization of a) tt, increases by one step;

Stage 2. It was checked whether in a pair of realizations, as analyzed in the stage 1, the prominence of the second syllable of a realization with possibly decreasing (or more decreasing) prominence was put at the degree of q (ATONIC realization).[8]

Stage 3. It was checked whether there is COINCIDING relative decrease or increase of prominence between TWO pairs of realizations as evaluated by two participants and then it was checked whether the possibly occurring coinciding relative decrease or increase of prominence was put at: one step (criterion P_1), two steps (criterion P_2), or three or more steps (criterion P_3).[9]

Stage 4. The same procedure as applied in stage 3 was repeated again, it being simultaneously checked whether both participants concurrently reached also the degree of q (see above stage 2). In this way three criteria (analogous but more strict than in stage 3) were applied again to check, whether the coinciding relative decrease or increase of prominence was put at: one step (criterion Q_1), two steps (criterion Q_2) or three or more steps (criterion Q_3).

Thus each of the 52 pairs of evaluations as indicated by any of the participants was compared with the corresponding evaluations indicated by all the remaining 27 participants, applying all the criteria P_1, P_2, P_3, Q_1, Q_2 and Q_3. The participants were then arranged in sequences according to the total number of mutual coincidences, see Fig. 1.

A: a) tq – decrease of prominence by two steps
b) tt – even movement of the prominence
The prominence of the second syllable of the realization b) tt relatively increases by two steps;
B: a) tt – even movement of the prominence
b) tt – even movement of the prominence
The prominence of the second syllable of the realization b) tt is relatively neither decreasing nor increasing;
C: a) tq – decrease of prominence by two steps
b) Tt – decrease of prominence by one step
The prominence of the second syllable of the realization b) Tt relatively increases by one step;
As: a) tb – decrease of prominence by one step
b) Tb – decrease of prominence by two steps
The prominence of the second syllable of the realization b) Tb relatively decreases by one step.

[8] Thus in the pairs of evaluations tb – Tb and tq – Tt it is only in the second pair that the second syllable of the realization tq is put at the prominence degree of q.

[9] If the coinciding relative decrease or increase of prominence was put differently by any pair of the participants, the number of steps was always determined according to the participant with a smaller degree of relative decrease or increase of prominence.

		Q_1		Q_2		Q_3
Š	1	(161/28)	1	(99/25)	1	(36/13)
A	2	(160/24)	2	(87/17)	2	(24/5)
B	3	(124/14)	5	(48/8)	9	(14/2)
C	4	(110/13)	3	(60/10)	3.5	(20/3)
As	5	(91/12)	4	(52/10)	3.5	(20/4)
Al*	6	(78/9)	9.5	(26/4)	7.5	(15/2)
Bs	7.5	(70/8)	12	(22/4)	23	-----
D	7.5	(70/10)	7.5	(30/6)	5	(18/3)
Cs	9	(67/9)	6	(30/7)	13	(9/3)
E*	10	(64/8)	7.5	(30/5)	14	(7/2)
Ds	11	(58/7)	11	(23/3)	11	(11/1)
Bl	12	(53/6)	15	(16/2)	11	(11/1)
F	13	(47/5)	20	(7/2)	15	(5/2)
G	14	(46/7)	17.5	(12/3)	23	-----
Cl*	15	(42/6)	16	(14/4)	25	-----
H	16	(40/3)	23	(2/1)	23	-----
I	17	(39/4)	13	(21/3)	11	(11/1)
Dl	18	(38/4)	9.5	(26/4)	7.5	(15/3)
Es	19	(24/2)	17.5	(12/2)	16.5	(3/1)
Fs	20.5	(19/2)	19	(8/1)	16.5	(3/1)
Gs*	20.5	(19/2)	14	(19/2)	6	(16/2)
J	22	(15/1)	21	(5/1)	23	-----
K	23.5	(13/2)	26	-----	23	-----
L	23.5	(13/2)	22	(4/0)	23	-----
Hs	25	(9/2)	26	-----	23	-----
M	26	(2/0)	26	-----	23	-----
N	27.5	-----	26	-----	23	-----
O	27.5	-----	26	-----	23	-----

Fig. 1. Sequences of participants according to criteria Q_1, Q_2, Q_3

		P_1		P_2		P_3
Š	1	(644/43)	1	(245/35)	1	(53/16)
A	2	(643/41)	2	(199/22)	4	(35/6)
B	4	(598/32)	9	(118/12)	12	(18/2)
C	5	(594/32)	5	(171/19)	5	(32/3)
As	6	(593/35)	3	(182/23)	2	(41/7)
Al*	6	(430/22)	13	(88/7)	8	(23/3)
Bs	8	(563/31)	12	(100/9)	21	(4/1)
D	11	(525/32)	11	(106/13)	7	(26/3)
Cs	9	(554/29)	4	(179/18)	6	(29/4)
E*	18	(428/22)	19	(68/8)	19	(8/2)
Ds	7	(568/28)	14	(86/7)	14	(14/1)
Bl	15	(440/23)	17	(71/5)	13	(17/2)
F	17	(431/19)	22	(55/6)	25	-----
G	24	(351/18)	21	(61/5)	18	(10/2)
Cl*	3	(635/36)	6	(128/14)	25	-----
H	27	(268/13)	27	(16/2)	25	-----
I	12	(506/27)	15	(85/6)	9.5	(21/2)
Dl	13	(498/27)	7	(126/14)	3	(36/6)
Es	19	(389/18)	18	(70/6)	16	(12/2)
Fs	23	(353/17)	16	(72/5)	9.5	(21/2)
Gs*	10	(534/26)	8	(121/9)	10	(20/2)
J	14	(455/20)	20	(62/7)	25	-----
K	25	(318/19)	25	(25/2)	25	-----
L	22	(348/14)	23	(45/4)	20	(7/1)
Hs	26	(316/16)	28	(10/1)	25	-----
M	28	(186/10)	26	(24/1)	25	-----
N	20	(377/22)	24	(43/9)	17	(17/1)
O	21	(368/15)	10	(115/11)	15	(13/1)

Fig. 2. Sequences of participants according to criteria P_1, P_2, P_3

Explanations to the Fig. 1, 2:

1) Phoneticians are marked by single capital letters, index-letter "s" denotes the sinologues, "l" denotes the linguists.
2) The figures before parentheses indicate in each vertical column the sequence of the participants according to the criterion indicated above; the figures within parentheses before the slant indicate the number of coincidences observed when each participant was compared with all the rest of the participants, the figures after the slant number of coincidences of each participant with the participant Š (with whom most coincidences were observed with a great

majority of the participants as to all criteria; figures after the slant in line Š indicate the total number of coincidences accorded as if Š were compared with an ideal participant identical with Š).

3) There is a correlation between the 6 sequences; it is almost perfect for participants Š and A, with whom also most mutual coincidences according to all criteria except P_3 were observed. A few participants whose consonance with the other participants is relatively much better according to the criterion Q_1 than to P_1 or vice versa are marked by an asterisk.
4) There is a correlation between the figures before and after the slant, i.e. between the degree of mutual consonance of all participants and the degree of consonance of each participant with Š.

It may be assumed that the degree of MUTUAL CONSONANCE between participants indicates also the degree of OBJECTIVITY, to which the realizations were "correctly" interpreted and evaluated. Thus, the evaluations as given by the 5 most consonant participants[10] are given in full in the following analysis of the illustrative material.

Remarks to the method of analysis of realization environment

Two, three or more – varying or invariable – realizations of each of the selected 29 lexical units, always in the frame of a whole sentence, were analyzed from the viewpoint of all varying factors, which might exercise an influence on the realization of tone. The sum of all these factors is called SITUATION (i.e. realization situation – abbr. S).

Among the situation factors, very important ones in Chinese are "breaks", i.e. maintaining, or possibly reinforcing the tonic prominence of the first syllable (always tonal) after a break and especially of the LAST TONAL syllable in a trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic rhythmical section before a break (break is defined as the disjuncture, caesure or pause at the end of any rhythmical section; one or more tonally neutral or tonally rather weak syllables appended to the last fully tonic syllable of a rhythmical section before a break have to be disregarded when counting the syllables of a rhythmical section). The former phenomenon (reinforcing of the first syllable after a break) is called front-arsis tendency, the latter (reinforcing of the last tonal syllable before a break) is called end-arsis tendency (arsis is defined as greater prominence of a syllable in comparison with the prominence of the neighbouring syllables). Front-arsis tendency also always applies to the first syllables of one or more disyllabic structures possibly preceding and, as far as the rhythmical flow is concerned, closely adjoined to the basic trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic rhythmical nucleus.[11]

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[10] These participants were: Š – evaluations given in this paper, A – PhDr Z. Palková, B – Prof. M. Romportl, C – PhDr. O. Dohalská and As – PhDr. J. Kolmaš.

[11] The first front-arsis may be anteceded by one relatively less prominent, although tonal, syllable. Anteceding and appended syllables do not constitute a part of the rhythmical sequence proper; nevertheless they may also occur in side of a rhythmical structure, in that case being integrated into it. Thus e. g. instead of one syllable between two arses, two or more atonic or less prominent syllables may occasionally be found.

The total number of POSSIBLE BREAKS in the rhythmical flow of speech depends on the overall syntactical structure of a sentence and also on the syllabic length and various other characteristics of the different members of the syntactical structure. The number of ACTUALLY REALIZED breaks, their positions and their conspicuousness are determined mainly by the speech tempo, carefulness or carelessness of the pronunciation, occurrence of contrastive stress etc.

Illustrative material

For the purpose of later possible reference the individual disyllabic lexical units are marked in parentheses with numerical symbols indicating to which tonality type the second syllable belongs (see further). The functional characteristics of the units (N, Vt, Vi, A etc.) are given according to the system applied in the 3rd part of the Introduction to Spoken Chinese (Úvod do hovorové čínštiny) and only characteristics occurring in the illustrative sentences are given.

1) /jìnbù/ 进步 (1/2) N progress

a) /ta zuì-**jìn** biǎoxianle bù-shǎo jìnbù./ 他最近表现了不少进步。
S: tt, syllable /bù/ as arsis before a terminal break;

b) /ta zuì-**jìn** yǒu **jìn**bu-d biǎoxiàn./ 他最近有进步的表现。
S: tq, syllable /bù/ atonic (arsis is thrown on the first syllable, i.e. the first syllable of the disyllabic unit /jìnbù/) at the end of a short attribute (appended neutral /d/ may be neglected).

a) tt tt tb tt tt

b) tq tq tq tq tq[12]

The breaks within the frame of one and the same grammatical structure may be variously organized according to the varying speech-tempo, carefulness or carelessness of the pronunciation, occurrence or non-occurrence of contrastive stress, varying intonation etc. Fast tempo and careless pronunciation may be called integrating forces (some of the breaks may be eliminated), slow tempo and careful pronunciation may be called disintegrating forces (some new breaks may arise).

The end-arsis tendency may be partially explained not only as a rhythmical phenomenon but also by the momentary interruption of the flow of the SEMANTIC context.

Thus – in view of the overwhelming homonymity of morphemes, if tones were neglected – the weakening of the tone of the last tonal syllable might eventually prove detrimental to the semantic identification. On the other hand the prominent realization of tone in itself at the end of a rhythmical section becomes a signal of the following boundary in grammatical structure and also various intonational features here may be more easily realized by various modifications of the more fully realized tone.

There are many analogies between the basic rhythmical patterns of Chinese (Pekinese) and the general accentuation patterns of acronyms.

[12] The evaluations of the realizations of the 29 analyzed disyllabic units indicated by the five most "consonant" participants are given in this order: Š – A – B – C – As. These evaluations are in most cases nearly identical and the occurring slight variations are instructive (dogmatism in appreciating the evaluations should be avoided). A few discordant (presumably mistaken)

2) /biǎoxiàn/ 表现 (0/1) Vt to reveal, to manifest; N behaviour
a) /ta zuì-**jìn** biǎoxianle bù-shǎo jìnbù./ 他最近表现了不少进步。
S: tq, syllable /xiàn/ atonic (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of a unit Vt (appended neutral /le/ may be disregarded) followed by an object;
b) /ta zuì-**jìn** yǒu **jìn**bu-d biǎoxiàn./ 他最近有进步的表现。
S: tt, syllable /xiàn/ as arsis before a terminal break.
a) tq tq tq tq tb
b) tt tt tt bt bT

3) /jīdàn/ 鸡蛋 (1/2) N egg
a) /zhǔ-jī**dàn,, bié**-tài guo-huǒr jiu-zhǔbu**lǎo.**/ 煮鸡蛋别太过火儿就煮不老。
S: tT, syllable /dàn/ rather prominent as arsis before a non-terminal break;
b) /**jī**dan$_4$ zhǔgo-huǒr-le jiu-**lǎo**-le./ 鸡蛋煮过火儿了就老。
S: Tb, syllable /dàn/ much less prominent than the first syllable at the end of a subject – disyllabic subject is not especially stressed here and the arsis in fluent neutral tempo is easily thrown on the first syllable;
c) /lǎo-**jī**dan bù-róngyi **xiāo**hua./ 老鸡蛋不容易消化。
S: Tb or Tq, syllable /dàn/ without any prominence at the end of a subject – the situation is analogous here with that in b), speech-tempo is even more fluent.
a) tT tt tt tt tt
b) Tb tq tb tb tq
c) Tq tq tb tq Tq

4) /yīnggāi/ 应该 (12) Vv should, ought to
a) /bāng-dianr-máng shi-yīng**gāi**-d,, hébi sònglǐ-ne,, nǐ-**tài kè**qi-le./ 帮点儿忙是应该的，何必送礼呢，你太客气了。
S: tT, syllable /gāi/ as strongly prominent arsis before a non-terminal break (appended neutral /d/ may be disregarded);
b) /jì **háng**kong**xìn** yīnggai yong^4 hángkong$_1$ xìnfēng./ 寄航空信应该用航空信封。
S: tq, syllable /gāi/ weakly prominent (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of a unit Vv followed by a predicate.
a) tT bt tt tt tT
b) tq tq tb (bt) tq

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evaluations are enclosed in parentheses. In some dubious cases two possible evaluations of certain realizations were given in the analysis, but in the synopsis of the evaluations only one evaluation was given for Š.

5) /qǔxiāo/ 取消 (12) Vt to rescind, to cancel
a) /**jīn**tian-d huì qǔ**xiāo**-le./ 今天的会取消了。
S: tT, syllable /xiāo/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break (appended neutral /le/ may be neglected);
b) /yàoshi **zhēn**-d qǔxiao-le xuésheng jīntiē,, tā-jiu zhí-hǎo tíng**xué**-le./ 要是真的取消了学生津贴，他就只好停学了。
S: tq, syllable /xiāo/ pronounced atonic (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of a unit Vt (appended neutral /le/ may be disregarded) followed by a direct object.
a) tT tt tt tT bT
b) tq tq tq tb (bt)

6) /yuànyì/ 愿意 (02) Vv to wish, to be willing to
a) /tā-bu-yuàn**yì,,** nà-jiu **qǐng**-ba./ 他不愿意，那就请吧！
S: tT or tt, syllable /yì/ as prominent arsis before a non-terminal break;
b) /bú-**yuàn**yi zai-zhèr,, **qǐng**-ta-**zǒu.**/ 不愿意在这儿，请他走。
S: Tq, syllable /yì/ weakly prominent (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of a unit Vv followed by a predicate.
a) tT tt tt bt bt
b) Tq bq bq tb tb

7) /nóngcūn/ 农村 (1/2) N village
a) /nóng**cūn,** gōngji chéngshi$_4$ **shí**pin he-gōngye yuánliào,.../ 农村供给城市食品和工业原料……
S: tT, syllable /cūn/ as rather prominent arsis before a break at the end of a subject which is contrasted with the subject of the following clause;
b) /chéng**shì,** gōngji nóngcun$_1$ **gōng**yepǐn./ 城市供给农村工业品。
S: tb or tq, syllable /cūn/ weakly prominent (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of an indirect object followed by a stressed trisyllabic direct object.
a) tT tt tt tt tT
b) tb tq bq tq tq
Note: Parts a) and b) are two clauses of a single sentence.

8) /chéngshì/ 城市 (0/1) N town
a) /nóng**cūn,** gōngji chéngshi$_4$ **shí**pin he-gōngye yuánliào,.../ 农村供给城市食品和工业原料……
S: tt or tb, syllable /shì/ tonic, but not as arsis (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) at the end of an indirect object followed by a long complicated direct object;

b) /chéng**shì,** gōngji nóngcun$_1$ **gōng**yepǐn./ 城市供给农村工业品。
S: tT, syllable /shì/ as rather prominent arsis before a break at the end of a subject which is contrasted with the subject of the preceding clause.
a) tt tq tt tq tb
b) tT tt tt Tt Tb
Note: Parts a) and 0 are two clauses of a single sentence.

9) /fùnǚ/ 妇女 (12) N women (a = b, i.e. realizations a) and b) are two pronunciation variants of one identical sentence)
a) /cháoxian fù**nǚ,** dōu-ba dōngxi dǐng-zai tóushang./ 朝鲜妇女都把东西顶在头上。
S: tT, syllable /nǚ/ as rather prominent arsis before a slight break at the end of a subject – speech tempo relatively slow;
b) /**cháo**xian fùnü$_3$, dōu-ba dōngxi dǐng-zai tóushang./
S: tb or tq, syllable /nǚ/ tonic but not as arsis – because of the more fluent speech tempo here syllable /nǚ/ more easily accommodates to the scanning of the rhythmical flow of the sentence as a whole (no break after the subject appears here) and arsis is thus thrown on the first syllable.
a) tT bt bt bt bt
b) tb bb bq tt tt

10) /wāndòu/ 豌豆(12) N garden pea (a = b)
a) /wān**dòu** lǎo-le, bù-hǎo**chī.**/ 豌豆老了不好吃。
S: tT, syllable /dòu/ more prominent than the first syllable at the end of a stressed subject, careful pronunciation and therefore lees distinct rhythmical scanning of the utterance as a whole;
b) /**wān**dou$_4$ lǎo-le bù-hǎo**chī.**/
S: Tb, syllable /dòu/ less prominent than the first syllable as the prominence pattern accommodates more easily to the rhythmical scanning of the utterance as a whole, because of a more fluent pronunciation.
a) tT tt tT bt bt
b) Tb tb tt tb Tb

11) /gōngzuò/ 工作(02) N work (a = b)
a) /**zhè**-ge gōngzuò, **měi**-ge-ren^2 **dōu**-hui$_4$-zuò./ 这个工作每个人都会作。
S: tt, syllable /zuò/ tonic as (rather indistinct) arsis at the end of an object in the absolute position (at the head of the sentence) before a non-terminal break, by which the whole utterance is divided into two rhythmical sections;

b) /**zhè**-ge gōngzuo$_4$, **měi**-ge-ren^2 **dōu**-hui$_4$-zuò./
S: tb, syllable /zuò/, because of a more fluent and less careful pronunciation, less prominent than the first syllable, for it better accommodates to the rhythmical scanning of the utterance as a whole (the break amidst the sentence is eliminated and consequently arsis is thrown on the first syllable).
a) tt tT tt tt Tt
b) tb tb bq bt tq

12) /xuānbù/ 宣布 (0/1) Vt (f. Vtc) to announce, to proclaim (a = b)
a) /fǎguan xuānbù, di'**èr**-tian$_1$ **jì**xu-kāi-tíng./ 法官宣布第二天继续开庭。
S: tt or tT, syllable /bù/ tonic as arsis before a slight break at the end of a unit Vtc followed by an object-clause;
b) /fǎguan xuānbu, di'**èr**-tian$_1$ jìxu-kāi-tíng./
S: tq, syllable /bù/ atonic (arsis is thrown on the first syllable) because, due to a more fluent speech tempo, the slight break amidst the sentence is eliminated.
a) tt tt tt tT tt
b) tq bq tq tb tb

13) /xiàtiān/ 夏天 (01) Nt summer (a = b)
a) /wǒmen jiù-zhù-zai hǎi**biān**(r),, xiàtiān chàbuduō **tiān**-tian-qu yóuyǒng./
S: tt, syllable /tiān/ tonic as arsis before a slight break (not marked in transcription by a comma) at the end of a unit Nt functioning as temporal determination;
b) /wǒmen jiù-zhù-zai hǎi**biān**(r),,… xiàtian chàbuduō **tiān**-tian-qu yóuyǒng./ 我们就住在海边，夏天差不多天天去游泳。
S: tq, there is a slip of the tongue amidst the sentence; as a result, the speech tempo after the slip quickens, the slight break after /xiàtiān/ is eliminated, arsis is thrown on the first syllable and /tiān/ is pronounced atonic.
a) tt tt tt tt tt
b) tq tq tq (tt) Tq

14) /kèrén/ 客人 (01) N guest (a = b)
a) /nǐ-shi **kè**rén,, děi zuò **shàng-zuòr**./ 你是客人，得坐上座儿。
S: Tt, syllable /rén/ is pronounced with considerable tonic prominence before a very distinct non-terminal break, nevertheless it does not become arsis;
b) /nǐ-shi **kè**ren,, děi-zuò **shàng**-zuòr./
S: tq, although a slight break after /kèrén/ persists, the syllable /rén/ is pronounced atonic in a more fluent speech tempo.
a) Tt tt tt bq Tt
b) tq tq tq tq Tb

15) /shènglì/ 胜利 (0/1) N victory (a = b)
a) /wǒ-**qī**daizh nǐ-d **shèng**lì./ 我期待着你的胜利。
S: Tt or Tb, syllable /lì/, although pronounced with considerable prominence before a terminal break, does not become arsis.
b) /wǒ-**qī**daizh nǐ-d **shèng**li./
S: Tq, syllable /lì/ atonic in an analogous situation with that in a).
a) Tt tt tt Tq tt
b) Tq tq tq tq tb

16) /wényǎ/ 文雅 (0/1) Vi refined (a = b)
a) /zhè-ge-rén hěn-wén**yǎ**./ 这个人很文雅。
S: tT, syllable /yǎ/ as arsis of strong prominence before a terminal break;
b) /zhè-ge-rén hěn-**wén**ya$_3$./
S: Tb, arsis is thrown on the first syllable, although in an analogous situation with that in a).
a) tT tT tT tT tT
b) Tb tb tb Tt tb

17) /jīnshǔ/ 金属 (0/1) N metal (a = b)
a) /**lǚ**-shi yi-zhong^3 **qīng**-jīn**shǔ**./ 铝是一种轻金属。
S: tT, syllable /shǔ/ as rather prominent arsis before a terminal break;
b) /lǚ-shi yi-zhong^3 **qīng-jīn**shǔ./
S: Tt, arsis is thrown on the first syllable although in an analogous situation with that in a).
a) tT tT tb tt bt
b) Tt tt tq tt tb

18) /xiāngtóng/ 相同 (1/2) Vi the same (a = b)
a) /**zhè** liǎng-ju-**huà, yì**si xiāng**tóng**./ 这两句话意思是相同。
S: tT, syllable /tóng/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break – slow speech tempo and careful pronunciation;
b) /zhè liǎng-ju-**huà,** yìsi **xiāng**tong./
S: tq, because of more fluent pronunciation, syllable /tóng/ is much less prominent and arsis thrown on the first syllable, although the unit /xiāngtóng/ is always before a terminal break.
a) tT tT bt tt bt
b) tq bb tq tb tq

19) /píngguǒ/ 苹果 (02) N apple (a = b)
a) /wǒ-chīle yi^2-ge píng**guǒ**./ 我吃了一个苹果。
S: tT, syllable /guǒ/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break;
b) /wǒ-chīle yi^2-ge **píng**guo./
S: Tq, syllable /guǒ/ atonic although in an analogous situation with that in a);

c) /wǒ-chīle **píng**guǒ,, zài-qu xí-shǒu./ 我吃了苹果再去洗手。
S: Tt, arsis is thrown on the first syllable, although syllable /guǒ/ remains rather prominent before a non-terminal break.
a) tT tT tb bT tT
b) tq tq tq tb tb
c) Tt tt tb tt tb

20) /láohǔ/ 老虎 (02) N tiger (a = b)
a) /ta-**dá**si yi-zhi láo**hǔ**./ 他打死一只老虎。
S: tT, syllable /hǔ/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break;
b) /ta-**dá**si yi-zhi **láo**hu./
S: tq, syllable /hǔ/ atonic in an analogous situation with that in a).
a) tT bT tT tT bT
b) Tq tq tq Tq tq

21) /biànhuà/ 变化 (02) N change (a = b)
a) /**shí**-nian-lái zhèli qǐle hěn-dà-d biànhuà./ 十年来这里起了很大的变化。
S: tt or tb, syllable /huà/ rather prominent before a terminal break, although not so clearly as arsis;
b) /**shí**-nian-lái zhèli qǐle hěn-dà-d biànhua./
S: tq, syllable /huà/ atonic in an analogous situation with that in a).
a) tt tt bb (bq) tt
b) tq tq bq tq Tq

22) /hòulái/ 后来 (02) Nt afterwards (a = b)
a) /lǎo**shī** xiān-**kàn**jian-**wǒ**,, hòu**lái** cai^{2} kànjian wáng-da$_{4}$wén./ 老师先看见我，后来才看见王大文。
S: tT, syllable /lái/ as prominent arsis at the end of a unit Nt functioning as temporal determination;
b) /lǎo**shī** xiān-**kàn**jian-**wǒ**,, **hòu**lai cai-kànjian wáng-da$_{4}$wén./
S: Tb or Tq, syllable /lái/ in an analogous situation with that in a) but much less prominent (arsis is thrown on the first syllable).
a) tT tt tT bt tT
b) Tq tq Tt tq Tb

23) /xiànzài/ 现在 (12) Nt now (a = b)
a) /xiàn**zài** yàoshi-you$_{3}$-rén dá-lǎopo,, jiù-yao shòudao yán**lì**-d pīping./ 现在要有人打老师婆，就要受到严厉的批评。
S: tT syllable /zài/ more prominent than the first syllable, the unit /xiànzài/ Nt is contrastively stressed as a whole;

b) /xiànzai yàoshi-you-rén dá-**lǎo**po,, jiù-yao shòudao yán**lì**-d pīping./
S: tq, syllable /zài/ atonic, arsis is thrown on the first syllable, the unit /xiànzài/ is not especially stressed here; the rhythmical scanning of the beginning of the sentence runs more smoothly.
a) tT tt tT tt bT
b) tq tq bq tb tq

24) /cónglái/ 从来 (12) A ever, all Along
a) /ta cóng**lái** jiù-shi-ge tīng-huà-d háiz./ 他从来就是个听话的孩子。
S: tT or Tt, syllable /lái/ rather prominent at the end of a disyllabic unit A, although it is dubious as arsis;
b) /wo-gēncong$_2$ wǒmen-d jūnzhǎng, **zè**me duō nián, **cóng**lai mei-jiàn ta-fāgo-**pí**qi./ 我跟从我们的队长这么多年，从来没见他发过脾气。
S: Tb or Tq, syllable /lái/ much less prominent, arsis is thrown on the first syllable;
c) /wǒ **cóng**lai mei-jiàngo-ta. / 我从来没见过他。
S: Tq, syllable /lái/ atonic, arsis is thrown on the first syllable.
a) tT Tt Tt tb tb
b) Tq tq (tt)(tt) tq
c) Tq tq bq tb tq

25) /díquè/ 的确 (12) A indeed, really (a = b)
a) /wǒ dí**què** bù-zhidào zhè-jian shì./ 我的确不知道这件事。
S: tT, syllable /què/ as prominent arsis at the end of a disyllabic unit A;
b) /wǒ **dí**que bù-zhidào zhè-jian shì./
S: Tb or Tq, syllable /què/ in an analogous situation with that in a) much less prominent, arsis is thrown on the first syllable.
a) tT tt tt tt (tq)
b) Tq tq tb tq tq

26) /jīzǐr/ 鸡子儿 (22) N egg
The lexical unit /jīdàn/ N egg in all the illustrative sentences (see afore No. 3) may be replaced by a synonymous unit /jīzǐr/. The prosodic realizations of sentences do not change with the exception or the realizations of /jīzǐr/:
a) S: tT, syllable /zǐr/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break (in No. 3a arsis rests on the second syllable as well) 煮鸡子儿别太过火儿就煮不老。
b) S: tT, syllable /zǐr/ as arsis followed by a slight break (in No. 3b arsis is thrown on the first syllable) 鸡子儿煮过火儿了就老了。
c) S: tT, syllable /zǐr/ as arsis (in No. 3c arsis is thrown on the first syllable) 老鸡子不容易消化。

a) tT tt tT tt tt
b) tT tt tT tt tt
c) tT tt tT bt tt

27) /zhìyuàn/ 志愿 (1/2) N wish, intention
a) /wǒ **hén**-zǎo jiu-lìle zhè-ge zhì**yuàn.**/ 我很早就立了这个志愿。
S: tT, syllable /yuàn/ as prominent arsis before a terminal break;
b) /tā **hén**-xiǎo-d shi^{2}hour jiù-you zhìyuan zuò-**yī**sheng./ 他很小的时候儿就有志愿做医生。
S: tb or tq, syllable /yuàn/ much less prominent, arsis is thrown on the first syllable because of the pressure of the front-arsis tendency: the unit /zhìyuàn/ N at the beginning of a final tetrasyllabic rhythmical structure (appended neutral syllable /sheng/ may be disregarded; expression /yǒu zhìyuàn/ functions as a unit Vv);
/zhìyuàn/ (22) A of one's own free will
c) /wǒ-shi zhì**yuàn** cānjiā-d./ 我是志愿参加的。
S: tT, syllable /yuàn/ as prominent arsis, although one might expect throwing of the arsis on the first syllable in a situation in some respects analogous to the situation of b), see above.
a) tT tT bt tT tt
b) tq tq bb tq bb
c) tT tT tT tt tT
Note: All the sentences were pronounced twice when tape-recorded. Sentence b), when repeated, was pronounced with a slip of the tongue. As a consequence, the unit /zhìyuàn/ N was then pronounced with contrastive stress: the second syllable was pronounced as arsis unlike in the first realization of sentence b) where the arsis is thrown on the first syllable:
b) tq tq bb tq bb (the first variant)
b) tt tT bt tT (Tq) (repeated pronunciation)

28) /bàogào/ 报告 (01) Vi to report, Vt to report
a) /xiànzai lún-dao-ni$_3$ **bào**gao$_4$-le./ 现在轮到你报告了。
S: Tb, syllable /gào/ tonic before a terminal break (appended neutral /le/ may be disregarded), nevertheless it does not become arsis;
b) /wǒ-lai géi-nimen bàogao yi^2-ge hǎo-**xiāo**xi./ 我来给你们报告一个好消息。
S: tq, syllable /gào/ atonic at the end of a unit Vt followed by an object;
/bàogào/ (1/2) N report
c) /tā zhè-pian bàogào hěn-**kōng**dong./ 他这篇报告很空洞。
S: tt, syllable /gào/ pronounced prominent arses at the end of a subject (before a slight break); it may be tentatively assumed that the different placing of arses in b) and c) is due to different functional characteristics of the unit /bàogào/ in b) and c), although the rhythmical situations are analogous in some respects.

a) Tb tb tt tt tt
b) tq bq bq tq tb
c) tt bb tb tt tt

29) /huìjiàn/ 会见 (1/2) N encounter
a) /nà-shi yí-ci hěn-**bù**-píngfan$_2$-d huìjiàn./ 那是一次很不平凡的会见。
S: tt, syllable /jiàn/ prominent before a terminal break;
/huìjiàn/ (0/1) Vt to meet with
b) /nǐ-yào **shén**me-shihour huìjian-ta-ne?/ 你要什么时候儿会见他呢？
S: tq, syllable /jiàn/ atonic before a terminal break (appended atonic personal pronoun /tā/ together with neutral final particle /ne/ may be disregarded). It may be tentatively assumed that the different realizations in a) and b) of the unit /huìjiàn/, although in analogous situations, may be due to different functional characteristics of the unit /huìjiàn/ (appended atonic syllables /ta-ne/ in b) may also function as a weakening factor as far as the operation of end-arsis tendency is concerned).
a) tt tt tb tt bt
b) tq bq bq tq (bb)

Synopsis of the tone prominence realizations as to the second syllable of the 29 selected lexical units

No. 1–8. Prominent realizations (arses) before terminal or non-terminal breaks (No. 7–8 before other breaks) in comparison with less prominent realizations in various situations (arses are thrown on the first syllables).

No. 9–13. More prominent realizations before breaks (other than terminal or non-terminal) in comparison with less prominent realizations (the breaks, because of rhythm-integrating forces – fast tempo and less careful pronunciation – are eliminated and arses are thrown on the first syllables).

No. 14–15. Steadily atonic or less prominent realizations (in comparison with the prominence of the first syllables) even before terminal or non-terminal breaks.

No. 16–20. Strong variability of second syllable prominence and variability in the placing of arses before terminal breaks.

No. 22–25. Strong variability of second syllable prominence and variability in the placing of arses in units with functional characteristics Nt (functioning as temporal determinations) and A (adverbs).

No. 26 and 27 c. – Steadily strongly prominent realizations.

No. 27–29. Varying realizations and variability in the placing of arses according to varying tonality character related, as it may be assumed, to varying functional characteristics of the given units.

Synopsis of the realized rhythmical breaks

In the case of breaks at the end of sentences or grammatical clauses the coinciding of grammatical and rhythmical boundaries is more or less automatic. Much more intriguing is the occurrence of potential rhythmical breaks arising in a slow speech-tempo and careful pronunciation but, suppressed in response to integrating influences (especially fast and careless pronunciation). In our illustrative material these potential breaks (sometimes very slightly marked) arise after:

subject: No. 7 a, 8 b, 9 a, 10 a, 28 c;
units Nt functioning as temporal determinations: No 13a, 22 a, 23 a;
certain units A (adverbs): No. 24 a, 25 a;
object in the absolute position (at the head of a sentence): No. 11 a;
unit Vtc (transitive verb followed by an object-clause): No. 12 a.[13]

No breaks occur after:

nominal attribute before its head: No. 1 b;
unit Vt (transitive verb) before object: No. 2 a; 5 b;
unit Vv (modal verb) before following unit V (verb): No. 4 b, 6 b, 25 b
(here the expression /you zhiyuan/ has the same function as a unit Vv);
indirect object before direct object: 7 b, 8 a.

Varying morphemic tonality

The realizations or the second syllable tone prominence and its variability as observed In No. 1–13 of our illustrative material can be explained as determined by the final sum of realization situation factors (i.e. the sum of tone reinforcing and tone neutralizing factors). Taking into consideration the situation factors only, the explanation is not satisfactory in the following cases:

1) syllables /rén/, /lì/, /gào/ and /jiàn/ of the lexical units /kèrén/ N (No. 14 a, b), /shènglì/ N (No. 15 a, b), /bàogào/ V (No. 28 a) and /huìjiàn/ V (No. 29 b) resist the end-arsis tendency, i.e. they are pronounced as atonic syllables, or, if pronounced tonic, they are always less prominent than the first syllable of the given unit, ALTHOUGH THEY OCCUR BEFORE TERMINAL BREAKS;

2) the second syllables of the lexical units in No. 16–21 (always before a terminal break) are realized either as arses but also atonic or less prominent in comparison with the first syllable of the given unit: END-ARSIS TENDENCY SOMETIMES OPERATES, SOMETIMES IT DOES NOT;

3) the second syllables of the lexical units in No. 22–25 are also realized in a strongly variable way. It is difficult to account for this kind of variability e. g. ONLY by placing stress on or displacing it from the given lexical unit as a whole;

[13] The prominent realizations before terminal or non-terminal boundaries function also as a signal of the given boundary, before other breaks they may help to signal various members of the syntactical structure as such.

the second syllables of the lexical units /jīzǐr/ N (No. 26) and /zhìyuàn/ A (No. 27 c) are always tonally strongly prominent DESPITE the possibly occurring pressures of the FRONT-ARSIS tendency.

An analysis of a great many realizations of a great number of disyllabic lexical units[14] indicates that with regard to the second morpheme tonality two to seven types (according to the degree of the accuracy and reliability of the prominence realization predictability we aim at) of these units may be set up. The seven types (set up if a high degree of accuracy and reliability of predictability is aimed at) may each be always designated by two figures (figure "0" designates atonic pronunciation, figure "1" semi-tonic and figure "2" full tonic prominence) related to the most often realized degrees of the prominence of the second syllable (in connected speech, not in isolated pronunciation). The two figures refer to two basic situations: the figure placed first designates the usual – of course, not necessarily the only possible – realization, if the tone NEUTRALIZING factor or factors prevail; the figure placed second designates the usual – of course, not necessarily the only possible – realization, if the tone REINFORCING factor or factors prevail. Consequently, the figure placed second always designates more prominent or more conspicuous realization, even if the figures are the same.

The seven types are:

00: the second syllable is tonally neutral, i.e. in all realizations it is invariably atonic (in all remaining types the second syllable has to be considered as inherently tonal);

01: the second syllable is regularly atonic; even if it is pronounced tonic-under influence of tone-reinforcing factors – it is scarcely of any great prominence;[15]

0/1: the second syllable is regularly atonic or semi-tonic, often even resisting the end-arsis tendency; it is pronounced with greater prominence than the first syllable only occasionally;

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[14] The material is mainly that of the 3rd part of the *Introduction to Spoken Chinese* (*Úvod do hovorové čínštiny*). Only realizations in connected and spontaneous speech were taken into consideration, because isolated realizations, especially for demonstration purposes, are generally "distorted" by a very urgent END-ARSIS TENDENCY: the prominence of the second syllable practically always prevails over that of the first syllable, and consequently all disyllabic lexical units (except those with tonally neutral syllables as second morphemes) generally appear as a homogeneous body of structures.

[15] It seems that with many speakers in Peking many of the lexical units assigned in this paper to the type 01 should be classified as belonging to type 00. It must be remarked that practically it was only units with the second syllable tonally neutral – according to our findings – and designated as such ALSO in *Hanyu pinyin cihui* that were assigned here to type 00 (on the other hand, not necessarily all units of the form tq in *Hanyu pinyin cihui* were assigned by us to type 00).

For the regular or potential neutralizations of the second syllable vowel oppositions of the units belonging to types 01 and especially 00 see O. Švarný – Guan Mingzhe: Zum Problem der Differenzierung der unbetonten Silben im Peking-Dialekt (*ArOr* 34, 1966).

02: the second syllable is of strongly variable prominence according to the realization situation. Realizations with extreme increase and especially decrease of prominence on the second syllable are quite usual and sometimes apparently not determined by the sum of tone-reinforcing and tone-neutralizing factors. In cases of many individual units of this type various special rules governing occurrences of both extremes of prominence of the second syllable may be set up (e. g. /zhīdao/ – /bù-zhidào/, /kànjian…/ – /… méi-kan$_4$jiàn/ etc.). Relatively few units belong to this type.

12: the second syllable is of variable prominence according to the realization situation. Realizations with extreme increase or decrease of prominence of the second syllable often occur. Relatively few units belong to this type. (Type 12 is rather an auxiliary type; some of the individual units of this type might be possibly assigned to the type 02, others to the type 1/2).

1/2: the second syllable is of variable prominence according to the realization of the situation;

22: the second syllable is partly of variable prominence, nevertheless it is usually pronounced with equal or greater prominence than the first syllable even despite the tone-neutralizing factors.

As has already been remarked, it would always be possible to reduce the number of types.[16] Thus we may distinguish our type 00 (second syllable tonally neutral) as opposed to all other types; we may take types 00, 01 (the prominence of the FIRST syllable prevails over that of the second syllable) as opposed to the remaining types (the prominence of the SECOND syllable often or regularly prevails over the prominence of the first syllable); we may take types 02, 12, 1/2 as one group (VARIABLE prominence of the second syllable) against 00, 01, 0/1 on one hand and 22 on the other hand. By reducing the number of types, we may avoid the difficulty of deciding many dubious individual cases (namely to which type they belong); on the other hand, by joining several types together, the general vagueness of the predictability of the actual prominence realization increases.

In various dictionaries of Spoken Chinese and other pertinent literature the variability of syllabic tonicity and varying morphemic tonality are usually indicated only in certain indirect ways. Five dictionaries have been analyzed in this respect:

HPC (abbr. H) – *Hanyu pinyin cihui*

BQC (abbr. B) – Zhang Xunru: *Beijinghua qingsheng cihui*, Peking 1957

ISA (abbr. I) – B. Isajenko: *Opyt kitaysko-russkogo foneticheskogo slovarya*, Moscow 1957

KUR (abbr. K) – Kuraishi Takeshiro: *Ywanami Chugoku jiten*, Tokyo Ywanami 1966

DSC (abbr. D) – *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese* (Chinese to English), Yale University Press 1966

[16] According to our experience it is of no great use to increase the number of types. On the other hand, it might be also argued, that it is unnecessary to establish any types at all, as each individual unit should be described individually. We prefer such a procedure where certain general characteristics are described summarily (by establishing certain types) with only further individual characteristics being described individually.

Occasionally, as far as the disyllables assigned by us to types 00, 01, 0/1 were concerned, the following sources were consulted:

C – Yuen Ren Chao – Lien Sheng Yang: *Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1952

L – Lu Zhiwei: *Hanyu de goucifa*, Peking 1957

D (…) – *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese* (English to Chinese), Yale University Press 1966; by quoting the page within parentheses the "English to Chinese" part of this Dictionary is distinguished against its "Chinese to English" part.[17]

As a basis for a comparison of the above-mentioned Dictionaries H, B, I, K, D, 183 disyllabic lexical units were selected at random.

The comparison was based on the assumption that the different systems of marking prosodic features applied in these dictionaries might be compared according to the following "ideal" correspondences of forms (mutually corresponding forms are arranged in vertical columns:[18]

ISA	tq tb tt bt	i.e.	0 1 2 2!
KUR, DSC	tq tb tt tt	i.e.	0 1 2 2
BQC, HPC	tq tt tt tt	i.e.	0 2 2 2

The mutual correspondences sketched above are not always perfect when we compare the forms of the selected 183 units as given by the authors of the five Dictionaries. Discordant forms might be explained by the different criteria applied as to what is to be considered as prominent realization of tone, by varying sources of information (informants), etc.; surprisingly enough, most discrepancies can be

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[17] C occasionally indicates the so-called optional neutral tone by which the variability of syllabic tonicity or the varying morphemic tonality or both may be indicated. Variability of syllabic tonicity is well known to the authors of DSC (English to Chinese): the marking of tones and "stresses" of individual lexical units here is not always identical in the cases of isolated items and of the same units occurring in connected speech. It also occurs that the marking of "stresses" of one and the same lexical unit in various isolated occurrences is not always the same. Contrary to DSC (English to Chinese) the syllabic tonicity variability is unknown or at least not indicated in KUR: the prosodic forms of isolated units and the prosodic forms of units occurring in connected speech are always identical here.

In Chinese sources HPC, BQC, C, L only presumably tonally neutral morphemes, and sometimes also "optional neutral tone," are specifically indicated. In ISA, KUR, DSC the presumably tonal syllables are occasionally further differentiated by stress marks.

BQC is basically a dictionary of the so-called "trochees" (units of the form tq). According to our experience and as far as the second morphemes of disyllables are concerned, BQC almost completely lists both tonally neutral and tonal, in Peking regularly atonic, morphemes (as far as we were able to check, only a few cases of "trochees" are not recorded in BQC, e. g. units with atonic syllables /`yi`/). Therefore it may be deduced that disyllabic structures not included in BQC have to be considered as being tonic in both syllables, according to the author of BQC.

[18] Letters t, b, q of forms tt, tb, tq etc. indicate: t – tonic syllables in H, B and "stressed" tonic syllables in I, K, D; b – "unstressed" tonic syllables in I, K, D; q – atonic syllables in all the dictionaries. Forms tq, tb, tt, bt are also represented by numerical symbols: tq = 0, tb = 1, tt = 2, bt = 2! Symbols 0, 1, 2, 2! are used in order to facilitate an approximative comparison of the forms tq, tb, tt, bt given in dictionaries with the symbols of our types of varying morphemic tonality 00, 01, 0/1, 02, 12, 1/2, 22.

easily explained by taking into consideration the variability of syllabic tonicity as well as the varying morphemic tonality.

First of all, the selected 183 disyllables were checked according to our criteria as to the varying character of the second morpheme tonality and then arranged accordingly into seven groups. Then each of the 183 units in the following list was confronted with the following:

the forms found in ISA and KUR in this order; the mark of dash " – " indicates that the unit is not listed in ISA or KUR;

the forms 0 (i.e. tq) and 1 (i.e. tb) found in DSC (Chinese to English); if there is no indication of DSC form it is understood that the unit is either given form 2 (i.e. tt) or is not listed in DSC;

the forms 0 (i.e. tq) and 1 (i.e. tb) found in DSC (English to Chinese; only isolated realizations are given, page is indicated in parentheses); only occasional references;

the forms 0 (i.e. tq) found in C and L; only occasional references;

the forms given in HPC, BQC and DSC (Chinese to English, in this case for types 1/2 and 22 only) are indicated summarily for each group.

(Asterisk * refers to a note at the end of each list.)

The comparison between the realization forms (tq, tt etc.) given in the dictionaries and our tonality types is based on the assumption that it might be possible to draw the following approximative equations between our tonality types and the dictionaries forms:

Type 00 – tq (form 0)
01 – tq or tb (form 0 or 1)
0/1 – tb (form 1); occasionally tq (form 0) or tt (form 2), the latter (tq, tt) necessarily so, if the degree of "b" is not applied
02 – variable forms from tq to bt (forms 0 to 2!)
12 – variable forms from tb to bt (forms 1 to 2!)
1/2 – tt (form 2); occasionally tb or bt (forms 1 or 2!), if the degree of "b" and the form "bt" are applied
22 – bt (form 2!) or tt (form 2), the latter necessarily so, if the form "bt" is not applied

No variability is implied in the forms given in the dictionaries, whereas our types, on the contrary, precisely designate VARYING tonality. Consequently, partially varying form correspondences to all our types, are necessarily to be expected with the exception of the type 00; in the case of types 12 and especially 02 (types with a strongly variable second morpheme prominence) great variability of forms is "required" as a confirmation of the necessity to establish these types.

List of 183 disyllabic lexical units

Type 00 HPC: all units have form 0.
BQC: all units (except No. 7, 20) are listed, i.e. form 0 is indicated.

1	/búshi/	不是	0	0	D:0	L:0	N	mistake, fault
2	/dìfang/	地方	0	0			N	place
*3	/dìxia/	地下	0	0			f. N1	on the ground
4	/dōngjia/	东家	2	0			N	owner, landlord
5	/dōngxi/	东西	0	0	D:0	C:0	N	thing
6	/háishi/	还是	0	1	D:0		A(q)	or
7	/jiāshi/	家什	–	1			N	small household things
8	/jiějie/	姐姐	0	0	D:0		N	elder sister
9	/máogu/	毛咕	–	0			Vi	nervous, fluttered
10	/míngbai/	明白	1	0	D:0		Vt	understand
*11	/nánren/	男人	0	0	D:1		N	man
12	/niángrmen/	娘儿们	0	0			N	(slang) woman
13	/nǚren/	女人	1	0	D:1		N	woman
14	/rénjia/	人家	2	0	D:0		N	people, somebody
15	/ tàitai/	太太	0	0	D:0		N	lady, “Mrs”
16	/xiáojie/	小姐	2	1	D:0		N	young lady, “Miss”
17	/xuésheng/	学生	0	0	D:0		N	student
18	/wǎjiang/	瓦匠	–	0	D:0		N	bricklayer
19	/yánshai/	颜色	–	0			N	dye, colouring matter
20	/yérmen/	爷儿们	0	0			N	(slang) man
21	/zuōfang/	作坊	–	0		C:0	N	workshop
22	/zuójian/	作践	–	0			Vt	to spoil
23	/zuóliaor/	作料	–	1		C:0	N	spices
*24	/zuòweir/	坐位儿	–	1			N	seat

3) K, H list as a different unit /dìxià/ N1 “underground” (K: form 1, H: form 2).
11) K, H differentiate two meanings: “man (= husband)” and “man (= person of male sex)”; in the latter meaning they have form 2.
13) K, K differentiate two meanings: “wife” and “woman (= a person of female sex)”; in the latter meaning they have form 2.
24) See also No. 59 /zuòwèi/; K gives form 1 for both units (or for both meanings) and optional erization.

Type 01 HPC: all units have form 2 (No. 38 not listed).
BQC: all units (except No. 25, 30, 38, 52, 53, 58) are listed, i.e. form 0 is indicated.

25	/chéngrén/	成人	– 2			N	adult
26	/chéngsè/	成色	– 1			N	percentage (of gold)
27	/dàngzuò/	当作	0 1			V	to regard as
28	/dìwèi/	地位	0 1			N	post, position
29	/dōngdào/	东道	– 2			N	host
30	/fánshì/	凡是	0 1	D:0		D	every
31	/fāzuò/	发作	– 2			Vi	to break out
32	/gèrén/	个人	1 1			N	private person
33	/gèxìng/	个性	– 1	D:1		N	individuality, outstanding personal characteristics
34	/gōngkè/	功课	– 2			N	school homework
35	/gōngrén/	工人	0 1	D:0	C:0	N	worker
36	/gōngyè/	工业	0 2	D:2		N	industry
37	/hǎorén/	好人	– 1			N	good man
38	/jiǎosè/	角色	– 1			N	role
39	/jiàozuò/	叫做	1 1			Va	to be called, to be named
						Vta	to call, to name
40	/mùdì/	目的	0 2	D:0	D:(785):1	N	goal
41	/niánjì/	年纪	0 0	D:0		N	age
42	/nóngrén/	农人	– 1			N	farmer, peasant
43	/nóngyè/	农业	– 1			N	agroculture
44	/qǐngqiú/	请求	– 1			Vt	to beg
45	/qìsè/	气色	– 1			N	face expression
*46	/shēnghuó/	生活	2! 2	D:2	D(701):1	Vi	to live, N life
*47	/xiǎorén/	小人	– 0			N	a mean person
48	/xuéxí/	学习	1 0			Vi	to learn
49	/yānmò/	淹没	– 1			Vi	to flood
50	/yánsè/	颜色	0 0			N	colour
51	/yàobù/	要不	– 1			I	otherwise
52	/yàoshì/	要是	0 1	D:1		I	if
53	/yīshēng/	一生	0 1			N	doctor
54	/zhìqì/	志气	– 1			N	ambition
55	/zhìxiàng/	志向	– 0	D:0	D(647):1	N	wish, intention
56	/zhōudào/	周到	2 0	D:1		Vi	careful, thorough
57	/zhōujì/	周济	– 2	L:0		Vt	help, to give charity
58	/zǒngshì/	总是	0 1	C:0		A	always
59	/zuòwèi/	座位	1 1			N	sitting place

46) K has form 2 as well as form 0.
47) K differentiates two forms (2 and 0) with different meanings.
48) /xuéxí/ N “indoctrination” often has form 2 and has probably to be assigned to the type 02.

Type 0/1 HPC: all units have form 2 (except No. 61: form 0; units No. 63, 78, 86, 87, 88 are not listed).

BQC: only No. 84 is listed, i.e. only No. 84 form 0 is indicated.

60	/bái-shǒu/	白手	– 2			F. A	empty-handed
*61	/bái-tiān/	白天	1 0	D:0		f. Nt	in broad daylight
62	/bái-zhǒng/	白种	– –			N	white face
63	/déguó/	德国	– –			Nl	Germany
*64	/dìfāng/	地方	– 2			us. f. attr.	local
65	/dìzhǐ/	地址	– 2			N	address
66	/dōngfāng/	东方	0 1			Nl	East
67	/fǎngwèn/	访问	2! 2			Vt	to visit
68	/fùyǒu/	富有	– 2			Ve	to have in abundance
69	/gēnběn/	根本	2 2			N	origin A fundamentally
70	/gōngzhěng/	工整	– 2			Vi	exact
71	/guójiā/	国家	1 2			N	state
72	/huòsè/	货色	– 2			N	quality (of goods)
73	/huángzhǒng/	黄种	– –			N	yellow race
74	/juésè/	角色	– –			N	role
75	/liǎnsè/	脸色	0 2	D:2	D(524):1	N	face expression
76	/máolì/	毛利	– –			N	gross profit
77	/máozhòng/	毛重	– 2			N	gross weight
78	/měiguó/	美国	– –			Nl	United States of America
79	/mùgōng/	木工	– 2			N	carpenter
*80	/shēngshǒu/	生手	– 2			N	greenhorn
81	/tārén/	他人	– 2			N	another person
82	/tǔhuà/	土话	– 2			N	local dialect
83	/wǎgōng/	瓦工	– 2			N	bricklayer
*84	/wèntí/	问题	1 1			N	question, problem
85	/xīfāng/	西方	1 2			Nl	West
86	/yīngguó/	英国	– –			Nl	England
87	/zhōngguó/	中国	– –		C:0	Nl	China
88	/zhōucháo/	周朝	– –			Nt	Zhou Dynasty

89	/zuòjiā/	作家	– 2	D:1			N	writer, author
90	/zuòpǐn/	作品	1 2				N	work (literary, artistic)

61) In B not listed, I has form 1, but K, H, D all have form 0.
64) I has only /dìfang/ (form 0) N "place".
80) K has erization.
84) K has both form 1 and form 2.

Type 02 HPC: all units have form 2.
BQC: all units, except No. 92, are listed, i.e. form 0 is indicated.

91	/běnlái/	本来	0 1	D:2			I	originally
92	/gōngmín/	公民	– 2				N	citizen
93	/gōngzuò/	工作	2 1	D:2	C:0	D(647):1	Vi	to work, N work
*94	/zhǔzhāng/	主张	2! 2				Vtc N	to contend, to advocate contention, advocacy

94) As B indicates form 0 contrasting with 2! (ISA) and 2 (KUR), further investigation might indicate that a differentiation according to functional characteristics might be appropriate: /zhǔzhāng/ N type 12, /zhǔzhāng/ Vtc type 01.

Type 12 HPC: all units have form 2.
BQC: no unit is listed.

95	/díquè/	的确	2! 2		A	indeed
96	/mínzú/	民族	2! 2		N	nationality
97	/nóngmín/	农民	1 2		N	farmer, peasant
98	/rénmín/	人民	1 2		N	people
99	/shífēn/	十分	1 2		A	altogether, very
100	/wángguó/	王国	– 2		N	kingdom
101	/zhōumì/	周密	– 2	D:1	Vi	detailed, careful
102	/zǔguó/	祖国	2 2	D(675):1	N	native country, fatherland

Type 1/2 HPC: all units have form 2 (No. 109, 110 are not listed).
BQC: no unit listed.
DSC: no unit has form 0 or form 1.

*103	/báihuà/	白话	– 2	N	spoken language
*104	/bùrán/	不然	2! 2	I	otherwise
105	/dàdì/	大地	– 2	N	great earth, open country
106	/dàjiě/	大姐	– 2	N	eldest sister
107	/dàzuò/	大作	– –	Vi	to break out violently
108	/dìqiú/	地球	– 2	N	globe
109	/díwǒ/	敌我	– –	N	enemy and us
110	/dìzhái/	地宅	– –	N	mansion, house
111	/dúbái/	独白	– –	N	spoken monologue (in Chinese opera)
112	/duìbái/	对白	– 2	N	spoken dialogue (in Chinese opera)
113	/èrgē/	二哥	– –	N	second elder brother
114	/èrjiě/	二姐	– –	N	second elder sister
115	/èrxīn/	二心	– –	N	insincerity
116	/fùnóng/	富农	– 2	N	rich peasant
117	/guóqí/	国旗	– 2	N	state flag
*118	/kēxué/	科学	2 2	N	science
119	/kòngbái/	空白	– 2	N	blank space
120	/lìzhì/	立志	– 2	(v-n)	to make up one's mind
121	/màidì/	麦地	– 2	N	wheat field
122	/méndì/	门第	– 2	N	family social status
123	/míngē/	民歌	– 2	N	folk song
124	/mòshōu/	没收	2! 2	Vt	to confiscate
125	/nánshēng/	男生	– 2	N	student of male sex
126	/nǚshēng/	女生	– 2	N	student of female sex
127	/pínnóng/	贫农	– 2	N	poor peasant
*128	/rénjiā(r)/	人家(儿)	– 1	N	family, household
129	/shēnglù/	生路	– 2	N	life, route to life
130	/shēngtiě/	生铁	– 2	N	cast iron
131	/shūfǎ/	书法	– 2	N	way of writing
132	/shùzhǒng(r)/	树种(儿)	– 2	N	seed of tree
133	/tóngyì/	同意	– 2	(v-n)	to consent, to agree
134	/xiāngtóng/	相同	2! 2	Vi	the same
*135	/xiǎorénr/	小人儿	– –	N	little man (a small figure or picture)
136	/xiǎoxué/	小学	2! 2	N	elementary school

137	/xīcān/	西餐	– 2	N	western food
138	/xīfú/	西服	– 2	N	western clothes
139	/zhèngshū/	证书	– 2	N	written document
*140	/zhìyuàn/	志愿	– 2	N	wish, intention
141	/zhōngjiān/	中间	1 2	Nl	in the middle
142	/zhǒnglèi/	种类	– 1	N	various kinds
143	/zhōngnóng/	中农	– 2	N	peasant of middle means
144	/zhōngxué/	中学	1 2	N	high school
145	/zhǒngzú/	种族	– 2	N	race (human)

103) K, B list /báihua/ (form 0) with a different meaning.
104) /bùrán/ in I has the form qt. Only a few expressions in I with the first morpheme /bù/ (as in /bùrán/) and /yǐ/ (as in /yǐqián/, /yǐhòu/) have this form.
118) K, B also list /kēxue/ (form 0) in another meaning.
128) See also No. 14 /rénjia/ (type 00).
135) I, K list /xiǎorénr/ in another meaning.
140) See also No. 117 /zhìyuàn/ (type 22).

Type 22 HPC: all units have form 2 (No. 172 not listed).
BQC: no unit is listed.
DSC: no unit has form 0 or form 1.

*146	/bàgōng/	罢工	2! 2	v-n	to strike
147	/dāngzhōng/	当中	– 2	Mpn	in the middle
148	/dìzhèn/	地震	2! 2	N	earthquake
149	/émáo/	鹅毛	– –	N	goose feathers
150	/fángdōng/	房东	– 2	N	owner of the house
151	/gōnghuì/	工会	2! 2	N	labour union
152	/guónèi/	国内	– 2	Nl	at home, in one's country
153	/guówài/	国外	– 2	Nl	abroad
154	/guówáng/	国王	– 2	N	king
155	/kè-shuì/	课税	– 2		to levy taxes
156	/kèwài/	课外	– 2	Nl	extracurricular
157	/mínquán/	民权	– 2	N	people's rights, civil rights
158	/shàng-kè/	上课	– 2		to go to school
159	/shíjiànr/	什件儿	– 2	N	giblets
160	/shǒuxiān/	首先	2! 2	I	first of all
161	/tóngchē/	同车	– –	(v-n)	to go by the same train
*162	/tóngshì/	同事	– –	N	colleague
163	/tóngxiāng/	同乡	2! 2	N	countryman

164	/tóngxué/	同学	2! 2	N	schoolmate
*165	/tǔdì/	土地	1 2	N	land, soil
*166	/wángōng/	完工	2! 2	v-n	to finish work
167	/xià-kè/	下课	– 2		to go from school
168	/xiānliè/	先烈	– 2	N	dead hero
169	/xiáo'ǎor/	小袄儿	– 2	N	small jacket
170	/xiǎohái(r)/	小孩(儿)	2! 2	N	child
171	/xuéxiào/	学校	2! 2	N	school
172	/yāmáo/	鸭毛	– –	N	duck feathers
173	/yángmáo/	羊毛	– 2	N	wool of sheep
174	/yìtóng/	一同	2! 2	A	together
175	/yuánzhōu/	圆周	– 2	N	circle (circumference)
176	/zhàngběn/	账本	– 2	N	accounting book
*177	/zhìyuàn/	志愿	– –	A	of one's free will
178	/zhōnghuá/	中华	– –	us. f. attr.	Chinese
179	/zhōngjiànr/	中间儿	– –	Nl	in the middle
*180	/zhōngxīn/	中心	1 2	N	center
181	/zhǔxí/	主席	2! 2	N	chairman
182	/zhùzhái/	住宅	2! 2	N	residence
*183	/zuògōng/	做工	2! 2	v-n	to work

146) the verb-object constructions as /bàgōng/, /wángōng/ or /zuògōng/ are transcribed as I in the form /bā↔bā/. It may be safely assumed that this form has to be interpreted as form 2!. Besides /bà↔gōng/ "to strike" I also lists /bàgōng/ N "strike" in form 2.
162) K lists /tóngshì/ in the meaning "to be colleague".
165) K, B, H list also as a separate entry /tǔdì/ N "deity of soil": K form 1; B, H form 0.
166) See above Note 146.
177) See also No. 140 /zhìyuàn/ (type 1/2).
180) I lists two separate entries: /zhōngxīn/ "centre" (form 1) and /zhōngxīn/ "heart, soul" (form 2!).
183) See above Note 146.

Taking all the correspondences between various forms, and also the correspondences between the forms and our types, AS A WHOLE and with due regard to the variability of syllabic tonicity and varying morphemic tonality, it is clear that there is a good deal of regularity, that certain individual features of various dictionaries may be ascertained, and a majority of apparently contradictory forms explained. The overall correspondences are given on Fig. 2. The figures given with each individual type there indicate the total number of the units assigned by us to the given type; the figures in parentheses indicate the total number of the respective units occurring

in the given dictionary and the figures proper of the table indicate the number of units of specific forms given in each dictionary. For types 1/2 and 22, occurrences in DSC, BQC and HPC are left out, as they may be indicated summarily (BQC: no occurrences, i.e. indirect indication of form 2; DSC, HPC: all occurrences have form 2).

ISA	tq	tb	tt	bt
KUR, DSC	tq	tb	tt	
BQC, HPC	tq	tt		

Type 00 : 24						**Type 02** : 4					
ISA	(16)	11	2	3	0	ISA	(3)	1	0	1	1
KUR	(24)	19	5	0		KUR	(4)	0	2	2	
DSC	(12)	10	2	0		DSC	(2)	0	0	2	
BQC	(22)	22	0			BQC	(3)	3	---		
HPC	(24)	24	0			HPC	(4)	0	4		
Type 01 : 35						**Type 12** : 8					
ISA	(17)	11	4	1	1	ISA	(6)	0	2	2	2
KUR	(35)	6	21	8		KUR	(8)	0	0	8	
DSC	(10)	5	3	2		DSC	(2)	0	1	1	
BQC	(29)	29	---			BQC	(0)	0	---		
HPC	(34)	0	34			HPC	(8)	0	8		
Type 0/1 : 31						**Type 1/2** : 43					
ISA	(9)	2	5	1	1	ISA	(7)	0	2	1	4
KUR	(22)	1	2	19		KUR	(35)	0	2	33	
DSC	(2)	0	1	2		**Type 22** : 38					
BQC	(1)	1	---			ISA	(15)	0	2	0	13
HPC	(26)	1	25			KUR	(31)	0	0	31	

Fig. 3: Correspondences between types and forms

Comparison between the dictionary forms and our types and characteristic features of individual dictionaries

ISA: types 00 and 01 are confirmed by a great majority of forms tq (and a certain number of forms tb), but they are not distinguished in this dictionary as two separate groups;
type 0/1 is confirmed by a majority of forms tb (and a certain number of forms tq);
types 1/2, 02, 12 are all indirectly confirmed by a strong variability of forms;
type 22 is confirmed by a great majority of forms bt.

Note: ISA is the only dictionary to confirm directly type 22 as a separate group against 1/2 (or perhaps also 02, 12) because in other dictionaries applying the degree of "b" only form "tb", but no form "bt" is used.

KUR: type 00 is confirmed by a great majority of forms tq;
type 01 is confirmed by a majority of forms tb as a distinct group from both 00 and 0/1;
types 0/1, 1/2, 12, 22 are mutually not clearly distinguished because in all these types forms tt are strongly predominant (although less so in type 0/1 than in type 1/2 – in types 12, 22 the form tt is the only one to occur);
type 02 is indirectly confirmed by the variability of forms.

Note: ISA and KUR are complementary: KUR distinguishes types 00 and 01 but neglects distinctions 0/1, 1/2, 12, 22 whereas ISA neglects distinctions 00, 01, but distinguishes 0/1, 1/2-12 and 22.

DSC: types 00, 01 are mutually not clearly distinguished (although it may be noted that the percentage of forms tq is much greater in 00 than 01), but they are clearly set off against 1/2, 22 which in their turn are mutually distinguished.

Note: The number of units of our types 0/1, 02, 12 occurring in DSC is not sufficient enough to allow to draw any conclusions.

BQC: distinctions 00, 01 are not confirmed but the units assigned by us to these two types are clearly set off as one group against 0/1 (only one occurrence of such a unit in BQC), 1/2, 22 (no occurrence of such units in BQC). As far as type 02 is concerned, it is interesting to note that three cases out of the total number of four are listed in BQC, i.e. they are given the form tq.

HPC: type 00 is set off against all the other types in HPC (only one unit occurs with form tq assigned by us to another type than 00), which in their turn are mutually not distinguished.[19]

[19] It is interesting to check the occurrences of the forms contradictory to our expectations. Thus e.g. forms tt given in ISA for No. 4, 14, 16 are all "corrected" by other Dictionaries which all give forms tq. On the other hand, the varying forms given with No. 46 /shēnghuó/ (0/1) might indicate that the body of the realizations, on the basis of which we have made our generalization about type 0/1 of the unit /shēnghuó/, was not sufficiently representative; however an explanation of the usage of our informant being different from that of the other sources might be admitted as well.

As far as the assignment of an individual unit to this or that type of second morpheme tonality

We may conclude by contributing some suggestions regarding the phonetic writing of disyllabic lexical units. It is out of the question that the variability of tone prominence reflecting the varying realization situations as well as all the numerous types of varying morphemic tonality should be marked in any transcription system of Chinese except for didactic or research purposes. If certain prosodic features are to be indicated in the official "pinyin" script (at least for certain purposes), the only possibility seems to be to write the tone marks and leave them out in certain cases of the second morphemes and it might well be recommended to adopt the system as applied in HPC or rather a compromise between HPC and other dictionaries (i.e. to enlarge the number of units given the form tq in HPC by some other units given uniformly the form tq or tq alternating with tb in other dictionaries). If a greater accuracy is aimed at, an "optional neutral tone" mark could be used in the case of the second morpheme of disyllables of our types 0/1, 02. Except for didactic and research purposes, as mentioned above, no additional "stress" marks are recommended, for using "stress" marks would necessarily involve a variability of the graphic form of one and the same lexical unit reflecting the variability of the realization situation which seems unacceptable.

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is concerned, we must be prepared to accept also certain variability (various idiolects, dialectical influences etc.), at least in some cases.

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THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PROSODIC FEATURES IN CHINESE (PEKINESE)

Abstract: *This paper generalizes the results of an analysis – documented in a number of examples – that was published seventeen years ago in the article "Variability of Tone Prominence in Chinese (Pekinese). Some Remarks Concerning the Reform of Chinese Script" (In Černý, Václav A.: Asian and African Languages in Social Context. Prague 1974, pp. 127–186.) and linked the phenomenon of syllables tonicity in Chinese with linguistic prosody in general. A deeper generalization is carried out when the seven types of accentuation in the disyllabic units is joined into two, i.e. iamb and spondee groups. The analysis also describes the tonicity of trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words in Chinese, mentioning the cretic, respectively choriamb, rhythms being the most frequent followed by ascendent and descendent rhythms. In the conclusion, the paper introduces an explanation of the principles employed in the transcription, which would enable us to mark all the phenomena described.*

Key words: *phonology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), seven types of tonicity, prosody of Chinese*

Introductory remark

In this short survey we want to present some results of our investigation concerning the functioning of the prosodic features in Chinese (Pekinese). We deal especially with the rhythmical structure of colloquial language. Our results are based on a statistical analysis of the sentence exemplificatory material of the Dictionary of the most frequent monosyllabic sememes (*yǔsù*[1] 语素) of Chinese (further only: DFM).[1] DFM treats about 1,700 most frequent Chinese characters with regard to their functioning as one or more monosyllabic sememes, free or bound (i.e. lexeme or morpheme) functioning of these mon. sememes, their functioning and versatility as morphemes (components of disyllabic and more than disyllabic lexemes of the language) etc. The other task of DFM is to study the prosodic qualities of these sememes as lexemes or morphemes, in order to integrate these phonetic features

[1] For Modern Chinese we draw a distinctive line between the term monosyllabic morpheme as a component part of disyllabic or more than disyllabic lexemes (compounds) and the term (monosylabic) semene – *yǔsù*. Monosyllabic sememe as the basic smallest segmental semantic unit of the language may function either as monosyllabic lexeme only (very small number of mon. sememes), or either as monosyllabic lexeme as well as morpheme (the majority of mon. sememes) or as morpheme only. There occur in Chinese also a few disyllabic or more than disyllabic sememes – *yǔsù*, that are of very low frequency and are considered here simply as disyllabic or polysyllabic lexemes (or morphemes) of unknown inner structure. The only non-segmental sememe functioning as morpheme only is the so called erization, marked -r儿. Cp. also the paper by Yin Binyong. *Hanyu yusu de dingliang yanjiu* in the periodical Zhongguo yuwen 1984/5, pp. 338–347 (abbreviated: YBY).

into the grammatical handling of the mon. sememes (we are especially concerned with the varying degrees of the syllabic tone prominence of mon. sememes both as lexemes or morphemes as elements and factors of rhythm). The impetus to this kind of complex grammatical, lexicological and phonetic study of Chinese colloquial material was given by the late Prof. J. Průšek as director of the Oriental Institute of Prague in the fifties on similar grounds, which were expressed quite recently by Jerry Norman in this way: "In the absence of any well-defined phonological criteria for distinguishing words from phrase, this has made it difficult to draw a hard and fast boundary between morphology and syntax in Chinese. This question has undoubtedly been one of the most vexed problems in Modern Chinese grammar, but it is also one of its most urgent tasks because of its practical implications…" (J. Norman, Chinese. Cambridge University Press 1988, p. 156) As far as J. Norman's statement about "absence of any well defined phonological criteria" is concerned, we dare to say that much help in this direction can be obtained by application of the methods of quantitative linguistics in the study of the rhythmical structure of Chinese.

The findings about grammatical and lexicological properties of the mon. sememes, represented by about 1,700 characters treated in DFM, are documented and elucidated by about 14,000 exemplifications in colloquial style (sentences or short conversations of the average length of about 12 characters). This exemplificatory material was recorded on magnetic tapes from May to September in the year 1969, the speaker was Tang Yunling Rusková from Peking (the tapes are deposited with the author). Analyzing the speech recorded on the tapes, there was discovered a slight (rather unconscious) acceleration of the speech tempo from about 192 millisec. of the average duration of a syllable at the beginning to about 166 millisec. reached towards the end of the recording. This accidental circumstance proved then very important and useful in the analysis of the rhythmical structure of the recorded material as a whole.

DFM, the compiling of which was closely inspected and encouraged by Prof. Průšek until his forced retirement, was prepared for publication in the second half of the seventies. For many reasons, the authors were unable to influence or cope with, the publication of DFM was delayed; however, we were not prevented by this from going on with the quantitative study of various elements of the rhythmical structure of Chinese just on hand of the recorded material prepared for DFM; some results of this study are presented here.

1.

The phoneme-segmental stratum as basis for the realization of prosodic (suprasegmental) features as elements of rhythm are in Chinese (Pekinese) syllables (rarely occurring as independent units of the rhythmical structure), binary sequences of syllables, various structures arising by combinations of syllabic binaries with remaining "odd" monosyllables (proclitical, enclitical or attached to the syl. binaries

in some other way) and higher, already rhythmically organized structures (i.e. at least with two quantitative ictuses scanning rhythmically in this or other way).

Functioning of the prosodic features on the grammatical level concerns monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic and more than tetrasyllabic lexemes, syntagms, clauses and sentences.

On the semantic level we are concerned with tones (in tone languages), "melody accent" (in languages like Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Lithuanian or Scandinavian languages), lexeme and sentence stress, emphasis and emotivity.

The prosodic features proper are quantity, audiowave amplitude (intensity) and voice pitch (pitch register and pitch contours). The distinctive feature for expressing syllable prominence in Chinese is syllable quantity as a necessary precondition for more or less full realization of tone.

There are strict limitations imposed upon the syllable structure in Modern Chinese.[2] In Xiandai Hanyu cidian 现代汉语词典 (Peking 1979) we count only 428 segmentally distinguished syllables; if we subtract 17 syllables of onomatopoic character, interjections, forms of dialectal or obsolete isolated units, dialectal contractions and variants and forms used as final particles only (*chuā*, *diǎ*, *ê*, *ēng*, *fiào*, *hm*, *hng*, *·lo*, *·ne*, *n*, *ng*, *nòu*, *o*, *ruá*, *tēi*, *yo*, *zhèi*) we obtain 412 syllables. As not all of these 412 syllables occur in all four tones (1st tone is lacking in 62 segmental syllabic forms, 2nd tone in 134, 3rd in 78 an 4th in 49 ones), we obtain a figure of 1325 admissible syllabic forms. If we compare this number of 1325 with the number of more than 4,800 mon. sememes – *yǔsù* of Chinese, represented by 4,213 Chinese characters (according to YBY,[3] p. 345), the phenomenon of eventual great homophony of large groups of mon. sememes is obvious.

When we analyzed our recorded text, we found out, that about 30 % of all syllables are atonic, i.e. short syllables deprived of any distinctive tone. Among atonic syllables there are toneless syllables – about half of them – representing monosyllabic lexemes (in this case lexemes of various auxiliary grammatical functions) as well as morphemes, that are never pronounced with any distinctive tone (if occasionally lengthened, the pitch register and contour are determined by intonational factors, not by distinctive tones, although their contours may remind us of them), the vocalic distinctions with many units being partly or altogether neutralized – the final result of this neutralization is then a very short mid-mixed vowel; the other half of atonic syllables represent monosyllabic lexemes (mostly again representing units of other

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[2] The syllables in Chinese are only of CV type: the onset consonant is often absent, which induces modifications of the "medial" vocalic elements (becoming thus "initial"): *-i-*, *-u-*, *-ü-* → *y-*, *w-* and *yu-*; final *-n*, *-ng* are no explosive consonants, but rather nasal elements analogous to final *-i*, *-o* of the dipthongs *ai*, *ou*.

There are no quantity distinctions between syllables of different segmental structure (thus e. g. syllables e, mi, chuang are equally long) nor – in connected speech, when occuring under the same prosodic circumstances – between syllables with different tones. In this way syllable quantity is free to be assigned the prominence role.

[3] See no 1. Absence of final consonants makes possible very close juncture between the tonal syllables and the enclitical atonic ones.

types of auxiliary or synsematic character) or morphemes, that in the given prosodic situation and environment are deprived of tone (altogether or almost altogether), but in other prosodic situation and environment more or less easily regain their original inherent tone (the vocalic distinctions of these units are usually kept even in the atonic pronunciation).

The atonic syllables often occur also in sequences of two, less often three syllables (occasionally there occur sequences of even four atonic syllables); from the whole number of atonic syllables about 20 % of them occur in such sequences.

Thus we are confronted with the following facts: great frequency of occurrence of short atonic syllables; close coalescing of tonal syllables with the following atonic syllables (or sequences of atonic syllables); the pitch contours of the tonal single syllables – these occur rather seldom in natural fluent speech – are identical with those of disyllabic or more than disyllabic groups, formed by tonal syllables followed by short enclitical atonic or sequences of atonic syllables; far reaching modifications of tone contours (especially abrasion of onset or coda parts) in close combination of tonal syllables.[4] In view of all this instead of describing the distinctive features of tones on hand of isolated syllables we describe them on hand of ***disyllabic structures*** with the second syllable atonic (we choose at best a toneless one). The physiological features of syllable onset and coda – this latter realized on the appended atonic syllable – start and end for all tones near the neutral mid level of the voice. The location of the amplitude peak of the voice is correlated with the highest point of pitch of the tonal syllable; with the 4th, 1st and 2nd tone ***it is never located on the onset or coda***. With the 4th tone it is located at the beginning, with the 2nd tone at the end of the main body of the tonal syllable and with the 1st tone it is distributed over the whole tonal syllable (it has to be noted, that the onset of the 2nd tone forms a characteristic "scooping" shape of the contour and the high peak of this tone does not rest on the coda but immediately ***before*** it).

The third tone is in sharp opposition to all three remaining tones: the tonal syllable ***lacks*** any amplitude or pitch peak at all (on the contrary, at the middle of the tonal syllable the voice vibrations often degenerate) but it is the ***onset part and coda*** (this latter located on the atonic or last of the sequence of atonic syllables) that may be relatively loud and of high pitch. All these phenomena of onset and coda do not belong to the distinctive features of the third tone (these are a concave shape of the contour realized in low register), but make them conspicuous by contrast.

The pronunciation of isolated tonal syllables is explained in such a way that the physiological coda phenomena are transferred from the appended atonic syllable to the tonal syllable itself. (Cp. a similar description of the pronunciation of the Swedish "acute" accent first on hand of disyllables and only then on monosyllables.)

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[4] In teaching praxis the best way of learning the pronunciation of tones is not training the pronunciation of isolated syllables, but learning simply all the twenty possible disyllabic combinations of syllables (each tone with each tone = 16 combinations, two of them being identical – and tonal syllable with atonic one = 4 combinations), as if the 20 pitch contours of these combinations were single pitch contours.

On the lexeme level the description of the functioning of the prosodic features is somewhat different from that concerning the "word stress" of European languages. We are first of all concerned with the accentuation of Chinese disyllabic lexemes; the "accentuation" of trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic and more than tetrasyllabic lexemes is basically derived from the accentuation of the disyllables occurring as their component parts. As the realizations of the rhythmical pattern of disyllabic lexemes are variable (ictus – i.e. greater quantity – shifts from the first to the second syllable and vice versa, except for lexemes of the so called accentuation type o with the second syllable toneless), we have to resort to quantitative methods to grasp this variability. Therefore, we are concerned not only with lexemes-types (i.e. lexemes as dictionary entries), but also and first of all with all occurrences of all lexemes investigated in a large body of text: in other words, we are concerned in the following with lexemes – tokens.

Disyllabic lexemes of the accent. type o as lexemes – types are not very numerous, but they are of a very high frequency, as they constitute in colloquial style about 30 % or more of all disyllabic lexemes occurrences. In all other disyllabic lexemes the second syllable is tonal, but it is in various lexemes of unequal stability and resistance against rhythmical tendencies in the direction of weakening or loss of tone. Roughly speaking the syllable is the more resistant, the more its original semantic content and the original syntactic relation of both components of the disyllabic lexeme is still alive; vice versa, it is the more liable to weakening or loss of tone and quantity prominence, the more its lexical meaning and the original "syntactical" relation is weakened (unfortunately for the student of Chinese, these factors are to a great part unpredictable).

It proves sufficient to distinguish three types of realizations of rhythmically variable disyll. lexemes:

Mo (i.e. monotonal) realization with the second syllable very short and atonic (tonally neutralized)

As (i.e. ascending) realization with both syllables tonal, the second one being more prominent, i.e. longer and with more clearly expressed tonal features

Ds (i.e. descending) realization with both syllables tonal, the first one being more prominent

Terms as Mo, As and Ds realizations apply of course not only to disyllabic lexemes, but to any closely knit sequences of units; further, they do not apply to disyllabic sequences only, but to trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic (or even more than tetrasyllabic) sequences as well; however, the scale of tonal hierarchy prominence, whether in As or Ds sequences, does not exceed that of 4 degrees.

It is also necessary to find out the determinant rhythmical factors of the rhythmical variability of the disyllabic and more than disyllabic lexemes and other types of sequences.

Analyzing our recorded material of DFM we found out, that there is a tendency to group the syllables of an utterance into major rhythmical units of average length of about 6–7 syllables: we call them cola (the syllabic length of an individual colon

may vary, of course, quite considerably from 1 to about 17–18 syllables). The cola are terminated by real pauses (of about half a second or more), by a specific intonation ("relatively" falling or "relatively" rising intonation at the end of the colon)[5] and by a tendency to strengthen the prominence (i.e. length and tonal characteristics) of its last tonal syllable (if there is no emphasis on any lexeme of the colon); the tendency to lengthen the last tonal syllable of a colon is especially strong, if the colon boundary coincides with the clause boundary. On the other hand, there is a simultaneous contrary tendency to shorten and tonally weaken the second syllables of the disyllabic lexemes at the beginning and in the middle of a colon, thus putting forward the prominence of the first syllable of these lexemes.[6]

The colon itself is also rhythmically well structured: it consists of minor rhythmical segments, i.e. groups of average length of about 2.5 to 4 syllables (the average length of segments increases with increasing speed of speech tempo); the length of individual segments may vary from one to about 8–10 syllables.

In order to describe the varying prosodic characteristics of all the disyllabic lexemes, we devised a scale of 7 accentuation types. By setting seven indices: o w p x v n r of these types we want to characterize the unequal resistance of the second syllable of the disyllables to the weakening or loss of tone:[7]

accent. type o: the second syllable is toneless and very short, the ictus is invariably fixed on the first syllable. In modern Chinese dictionaries these lexemes are written with a dot before the second syllable and no tone mark set on this syllable (cp. *míng·bai* 明白); in a few cases the dot is set, but the tone mark is not omitted (cp. *yīn·wèi* 因为, *jī·huì* 机会, *jī·qì* 机器 and other lexemes, all written in this way both in XHC and PL – Xiandai Hanyu Pinlü cidian 现代汉语频素词典, Peking 1986), but there is no general consensus about this

[5] "Relative rising" or "relative falling" intonation does not mean real rising or real falling of the pitch at the end of a colon or sentence, but modifications of the coda contour of the last tonal syllable at the end of a colon or a sentence: by the "relative falling" intonation is its falling (with the 1st, 2nd, and 4th tone) more conspicuous and its rising (with the 3rd tone) diminished or abolished, whereas by the "relative rising" intonation is its falling (with the 1st, 2nd and 4th tone) diminished and its rising (with the 3rd tone) is maintained or more conspicuous. cp. *Úvod do hovorové čínštiny* (An Introduction to Spoken Chinese) I, Publ. House SPN, Prague 1967.

[6] The phenomenon of strengthening the LAST tonal syllable of a colon is called end-arsis tendency; this phenomenon may appear also at the end of certain rhythmical segments, e. g. if the segment's boundary coincides with boundary of the subject or other preverbal nominal constituent of the clause or sentence, by slow speed of speech, in the case of long segments etc., especially if more than one of these factors coincide.

The pendant tendency to strengthen the first syllable of a disyllabic lexeme or a binary sequence of syllables at the BEGINNING OF a rhythmical segment, if there immediately follows other ictus or an As sequence with ictus within the frame of the same rhythmical segment or at least within the frame of the colon, is called front-arsis tendency.

The SHORTENING and TONAL WEAKENING of the syllable, that immediately follows the strengthened front-arsis syllable, is sometimes designated as the "sandwich" phenomenon.

[7] Cp. O. Švarný, *Variability of Tone Prominence in Chinese (Pekinese)*, Dissertationes orientales 34, Academia, Prague 1974.

writing in all cases (cp. e. g. writing *tiáo·jiàn*条件, *zuò·yòng*作用, *bàn·fǎ* 办法 in PL, but *tiáojiàn, zuòyòng, bànfǎ* in XHC; *shēng·rì* 生日 in PL, but *shēng·ri* in XHC). In all these dubious cases the accent. type o is generally accepted in DFM, because we are concerned first of all with the Pekinese pronunciation,

accent. type w: the second syllable may occasionally regain its tone. Lexemes of this type (as well as those of the accent type o) are all generally included in Zhang Xunru's张洵如 dictionary Beijinghua qingsheng cihui北京话轻声词汇, Peking 1957. In teaching praxis, we train the Mo realization only,

***accent.* type p:** in positions rhythmically favouring the tonicity of the second syllable, the second syllable may regain its tone as well as ictus (i.e. the lexemes are pronounced in As realization). Ds realizations are not exceptional as well, but on the whole, Mo realizations prevail. In teaching praxis, Mo and As realizations both are to be trained[8],

accent. type x: Mo as well as As realizations occur (and have to be trained in teaching praxis); Ds realization is rather exceptional,

accent. type v: Mo as well as Ds and As realizations occur, the last one prevails; in teaching praxis Mo and As pronunciations are trained,

accent. type n: As realization prevails over Mo or Ds realizations,

accent. type r: As realization decidedly prevails over Ds realization, Mo realization hardly ever occurs.

The trisyllabic lexemes are structurally of the type Mo (or Ds) disyllable (disregarding its original accentuation type) + tonal monosyllable, much less often of the type tonal monosyllable + Mo or As disyllable (the disyllables here retain the prosodic properties of their original accent. type).

The rarely occurring tetrasyllabic lexemes are characterized by a few typical rhythmical patterns of their own; the most usual pattern is the acronymic one, i.e. ictus on the first and the last syllable, the first and the second disyllabic sequences forming a tetrasyllabic trochee + iambus (i.e. choriamb) sequence.

2.

According to a universal rhythmical tendency, encountered not only in Chinese, in lexically or grammatically determined trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic sequences (even if ***all syllables are tonal),*** the least prominence is generally enforced to the syllable immediately following the relatively conspicuous onset tonal syllable, the greatest prominence being usually reserved for the last syllable (this rhythmical pattern with ictuses at the beginning and at the end is called acronymic).

In trisyllabic structures thus arises the following rhythmical sequence of syllables: prominent – atonic or weak (half prominent) – prominent. This pattern corresponds to the Old Greek poetry meter of ***cretic***.

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[8] It is difficult to train Ds realizations except in connected speech, because these realizations occur practically only in connected speech just as the result of the pressures of the universal rhythmical tendencies mentioned above in Note 6, i.e. end-arsis tendency (in case of lexemes of the accent. types w, p) and front-arsis tendency (in case of lexemes of the accent. types v, n, r).

In tetrasyllabic structures most often arises the following sequence: prominent – atonic or weak – half prominent – prominent. This is the most typical rhythmical sequence of Chinese and corresponds to the Old Greek poetry metre of ***choriamb***.

The rhythmical scanning of Chinese does not count meticulously the number of atonic syllables. Thus e. g. the Mo sequences with one or more atonic syllables are rhythm. equivalent (the more of the atonic syllables, the shorter they are to be pronounced). In just the same way instead of one atonic syllable at the second position in the tetrasyllabic choriamb acronymic patterns there may occur two or even three of them (in this way arising penta- or even hexasyllabic acronymic patterns are rhythmically equivalent to the tetrasyllabic ones).

The typical acronymic sequences are trisyllabic ones and tetrasyllabic (cf. also the accentuation of the abbreviations of the type USA, USSR); the disyllabic As sequences (with the first syllable tonally weakened or fully tonal – corresponding approximately to the Greek metre of ***iambus*** or ***spondee,*** the ictus resting always on the second syllable), are in a certain sense also acronymic, as they have, so to say, secondary ictus on the first tonal syllable and main ictus on the second one.

The most often occurring rhythmical pattern of Chinese (except for a two trochees sequence) is that of tetrasyllabic ***choriamb***; typically it can be heard at the end of cola. Its rhythmical scanning is well established, and it is not disturbed by attaching proclitical or enclitical syllables. This sequence may be often changed (by higher speed of speech tempo) to a 4 degree As sequence (corresponding to the Greek metre of ***ionic;*** cp. the free interchanging of ionic and choriamb and the phenomenon called anaclasis in the Greek poetry) or it may be often transformed into a sequence of di-iambus type, especially by slow speed of speech.

The trisyllabic and more than trisyllabic acronymic sequences, as a matter of fact, regularly begin with a trochaic sequence, i.e. disyllabic Mo (less often Ds) sequence, followed by tonal monosyllable or As sequence. The trochaic sequence at the beginning of an acronymic pattern is often echoed by another trochaic sequence (or sequences) preceding it; the As iambus sequence at the end of tetrasyllabic acronymic sequences may be sometime the trisyllabic and more than trisyllabic acronymic sequences, as a matter of fact, regularly begin with trochaic sequence, i.e. disyllabic Mo (less often Ds) sequence, followed by tonal monosyllable or As sequence. The trochaic sequence at the beginning of an acronymic pattern is often echoed by another trochaic sequence preceding it; the As iambus sequence at the end of tetrasyllabic acronymic sequences may be sometimes echoed by an iambus sequence following it.

The above mentioned tetrasyllabic As (ascending) sequence is usually formed by a sequence of two weakened tone syllables followed by a sequence of two full tone syllables, the second syllable of each sequence being felt as a little bit more prominent than the first one. The ascending scale is thus realized, so to say, by half degrees of prominence.

In the Ds (descending) sequences such a “half degree” scaling is not admissible. Thus, in a 4 degree Ds sequence (which is extremely rare – eventually dubious –

and does occur only by expressing emphasis) the first most prominent syllable of stressed prominence (designated by bold letters), is followed by full tone, weakened tone and atonic syllables.

Emphasis (logical stress) in view of rather strict "word-order" in Chinese is typically expressed by prosodic means, i.e. first of all by stressed prominence of the emphasized unit. Whereas ***emotivity*** supports maintaining of tonal prominence of the second syllable in disyllables (disyllabic lexemes), the emphasis in disyllables, located at ***any*** position within the frame of a colon is usually characterized by stressing the prominence of the ***first*** syllable, the second syllable retaining, if possible (i.e. if it is not the case of a lexeme of accent. type o, eventually also w), its full tone. Thus there are sometimes in this "emphasis pattern" realized even the lexemes of the accent. type r.

In view of the persisting tonal character of Chinese (except for already mentioned number of about 30 % of atonic syllables all other syllables of a colloquial text remain tonal – the majority of them fully tonal), there cannot exist any specific sentence intonational contours in Chinese, except perhaps for the contours of certain toneless syllables at the end of cola, occasionally lengthened for "sentence intonation" purposes. Nevertheless, in view of a relatively great number of atonic syllables and strong modifications of tones in disyllabic tonal combinations (giving rise, as a matter of fact, to new more "unified" contours), the pitch contours within the frame of cola are less numerous, their intervals may be much more easily either exaggerated or on the contrary diminished and slurred and they may be kept at a high or low register of voice; all these features – including the "relative falling" as well as "relative rising" intonations[9] – are then effectively used for various intonational purposes.

It is impossible within the frame of our paper to adduce examples of all the principles of the functioning of the prosodic features in Chinese and it also surpasses its general scope. It presupposes also explanation of principles of such a transcription, that would enable us to mark all the phenomena described. We hope to be able to fulfill this task in a future paper.

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PROSODIC FEATURES IN CHINESE (PEKINESE): PROSODIC TRANSCRIPTION AND STATISTICAL TABLES

Abstract: *This paper is based on a large research project on the prosodic characteristics of modern colloquial Chinese. First, it describes the method of marking prosodic features developed by the authors. The publication of the work where the prosodic system was used (in the text mentioned as the Dictionary of the most frequent monosyllabic sememes) postdated by seven years the first appearance of this paper: the four-volume dictionary was published over the years 1998 to 2002 under the title Učební slovník jazyka čínského (Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese). Second, the paper provides statistical tables and graphs mapping out various prosodic features of modern Chinese, such as the occurrence of lexemes based on a number of syllables, a duration of syllables, the number of syllables occurring with the frame of higher rhythmic units, the tonal prominence of syllables, the occurrence of ictus-bearing and non-ictus-bearing syllables or the occurrence of disyllabic lexemes of various accentuation types.*

Key words*: non-colloquial Chinese, prosodic transcription, rhythmic structure, syllables, disyllabic lexemes*

Prosodic transcription of Chinese (Pekinese)

There are encountered serious difficulties in creating such a transcription of Chinese, that would enable us to express all the necessary prosodic features without becoming too cumbersome. We have been concerned with this problem for about two or three decades of years already.[1]

[1] An important stage in developing the transcription system applied here was the system applied in the textbook *Úvod do hovorové čínštiny* (An Introduction to Spoken Chinese), SPN Praha 1967. Our present system was created by devising a few "automatic" rules of setting and recognizing ictuses; for the first time it was applied in the paper by O. Švarný, *Variability of Tone Prominence in Chinese (Pekinese)*, Dissertationes orientales 34, Academia Prague 1974. In that paper the author proposed the division of the stock of the disyllabic lexemes into seven groups, i.e. disyllabic lexemes of seven accentuation types; this division is debated (and confirmed) in this paper too.

An interesting system of marking prosodic features by fixing in the transcription practically the same levels of syllable tone prominence and the same levels of junctures and pauses, as was applied in Švarný (1974) and DFM, was applied by N. A. Spesnev, *Fonetika kitajskogo jazyka*, Leningrad 1980. In Appendix I 6) we adduce the specimen of text quoted by Spesnev (p. 115) transferred into our transcription: we do not change Spesnev's segmental "orthography", but we apply our system of marking the various degrees of tone prominence as well as our marking of rhythmical segments and cola (Spesnev's specimen in comparison with our specimens is pronounced more clearly, by a slower speed of speech).

Let us now briefly describe our method of marking prosodic features, as it was applied in Dictionary of the most frequent monosyllabic sememes (*yusu* 语素), abbr. DFM.[2] This type of prosodic transcription is concerned first of all with the marking of *the hierarchy of the relative tonal prominence* of a 11 individual syllables, which is the first precondition for marking the rhythmical flow of speech as well as expressing emphasis and to a great deal also emotivity.

Keeping the transcription as simple as possible in order not to enhance its lucidity, we could refrain from setting any ictus marks, because they can be understood automatically according to a few rules. We contented ourselves also with indicating by direct or indirect means the weakened tone prominence without marking the specific tones that have to be realized – this cannot cause any serious difficulty, as in a great majority these are cases of monosyllabic lexemes of very high frequency and the student is familiar with their tones.[3]

It is convenient to set first the pertinent marks at pauses (a simple comma or – in case of relatively long pauses, a double comma) noticed at the boundaries of cola, the duration of these pauses being about 200 millisec. or more; the cola endings are also characterized by "relative rising" or "relative falling" intonations.[4]

The next step may be finding out and bold the full tone syllable (or syllables) of stressed (stressed means: clearly *lengthened)* prominence; such syllables regularly occur at the end of a colon and in neutral speech need not be very conspicuous. In the case of emotivity these syllables are especially lengthened. In the case of emphasis, the stressed syllable may occur at any place of the colon and it is often followed by another *full tone* syllable (but not of stressed prominence).

Then we proceed to group the syllables of (medium or long) cola into minor rhythmical segments by writing the syllables of a segment either together (in the case of disyllabic or more than disyllabic lexemes; certain monosyllabic markers are also written together with the units they are appended to) or hyphenating them (in all other cases).

The grouping of lexemes into rhythmical segments is variable, as by higher speed of speech on average these arise longer segments. We proceed regularly in this order:

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[2] This dictionary has been prepared in the sixties and seventies in the Oriental Institute of Prague, but its publication was delayed. Cp. the paper *The functioning of the prosodic features in Chinese (Pekinese)* by O. Švarný in ArOr. 59, 1990, to which our present paper may be considered a complement.

[3] It is recommended to pay carefull attention here – and not only here – to the realizations of the low 3rd tone syllables, as the 3rd tone syllables as arses – as far as they are not changed to 2nd tone – do influence the pitch contours of segments and cola in a way not customary to the speakers of European non-tonal languages.

[4] "Relative rising" or "relative falling" does not mean real rising or real falling at the end of a colon or sentence, but modifications of the position and (coda) contour of the last tonal syllable at the end of a colon or a sentence: by the "relative falling" intonation is its falling (with the 1st, 2nd and 4th tone) more conspicuous and its rising (with the 3rd tone) diminished or abolished, whereas by the "relative rising" intonation is its falling (with the 1st, 2nd and 4th tone) diminished and its rising (with the 3rd tone) is maintained or more conspicuous. Cp. *Úvod do hovorové čínštiny* I, 1967, pp. 110–117.

1. We find out and write the syllables of all the disyllabic as well as more than disyllabic lexemes together. 2. among the remaining monosyllables we find out and hyphenate all the closely united disyllabic syntagmas (except for those formed by markers as the second syllable) 3. we find out and hyphenate all the disyllabic groups formed by monosyllabic lexeme + marker or sentence particle; 4. we find out and hyphenate all the disyllabic groups arising by "encliticization", arising by joining units functioning regularly as proclitics, but temporarily (under specific conditions of the text and also more easily by high speed of speech) changed into enclitics, attached to the preceding monosyllabic lexemes.

We find out, that thus far about 5% of all syllables are organized in trisyllabic and more than trisyllabic lexemes and about 70% of them are organized into binary (i.e. disyllabic) sequences of various types; there remain about 20% "odd" syllables; (a very small part of them, at a higher speed of speech still less) about 15% either remain as independent segments or they are attached in various ways to the already ascertained lexemes and binary sequences as enclitics, proclitics or full tone ictus bearing syllables. At last, about 5% of syllables are monosyllabic lexemes that form for the most part trisyllabic groups which cannot be easily analysed into binaries + odd monosyllables or vice versa and simply form rhythmically closely connected trisyllabic groups.

The monosyllabic units, disyllabic and trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic sequences found out by applying the previous considerations form the fundamental pieces of the rhythmical structure of cola, i.e. rhythm. segments, either by themselves or mutually combined (especially by higher speed of speech) according to their more or less close grammatical relations and their length (long rhythm. segments are less easily coalesced to even longer ones).

The rhythmical segments are separated by rather loose junctures only, not by real pauses. However, insertion of not exaggerated real pauses is acceptable and does not necessarily disrupt the colon as an organic independent rhythmical unit. This circumstance is rather important in the teaching process. Foreign students have difficulties to master at once the prosodically correct pronunciation of relatively long cola, but it is not difficult for them to acquire first the *prosodically correct* pronunciation of 2 to about 4–5 syllable long rhythmical segments and only then join them together into cola.

After setting the boundaries between the rhythmical segments, we proceed to mark the relative degree of tone prominence of each syllable approximately in the following steps and according to the following rules:

1) we distinguish between atonic syllables (without any tone mark), weakened tone syllables (cp. below point 2) and full tone syllables (marked by the tone marks āáǎà)[5]. Among atonic syllables the distinction between toneless and tonally neutralized syllables is

[5] Distinguishing between weakened tone and full tone syllables needs some training and experience. It is greatly facilitated by systematic listening to the magnetic tape recordings and comparing the auditive impression with the pitch contour graphs obtained by processing the recorded tapes through a pitch analysing equipment. The author of this paper profited in the years 1969–70 by this possibility at the Universities of Berkley, Cal. and Princeton N. J.

neglected, as it is easily understood by the students; although the marking of this distinction is omitted, it is important to be well aware of it, as e.g. syllables, that at a high speed of speech are neutralized, at a low speed may restore their tone and also become bearers of ictus, whereas toneless syllables may not

2) the weakened tone syllables are marked by superior figures a^1 a^2 a^3 a^4; otherwise they are marked by inferior figures a_1 a_2 a_3 a_4, but they are unmarked at all, if they occur as the very first syllable of a segment; they cannot be mistaken for atonic syllables, as the atonic syllables are not admissible in this position (however, if e.g. at a high speed of speech an originally weakened tone syllable at the beginning of a segment appears amidst a longer segment newly formed, it may easily lose its tone altogether.)
3) in a sequence of two full tone syllables – the immediately neighbouring syllables being less prominent – the ictus rests on the second syllable
4) quite similarly in the occasional sequence of three (rarely four) full tone syllables, the ictuses rest on the first and the last syllables – according to the acronymic rhythm of the cretic and choriamb type meters
5) just mentioned acronymic rule – cf. point 4 – applies also, if one of the ictuses (either the first or the last one) is marked by a dash as being of stressed prominence
6) the marking of stressed prominence syllables (by **bold**) is irrelevant regarding the indication of the (neutral) rhythmical scanning of speech, in other words: omitting the stressed prominence mark does not influence in any way the indication of rhythm. On the other hand, the setting of stressed prominence mark is essential in the case of expressing emphasis, as in the Ds sequence of the type: stressed prominence syllable – full tone syllable, the mark cannot be omitted, as in this case the rhythmical scanning would change; cp. the rule 3) above.

The ictus bearing syllables are called arses, all the other syllables are called theses. In our transcription, all the arses are easily identified either by being explicitly marked as more prominent than are the immediately neighbouring syllables or their ictuses are evident according to rules 2)–5) just mentioned.

We adduce in the Appendix I a few specimens of text from the exemplificatory material of DFM, elucidating the rhythmical structure of colloquial Chinese. Each specimen is introduced by two figures: the first one is the serial number of the entry in DFM; the second figure (in the parentheses) indicates the point in the succession, in which the material of the given entry was recorded by the speaker (the last point in the succession was 1969; the speaker was Tang Yunling Rusková, hence she is also co-author of this treatise).

The transcription of the sentences in pinyin is accompanied by a scheme of the rhythmical scanning (the scanning has to be understood quantitatively, not as a scanning of intensity) of each sentence. (The scheme neglects the lexical and grammatical structure segments and cola).

The explanation of the signs:

o atonic syllable
w weakened tone syllable
t full tone syllable
T full tone syllable of stressed prominence
/ loose juncture marking the boundary between neighbouring rhythmical segments
, or „ colon boundary marked by a real pause („ indicates a more conspicuous pause)
.?! marks for the sentence boundaries
⌣⌣ acronymic sequence of the *choriamb* type with two (in Chinese also three) theses between the arses. Acronymic sequences with four theses between the arses are rare; they occur in the examples quoted in App. I 4) a., h., j., in the example quoted in App. I 4) d. there are even 5 theses between the arses; in all these examples, of course, the acronymic sequence spreads over two rhythm. segments as within the frame of a single rhythm. segment such long acronymic sequences don't occur
… acronymic sequence of the *cretic* type
– (i.e. *T*, *t*, *w)* marking of ictus.

By fixing the rhythmical patterns, we proceed always from the end of a colon to its beginning. The choriamb type sequences occurring most often at the end of cola, may be formed within the frame of a single rhythmical segment, but occasionally the beginning Mo sequence and the concluding As sequence may be "united" by / (i.e. boundary between two neighbouring rhythm. segments).

Eventual occurring of proclitical and/or enclitical syllables is irrelevant as far as the rhythmical scanning of *choriamb* type sequences (i.e. sequences with two, – in Chinese up to four – theses between the arses with a Mo (Ds) sequence at the beginning and an As sequence at the end) is concerned.[6]

The trisyllabic *cretic* type sequences with proclitics and/or enclitics are ambiguous, as they can be perceived and interpreted also either as two iambus or two trochees sequences.[7]

The Ds "emphasis pattern" of the type Tt or Tw occurs in the examples quoted in App. I 1) 5., App. I 3) 13., App. I 4) h; a "weak" emphasis pattern is sometimes realized as a tw sequence, cp. the ex. quoted in App. I 3) 14.: the realization *rùshe* has to be interpreted as expression of logical stress on the morfeme *rù*, as the lexeme *rùshè* is of the accentuation type r and we should expect here a realization with the ictus on the second syllable.

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[6] Mo (monotonal) sequences are formed by tonal syllable followed by one or more (maximum: four) atonic syllables; Ds (descending) sequence is formed by a sequence of a tonal syllable followed by another tonal syllable (syllables) tonally less prominent; As (ascending) sequence is formed by tonal syllables of tonally ascending prominence. Cp. also the paper by O. Švarný (1991) in *ArOr* 59, 1991.

[7] The decision is based mainly on the analysis of the grammatical relations of the syllables by which the cretic type sequence (together with the proclitical and/or enclitical syllables) is formed; the basic rule to be observed is keeping (also rhythmically) the disyllabic lexemes together.

The Mo sequence at the beginning of an acronymic pattern is often echoed by one or two Mo sequences immediately preceding before the acronymic sequence. The As iambus echoing of the concluding As sequence of an acronymic pattern is less usual.

The Mo, As or Ds sequences, that are not part of trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic or more then tetrasyllabic acronymic sequences are not specially marked; the Mo sequence immediately before an acron. pattern is included into it, if the first arsis of the acronymic sequence (usually of the choriamb, less often cretic type) is a weakened tone syllable, cp. examples in App. I 1) 4., App. I 3) 6., 12., 16., App. I 4) h.

4 degree As sequences are not frequent (their forming is somewhat facilitated by higher speed of speech tempo); by slightly raising the prominence of the beginning weakened tone syllable, they are easily changed into acronymic sequences (and vice versa), cp. the examples of these sequences in App. I 4) b., d., g., h.

4 degree Ds sequences are quite exceptional; one possile example is adduced in Appendix I 5).

The specimens and examples of the material of DFM in the Appendix I are arranged in the following way:

1) No. 892 (98) ex. 1–6: specimen pronounced at a not very high speed of speech tempo, the rhythmical segments are rather short
2) No. 12 (1859) ex. 7–9: specimen pronounced at a relatively high speed of speech, the rhythmical segments are relatively long
3) No. 1547 (1595) ex. 1–9: a relatively long specimen, elucidating various prosodic features of the rhythmical structure of Chinese
4) 10 examples of 4 degree As (ascending) sequences:
   a) 1091 (1129) ex. 2: b) No. 997 (1190) ex. 19; c) No. 1201 (1215) ex. 2; d) No. 1810 (1243) ex. 3; e) No. 1745 (1404) ex. 5; f) No. 1655 (1534) ex. 12; g) No. 1485 (1661) ex. 11; h) No. 13 (1748) ex. 10; i) No. 1105 (1881) ex. 1; j) No. 865 (1907) ex. 2
5) 1 example of 4 degree Ds (descending) sequence: No. 237 (1776) ex. 10.
6) Transcription of the specimen of text quoted by N. A. Spesnev (1980) p. 115.

Prosodic features of Chinese in statistical tables and graphs

For the purposes of statistical analysis, the exemplificatory material of DFM (syllable extent: about 160.000) was divided into 20 parts (sections) of approximately equal length of about 8.000 syllables each section. There were selected four sections from the beginning, middle part and the end: the second section of 8.231 syllables, the 6th of 8.288, the 15th of 8.264 and the 20eth of 8.203 ones. In this way, we obtained specimens of text pronounced at slightly different speed of speech as the tempo of recording slightly accelerated. For some purposes we analysed the four sections in extenso, for some other purposes we analysed only portions of them or portions of other sections too.

Table 1 Percentage of syllables functioning as monosyllabic lexemes (autosemantic, synsemantic or markers) and as morphemes in disyllabic, trisyllabic, tetrasyllabic and more than tetrasyllabic lexemes. For comparison there is adduced an analogous percentage given in *Xiandai Hanyu Pinlu cidian* 现代汉语频素词典 (abbr. PL, Peking 1986), Appendix 3 (p. 1489):

0. Section
1. Syllables as mon. lex.
2. Syllables as morphemes in disyll. lex.
3. Syllables in trisyll. lex.
4. Syllables in tetrasyll. lex.
5. Syllables in more than tetrasyll. lex.

0.	2nd	6th	15th	20eth	PL:	I	II	IV	III
1.	60.1	55.2	53.2	58.8		32.8	40.4	53.0	**58.9**
2.	35.3	38.9	41.6	36.3		63.7	55.9	43.6	**38.3**
3.	3.9	4.9	4.3	4.3		1.7	2.5	2.0	**2.0**
4.	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.5		1.5	1.0	1.2	**0.7**
5.	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1		0.1	0.1	0.03	**0.01**
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0					

The figures found in PL had to be recounted, as the PL table is concerned with monosyll., disyll., trisyll., tetrasyll. and more than tetrasyll. *lexemes,* not with syllables in these lexemes.

The percentage of PL III (colloquial style) is practically that of "colloquial" 2nd and 20eth sections of DFM with the only difference: in PL the syllable percentage of the trisyllables decreases by about 2% and that of disyllables increases by about the same figure. The reason of it is easily discovered: we don't find in PL many of the numerous trisyllables which appear in DFM as well as in Chinese dictionaries (e.g. in XHC (*Xiandai Hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典, Peking 1979), HPC (*Hanyu Pinyin Cihui* 汉语拼音词汇, Peking 1964)), as *dongwuyuan* 动物园, *zhiwuyuan* 植物园, *bowuguan* 博物馆馆, *dashiguan* 大使馆, *fadongji* 发动机, *luyinji* 录音机 etc. On the other hand there occur in PL monosyllabic entries like *yuan* 园 (94), *guǎn* 馆 (155), *jī* 机 (652) and many others (some of them quoted in App. IV following *yuán, guǎn, jī* together with their relatively high frequency figures), that do not occur in DFM nor in HPC (one of a few Chinese dictionaries, trying to distinguish systematically between monosyllabic and polysyllabic lexemes). It is evident, that in PL the pertinent trisyllabic lexemes are "dissected" into two lexemes: a disyllabic and monosyllabic one on the ground, that the above-mentioned monosyllables may function as "heads" with a great number of disyllables as "attribute" (this simple criterion for establishing the functional characteristic N, i.e. "noun", is in DFM as well as in HPC rejected). Quite similarly trisyllabic structures of monosyllabic verbs (frequent) disyllabic directional complements *chulai* 出来, *qilai* 起来, *xialai* 下来, *xiaqu* 下去, *huilai* 回来, *chuqu* 出去, *guolai* 过来 etc. are considered in DFM as trisyllabic lexemes, but in PL they are kept apart as two "independent" lexemes.

Nevertheless, there is no "apparent" increase in PL of monosyllabic lexemes. This also is easily explained, as there are a few structures (but of very high frequency!) as e.g. *wǒ-men* 我们, *nǐ-men* 你们, *zhè -ge* 这个, *zhè-xie* 这些, that are treated in PL as single (disyllabic) lexemes, but in DFM as two of them; because of various "compensations" of this kind the monosyllables percentage in both dictionaries is kept unchanged.

In the 6th and 15th section (in comparison with the 2nd and the 20eth ones) there is approximately a 5% decrease of monosyllabic lexemes in favour of disyllables. A glance at the pertinent rate in PL III (colloquial style) and PL I (publicistic style) reveals immediately the reason of it: (accidental) admixture of the publicistic style in both the middle part sections as there may be observed a constant increase of the percentage of the monosyllables (with a

simultaneous decrease of the disyllables) in the sequence PL I II IV III (II: scientific style, IV: literary style).

Table 2 The average duration of syllables in millisec. in 7 samples of 1318 syllables. The samples were taken from the following sections:

1.	section	1st	2nd	6th	10th	15th	18th	20eth
2.	milisec.	192	180	174	174	174	186	166

Spontaneous acceleration (or getting rid of certain "stiffness" or "carefulness" of speech) is observed. The unexpected figure of 186 millisec. in the 18th section is explained mainly by longer duration of some pauses between cola within the frame of sentences (these pauses could not be measured individually; the pauses were lengthened because the speaker was somewhat tired just when recording this section, as can be ascertained by listening to the tape).

Table 3 The average number of syllables occurring within the frame of rhythmical segments and cola:

Section	Rhytm. segments	Cola
2nd	2.6	6.3
6th	2.9	6.3
15th	3.4	7.0
20th	4.0	6.3

The average length of rhythm. segments increased during the recording (due to the slightly increasing speed of speech and growing "naturalness" of pronunciation), but the average length of cola did not change significantly, as it is obviously more closely connected with the grammatical structure of sentences. Somewhat longer average duration of cola in the 15th section is connected with a certain number of relatively long sentences in this section with an admixture of less colloquial material.

Table 4 Percentage of the full tone, weakened tone and atonic syllables (in the case of full and weakened tone syllables disregarding their functioning as arses or theses):
1. section
2. full tone syllables
3. weakened tone syll. (in parentheses: w.t. syll. at the very beginning of rhythmical segments)
4. atonic syllables

1.	2nd	6th	15th	20eth
2.	61.2	55.7	52.1	51.5
3.	7.1 (4.8)	9.9 (8.9)	14.0 (11.6)	14.8 (12.1)
4.	31.7	34.4	33.9	33.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The figures for the full tone syllables are given disregarding the distinction between the syllables of stressed tone prominence and those of "ordinary" full tone. With the progress of recording we observe a decrease of the percentage of full tone syllables (more pronounced during the first half than the second half of recording) and a corresponding increase of the percentage of the weakened tone syllables; the syllables (monosyllabic lexemes) are weakened first of all at the position of the very beginning of a segment (cp. the figures of the weakened tone syll. quoted in parentheses). The considerable decrease of full tone syllables from the 1st to the 6th section is also accompanied by an increase of atonic (i.e. in this case tonally neutralized) syllables.

Table 5 Percentage of arses and theses:

Section	2nd	6th	20eth
arses	45.7	44.6	43.5
theses	54.3	55.4	56.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The rate of arses – theses is only slightly in favour of theses but the preponderance of theses in the course of recording slightly increases. The relatively lesser number of arses (in combination with a relatively high percentage of atonic syllables and growing number of weakened tone syllables, cp. Table 4) explains the typical rhythmical scanning of colloquial Chinese, especially at a higher speed of speech.

Table 5a Percentage of arses of various degrees of prominence:

Section	2nd	6th	20eth
arses of stressed prom.	35.8	29.6	28.6
full tone arses	61.9	66.6	60.8
weakend tone arses	2.3	3.8	10.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0

A comparison shows a considerable decrease of the stressed prominence arses from the 2nd to the 6th section (i.e. at the beginning of recording; this decrease is compensated by a corresponding increase of "merely" full tone prominence arses) but then it does not diminish greatly; this is explained by a slight tendency to pronounce the arses "clearly" at the beginning of the recording. On the other hand, from the 6th section to the end of recording there is a clear shift of the percentage rate between the full tone and the weakened tone arses in favour of the latter.

Table 6 Percentage of arses in various tones:

Tone	1st	2nd	3rd → 2nd	3rd	4th
average percentage of arses	23.15	21.8	2.7	18.8	33.5

The variations of the percentage rate of various tones in individual sections are insignificant. We see, that about a third of all arses are realized in the 4th tone whereas only about 19% of them are realized in the 3rd tone (pronounced really as a low tone; the 3rd tone syllables changed into 2nd are counted apart). Also this is a corroboration of the characterization of

the 1st, 2nd and 4th tones (especially the last one) as "unmarked", whereas the low 3rd tone has to be designated as the "marked" one (the more is it necessary to pay attention to it in the teaching praxis).

In the following we shall be no longer concerned with per cent count of syllables, but with the per cent count of disyllabic lexemes with regard to the seven accentuation types assigned to them in DFM. As before, the material of the same 4 sections of the whole material of DFM is examined: in the 2nd section there occur 1455 disyllabic lexemes, in the 6th 1613, in the 15th 1718 and in the 20eth 1492 of them. The increase of the occurrence of the disyll. lex. in the 6th and 15th sections with an admixture of publicist style is due to the increase of lexemes of other accentuation types than that of type o, mainly those of the type x.

Disyllabic lexemes of all accentuation types are examined with regard to their variable realizations in Mo (monotonal), Ds (descending) and As (ascending) patterns. With regard to each of these three patterns, we do not distinguish variant realizations of different levels of prominence of their syllables: thus in Mo pattern there are comprised realizations To, to, wo (including occasional realizations with the tone of the first syllable neutralized also, as it easily happens e.g. with lexemes *shén-me* 什么, *shí-hour* 时候儿, *dōng-xi* 东西; As pattern comprises numerous variants of realization: ww, wt, wT, tt, tT etc., Ds pattern only three variant realizations: Tt, Tw, tw.

Table 7 The Total percentage of Mo, Ds and As realizations in the individual sections (no distinction between realizations of lexemes of different accent. types made):

Sect.	2nd	6th	15th	20eth
Mo	59.2 (50.1 : 49.9)	58.2 (35.8 : 64.2)	59.9 (36.0 : 64.0)	61.7 (48.0 : 52.0)
Ds	6.9	5.9	8.8	6.6
As	33.9	35.9	31.3	31.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The percentage figures refer to the total numbers of the disyllabic lexemes in each section: 1455 in the 2nd, 1613 in the 6th, 1718 in the 15th, 1492 in the 20eth.

In all the 4 sections the Mo realizations are the most frequent (about 60 % of all realizations). The figures in parentheses indicate the mutual relation of the Mo realizations of the lexemes of the accent. Type o and the Mo realizations of lexemes of all other types taken together. It may be seen that in the "colloquial" sections (2nd and 20eth) the ratio is about 1 : 1, whereas in the sections with a slight admixture of publicist style and simultaneously with a greater percentage of disyllables (in disfavour of monosyllables, cp. Table 1) the ratio is about 1 : 2, i.e. there is an increase of Mo realizations with the second syllable neutralized.

The least frequent are the Ds realizations (about 7% only); the As realizations represent about a third of all realizations in each section.

In the 2nd, 6th and 15th sections there may be observed the following phenomenon: the greater percentage of Ds realizations, the greater decrease of As realizations. This feature may be perhaps correlated with a certain difficulty of distinguishing auditively between these two

realizations in some cases. In the 20th section the sum of the Ds and As realizations taken together is by about 2% lesser than in other sections (this is probably due to the influence of high speed of speech in this section).

In the Appendix II we shall adduce four diagrams showing the per cent distribution of the three types of realizations (Mo, Ds, As) of disyllabic lexemes in all four sections, this time with regard to the seven accentuation types. These diagrams may serve also as a proof or disproof of the necessity and rationality of setting up these accentuation types.

Diagram 1 The 2nd section of the exemplificatory material of DFM: 8231 syllables, 1455 disyllabic lexemes.

Diagram 2 The 6th section of the exempl. material of DFM: 8288 syllables, 1613 disyllabic lexemes.

Diagram 3 The 15th section of the exempl. material of DFM: 8246 syllables, 1718 disyllabic lexemes.

Diagram 4 The 20eth section of the exempl. material of DFM: 8203 syllables, 1492 disyllabic lexemes.

The distribution of the realizations Mo, Ds and As demonstrates, that the first two types (types: o, w) and the last two ones (types: n, r) are well constituted.

There is a decisive preponderance of the Mo realizations with the types o, w; with the lexemes of the accentuation type o this preponderance is absolute; as far as the lexemes of the type w are concerned, the beginning student is recommended to treat them as if they were of type o.[8]

[8] The lexemes of the accent. type w are practically those, which are quoted in the dictionary Zhang Xunru 张洵如, *Beijinghua qingsheng cihui* 北京话经声词汇, Peking 1957 (lexemes with the second syllable atonic) without being quoted in the remaining dictionaries of Chinese (e.g. in the dictionary XHC) as lexemes with the second syllable toneless. Thus from the point of view of Peking colloquial speech, the lexemes of both types, i.e. not only type o, but also type w can be practically always pronounced as atonic. Nevertheless, in Peking pronunciation the lexemes of the type o and those of the type w are also distinguished in such a way, that in the lexemes of the type o the second syllables are not only always tonally neutralized, but also their vocalic distinctions may be to a greater or minor extent neutralized (cp. O. Švarný, Guan Mingzhe, *Zum Problem der Differenzierung der unbetonten Silben in Peking-dialekt*, ArOr 34, 1966). Whereas this Peking tendency towards neutralization of the vocalic distinctions in lexemes of the type o – except for a few well established and also in the *putonghua* accepted cases – is considered dialectal, the tonal neutralizations of the second syllables in the lexemes of the type w is well acceptable in *putonghua* and the student is advised to observe it. On the other hand, it is useful to be aware of the original tones of these syllables (it is facilitated by the Chinese character script), because they may be sometimes heard in the pronunciation of the speakers from other areas than Peking and eventually even those from Peking in order to express emotivity under suitable rhythmical conditions (these phenomena need not be observed by foreign student, at least not the beginning one).

With the lexemes of the accent. types n, r there is progressive preponderance of the As realizations.[9] The Mo realizations here may be neglected by the student altogether; the occasional Ds realizations (relatively less numerous with the lexemes of type r) occur under the rhythmical influence of "front-arsis tendency", i.e. mainly at the beginning of the acronymic cretic or choriamb sequences. The majority of the lexemes of type r are of well-defined inner structure, i.e. lexemes formed e.g. by "semi-prefixes" *yǐ-* (*yǐqián* 以前, *yǐhòu* 以后 etc.), *hǎo-*, *nán-*, or *kě- (hǎokàn* 好看, *hǎotīng* 好听etc.; *nánkàn* 难看, *nántīng* 难听etc.; *kěhèn* 可恨, *kělián* 可怜 *etc,)* or we have to do with disyllabic lexemes of the inner structure (originally) verb-object (cp. *jié-hūn* 结婚, *lí-hūn* 离婚, *huái-hèn* 怀恨, *huái-yùn* 怀孕 etc.; in XHC these lexemes are transcribed with a double slant: *jié//hūn*, *lí//hūn* etc.)

The lexemes of the middle three "transitory" accentuation types as a group are clearly enough distinguished from both types o, w (with a clear preponderance of the Mo realizations) as well as types n, r (with a clear preponderance of the As realizations) by a great variability of all the three patterns (Mo, Ds, As) of realizations. The distinctions between the individual types of this group among themselves are less clearly cut, but it is not difficult to observe the following tendencies:

with the lexemes of the types p, x we observe a preponderance of the Mo realizations over those of Ds and As, but they are mutually distinguished by low percentage of the Ds and high percentage of As real. with the accent. type x, against relatively high percentage of Ds realizations with lexemes of the type p; the realizations Ds, which are generally the least often occurring, are typical just for the type p, not only relatively, in comparison with As real. within this type but also absolutely in comparison with Ds occurrences with lexemes of all other types;

with the lexemes of the accent. type v there is a slight preponderance of the As real. over those of Mo; the percentage of the Ds realizations, although not very high, is not quite negligible.

The mutual not very clear distinctions (as far as Mo, Ds and As realizations are concerned) between the transitory types p, x, v of disyllabic lexemes reflect the disproportionate processes of gradual weakening and losing tones and establishing the category of "word-accent" in Chinese under the influence of "front-arsis" and "end-arsis" tendencies within the frame of rhythm. Segments and cola, the influence of changing speed of speech, expressing emphasis and motivity etc.

For the teaching purposes it is recommended to consider the middle transitory types p, x, v as a single "variable" type (variable as far as Mo, Ds and As realizations are concerned).

Generally speaking, we must be aware, that the assignment of lexemes to accent. types is of stochastic character, as it is based on statistical research and to a certain extent is liable to modifications.

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[9] The cases of *-zhidào* (occurring in the syntagm *bù-zhidào* 不知道 "do not know") were included among As realizations of the lexemes of the accentuation type r; in this way the lexeme *zhī.dao* (accentuation type o), when ocurring without the adverb — negation *bù* is treated as one unit and as another one, if occurring with it.

In Appendix III we adduce 144 lexemes from among 500 most frequently occurring lexemes of the colloquial style, quoted in PL pp. 1122–1131, as examples of lexemes assigned to various accent. types in DFM.

Our criteria of distinguishing lexemes (with syllables written together) from syntagms (syllables written apart) are in a few cases different from those applied by the authors of PL, but in App. III we retain the PL transcription in all cases. The lexemes are preceded by figures denoting the ranks (*cici dengji* 词次等级) assigned to them in PL and on the right side accompanied by signs of accent. types (o w p x v n r), assigned to them in DFM (these signs are in parentheses, if the pertinent lexeme was not statistically processed in DFM). In the case of disyllabic directional complements the accent. type sign o indicates, that both syllables are atonic (in PL both syllables are marked as tonal, but in reality their tones are restored only in the so called potential forms).

In five cases there are adduced two, in one case three accent. types with a single PL lexeme according to its different functioning as noun (N), transitive verb (Vt), intransitive verb (Vi), adverb (A) or sentence final. element (F) (only functions occurring in our examples are cited).

Among the 151 lexemes (i.e. 144 PL lexemes + 7 accent. type variations according to their varying functional characteristics) there are 67 of them of the accent. type o, 20 with w, 12 with p, 17 with x, 4 with v, 8 with n and 23 with r accent. type. It is interesting to note, that except for the strongly "exaggerated" number (67) of the lexemes of the type o and the "strong" number (17) of lexemes of the type x (the lexemes of the accent. type o are by far the most frequent, as well as the lexemes of the accent. type x are also relatively frequent just among the most frequent 500 colloquial lexemes) the mutual rate of various accent. types of these most frequently occurring disyllabic lexemes is practically identical with the average relative percentage of lexeme occurrences (lexemes-tokens) obtained from the Diagrams 1–4, i.e. type o: 25,5 %, type w: 17,2 %, type p: 11,7 %, type x: 11,7 %, type v: 4 %, type n: 8.7 %, type r: 21,3 %.

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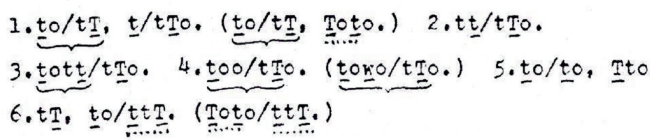
Appendix I

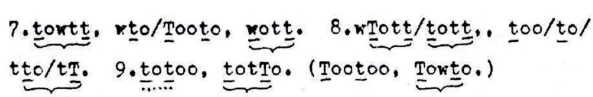
1) No. 892 (98)

1. wǒ-d fù**mǔ**, dōu hěn-**lǎo**-le. (wǒ-d fù**mǔ**, **dōu**-hěn-lǎo-le.) 我的父母都很老了。
2. wǒ-hái méi-**lǎo**-ne. 我还没老呢。
3. tā-zhe-jǐ-nián lǎo-**duō**-le. 他这几年老多了。
4. tā-shi-ge lǎo-**gōng**ren. (tā-shi-yi^{2}-ge lǎo-**gōng**ren.) 他是个老工人。（他是一个老工人。）
5. zhè-ge shìyang, **tài**-lǎo-le. 这个式样太老了。
6. wān**dòu**, lǎole bù-hǎo**chī**. (**wān**dou-lǎole bù-hǎo**chī**.) 豌豆老了不好吃。



2) No. 12 (1859)

7. měi-yi-tiao$_{2}$-yì'àn, yao-jīngguo **xiáng**xi-d-tǎolun, cai^{2}-neng-biǎojué. 每一条议案要经过详细的讨论才能表决。
8. ta-**yí**-ge-duō-yuè méi-qu-shàngbān, zhuōzishang yǐjing duī-mǎnle àn**juàn**. 他一个多月没去上班，桌子上已经堆满了案卷。
9. cáifeng-ànzishang, shǎobuliǎo-**jiǎn**z. (**cái**feng-d-**àn**zishang, **shǎo**buliao$_{3}$-**jiǎn**z.) 裁缝案子上少不了剪子。



3) 1547 (1595)

1. díren yǐjing-**tuì**-le. 敌人已经退了。
2. ta-**xià**-d, **tuì**le-jǐ-bù. 他吓得退了几步。
3. wǒ-bǎ-dìng-d-**piào** tuì-le. 我把订的票退了。
4. nin-yào tuì-**dōng**xi, dei-zhǎo wo^{3}men-d-zhǔ'**rèn**. 您要退东西得找我们的主任。
5. xīn-mǎi-d-dōngxi nòng**zāng**le, jiu-bù-neng tuì-le. (xīn-mǎi-d-dōngxi nòngzāngle, jiu-**bù**-neng tuì-le.) 新买的东西弄脏了就不能退了。
6. ni-yòngbuliao^{3}-d-qián dei-**tuì**-gei-wǒ. 你用不了的钱得退给我。

6a tuì-cháo yihòu, (tuìgo-cháo yihòu,) zai-hǎi'ànshang, liúxia-hen-duō-**yú**. 退潮以后在海岸上留下很多鱼。（退过潮以后在海岸上留下很多鱼。）

7. ta-bèishang shài-d, tuìle-yi-ceng$_2$-**pí**. 他背上晒得退了一层皮。

8. zhè-zhong-bù, bú-tuì**shǎi**. 这种布不退色。

9. zhe^4-kuai-bù, suīran tuìle-**shǎi**-le, (**suī**ran tuìle-shǎile,) ke^{3}shi **hái**-hen-hǎokàn. 这块布虽然退了色了，可是还很好看。

10. ta-yǐjing tuixiū-le, ke^{3}shi **hái**-jiānchi-d jìxu-gōngzuò. 他已经退休了，可是还坚持着继续工作。

10a yǒu-d-ren juéde, tuixiū-yi**hòu**, jiu-shīdiaole shēnghuo-**yì**yi. 有的人觉得退休以后就失掉了生活意义。

11. ta-yīnwei shēng-**bìng**, tuìxué-le. 他因为生病，退学了。

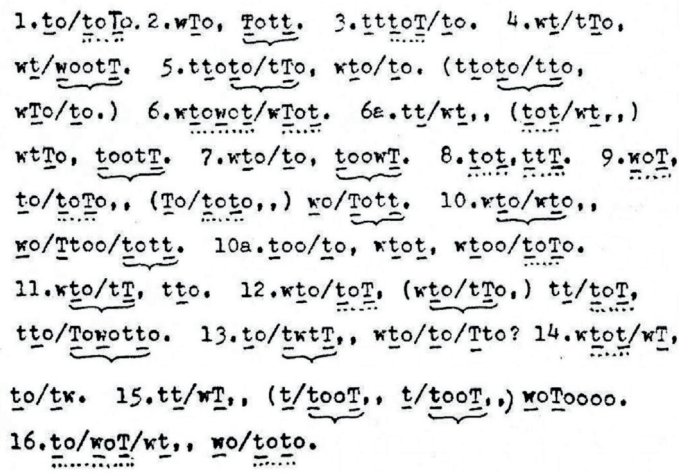
12. wo-yǐjing tuìle-**xué**, (wo-yǐjing tuì**xué**-le, bù-guǎn zěnme-**yǎng**, yě-bù-neng **zài**-you-shen^{2}me-qiántú-le. 我已经退了学，（我已经退学了）不管怎么样也不能再有什么前途了。

13. biéren dōu-xiang$_3$-rù**shè**, ni-zěnme fǎn-yao **tuì**shè-ne? 别人都想退社，你怎么反要退社呢？

14. ta-tuìle-shè yi**hòu**, yòu-xiang rùshe$_4$. 他退了社以后，又想入社。

15. tuìshāo yi**hòu**, (shāo tuìle-yi**hòu**, rè tuìle-yi**hòu**,) ta^1-jiu-**ān**jingxialai-le. 退烧以后，（烧退了以后，热退了以后，）他就安静下来了。

16. chīle zhe^4-fu-**yào** yihòu, ta^1-jiu tuìle-shāo-le. 吃了这付药以后，他就退了烧了。



4) 10 examples of 4 degree As (ascending) sequences

a) No. 1091 (1129) 2. shùshang luòzh yi-zhi^{1}-dà-**niǎor**. → yi-zhi^{1}-dà-**niǎor** 树上落着一只大鸟儿。

b) No. 997 (1190) 19. zhǐ-yào you-**gōng**zuo gei^{3}-wo-zuò, wo-jiu^{4}-mǎnyì-le. → wo-jiu^{4}-mǎnyì-le 只要有工作给我作，我就满意了。

c) No. 1201 (1215) 2. qiángshang guà-d nèi-bǎ-**jiàn**, shi-wo^{3}-zǔ**fù**-d. → shi-wo^{3}-zǔ**fù**-d 墙上挂的那把剑是我祖父的。

d) No. 1810 (1243) 3. ta-hěn-**róng**yi-d jiu-ba^{3}-pīnyīn xuéhuì-le. → jiu-ba^{3}-pīnyīn 他很容易地就把拼音学会了。

e) No. 1745 (1404) 5. zhe^{4}-ji-shuang^{1} xiàngyákuàiz, shi-wo^{3}-jié**hūn**-shi$_{2}$hour-d lǐwu. → shi-wo^{3}-jié**hūn**-shi$_{2}$hour-d 这几双象牙筷子是我结婚时候儿的礼物。

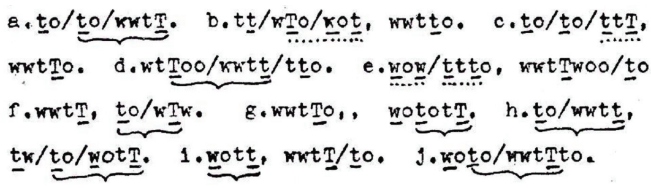
f) No. 1655 (1534) 12. ta-shuo^{1}-zhè-**huà**, yìsi hen-**míng**xian$_{3}$. → ta-shuo^{1}-zhè-**huà** 他说这话意思很明显。

g) No. 1485 (1661) 11. ni-qu^{4}-tào-**shēng**kou, wo^{3}-qu-zhǔnbei-cǎo**liào**. → ni-qu^{4}-tào-**shēng**kou 你去套生口，我去准备草料。

h) No. 13 (1748) 10. kànjian ta-nei^{4}-jiǒng-yàngr, dàjia$_{1}$ xīnli dou^{1}-zai-àn**xiào**. → ta-nei^{4}-jiǒng-yàngr 看见他那穷样儿，大家心里都在暗笑。

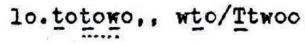
i) No. 1105 (1881) 1. zhe^{4}-ge-mù'ǒu, shi-ta^{1}-zì**jǐ** kè-d. → shi-ta^{1}-zì**jǐ** 这个木偶是他自己刻的。

j) No. 865 (1907) 2. zhe^{4}-ge-kuāngz shi-yong^{4}-liǔ**tiáor**-biān-d. → shi-yong^{4}-liǔ**tiáor**-biān-d 这个筐子是用柳条儿编的。



5) 1 example of 4 degree Ds (descending) sequence

No. 237 (1776) 10. búyao-fěngci-ta^{1}-le, ta-yǐjing **gòu**-tòngku$_{3}$-d-la. → **gòu**-tòngku$_{3}$-d-la 不要讽刺了，他已经够痛苦的了。



6) Transcription of the specimen of text quoted by N. A. Spesnev (1980), p. 115

1. wǒde **wū**zi. 2. zhè-jiu$_4$shi wǒde-**wū**zi. 3. wǒde-**wū**zi, hěn-**liàng**, yě-hen$_3$-**gān**jing. 4. zhèli, you-liǎngge-**chuāng**hu, yǐge-**mén**. 5. chuāngtái-shang, you-sìpen$_2$**huār**. 6. zuǒbianr, shi-yì-zhang$_1$-shū**zhuō**zi, he-shū**guì**zi. 7. shūzhuōzi-shang, you-wǒde-**shū**, **běn**zi, he-mò**shuǐr**. 8. zai-shūzhuōzili, you-gāng**bǐ**, qiān**bǐ**, **chǐ**zi, he-xiàng**pí**. 9. yòubianr, shi-yí-ge-yī**guì**, he-yì-zhang$_1$-chuáng. 10. zai-qiáng-shang, guàzhe-lièning$_2$-tóngzhìde-huà**xiàng**. 11. lièning$_2$-tóngzhì, shi-wǒmende-**lǐng**xiu$_4$.

1.to/To. 2.two/toTo. 3.toTo, tT, twTo, 4.to, wtoTo, toT. 5.tto,wtwT. 6.to, wtwtTo, twTo,wtTo. 7.ttoo, wtoT, To,wtT. 8.wttoo, wtT, tT, To,wtT. 9. to, wtotT, wtwT. 10.wto, totottotT. 11.twtT, wtooTw.

Appendix II

Realization	MO (monotonal)	Ds (desc.)	As (ascending)	Σ
2nd section				
type o	29.7	0.	0.	Σ 29.7
–"– w	15.5	0.3	0.3	Σ 16.1
–"– p	4.2	2.7	2.9	Σ 9.8
–"– x	7.5	0.8	3.0	Σ 11.3
–"– v	1.3	0.7	1.9	Σ 3.9
–"– n	0.7	1.2	8.0	Σ 9.9
–"– r	0.3	1.2	17.8	Σ 19.3
Σ	59.2	6.9	33.9	Σ 100.
6th section				
type o	20.8	0.	0.	Σ 20.8
–"– w	16.5	0.4	0.8	Σ 17.7
–"– p	8.8	1.5	2.0	Σ 12.3
–"– x	8.6	0.9	2.7	Σ 12.2
–"– v	1.8	0.6	2.1	Σ 4.5
–"– n	1.0	1.7	7.0	Σ 9.7
–"– r	0.7	0.8	21.3	Σ 22.8
Σ	58.2	5.9	35.9	Σ 100.
15th section				
type o	22.0	0.	0.	Σ 22.0
–"– w	18.1	0.9	0.1	Σ 19.1
–"– p	9.0	2.8	1.5	Σ 13.3
–"– x	7.3	1.2	3.8	Σ 12.3
–"– v	1.8	0.8	2.4	Σ 5.0
–"– n	0.7	1.8	5.3	Σ 7.8
–"– r	1.0	1.3	18.2	Σ 20.5
Σ	59.9	8.8	31.3	Σ 100.
20eth section				
type o	29.5	0.	0.	Σ 29.5
–"– w	15.1	0.3	0.3	Σ 15.7
–"– p	7.9	2.2	1.2	Σ 11.3
–"– x	7.2	0.7	3.1	Σ 11.0
–"– v	0.8	0.6	1.2	Σ 2.6
–"– n	0.7	1.3	5.2	Σ 7.2
–"– r	0.5	1.5	20.7	Σ 22.7
Σ	61.7	6.6	31.7	Σ 100.

Appendix III

20	什么	shén•me	o
29	我们	wǒ•men	o
35	怎么	zěn•me	o
50	你们	nǐ•men	o
54	知道	zhī•dao	o
59	没有(副)	méiyǒu	o
70	孩子	hái•zi	o
80	这个	zhè•ge	o
81	现在	xiànzài	x
82	自己	zìjǐ	x
82	这么(代)	zhè•me	o
86	他们	tā•men	o
89	这样	zhèyàng	w
90	咱们	zán•men	o
97	时候	shí•hou	o
98	可是	kěshì	w
99	同志	tóngzhì	(p)
105	告诉	gào•su	o
108	妈妈	mā•ma	o
113	出来(补)	chūlái	o
120	先生	xiān•sheng	o
125	东西	dōng•xi	o
128	那么	nà•me	o
129	人家	rén•jia	o
134	起来(补)	qǐlái	o
134	书记	shū•ji	o
136	今天	jintiān	w
136	太太	tài•tai	o
137	可以	kěyǐ	x
139	一点	yīdiǎn	(r)
140	哥哥	gē•ge	o
141	已经	yǐ•jing	o
143	不要	bùyào	x
144	看见	kàn‖•jiàn	o
145	工作	gōngzuò	x
149	思想	sīxiǎng	p
151	刚才	gāngcái	v
153	这些	zhè•xiē	w
154	地方	dì•fang	o
155	主义	zhǔyì	r
156	一定	yīdìng	x
158	大嫂	dàsǎo	r
159	爸爸	bà•ba	o
160	老爷	lǎo•ye	o
161	所以	suǒyǐ	p
161	要是	yào•shi	o
167	愿意	yuàn•yi	o
168	还是	hái•shi	o
169	明白	míng•bai	o
170	大家	dàjiā	r
170	少爷	shào•ye	o
171	爷爷	yé•ye	o
173	一会儿	yīhuǐr	(o)
174	革命	gémìng	r
176	一样	yīyàng	r
179	那个	nà•ge	o
180	经理	jīnglǐ	N: r, Vt: n
180	系统	xìtǒng	w
181	不过	bùguò	r
181	觉得	jué•de	o
182	因为	yīn•wèi	o

182	以后	yǐhòu	r
182	问题	wèntí	x
182	姑娘	gū•niang	o
182	就是〈对〉	jiùshì	w
182	妇女	fùnǚ	v
187	研究	yánjiǔ	w
187	嫂子	sǎo•zi	o
188	多少	duō•shao	o
188	师傅	shī•fu	o
189	应该	yīnggāi	x
189	房子	fáng•zi	o
190	意思	yì•si	o
191	汽车	qìchē	n
191	父亲	fù•qin	o
193	听说	tīngshuō	(r)
193	一块儿	yíkuàir	(r)
193	妻子	wū•zi	o
193	小姐	xiǎo•jie	o
198	认识	rèn•shi	o
199	晚上	wǎn•shang	o
199	原来	yuánlái	x
201	大概	dàgài	N: r, A: x
201	大学	wénxué	w
202	干吗 [干嘛]	gànmá	r, F: x
203	社会	shèhuì	p
203	一下（补）	yíxià	(r)
204	有点儿	yǒu diǎnr	r
205	学习	xuéxí	N: n, Vi: x, Vt: w
205	高兴	gāoxìng	x
205	母亲	mǔ•qin	o
205	叔叔	shū•shu	o
206	喜欢	xǐ•huan	o
206	人民	rénmín	v
206	事情	shì•qing	o
207	下来（补）	xiàlái	o
207	局长	júzhǎng	(n)
208	谢谢	xiè•xie	w
208	进来	jìnlái	o
209	似的 [是的]	shì•de	o
209	多么	duō•me	o
210	当然	dāngrán	p
210	时间	shíjiān	x
211	眼睛	yǎn•jing	o
211	那么	nà•me	o
212	别人	biérén	p
		=（人家）	o
213	昨天	zuótiān	w
214	生活	shēnghuó	p
215	下去（补）	xiàqù	o
215	比较（副）	bǐjiào	v
216	能够	nénggòu	w
216	老师	lǎoshī	r
219	听见	tīng‖•jiàn	o
219	女儿	nü'ér	w
220	青年	qīngnián	p
220	回头	huí‖tóu	r
221	容易	róngyì	Vi: x, Vt: w
221	回来（补）	huílái	o
221	意见	yì•jian	o
221	以为	yǐwéi	p
221	工人	gōngrén	w

221	商店	shāngdiàn	n	225	售货	shòuhuò	(r)
222	朋友	péng•you	o	225	老板	lǎobǎn	n
222	妹妹	mèi•mei	o	226	过来（补）	guòlái	o
223	出去（补）	chūqù	o	226	难道	nándào	p
223	准备	zhǔnbèi	w	226	明天	míngtiān	w
223	办法	bàn•fǎ	x	228	科长	kēzhǎng	(n)
223	衣服	yī•fu	o	228	当时	dāngshí	n
224	年轻	niánqīng	r	228	睡觉	shuì‖jiào	r
224	国家	guójiā	p	229	银行	yínháng	r
225	好好儿	hǎohāor	r	229	也许	yěxǔ	p
225	那样	nàyàng	w	229	帮助	bāngzhù	w

Appendix IV

园 (94), 馆 (155), 机 (652), 院 (215), 力 (4496), 木 (名214), (68), 物 (148), 眉 (45), 民 (31), 筷 (12), 嫂 (75), 石 (226), 室 (383), 尾 (名：29), 校 (54), 业 (209), 衣 (115), 椅 (28), 者 (845)

RHYTHMICAL FEATURES OF SPOKEN CHINESE: QUANTITATIVE AND GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS (METHODOLOGY)

Abstract: *This paper explains two crucial terms of Chinese prosody, i.e. the linear hierarchy – linking syllables into higher rhythmical units, binars, segments, cola and sentences; and the tone prominence hierarchy – the tonicity of the syllables expressed as atonic, weakened (arsis and thesis), full tone (arsis and thesis) and salient (always arsis). Both of the phenomena create three types of rhythm typical for modern Chinese (Pekinese), i.e. chains of syllables organized in acronymic, ascendent and descendent rhythmic patterns. Concentrating on rhythmic features, this system is the most significant result of research applied to 16,000 sentences of the Learning Dictionary of Spoken Chinese. It not only extends our knowledge about prosody of modern Chinese, but as the syllable represents a basic unit of the morphological plan, it is also an important contribution to understanding its grammatical system.*

Key words: *phonology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), linear hierarchy, tone prominence hierarchy, syllabosememe*

The research of such a kind as mentioned in the title of this paper presupposes some kind of previous clarification of all the grammatical as well as prosodical features of the language studied. Some 30 years ago I had to tackle the problem of the basic smallest grammatical units of Modern Chinese and I had also to invent phonetic transcription, that would somehow reflect also the prosodic features of Spoken Chinese in their complexity (including rhythmical features). During my research of the problem of the basic grammatical units in Chinese (my starting point in this field of study was Prof. Lu Zhiwei's work *Beijinghua danyinci cihui*, Peking, Kexue chubanshe 1956) I succeeded with the help of four Chinese informants to amass a representative body of exemplificatory sentences of the extent of about one hundred and fifty thousand characters. This material illustrates the usage of the most frequent monosyllabic sememes of Modern Chinese, represented in the script by about 1800 most frequent characters (cf. the list of the so called Changyongzi frequently used characters in the periodical "Zhongguo yuwen," July 1952). Since middle seventies this material is prepared for publication and it is also the text (further referred to as: the text), the rhythmical features of which I am analyzing and quantifying at the present time.

The distinction between the concepts of (monosyllabic) sememe and morpheme I defined in my CSc dissertation *K otázce morfému a slova v moderní hovorové čínštině* (On the problem of morpheme and word in Modern Colloquial Chinese), Prague 1963. In this work sememe was designated as "s-morpheme" (s-: semantic), morpheme was designated as "k-morpheme" (k-: component), i.e. component part

of disyllabic or more than disyllabic lexical units. The concept of (monosyllabic) sememe corresponds to the concept of *yusu* as it is used by Yin Wuyong in his article *Hanyu yusu dingliang yanjiu*, published in "Zhongguo yuwen" 1984, 5. A similar concept is also suggested in the dictionary *Xiandai Hanyu cidian* (XHC), Peking 1979, by subdividing the treatment of certain characters into two or more separate entries. At last, I should like to call audition to the concept of the functional characteristic (usually many functional characteristics) of a sememe in Chinese. These functional characteristics (abbr.: f.ch.) are for the most part designated by terms usually designating units (not functions) as N (noun), V (verb), A (adverb) etc. The functioning of a sememe as morpheme (component part of a disyllabic or more than disyllabic morphological or semi-morphological unit) is only one among these characteristics; in case of many sememes traditionally termed as "bound morphemes" this is the only possible functional characteristic of sememe.

As far as the interactions of tones as phonological distinctive features of language with sentence intonation, emotional expressivity, contrastive and other types of stresses, speech tempo and other prosodic features are concerned, it is of crucial importance to train and check one's ear by comparing one's own auditive impressions with the data obtained by help of various instrumental methods. I had the possibility to process various samples of speech as spontaneous as possible recorded in Prague (Prof. Hála) an then Peking in the year 1955 and afterwards in Prague by three native Chinese from Peking through the pitch-analyzing equipment at the Phonology laboratory of the University of Berkeley (director Prof. W.S.-Y. Wang) in the years 1969–70. The graphs obtained were then analyzed and carefully compared with the auditive impressions.

The text of about 150 000 characters mentioned above was recorded by Mrs. Tang Yunling Rusková in the year 1969 during a period of about 4 months. The speaker was instructed to get acquainted with the material beforehand, but then to speak as spontaneously as possible (definitely not in a "reading" manner or as if putting a model for pronunciation; lapsus linguae were tolerated, even welcomed). She had to pronounce each sentence two or several times, especially when the semantic content should allow several interpretations. The speaker kept to this instruction (especially during the 1st two months of recording) and by the variants of pronunciation obtained in this way a study of the modifications provoked by emotive expressivity, stresses and similar phenomena was made possible. On the other hand, the speaker, as the recording proceeded, got a little bit "annoyed" and gradually hastened the recording. A slight tinge of "model pronunciation", present at the beginning of the recording, was gradually dropped, and her speech, remaining altogether vivid, became perfectly fluent. All these changes were at first scarcely perceptible, but they were clearly discovered by later quantitative analysis. In this way, by chance, an interesting study of the influence of the varying speech tempo upon the rhythmical structure was made possible.

By the rhythmical structure of language, it is understood:

a) differentiation and hierarchization of the prominence of the syllables of an utterance, i.e. vertical hierarchy (with the neutral line in the middle: the 2nd, 1st and 4th tones according to the degree of their prominence are pushed higher above this line, but the "inversed" 3rd tone is pushed below this line and simultaneously, there is a tendency to push – by contrast – the neighbouring syllables of this 3rd tone syllable to somewhat higher position);
b) differentiation and hierarchization of the closeness of joining syllables (thus organizing them into sequences of various length and various rhythmical structure), i.e. linear hierarchy;
c) in the case of utterances of more than two syllables the organization of various basic rhythmical sequences of identical or differing length and of identical or differing prominence hierarchy into major rhythmical patterns.

The degree of prominence of a syllable in Chinese means the degree of more or less clear preservation of the distinctive features of the etymological tone of the syllable. This hierarchization is made possible especially through the varying "prominence" quantity of the syllables. (We have to distinguish occasional tonally neutral lengthening of the atonic syllables before spaces and breaks; there exists also tonally neutral prominence of e. g. interjections or, sporadically, sentence particles; in these cases the pitch is governed by the sentence intonation and it is necessary to filter out the quantity differences according to tone (especially 2nd and 4th tone) in different positions).

In order to facilitate the study of the rhythmical structure we need a suitable system of prosodic transcription of our recordings. In the final stage of my preparatory work after a long practice of comparing auditive impressions of arses ("ictus" syllables) and theses ("weak" syllables) with the mingograms and comparing these impressions also objectively with the impressions of other listeners (cf, O. Švarný, *Variability of Tone Promienenee in Chinese*, "Dissertationes Orientales" 34, Prague, Academia 1974) I set up a transcription system giving full necessary information about the rhythmical features of Chinese without being too cumbersome.

The linear hierarchy

The speech is organized into sections, terminated by perceptible pauses (duration from a fraction of a second to unlimited extent of time), i.e. terminal breaks marked by specific sentence intonations, marked in the transcription by /./?/!/. Within these sections there are often found non-terminal breaks, characterized by non-terminal intonation and marked in the transcription by /„/ or /,/; the duration of the pause marked by /„/ is approximately more than half of a second, the duration of /,/ is less. The rhythmical unit delimitated by breaks (without doing any distinction between them) is designated as "colon". (There is certain correlation between the occurrence of the non-terminal /„/, /,/ and the inner syntactical structure of sentences; nevertheless it is by no means of the same type in every case.)

The colon is organized into rhythmical segments: it may comprise one segment only (segment colon) or there may be more segments; a segment may have one or more arses. The "tone sandhi", i.e. mutual accommodation of the tones of the neighbouring syllables within a segment is stronger than that between the syllables at the boundary of segments. In the transcription the syllables joined by junctures into segments are written together or hyphenated (this distinction has bearing on the grammatical structure of the text and has no phonetic or rhythmical implications; therefore, all the syllables joined by junctures – whether written together or hyphenated – in respect to the rhythmical analysis are designated as hyphenated).

The boundaries between segments in our transcription are marked by (blank) spaces and are designated as spaces. At spaces, i.e. between the segments the "tone sandhi" is less conspicuous than within the segments. The syllables joining the space on both sides may be eventually bearer of arses, whereas within the frame of segments in such cases one of two possible arses has to be subordinated to the other.

Within the frame of segments we have to distinguish between close and loose junctures as well as within the frame of cola between close and loose spaces. There is a tendency for certain grammatical divisions to appear by slow speed of speech as (close) spaces, but by fast speed of speech as (loose) junctures. In accordance with this the average length of segments varies from about 2.6 syllables by slow speed of speech to about 4 syllables by fast speed. The average length of cola (about 6.5 syllables in our text) is practically independent from the speed (it varies a little dependent upon the length of the sentences).

The (tone) prominence hierarchy

Atonic syllables are marked in the transcription by the form /ba/ (the form /ba/ represents also any other syllable; in case of tonal syllables the form /bā/ represents the forms with any other tone as well). They are subdivided into toneless (the number of the toneless non-lexical monosyllables is a fixed one; in the case of disyllabic lexical units the toneless syllables are indicated in the dictionaries) and neutralized ones.

Weakened tone syllables at the beginning of a segment are written /ba^1/ or more often /ba/, as at this position toneless syllables are excluded (cf. below); within the segment and at its end they have to be written /ba^1/ in order to distinguish them from the atonic syllables.

Full tone syllables are marked /bā/.

Salient syllables are marked /**bā**/.

The salience of the syllables serves other purposes than primarily helping to mark the rhythmical structure; all the existing rhythmical patterns (except for the rarely occurring descending sequence 3-2, 3-2-1, 3-2-0, 3-2-1-0, cf. below) may be realized in speech without salience syllables and noted in the transcription without using the salience mark. It was made possible by setting up the so called "positional" rules of differentiating arses and theses, which apply in two cases:

a) if there is an immediate sequence of two or more tonal syllables (of the same degree of prominence) surrounded by hyphenated less prominent syllables, by spaces or breaks, the arsis rests at the END of such a sequence; in case of trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic structures there is another equally prominent arsis on the FIRST syllable (the rule holds good in these sequences also when any of the two arses is explicitly marked as salient). In sporadic instances of a series of 5 undifferentiated full tone syllables, the arses are put at the odd syllables.
This positional rule applies very often to sequences of full tone syllables, but sporadically also to sequences of the weakened ones.
This "acronymic" positional rule is based on the frequency in Chinese of such a rhythmical pattern, which is found also in European languages in the case of acronymic abbreviations, provided that the letters are pronounced as they are pronounced in spelling (cf. abbr. UK, USA, USSR)

b) the rule of leaving weakened tone syllables at the beginning of a segment unmarked (cf. above) is based on the asymmetry of one-tone and two or more tones sequences: the two and more tones sequences are of both crescendo and decrescendo types, whereas the one-tone sequences, whether binary or consisting of more syllables (maximum 5 syllables) are only of the type arsis–thesis (theses). Sequences: atonic (i.e. neutralized) thesis + arsis do not occur but WITHIN the segments and they are conditioned here by the rhythmical pressure (in a sequence of two weakened syllables ba-ba[1]… at the beginning of a segment the second syllable is considered more prominent).
Marking the degrees of prominence by figures (0-1-2-3: atonic, weakened, full tone and salient) and using indexes: a (arsis) for the weak tone arses and arses of the full tone syllables differentiated by the acronymic positional rule, we obtain a clear picture of the rhythmical flow of any text, e. g. (the numbering of the exemplifications is that of our text of 150,000 characters):

(1490)-8

最近	政府	规定了	有关	国民保险的
zui-jìn	zhèngfu	guīdingle	you-guān	guómìn-báoxiǎn-d
1-2	2-0	2-0-0	1-2a	2a-2-2-2a-0

详细条例。
xiángxi-tiáoliè.
3-0-2-3

(1640)-6

你把这个文件	交出去	得要	一个回执。
ni-ba$_3$-zhe^4-ge-wénjian	jiāochuqu^4,	děi-yào	yi^2-ge-huí**zhì.**
1-1 + 1a-0-2-0	2-0-1,	2-2a	1-0-2-3

(1932)-2

外国教授	也在我们的	和平呼吁书上
wàiguo-jiàoshòu,	**yě**-zai-wo^{3}men-d	héping-hūyushūshang
2-0-2-2a	3-0-1-0-0	2-0-2-0-2-0
签了名。		
qiānle-míng.		
2-0-2		

With the data provided by this type of transcription we proceed to state the percentage of the salient, full tone, weakened and atonic syllables of the text; we discover the maximum length of various types of sequences (e. g. 4 syllables for the crescendo as well as decrescendo sequences); we discover the operation of the positional acronymic rules of ascertaining arses and theses needed in the crescendo sequences is not needed in the decrescendo ones etc.

Nevertheless, the rhythmical features bearing also on the grammatical structure of language cannot be quantified unless we take into consideration also various types of grammatical relations within the text.

In this way, we ascertain first of all the f.ch.'s of the monosyllables forming segments by themselves (in our text these monosyllables amount to 3.5% of the total number of syllables in a sample taken from the beginning of the text – the average duration of the syllables in this sample being about 0.19 sec., whereas in a sample taken from the end of our text – with the average duration of the syllables of about 0.16 sec. – they amount merely to 0.5%) at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the colon.

In the remaining segments, which are formed by binary sequences (abbr.: b. seq.) or consist of b. sequences combined between them and/or with "odd" monosyllables, we ascertain first of all the percentage of the various (grammatical) types of b. sequences of various rhythmical patterns.

Grammatically binary sequences are of three types:

a) lexical b. seq. (i.e. morphological or semi-morphological)
b) quasi-morphological, e. g. seq. with sememes of the "unit" f.ch. (classifier, measure unit, etc.) at the end, nouns with postpositions, seq. verb-noun, sememes of the attributive function followed by noun etc. Binary seq. of this type are to certain degree labile (thus e. g. the sequence numeral – measure unit may be disrupted by the insertion of an attributive sememe to the measure unit, the sequence verb-noun may be disrupted by insertion of an aspect-temporal marker etc.)
c) contextual, arising by more or less accidental joining of sememes of various f.ch.'s. The forming of these sequences is rather labile as the rhythmical structure of an utterance is subject to constant reorganization under influence of the variability of the "linear context" (adding or deleting various units, substituting lexical disyllables for monosyllables and vice versa etc.) as well as the variability of the "prosodic context" (changing neutral intonation for emotionally expressive

one, stressing different units, changing the speed of speech etc.). Most often occurring contextual b. sequences are personal pronouns (as subject) followed by adverb, preverb, prepositional verb, verb /*shi*/ (copula); (b. seq. of this type arise by encliticization of otherwise proclitic elements); sememes of varied f.ch. followed by sentence particles etc.

The way in which the odd syllables are joined to b. seq. within the frame of a segment is designated as "inclination". It is of two types:

a) apposition, if the odd syllable joins the ARSIS of the b. seq.
b) affixation, if the odd syllable joins the THESIS of the b. seq.

The inclination occurs on the right, on the left or on both sides of the b. seq.

In both types of inclination the odd syllable may be thesis or arsis: in the case of apposition the arsis of the b. seq. is "subordinated" (= quiet) to the arsis resting on the odd syllable (it also occurs when b. sequences are joined in ascendent or descendent sequences).

The syllables in more than disyllabic lexical units (the total number of syllables organized in these units in various samples of our text doesn't exceed 4.5% to 5.5% of the total number of syllables of the samples) are also analyzed into b. seq. and odd syllables. In some specific cases there may occur two inclined syllables (joined on the right side of the b. seq.). Finally, there occur also b. sequences with "suppressed" (i.e. tonally neutralized) arses (always resting on the first syllable of the b. seq.), which cannot preceed, but always follow either monosyllables or b. sequences.

By the processes of inclination there arise by side of the "simple" disyllabic sequences the following basic types of rhythmical patterns:

a) pattern with arsis at the center
b) acronymic pattern with two arses: one arsis at the end, the other at the beginning
c) trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic ascending or descending patterns, with the prominence of the syllables continuously rising or falling
d) one-tone sequences of more than two syllables (maximum 5 syllables).

Binary sequences and basic rhythmical patterns (either occurring as independent segments or joined together to form more complicated segments: the average length of segments varies from about 2.6 syllables in a sample taken from the beginning of our text to about 4 syllables in a sample taken from the end of our text) are coordinated to form rhythmical sequences within the frame of a colon. At the beginning and in the middle of a colon these sequences are typically characterized by the recurrence of decrescendo rhythmical sequences (especially the one-tone ones; recurrence of crescendo sequences is rare); at the end of a colon we find typically – though not always – crescendo, i.e. rising sequences, very often preceded by decrescendo ones (which results in the acronymic rhythm: even if the atonic syllable is attached to the last arsis, we can neglect it and understand the whole sequence acronymically).

The quantifying of the rhythmical features of our text on hand of suitably chosen samples (the most important features being analyzed on hand of four samples of the extent of about 8 230 syllables) is a process rather complicated in itself, but

the results may be conveniently summed up as to clarify many interesting points of the typology of Modern Spoken Chinese. Equally or even more important is the possibility of setting up a few relatively simple rules helping the student, when speaking Chinese, to avoid substituting the rhythmical patterns of his own mother tongue for those of Chinese.

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RHYTHMICAL FEATURES AND PROSODIC TRANSCRIPTION OF CHINESE

Abstract: *This paper is an example of the concrete prosodic analysis of spoken Chinese. It is based on the material of "Grammar of Spoken Chinese in Sentence Examples" (Gramatika hovorové čínštiny v příkladech 1. In Švarný, Oldřich: Hovorová čínština v příkladech. Olomouc 1998), units YD 201–204, recorded by Tang Yunling Rusková, a native speaker of Pekinese. First, the linear hierarchy within the sentences of the sample is described (part 2.). Second, the tone prominence hierarachy follows (part 3). Third, the rhythmic features in the sample are mentioned (part 4) and generalised (parts 5, 6 and 7). Finally, in the last part of the text, several examples of variations in the rhythmic flow of sentences are given. All the phenomena are illustrated with numerous examples. Imitating the procedure mentioned in this paper, we hope to obtain a better image of tonicity in modern Chinese (Pekinese).*

Key words: *phonology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), linear hierarchy, seven degrees of tone prominence*

1. The rhytmical features of Chinese (organisation of syllables into more or less closely connected binary groups and groups of more than two syllables, differentiation of relative syllable prominence, setting of ictuses etc.) are variable according to the speed of speech, its emotional colouring, the overall length of the predicative and nominal complexes and according to the possible cases of logical and contrastive stresses.

The description of all these features is given on a sample of text selected at random from the material recorded on the 5th cassette, side B, of our Magnetic Tape Course of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples. The sample comprises the sections YD 201, YD 202, YD 203 and YD 204 (altogether 640 syllables, the variants in parentheses are neglected). In the following we are referring to these four sections by numbers (1), (2), (3), (4).

2. There are 48 sentences in our sample. The pitch-curves of these sentences in the case of interrogative sencences marked as questions solely by intonation, interrogative sentences ending with the particle /ma/, as well as in the case of non-terminal sections of speech, are characterised by a more or less distinct "relative rising" intonation of the last tonally most prominent ictus bearing syllable; at the same time, the overall pitch-level of the sentences (especially of the ending part of these sentences or sections of speech) remains relatively high. The "relative falling" intonation of the last fully tonal ictus-bearing syllable, as well as relatively low level of the sentence ending part is characteristic for all other cases (a relative high level

of the ending part of a senctence may be preserved also in the case of interrogative sencences other than mentioned above).[1]

2.1 A sentence may be subdivided into rhythmical sections, separated by breaks of about 200 millisec. long, or more, called COLA (sg. COLON).

The cola, except for the colon at the end of a sentence, are characterized by "relative rising (non-terminal)" intonation. (As for the questions, vide 2.) The colon boundaries within the frame of a sentence, are marked by a comma. In this sample there are 104 cola of an average length of 6.15 syllables.

2.2 The syllables within colon are organized into:

a/ DESCENDING SEQUENCES of 2 or more syllables with the ICTUS resting on the first one;

b/ ASCENDING SEQUENCES of 2 or more syllables with the ictus at the end.

The remaining SINGLE (ODD) syllables behave as PROCLITICS or ENCLITICS to the already formatted descending or ascending sequences, or remain as ICTUS-BEARING SYLLABLES.

The descending and ascending sequences, as well as the odd ictus-bearing syllables can either form units of the rhythmical flow of the colon, which are called SEGMENTS, or are organised into larger groups, i. e. segments of more complex structure.

The average length of a segment is much more variable than the length of a colon, as it largely depends on the speed of speech. According to our research, it varies from 2.5 syllables to 4.5 syllables; in our sample it is about 3.03 syllables.

2.2.1 In this sample, there occur 211 segments. Their syllabic structure is as follows:

7 monosyllabic segments;

141 segments, formed by 2 or more syllables, but with only 1 syllable bearing ictus (i. e. having one ARSIS[2] only). More than a half of all the 640 syllables of this sample are grouped into segments of this kind;

57 segments, formed by three or more syllables, with two ictuses;

6 polysyllabic segments with three ictuses.

2.2.2 In our transcription, we write the syllables within the frame of a segment together, connected by hyphen.

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[1] Examples of various types of "relative rising" as well as "relative falling" intonations, as they are realised on the syllables in the four tones of Chinese, vide diagrams No. 19 – No. 25 in USHČ p. 57–63.

[2] The ARSIS, i. e. ictus-bearing syllable, is defined as a tonal syllable (i. e. full-tone syllable, tone syllable with stressed prominence or weakened-tone syllable) which is more prominent than the immediately adjacent syllables within a segment. The rest of the syllables within a segment are called THESES (sg. THESIS). Arses are pronounced LONGER, not necessarily louder than theses.

3. According to syllabic prominence we distinguish:
FULL-TONE SYLLABLES marked by tone marks ā á ǎ à
WEAKENED-TONE SYLLABLES, marked a^1 a^2 a^3 a^4 (arses), a_1 a_2 a_3 a_4 (theses)
VOID-TONE SYLLABLES, distinguished by the absence of any tone mark; void tone syllables can be further divided into two groups – TONELESS SYLLABLES, and syllables with the tone in the given position NEUTRALIZED;
STRESSED-PROMINENCE SYLLABLES marked by bold.

3.1 In an immediate sequence of 2 full-tone syllables (within the frame of a single segment), the immediately adjacent syllables being less prominent, the SECOND one is slightly more prominent and hence it is bearer of ictus. Vide: examples of immediate sequences of 2 full-tone syllables

(1) a/1 /hē-shuǐ/喝水 /béng-shuō/甭说 2. /bàn-tiān/半天 3. /chīwánle/吃完了 6. /yě-mǎile/也买了 /líhūn-le/离婚了
b/1 /xiān-tǎngzh/先躺着
(2) č.4 /chēzhàn/车站 5. /hěn-dī/很低 6. /zuótiān/昨天
(3) a/1 /lǎoshī/老师 3. /guójiā/国家
b/1 /kāixué-le/开学了 3. /ānzhuāng/安装 4. /jièyán/戒严
(4) a/2 /ba-dìbǎn/把地板 3. /ba-diàndēng/把电灯 5. /yì-tīng/一听 /xiāngjiāo/香蕉 /qiánbāor/钱包 6. /mei-xiǎngdào/没想到 /zài Jiékesīluofákè/在捷克斯洛伐克 7. /zai-Jiékè/在捷克
b/2/ jīndiàn-d/金店的 /hòuménr/后门 /bù-shǎo/不少 3. /bùrán/不然 6. /**dǎ**dekāi-dǎbukāi?/打得开打不开 7. /gāomíng-d/高明的 8. /huāpén/花盆/ **ná**dekāi-nábukāi?/拿得开拿不开

In an immediate sequence of 3 or 4 full-tone syllables, the FIRST and the LAST syllables are slightly more prominent and hence bearers of ictus; the rhythmical pattern of this kind we call ACRONYMIC. Vide: examples of immediate sequences of 3 full-tone syllables

(1) a/4 /zuòwán-gōngke/作完功课
(3) a/3 /jiu-kāishǐ-yǒu-le/就开始有了
b/2 /wo-bù-chōu-yān-le/我不抽烟了
(4) b/7 /bǎoxiǎnsuǒ/保险锁

Vide: examples of immediate sequences of 4 full-tone syllables:

(3) a/1 /hànyǔ-xuéxí/汉语学习
b/1 /dà-zhōng-xiǎoxué/大中小学

3.1.1 In the acronymic patterns the first or the last syllable may be also a SYLLABLE of STRESSED PROMINENCE marked by bold letters.[3] Vide:

(1) b/1 /shēnróng**jiǔ**/参茸酒
b/3 /zai chūguó-yǐ**qián**/在出国以前

Other examples from GHČP material (outside of our sample):

YD 209 ex. a/3 /cānjiā-kǎo**shì**/参加考试
YD 215 ex. č.4 /jǐngchá-xiàn**bīng**/警察宪兵
YD 223 ex. c/3 /yì-yán-wéi-**dìng**/一言为定
YD 227 ex. d/3 /lián-**lù**xiàngjī/连录像机
YD 227 ex. e/1 /yǔróng-dà**yī**/羽绒大衣

3.2 If the weakened-tone syllable occurs at the beginning of a segment as thesis, we do not mark it by any index figure.

3.2.1 Single syllable without any tone mark at the beginning of a segment is PROCLITIC.[4] Vide:

(1) a/1 /bu-xǔ/不许
a/2 /jiu-**kū**qilai-le/就哭起来了
a/4 /cai-kěyi/才可以
a/5 /ni-gàn-**má**?/你干吗？ /kan-diàn**yǐngr**/看电影
b/2 /zai-**nǎr**…?/在哪儿……？ /zai-**jiā**/在家
(2) č.1 /yao-shuō-d…/要说的……
č.2 /wo-**jiàn**budào-ta/我见不到他
(3) b/3 /cong-**shén**me-shihour-qǐ…?/从什么时候起……？
(4) a/1 /ba-guō/把锅
a/4 /hen-**liáng**/很凉 /zai-chūqu-ba/再出去吧
a/6 /mei-xiǎngdào/没想到
b/2 /bèi-zéi/被贼 /gei-**qiào**kai-le/给撬开了
b/5 /dou-**ná**kai/都拿开
b/6 /zhe-chuānghu/这窗户
b/6 /ta-lǎo…/它老……
b/7 /ye-qiàobukāi/也撬不开

3.2.2 If a weakened-tone syllable without any tone mark at the very beginning of a segment is followed by another syllable or syllables without any tone mark (in this latter case we have to do with void-tone syllables, toneless or neutralized), it becomes bearer of a slight ictus. In this case we mark third tone syllables with an index number/[3]/. Vide:

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[3] In Švarný 1991b: 234–254 and the Learning Dictionary, the syllables of stressed prominence are marked by a stroke immediately preceding them).

[4] Such a syllable, followed by a full-tone syllable, may be written separately, although it remains a (loose) proclitic and forms a part of the following segment.

(1) a/1 /chi^{1}le yīngtao yǐ**hòu**/吃了樱桃以后
a/5 /wo^{3}-qu kan-diàn**yǐngr**/我去看电影
a/6 /ta^{1}men-liǎ/他们俩
(2) č.4 /wo^{3}men…/我们..... /wo^{3}-d-qián**bāor**/我的钱包
(3) a/1 /wo^{3}men-d…/我们的.....
(4) a/6 /hai^{2}-neng chīshang…/还能吃上.....
a/8 /ni^{3}-d-zuǐ/你的嘴
b/1 /ni^{3}-yao dǎkai…/你要打开.....
b/5 /wo^{3}men…/我们.....
b/7 /wo^{3}-d…/我的.....
b/8 /zhe^{4}-ge…/这个.....

4. In this sample of 640 syllables there are:

306 monosyllabic words, including 41 grammatical markers and 16 sentence final particles;

129 disyllabic compounds, including 4 lexicalized, but possibly discontinuous verb-object constructions, and 21 disyllabic modified verbs, i. e. compound verbs formed by joining the directional or resultative complement to the main verb;

22 trisyllabic compounds, including 7 modified verbs and 11 potential forms of the modified verbs,

1 tetrasyllabic structure, see (3) b/1;

1 hexasyllabic structure – a loanword, see (4) a/6.

Monosyllabic words tend to form ad hoc binary disyllabic sequences, prosodically analogous to the lexical disyllabic compounds, or want to be attached to other sequences or rhythmical patterns as proclitics or enclitics. Only a small number of the monosyllabic words remain as monosyllabic ictus bearing syllables or (still less often) as monosyllabic segments.

The segments may be governed by one or more ictuses. Prosodic units governed by more than three ictuses do not occur in this sample.

4.1 The segments may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or more than disyllabic; the longest segment in this sample is hexasyllabic.

4.1.1 The MONOSYLABIC SEGMENTS are full-tone syllables or stressed full-tone syllables. They represent 1% of the total number of syllables in this sample. Vide:

(1) a/1 /gèng…/更.....
(2) č.5 /shuō… (d-shíhour)/ 说.....（的时候）
(4) a/6 /zài…/在.....
a/7 /… xiā?/.....虾？
b/5 /… xiě./.....写。
b/6 /… wèn?/.....问？
b/7 /… zéi, …/.....贼.....

4.1.2 The THESES, if they are more than one, within an ASCENDING segment, their prominence is necessarily ascending all through.

In a DESCENDING segment, the theses are usually represented by void-tone syllables; the syllables of a descending segment may be also of a gradually descending prominence, anyhow this is rather rare.

Considering the properties of the ascending, descending and other types of segments, we have to, within the frame of a colon, distinguish their two basic positions:

a/ at the end of a colon

b/ in the former part (i. e. in the beginning or middle) of a colon

The number of segments in both positions is about the same (the one-segment cola are considered as in the ending position).

From the total number of 90 DESCENDING segments, 60 occur in the former part of a colon, while 30 occur in the end.

In the case of ASCENDING segments, the ratio is reversed – from the total number of 51 segments, 21 occur in the former part of a colon and 30 at the end.

4.1.2.1 From the total number of 72 DISYLLABIC segments, 40 are descending and 32 ascending.

4.1.2.1.1 The majority of the DESCENDING disyllabic segments are lexical compounds. Vide:

(1) a/1 /yīngtao/樱桃 a/3 /chūqu/出去 b/1 /zǒngshi/总是 b/2 /gōngzuo/工作

(2) č.4 /zuótian/昨天 č.5 /shíhour/时候

(3) a/1, a/2 /zìcong/自从 a/2 /**qíng**kuàng/情况 a/3 /zìcong/自从

(4) a/1 /**gài**shang/盖上 a/3 /**guān**shang/关上 /diǎnshang/点上 /**là**zhu/蜡烛 a/4 /wàimian/外面 a/5 /māma/妈妈 b/1 /dǎkai/打开 /chuānghu/窗户 b/2, b/5 /dōngxi/东西 b/6 /**dāng**ran/当然 /yīnwei/因为 b/7 /**shén**me/什么

Some of the descending disyllabic segments are syntagms with a grammatical marker or another monosyllabic void-tone word as the second syllable. Vide:

(1) a/1 /chīle/吃了 a/3 /**liù**-liu/遛遛 a/5 /wo^{3}-qu…/我去 a/5 /… qù ma?/.....去吗?

(3) a/1 /láile/来了

(4) a/5 /láile/来了 a/7 /xiā-ya/虾呀 b/1 /ni^{3}-yao…/你要..... b/3 /wo^{3}-yao…/我要..... /**rǎng**-le/嚷了 b/4 /… **dào**-ne/..... 道呢 b/6 /**guān**zh/关着 b/7 /shàngle/上了 /**sān**-dao/三道/zhe^{4}-ge…/这个

4.1.2.1.2 In the case of disyllabic ASCENDING segments the situation is reversed: lexical compounds are less frequent, vide:

(1) a/1, a/3, a/4, a/6 /yǐ**hòu**/以后 a/6 /qì**chē**/汽车 b/2 /yiqián/以前
(2) č.6 /zuótiān/昨天
(3) a/3 /yi**hòu**/以后 /guójiā/国家 b/4 /jièyán/戒严
(4) a/5 /xiāngjiāo/香蕉 b/2 /hòuménr/后门 b/8 /shí**diāo**/石雕

whereas syntagma represent majority, vide:

(1) a/1 /bu-xǔ/不许 /hē-shuǐ/喝水 /béng-shuō/甭说 b/2 /zai-**nǎr**/在哪儿 /zài-**jiā**/在家 /yao-bàn/要办
(2) č.3 /cai-lái/才来 č.4 /shi-shéi/是谁 č.5 /hěn-**dī**/ /hěn-dī/很低
(4) a/1 /ba-guō/把锅 a/4 /hen-**liáng**/很凉 a/5 /yì-tīng/一听 a/7 /ni-xiǎng/你想 b/2 /bei-zéi/被贼 /bù-shǎo/不少 b/4 /hǎo-**gǒu**/好狗 b/6 /ta-lǎo/它老 b/8 /tài-**zhòng**/太重

4.1.2.2 In the case of about 50 of the one-ictus TRISYLLABIC segments, approximately 50% are formed by DISYLLABIC descending sequences PRECEDED by a PROCLITIC. As to the character of the disyllabic descending sequence in these cases, we may distinguish 2 different situations:

a/ the descending sequence is a compound; vide:

(1) a/4 /cai-kěyi/才可以
(2) č.1 /yǒu-**jié**zòu/有节奏
(3) b/1 /dou-**yí**lù/都一律
(4) b/1 /jìn-**wén**z/进蚊子 b/5 /dōu-**ná**kai/都拿开 b/6 /zhe-chuānghu/这窗户 /wo-**cóng**lai/我从来

b/ the descending sequence is a syntagm (this situation is more common); vide:

(1) a/5 /ni-**yě**-xiang…/你也想…… a/6 /yě-mǎile/也买了 b/1 /xiān-tǎngzh/先躺着
(2) č.1 /yao-shuō-d/要说得 č.2 /jiu tì-wo$_3$/就替我 /wo **méi**-far/我没法 č.3 /ta-zhǐ-zai…/他只在…… č.5 /yao-shuō-d/要说得 č.6 /ta-pǎo-dao…/他跑到……
(3) a/2 /ta-diào-dao…/他调到…… a/3 /ta-sǐle/他死了 b/4 /cong-yèli…/从夜里…… b/4 /zai-wǒ-zher/在我这儿

4.1.2.2.2 One-ictus trisyllabic descending segments DESCENDING ALL THROUGH have following structures:

a/ disyllabic lexical compound with a void tone second syllable + another void-tone (toneless or tonally neutralized) syllable. If the last syllable is tonally neutralized, it may partially restore its tone; vide:

(1) a/4 /háizimen/孩子们
(2) č.4 /tāozoule/掏走了

(4) a/7 /**shén**me-ne?/什么呢？ b/2 /tōuzoule/偷走了 b/3 /fàngkai-wo/放开我 b/6 /dǎkaigo/打开过 b/8 /zěnme-neng/怎么能

b/ odd monosyllabic arsis + a sequence of 2 void-tone syllables or (much more rarely) a sequence of 2 syllables of gradually descending prominence. The last syllable may be again toneless or tonally neutralized; in the second case, the final syllable may possibly restore its tone. Vide:

(1) a/6 /bù-zhidao/不知道 a/6 /wèi-shenme/为什么 a/8 /shuōqilai/说起来 b/2 /**méi**-zai-nar/没在哪儿

(3) a/1 /wo^{3}men-d/我们的

(4) a/2 /**cā**-yi-ca/擦一擦 a/7 /**chī**deshang/吃得上 /chībushang/吃不上 /nǎr-lai$_{2}$-d/哪儿来的

4.1.2.2.3 The trisyllabic ASCENDING segments, which are less frequent than trisyllabic segments mentioned in 4.1.2.2 and 4.1.2.2.2, are formed similarly:

a/ by a disyllabic ascending lexical compound followed by an enclitic; vide:

(1) a/1 /pí**jiǔ**-le/啤酒了

(3) b/1 /kāixué-le/开学了 b/4 /guò**yè**-le/过夜了

(4) a/2 /hǎohāor-d/好好地 b/2 /jīndiàn-d/金店的 b/7 /gāomíng-d/高明的

b/ by an ascending sequence ascending all through, i. e. a proclitic with a weakened tone followed by a disyllabic ascending compound (or, less frequently, by an ascending syntagm), vide:

(1) a/5 /kan-diàn**yǐngr**/看电影

(4) a/2 /ba-dìbǎn/把地板 a/3 /ba-diàndēng/把电灯 a/6 /mei-xiǎngdào/没想到 a/7 /zai-Jiékè/在捷克

(1) a/5 /ni-gàn-**má**?/你干吗？

(2) č.6 /jiu-zhí-**chuǎn**/就直喘

4.1.2.3 TETRASYLLABIC one-ictus segments, which represent only about 5% of the total sum of 211 segments, are formed in two different ways:

a/ less often by two disyllabic sequences; the arsis of one of them, usually of the second one, is tonally neutralized;[5] vide:

(2) č.1 /shuō-d-shihour/说的时候 č.6 /**wǒ**-zher-lai-d…/我这儿来的……

(1) b/3 /hǎo-**xiē**-hao-xie/好些好些

b/ more often by a disyllabic sequence (descending, occasionally ascending), preceded by a PROCLITIC, and at the same time followed by an ENCLITIC (other types of tetrasyllabic one-ictus segments are rare); vide:

(1) a/1 /ta-rāng-rang-le/他嚷嚷了

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[5] Note. There exist also segments, formed by two disyllabic sequences, ASCENDING ALL THROUGH as a whole, cp. /yi-tiao^{2}-cháng-shé/ "a long snake," /yi-zhi^{1}-dà-niǎor/ "a big bird," but this kind of segment does not appear in our sample.

(3) a/1 /jiu-jìnbu-d/就进步得 a/2 /jiu-gǎibian-le/就改变了
(4) a/4 /zai-chūqu-ba/再出去吧 b/2 /gei-**qiào**kai-le/给撬开了 b/6 /mei-kànjiango/没看见过
(4) b/6 /ni-**wèi**-sheme/你为什么
(1) a/6 /jiu-líhūn-le/就离婚了

4.1.2.4 There also occur examples of PENTASYLLABIC one ictus segments. Vide:
(1) a/2 /jiu-**kū**qilai-le/就哭起来了
(4) a/5 /jiu-pǎochuqu-le/就跑出去了 b/5 /ba-zhuōzishang-d/把桌子上的
(2) č.4 /mǎi-**piào**-d-shihou/买票的时候

4.1.2.5 We find in our sample one example of a HEXASYLLABIC one-ictus segment. Vide:
(2) č.3 /**xū**yao-wo-d-shihou/需要我的时候

4.2 The preponderance of the ascending sequences at the end over those in the former part of a colon, observed in the case of one-ictus segments, may be also observed in the case of 57 TWO ICTUSES segments.

4.2.1 The majority of the two-ictuses segments – 37 examples – has the ACRONYMIC PATTERN. They can be divided into 2 groups:

a/ segments with one of the ictuses on an odd syllable. The most frequent are groups containing a DESCENDING SEQUENCE, disyllabic as a rule, followed by an ODD ictus bearing syllable. This kind of a segment reminds us of the "rhythm" – ◡ – of the Old Greek trisyllabic metre of cretic: (with the only difference in the number of syllables within the initial disyllabic sequence: while in Greek metrum, there may be only two syllables, in the cretic type segment in Chinese, the actual number of the syllables within the initial descending sequence is sometimes more than two). In our sample, there appear 25 such "cretic type" segments, 14 of them in the end of a colon, and 11 in the former part of a colon;

b/ segments formed by a DESCENDING sequence followed by an ASCENDING one. Both these sequences are as a rule disyllabic, reminding us of the Old Greek tetrasyllabic metre choriamb: – ◡ ◡ –, again disregarding the actual number of syllables in the descending and/or ascending sequences. In our sample, there are 12 cases of the "choriamb type" segments, 3 of them in the former part of a colon and 9 at its end.

4.2.1.1 The "pure" type of the cretic acronymic pattern, i. e. DISYLLABIC DESCENDING sequence + ODD arsis; vide:
(3) b/3 /guǎnfeng**qín**/管风琴
(4) a/6 /sōnghua**dàn**/松花蛋 b/1 /yàoburán/要不然
b/7 /bǎoxiǎnsuǒ/保险锁 b/8 /**ná**bukāi/拿不开
(1) a/4 /chūqu-wánr/出去玩
(2) č.2 /wèn-ta-**hǎo**/问他好
(4) a/2 /dǎshang-**là**/打上蜡 a/8 /ni^3-d-zuǐ/你的嘴 /zěnme-**lǎo**…/怎么老…… /méi-ge-wán/没个完 b/4 /hái-bu-dǎng/还不挡

4.2.1.1.1 Other types of the cretic acronymic pattern, occuring rarely; vide:
(1) b/1 /hē-yi-zhōngr/喝一盅
(2) č.5 /**jìn**liàng-d-dī/尽量的低
(1) b/1 /kàn-yi-huir-**shū**/看一会书

4.2.1.1.2 The cretic acronymic pattern PRECEDED by a PROCLITIC; vide:
(4) b/1 /jiu-guānshang-dēng/就关上灯
(3) b/3 /cong-**shén**me-shihour-qǐ…/从什么时候起……

4.2.1.2 The "pure" type of the choriamb acronymic pattern, i. e. DESCENDING SEQUENCE joined by an ASCENDING one, both of them DISYLLABIC; vide:
(2) č.4 /wo^3-d-qián**bāor**/我的钱包
(3) a/1 /**zhōng**guo-lǎoshī/中国老师 /hànyǔ-xuéxí/汉语学习
b/3 /kāishi-ānzhuāng/开始安装
(4) a/5 /**ná**shang-qiánbāor/拿上钱包 a/6 /hēshang-huáng**jiǔ**/喝上黄酒 b/5 /wo^{3}men-zai-**zhèr**…/我们在这儿……
b/8 /shítou-huāpén/石头花盆

4.2.1.2.1 The "pure" choriamb type sequence PRECEDED by a PROCLITIC; vide:
(1) b/3 /zai chūguó-yǐ**qián**/在出国以前

4.2.1.2.2 The choriamb type sequences with MORE THAN TWO THESES between the arses; vide:
(1) a/6 /gàihao$_3$le-xiǎo**lóur**/盖好了小楼
(2) č.4 /wo^{3}men-zai-chēzhàn…/我们在车站……

4.2.2 Two-ictuses segments which are NOT ACRONYMIC can be divided into 2 groups:

4.2.2.1 TWO DESCENDNING sequences following each other; there are 14 of such segments in our sample, equally distributed at the end and in the former part of a colon. The second sequence can be either a lexical compound, vide:

(1) a/4 /zuòwán-gōngke/作完功课
(2) č.2 /ni **jiàn**budao-ta-d-shi²hour/你见不到他的时候
(3) a/3 /hen-dà-d-**biàn**huà/很大的变化

or second sequence ends with a void-tone monosyllabic word, vide:

(2) č.2 /wo-**jiàn**dào-ta/我见到他
(3) a/1 /bǐjiao-kuài-le/比较快了 a/3 /jiu-kāishǐ-yǒu le/ 就开始有了 b/2 /wo-bù-chōu-yān-le/我不抽烟了
(4) b/6 /dǎdekāi-le/打得开了 b/8 /nádekāi-ne/拿得开呢

4.2.2.2 TWO ASCENDING sequences following each other; vide:

(1) a/2 /bàn-tiān-yi**hòu**/半天以后 b/1 /ta-shuì-yiqián/他睡以前

4.2.2.3 An ASCENDING sequence FOLLOWED by one or more enclitic theses + an odd arsis, or a descending sequence; vide:

(1) a/3 /chīwánle-fàn/吃完了饭
(2) č.5 /… di**sān**-sheng-d-shíhour/……第三声的时候 /hen-**dī**-hen-dī-d/很低很低的

4.3 THREE-ICTUSES segments, which occurred 6 times in our sample, are in most cases formed by a two-ictuses acronymic pattern of the "cretic" or "choriamb" type (cp. 4.2.1), enlarged by one disyllabic sequence, ECHOING (reduplicating) either the descending sequence of the basic acronymic pattern at the beginning, or its ascending sequence at the end. Vide:

(1) a/5 /xiàle-bān-yihòu/下了班以后
(3) a/2 /… dǎng-zhōng**yāng**-yihòu/……党中央以后 b/1 /cong jiǔyue-**yī**-hao-qǐ/从九月一号起
(4) a/6 /Jiékesīluofákè/捷克斯洛伐克 b/6 /**dǎ**dekāi-dǎbukāi?/打得开打不开？b/8 /**ná**dekāi-nábukāi/拿得开拿不开

4.4 THE TONE FEATURES of certain syllables are NEUTRALIZED by higher speed of speech; by slow speed, or by a more careful pronunciation, the TONE FEATURES of these syllables may be partially (as weak-tone prominence syllables) or fully RESTORED. In the examples the neutralized syllables are quoted in parentheses anew with their original tones; those syllables which may possibly become arses, are underlined. Vide:

(1) a/6 /wèi-shenme/为什么 b/1 /kàn-yi-huir-**shū**/看一会书
(4) a/4 /nin **bèi**shang-dianr-shen²me/您被上点什么
b/5 /wo³men-zai-**zhèr**/我们在这儿
(1) a/6 /bù-zhidao/不知道 b/2 /**méi**-zai-nar/没在哪儿

(2) č.1 /shuō-d-shihour/说的时候 č.2 /ni **jiàn**dao-ta-d-shi²hour/你见到他的时候 č.3 /**xū**yao-wo-d-shihour/需要我的时候 č.4 /mǎi-**piào**-d-shihour/买票的时候 č.5 /di**sān**-sheng-d-shihour/第三声的时候 č.6 /**wǒ**-zher-lai-d/我这儿来的

(3) b/3 /cong-**shén**me-shihour-qǐ/从什么时候起

(4) a/7 /**chī**deshang-chībushang/吃得上吃不上 a/8 /**bì**deshang-bìbushang/闭得上闭不上 b/8 /zěnme-neng…/怎么能……

5. A NATURAL RHYTHMICAL FLOW of the speech arises by joining together all the sequences and odd syllables within one colon, while simultaneously adding the needed intonational features.

Disregarding the segments, we may distinguish the following COMPONENTS OF A RHYTHMICAL FLOW OF A COLON:

/ ASCENDING SEQUENCE; maximum number of syllables – 4, all syllables are of an all through ascending prominence;

\ DESCENDING SEQUENCE; the theses are usually represented by VOID-TONE syllables, maximum number of them: 4; sequences of syllables with GRADUALLY descending prominence do occur mainly in the case of contrastive or logically stressed arses; maximum length of the gradually descending sequence – 4 syllables – is extremely rare or dubious;

.\ DESCENDING SEQUENCE PRECEDED by a PROCLITIC syllable;[6]

/. ASCENDING SEQUENCE FOLLOWED by an ENCLITIC syllable, or a short sequence of such syllables;

\/ TRISYLLABIC TWO-ARSES SEQUENCE, if the three syllables form one single SEGMENT. This sequence consists of a disyllabic descending sequence + one monosyllabic (odd) arsis. Rarely do the components appear in a reversed order;

| ODD monosyllabic ICTUS-BEARING SYLLABLE (with the exception of odd arses within the \/ pattern); |. marks a descending sequence with a final void-tone syllable, which may be considered merely as a "tonal tag" of the preceding syllable.[7]

The neutralized syllables – possibly slight arses – are considered as theses. Vide:

(2) č.1 /shíhour/时候 č.3 /… wǒ-d-shíhour/……我的时候 č.4 /shíhour/时候 č.6 /lái-d/来的

(3) b/3 /shíhour/时候

(1) b/2 /méi-zai-nǎr/没在哪儿

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[6] The ENCLITIC and PROCLITIC syllables, occurring at the boundaries of segments, often prevent the immediate neighborhood of arses and in this way they are softening the rhythmical flow of the colon.

[7] There are 248 such components of rhythmical flow in our sample.

(4) a/8 /bìbushàng/闭不上 b/3 /fàngkai-wǒ/放开我
b/8 /zěnme-néng/怎么能
(1) b/3 /hao-xiē/好些

5.1 The most typical model of the rhythmical flow of the syllables within the frame of a colon is the acronymic one (within longer cola the acronymic model – of 3–6 syllables – usually occurs at the end).

5.1.1 REDUPLICATION of DESCENDNING sequences, e. g. \\, \\\, \.\ etc. (or \|.; \\|. etc.) is the most common; vide:
(1) a/5 /ni yě-xiang qù-ma?/你也想去吗？ .\\ (altern. .\ |.)
b/1 /zǒngshi xiān-tǎngzh/总是先躺着 \.\ (altern. \ /.)
b/2 /**méi**-zai-nar gōngzuo/没在哪儿工作 \\ (alern. \|.)
(4) a/3 /diǎnshang **là**zhu/点上蜡烛 \\ (altern. \|.)
b/1 /ni^{3}-yao dǎkai chuānghu/你要打开窗户 \\\ (altern. .\\|.)
b/5 /ba zhuōzishang-d dōngxi dou-**ná**kai/把桌子上的东西都拿开 .\\.\ (altern. .\\ /.) b/6 /yīnwei wo-**cóng**lai mei-kànjiango zhe-chuānghu dǎkaigo/因为我从来没看见过这窗户打开过 \.\.\.\\ (altern. \ /..\ / .\)

5.1.2 REDUPLICATION of ASCENDNING sequences, e.g. // is rather rare; vide:
(1) a/1 /bu-xǔ hē-shuǐ/不许喝水 //

5.1.3 ACRONYMIC PATTERN of the type descending + ascending sequence: \ / is quite common; vide:
(1) a/5 /wo^{3}-qu kan-diàn**yǐngr**/我去看电影 \/ a/6 /yě-mǎile qì**chē**/也买了汽车 .\/
(4) a/4 /wàimiàn hěn-**liáng**/外面很凉 \/ a/5 /láile xiāngjiāo/来了香蕉 \/

5.1.4 ECHOING (reduplication) of the INITIAL DESCENDING sequence of the acronymic pattern of any type (i. e. both \/ and \ /, e. g. \\ /, \\/, \\\ /etc.) is very common; vide:
(1) a/1 /chīle yīngtao yi**hòu**/吃了樱桃以后 \\/ a/4 /háizimen zuòwán-gōngke yi**hòu**/孩子们作完功课以后 \\\/ (altern. \\|./)
a/4 /cai-kěyi chūqu-wánr/才可以出去玩 .\\/
(2) č.2 /jiu tì-wo$_{3}$ wèn-ta-**hǎo**就替我问他好 .\\/ č.2 /wo **méi**-far wèn-ta-hǎo/我没法问他好.\\/ č.3 /ta-zhǐ-zai **xū**yao-wo-d-shihour cai-lái/他只在需要我的时候才来 .\\/ č.4 /tāozoule wo^{3}-d-qián**bāor**/掏走了我的钱包 \\/

(3) a/1 /zìcong láile **zhōng**guo-lǎoshī/自从来了中国老师 \\\/
a/3 /zìcong ta-sǐle yi**hòu**/自从他死了以后 \.\/ (altern. .\/./)
(4) a/6 /hai²-neng-chīshang sōnghua**dàn**/还能吃上松花蛋 \\\/

5.1.5 REDUPLICATION of the FINAL ASCENDING sequence of the acronymic pattern of any type, e. g. \//, \\ / etc.; vide:
(1) a/2 /ta-rāngrang-le bàn-tiān-yi**hòu**/他嚷嚷了半天以后 .\//
b/2 /nǐ-lai-zhèr yi**qián**/你来这儿以前 \//
(2) č.5 /yao-shuō-d hěn-**dī** hěn-dī/要说得很低很低 .\// (altern. /.//)
(1) a/5 /xiàle-bān-yihòu ni-gàn**má**?/下了班以后你干吗？ \///

5.1.6 ACRONYMIC PATTERN with the REDUPLICATION of both the INITIAL DESCENDING and FINAL ASCENDNING sequences, e. g. \\ //, \\//; vide:
(2) č.4 /zuótian wo³men-zai-chēzhàn mǎi-**piào**-d-shihour/昨天我们在车站买票的时候 \\ //.
(3) a/2 /zìcong ta-diào-dao dǎng-zhōng**yāng**-yihòu自从他调到党中央以后 \.\\//

5.2 Within the frame of a colon at the boundary of segments, there may occur an IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE of TWO ICTUSES neighboring with each other (these ictuses may be of equal or unequal prominence). In the diagrams of the rhythmical flow of the cola such points are marked by +.

5.2.1 REDUPLICATION of the ACRONYMIC segments, e.g. \/+\/, \ / + \/ etc.; vide:
(1) a/6 /ta¹men-liǎ gàihao₃le-xiǎo**lóur**/他们俩盖好了小楼 \/+\/ b/1 /hai hē-yi-zhōngr shēnróng**jiǔ**/还喝一盅参茸酒 .\/+\/
(3) b/3 /kāishi-ānzhuāng guǎnfeng**qín**/开始安装管风琴 \ /+\/

5.2.2 ORDERING of ASCENDING and DESCENDING segments, e. g. (one of the arses, for the most part the 2nd one, is usually of stressed-prominence); vide:
(1) b/2 /zai-**nǎr** gōngzuò?/在哪儿工作？ /+\
(4) a/1 /ba-guō **gài**shang!/把锅盖上！ /+\ (altern. /+|.) a/7 /ni-xiǎng **shén**me-ne?/你想什么呢？ /+\ (altern. /+|.) b/6 /ta-lǎo **guān**zh/他老关着 /+\ (altern. /+|.)

5.2.3 Other possibilities; vide:
(4) a/5 /yì-tīng pùzili³/一听铺子里 /+\/ a/8 /zěnme-**lǎo** shuōqilai méi-ge-wán?/怎么老说起来没个完？ \/+\\/ b/2 /tōuzoule bu-shǎo dōngxi/偷走了不少东西 /\/+\ b/7 /wo³-d-ménr shàngle **sān**-dao bǎoxiǎnsuǒ/我的门上了三道保险锁 \/+\\\/ b/8 /zhe⁴-ge shítou-huāpén **ná**dekāi-nábukāi?/这个时头花盆拿得开拿不开？ \\ /+\ // (altern. \\ /+\/\/)

5.2.4 The immediate neighborhood of ICTUSES at the boundary of segments may be prevented by a proclitic syllable before the second arses. Vide:

(3) a/3 /guójiā jiu-kāishǐ-yǒule hen-dà-d-**biàn**hua/国家就开始有了很大的变化 /.\\.\\ (atern. /.\\ /.\)

(4) a/5 /māma **ná**shang-qiánbāor jiu-pǎochuqu-le/妈妈拿上钱包就跑出去了 /\\ /.\ b/2 /jīndiàn-d hòuménr bei-zéi gei-**qiào**kai-le/金店的后门被贼给撬开了 /.//.\

5.3 The odd-syllable arses, as far as they are not a part of en acronymic pattern \/, may also occur in such an ordering of the rhythmical components of the colon, that results in an IMMEDIATE SEQUENCE of TWO ICTUSES at the boundary of two segments. Vide:

(4) a/6 /zài Jiékesīluofákè/在捷克斯洛伐克 |+\\/ b/5 /wo^{3}men-zai-**zhèr** xiě/我们在这儿写 \/+|

5.3.2 Anyhow in these patterns with odd-syllable arses, we more commonly observe an INTERCHANGE of ARSES and THESES, too. Vide:

(1) a/1 /gèng béng-shuō he-pí**jiǔ**-le/更甭说喝啤酒了 |//.

(4) a/7 /**chī**deshang chībushang xiā?/吃得上吃不上虾？ \\| b/5 /ni-**wèi**-shenme wèn?你为什么问？ .\|

5.3.2.1 Sometimes, the immediate neighborhood of arses is prevented by the insertion of an enclitic or proclitic syllable. Vide:

(1) a/3 /chīwánle-fàn yi**hòu**/吃完了饭以后 /.|/

(2) č.5 /shuō di**sān**-sheng-d-shíhou/说第三声的时候 |.\\ or |/.\

(4) b/7 /**shén**me gāomíng-d zéi/什么高明的贼 \/.|

6. NO NEED for a SPECIAL MARK for ARSES is a characteristic feature of our prosodic transcription. This is made possible by a director indirect MARKING of THREE DEGREES of SYLLABLE PROMINENCE (i. e. full tone, weakened tone and void-tone; cp. 3.) and by application of the RULES CONCERNING the ICTUS SETTING within the frame of a segment (cp. 3.1; 3.2.2):

a/ ASCENDNING PATTERN: in a sequence of two full-tone syllables, marked as equally prominent with neighboring syllables marked as less prominent, the ICTUS rests on the SECOND SYLLABLE;

b/ ACRONYMIC PATTERN: in a similar sequence of three or four full-tone syllables, marked as equally prominent the ICTUSES rest on the FIRST and the LAST SYLLABLES;

c/ at the BEGINNING of a SEGMENT, the very first weak-tone syllable is bearer of a SLIGHT ICTUS, if the immediately following syllable or syllables are without any tone mark (if the second syllable is a tonally neutralised one, the beginning descending sequence easily changes into an ascending one).

Thus, the stress-prominence mark (bold) is reserved just for marking the sentence, clause or colon stresses and/or for the logical or contrastive stress. The LOGICAL and CONTRASTIVE stress is usually indicated by the mark, placed on OTHER THAN the last full-tone syllable of the colon.

As far as the ascertaining of ictus is concerned, the only case when the use of the BOLD MARK is relevant, is in such a situation, when a stressed-prominence syllable is followed by a full-tone syllable. In this case the full-tone syllable becomes a thesis. Vide:

(2) č.1 /yǒu-**jié**zòu/有节奏 č.5 /**jìn**liàng-d-dī/尽量的低
(3) a/2 /**qíng**kuàng/情况

7. The various degrees of the syllable prominence are manifested by various degrees of the quantity (length) of the vocalic part of the syllable, and at the same time by the tonal features of the given syllable. In this way, neither the lengthening of syllables WITHOUT MANIFESTING RELEVANT TONAL FEATURES, occuring before pauses (or superseding them), nor the relatively great loudness at a high voice WITHOUT PROLONGING THE SHORT syllables, as e. g. in the vicinity of a 3rd tone, are to be considered as prominence features.

7.1 It is recommended to the beginning student to start training fluent pronunciation of the separate segments within a colon according to the way they are marked in our transcription. Nevertheless, the true rhytmical scanning arises only by joining all the segments within a colon into one rhythmical whole.

8. The prosodic transcription applied in GCC corresponds to the momenteneous mood of the speaker, the speed of her speech as well as to her momentaneous disposition to stress a certain word at the time of recording the material of HČP on the tapes. Anyhow, the most typical way of pronouncing the given sentences is usually preserved. Some of the pronunciation variants are recorded on the tapes, some of them are also quoted in the pinyin transcription of the exemplificatory sentences, introduced by the signal "or." Several examples of possible variants are given here.[8] Vide:

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[8] The index figures of tones $^{1|}$ $^{2|}$ $^{3|}$ $^{4|}$ in the prosodically transcribed texts of HČP denote syllables of weakened tone prominence, whereas in the vocabularies of HČP the index figures $^{1|}$ $^{2|}$ $^{3|}$ $^{4|}$ mark a highly variable tone prominence of the second syllable of disyllabic words and expressions.

In the vocabularies of HČP (except for those dealing with the Supplementary parts A, B) the accentuation of the disyllabic words and groups is marked in the following way (the form /baba/ is a substitute for any disyllabic compound, the tone-mark is a substitute for any of the four tones of Chinese):

bāba: disyllabic words with toneless syllable in the second position;

the marking /bāba_, bāba/, bāba\/, bāba\) means that the tone of the second syllable may reappear occasionally under favorable rhythmical conditions;

bāba$^{1|}$, bāba$^{2|}$, bāba$^{3|}$, bāba$^{4|}$: this marking means that the second syllable of the compound is of highly variable tone prominence, i. e. we hear pronunciation /bābā,

(9) č.7 /wǔshí jiǎn-sān shi-**duō**shao?/ or /wǔshí jiǎn-**sān** shi-duōshao?/五十减三是多少？

(21) c/3 /… ta[1]men-d-wūz tài-**xiǎo**./ or /… ta[1]men-d-wūz **tài**-xiǎo./……他们的屋子太小。

(43) /… **yě**-hen-měi/ or /yě-hen-**měi**/……也很美。

(47) a/2 /…, wo-jiějie-d yīfu **duō**./ or /…, wo-**jiě**jie-d yīfu duō./……我姐姐的衣服多 a/7 /…, hen-dà-d **jìng**z./ or /… hen-**dà**-d jìngz./……很大的镜子。

(49) a/1 /… nàr hen-**shēn**./ or /… **nàr** hen-shēn./……那儿很深。 a/5 /lǎoshī zai-**nǎr**?/ or /lǎo**shī** zai-nǎr?/老师在哪儿？

(54) /dou[1]-zai ménkǒur **zhàn**zh-ne./ or /dou[1]-zai-mén**kǒur** zhànzh-ne./都在门口站着呢。

(59) /huā **yí**-ge keláng, kěyi-da[3] yí-ci-diànhuà./ or /huā yí-ge-kè**láng**, kěyi-dǎ yi[2]-ci-diàn**huà**./花一个克朗可以打一次电话。

(60) č.3 /yǒu-yi-wei tóngzhì zai-zhèr, ta-hěn-xiǎng **jiàn**-ni./ or /yǒu-yi-wei **tóng**zhi zai-zhèr, ta-**hěn**-xiang jiàn-ni./有一位同志在这儿，他很想见你。

(61) č.5 /ni[3]men yǒu-méi-you zhōngguo-máo**bǐ**?/ or /ni[3]men **yǒu**-mei-you zhōngguo-máobǐ?/你们有没有中国毛笔？

(62) b/1 /… yǐjing qī**shí**-le./ or /… yǐjing **qī**shí-le./……已经七十了。

(63) č.6 /…, shuo ta-xiǎng-lái Bùlagé **xué**xi./ ……说他想来布拉格学习。 or /…, ta-xiǎng-lái Bùla**gé**, xuéxi./ ……他想来布拉格学习。

(64) b/1 /zhe[4]-shi wǒ-d shū**jiàr**, …/ or /zhe[4]-shi **wǒ**-d shūjiàr, …/这是我的书架…… b/2 /ta-jiā **bú**-zai-běifāng, …/ or /ta-jiā bú-zai-**běi**fang, …/他家不在北方……

(66) c/2 /…, māma hái-mei-**huí**lai-ne./ or /māma **hái**-mei huílai-ne./ or /**mā**ma hái-mei-huílai-ne./……妈妈还没回来呢。

(74) a/7 /tài-**gāo**-le, …/ or /**tài**-gāo-le,…/太高了……

(81) b/2 /wo-qùgo **hǎo**-ji-cì Chángchéng,…/ or /wo-qùgo hǎo-ji-**cì** Chángchéng,…/我去过好几次长城……

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bābá, bābǎ, bābà/ (ictus on the second syllable) approximately as often as the pronunciation /bāba/;

bābā: the second syllable, under the influence of rhythm, may occasionally weaken or even lose its tone (regularly so, if the disyllabic word appears as the first component part of a trisyllabic compound or close unit or more than trisyllabic close unit).

The writing /bābā[1]/ means that the second syllable does weaken its tone less easily than is the case with the compounds marked /bābā/.

(87) b/1 /… yǐjing-hui-shuō zhōngguo**huà**-le-ma?/ or /… yǐjing **huì**-shuō zhōngguohuà-le-ma?/ .....已经会说中国话了吗？

(100) č.3 /… hǎo-xie-**shū**./ or /… hao-**xiē** shū./.....好些书。 č.4 /wo-gěi-ni zhè-ge-hǎochu, ni^3-gei-**wǒ** shénme-ne?/ or / wo gěi-ni **zhè**-ge-hǎochu, **nǐ**-gěi-wo shénme-ne?/我给你这个好处，你给我什么呢？

(101) d/1 /ni-bǎ-táng **dì**-gei-wo./ or /ni ba-**táng** dì-gei-wo./你把糖递给我。

(102) c/4 /… you-liǎng-ge shi-**zhōng**guo-d./ or /… you-**liǎng**-ge shi-zhōngguo-d./.....有两个是中国的。

(113) a/3 /wo^{3}men-zuò-d tài-**màn**-le, …/ or /wo^{3}men-zuò-d **tài**-màn-le, …/我们做的太慢了..... b/1 /ta-fānyi-d **duì**, …/ or /**tā** fānyi-d duì, …/他翻译得对..... d/3 /rè-d huángjiu-d **wèi**dào, **hǎo**-d-hěn./ or /**rè**-d huángjiu-d wèidào, hǎo-d-hen./热的黄酒的味道好得很。

(115) b/2 /… dà-píng**guǒ**./ or /… dà-**píng**guo./.....大苹果。 b/3a /běnlái-d yìsi./ or /běnlai-d-yìsi./本来的意思。

(117) č.6 /yi-**kǒu** ye-bù-xǔ-chōu./一口也不许抽。 or /**yì**-kou ye-bù-xíng./一口也不行。

(122) b/3 /ta-huì **bāng**zhu-wo^3-ma?/ or /ta-**huì** bāngzhu-wo^3-ma?/他会帮助我吗？ b/3 B2: /bù-yí**dìng**./ or /**bù**-yídìng./不一定。

(137) b/1 /…, **cuò**le, nǐ-ke fùzé./ or /…, cuòle, **nǐ**-ke fùzé/.....错了，你可负责。

(144) a/3 /diū-d-dōngxi **zhǎo**dao-le./ or /diū-d-dōngxi zhǎo**dào**-le./丢的东西找到了。

(146) b/2 /…, liǎng-ge dōu-**yào**./ or /… liǎng-ge **dōu**-yào./.....两个都要。

(153) č.2 /zai-zhōngguo$_2$ xiànzài, hái-you…/ or /zai-zhōngguó, xiànzai hái-you…/在中国现在还有.....

(166) b/6 /ta-xuéxi-d-shi^{2}hour…/ or /ta-xuéxí-d-shihour…/他学习的时候..... c/2 /ni-wèi-shenme **pī**ping-tā, …?/ or /ni-wèi-shenme pīping-**tā**, …?/你为什么批评他.....？

(169) č.5 /rénjia shuāile yi-jiǎo, you-**shén**me-kěxiào-d?/ or /rénjia shuāile yi-**jiǎo** you-shénme-kěxiào-d?/人家摔了一脚，有什么可笑的？

(242) b/1 /ta-qùgo **hǎo**-ji-cì zhōngguo, …/ or /ta-qùgo hǎo-ji-**cì** zhōngguo, …/他去过好几次中国.....

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PROSODIC TRANSCRIPTION OF MODERN CHINESE: EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH AND TEACHING PRACTICE

Abstract: *This paper deals with the principles of the prosodical transcription of Modern Chinese (Pekinese) as it was applied in the publication Učební slovník jazyka čínského (Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese), Palacký University Publishing House, Olomouc. The prosodical transcription was applied in transcribing phonetically the 16,000 exemplificatory sentences and short dialogues of this Dictionary. The Dictionary is to appear in four volumes together with a fifth supplementary volume entitled "Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese" with English translation of the explanatory passages of the 1st and 4th volumes of the Dictionary as well as the English translation of all the 16,000 exempificatory sentences and short dialogues. The first volume was published in 1998; the remaining volumes are to appear in 1999–2001.*
All the exemplificatory sentences and short dialogues of the Dictionary are recorded on 39 audio cassettes of 90 min. each (speaker: Mrs. Tang Yunling Rusková from Peking). The cassettes can be ordered at the Palacký University Publishing House, Biskupské nám. 1, Olomouc, Czech Republic.

Key words: *phonology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), prosodical transcription, Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*

The complex character of the prosodic features of any language or dialect, i.e. interactions between syllable quantity, pitch level and pitch contour as well as distribution of intensity ("loudness," amplitude of the periodical vibrations of the audiowave) with the syllables, various rhythmical segments and sentences, and practically infinite variation of selecting among these features for most varied functional purposes is well known. Through these interactions there arise specific rhythmical scannings of languages and specific intonational features as well.[1]

[1] It should be also noted that there is not any clearly cut division between "segmental" and "suprasegmental" functional levels of language or, in other words, there is practically infinite variation in the functional exploitation of the opposition between the vocalic (vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs…) and consonantal (consonants, consonantal clusters…) elements, the consonants being less apt to be used in the typically prosodical functions. Cp. Also great variation in the structuring as well as functional exploitation of the unit called syllable. In the treatment and teaching practice of the Semitic languages we can do without the concept of the syllable at all, whereas in "isolating" languages a syllable is in this or other way directly connected with meaning (in other words, the boundaries of the smallest meaningful units or even units on a higher level of language). It should be noted in this connection that in Old Egypt, the phonemic script, as a matter of fact, was created in the very beginning of writing. In the West Semitic area this script was then gradually freed from the "dead weight" of the multiconsonantal signs and ideographical elements; in this area there also originated the idea of creating different signs for syllables beginning with glottal stop according to the inherent vowel (Ugaritic). The phonemic script was then fully realised by Greeks – or perhaps more

In Modern Standard Chinese (within the scope of prosodic features of Chinese, we take the Pekinese dialect as a representative of Chinese) the situation is even more complicated by the use of the syllabic prosodical features not only as a distinctive means of the lexical meaning but through the far-reaching modifications of the lexically distinctive "tones" (their weakening and neutralization, or on the other hand their reinforcing and making them more prominent) also as a means for expressing phenomena of sentences intonation, variable word stress phenomena, sentence focuses etc. The case of Chinese is the more interesting, as using various direct or indirect methods we can pursues the history and the phonetic development of the language for a considerably long period from the Sino-Tibetan proto-language to the present day and compare this development with that of Tibetan. In today's Standard Chinese (Pekinese) there can be observed a process of functions generally realised by prosodical means (word accent, emphasis, intonations, emotivity) more and more encroaching on the lexically distinctive function of "tones."

This process, manifested by a strong hierarchical differentiation of the lexically distinctive syllable tone prominence resulting in about 30% of syllables being already tonally neutral (about half of these tonally neutral syllables being altogether toneless) is closely connected with the rise of equally important linear differentiation, i.e. joining syllables together into binary (i.e. disyllabic) sequences and higher rhythmical units (rhythmical segments or phrases, cola, sentences) while keeping these units apart by divisions: junctures (of unequal coherence) between binary sequences and/or odd syllables within the frame of rhythmical segments, "blank spaces" (short real pause or only tonally neutral lengthening of the last syllable before the "blank space") and finally "breaks" (real short or longer pauses) between the cola and between the sentences. All these prosodical phenomena are connected with the development of the grammatical structure of the language, as to a great extent they are functions of linguistic phenomena: arising of disyllabic (to a certain extent also more than disyllabic) lexical units and joining monosyllabic lexical units that are liable to be used only in combination with other lexical units to these units, marking of various types of syntagms, marking of certain clauses and marking of sentences by grammatical intonational features etc., thus we encounter a seemingly paradoxical situation: in the realization of disyllabic and polysyllabic lexical units, syntagms and sentence prosodical characteristics, the lexical tones do not appear as an obstacle, but on the contrary, due to their manifold modifications, overlapping and progressive weakening and neutralization, they appear as an important means of their realization.

In the realization of the tone syllable prominence we distinguish the stages of salient tone prominence, full tone prominence, weak tone prominence and atonicity. Full tone prominence and weak tone prominence syllables are further differentiated into ictus-bearing syllables – arses – and non-ictus-bearing syllables – theses (the

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probably by bilingual Phoenicians for the use of Greeks, just as the Slavic script "Glagolica" was invented by a bilingual Greek, Konstantin, for the use of Slavs. On the other hand, the original syllabic writing systems are not apt to develop easily into a phonemic script.

salient prominence syllables are always arses). The atonic syllables are differentiated into toneless (always tonally neutral syllables) and tonally neutralized syllables (often, of course, with a slight residuum of some tonal characteristics).[2]

The various rhythmical patterns arise in various syllable sequences through unequal syllable tone prominences in these syllable sequences. The rhythmical scanning of the rhythmical segments (phrases) of 2.5 to 4 syllables average length (according to the varying speech tempo) is transformed into independent rhythmical units of cola and sentences, characterized by various intonational features.

It goes far beyond the scope of this paper to give exhaustive examples of all the prosodical phenomena of Chinese (Pekinese) discussed above. Nevertheless before giving a few examples of our prosodic transcription, we should give characteristics of the four lexical tones of Chinese and explain some basic principles of their modifications.[3]

The low tone (the 3rd tone) may be low or low falling, possibly also low rising, but the characteristic of a concave shape always remains (except for tone being near to neutralization). In connected speech it has a raising effect on the preceding syllable, whether it is tonally neutral or realized in any tone (this heightening effect on the preceding syllable is especially conspicuous if the preceding syllable is another syllable in the 3rd tone, the two syllables forming a binary sequence). If strongly prominent or influenced by emotional intonation, it rises before the pause, otherwise it usually remains low.

The characteristics of the other tones are as follows: 1st tone – high level (often rising or falling) or a convex shape; 2nd tone – rising or concave-convex shape, if not very prominent it loses or weakens before another syllable in the 2nd or 3rd tone its initial concave part; 4th tone – high falling of a convex shape, to the end usually realized in a concave shape.[4]

The 1st, 2nd and 4th tones are in distinctive opposition to the 3rd tone, because at some point of the syllable duration they reach a high level of the pitch range,

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[2] The realization of the sentences: tonal syllable + atonic syllable (or: syllables) is tonally practically the same as the realization of one single tonal syllable, as the physiological pitch level and pitch contour of the ending part of the tonal syllable itself is "transferred" and realised on the atonic syllable(s).

There are also far-reaching modifications and overlapping of tonal characteristics (especially the physiological ones) in the binary sequences of two tonal syllables depending to a great extent on the relative degree of prominence of both syllables joined into a binary sequence.

[3] Our characteristics are based on studies of varying realisations of the four lexical tones in connected, spontaneous speech, studied by machine-experimental methods checked by auditive methods and vice-versa. The usual traditional characteristics given in Manuals of Chinese: 1st tone – high level, 2nd tone – rising, 3rd tone – falling-rising, and 4th tone – falling, are based on isolated pronunciation of tonal syllables only (without any context) and do not pay attention to the distinction between distinctive and physiological features; it is fallacious especially in the case of the 3rd tone (shangsheng): the distinctive feature of this tone is low pitch of a concave shape, the falling at the beginning and rising at the end being physiological.

[4] This concave ending of the 4th tone is a physiological phenomenon in distinction to the concave shape of the 3rd tone, which is an important distinctive feature.

whereas the 3rd tone due to its concave shape reaches the low point of the pitch range. The opposition between the 3rd tone (low, concave shape) and all other three tones seems to be of a hierarchical order: the 3rd and the 2nd tones have certain important feature in common, cp. especially the low (concave shape) configuration of the 3rd tone and the same configuration of the beginning of the 2nd tone (but the eventual rising of the 3rd tone at the end of the syllable is rather a result of a physiological tendency, whereas the convex rise at the end with a 2nd tone syllable is an important distinctive feature.

It should be noted that the varying position of the high peak of the pitch range during the realization of the syllables with the 1st, 2nd and 4th tones (with the 3rd tone syllables the high pitch peak is located at the adjacent syllables) is physiologically accompanied by increased amplitude of the audiowave vibrations, i.e. by increased loudness. This increased loudness does not affect the whole syllable but just that part of the syllable the pitch peak is located at. In the case of the 3rd tone the phonologically distinctive middle part of the syllable is often of a "creaky" character as the periodical vibrations of the audiowave just in this part of the syllables (because of the low pitch) physiologically "degenerate" becoming irregular and of lessened amplitude. On the contrary, the increased amplitude of the vibrations on the immediately adjacent high pitch atonic syllables may be fallaciously considered as a sign of prominency, but they are "betrayed" as being less prominent by their quantity.

The more is the tonal syllable prominent, the higher is its distinctive pitch peak in opposition to the 3rd tone syllable (3rd tone syllable has no distinctive peak at the body of the syllable itself) which with the increasing prominence becomes lower (the low level of the 3rd tone is often achieved indirectly by relatively heightening the pitch of the immediately preceding syllable and eventually also the following one.)

As the quantity of the syllable is not a distinctive features of tone,[5] it functions as a very important means of marking the various degrees of tonal syllable prominence.

The prosodical transcription elaborated step by step during the last four to five decades renounces from marking various types of the grammatical intonation (except for putting the diacritic marks ,, . ? !) as it is supposed to be relatively easily perceived by following auditively the upper and the bottom line of the pitch range band the tonal atonic syllables of the live or recorded speech and realized within. This pitch range band may widen or become narrower according to the degree of the overall prominence of the tonal syllables, it may proceed in a higher or lower position (according to the type of intonation) etc. The general principles of the grammatical intonation, as it may be safely assumed, are of universal character.[6]

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[5] Eventual variations of tonal syllable quality according to the different tones can be explained as the result of physiological tendencies during the interactions with various types of intonation as well as influence of various positions at the end or at the beginning (or middle position) of rhythmical units. This type of quantity modifications due to the different tones interacting with intonational features has to be distinguished from sometimes quite considerable tonally neutral lengthening substituting or joining various types of linear divisions.

[6] This supposition is confirmed e. g. by experiments with analogous short sentences differentiated only by ictus-bearing prominent syllables in all the four tones, pronounced

The various types of emotional colouring have to be evaluated auditively, too, but they are at least partially marked by indicating the syllable prominences: in emotional speech we may observe a general tendency to maintain the tonal characteristics of the syllables more prominent than it is usual in neutral speech the prosody of which is governed only by grammatical factors and some specific factors of rhythm. It is recommended again to listen attentively to the nuances of the live or recorded speech, as are the changing width of the pitch range band and its high or low position within the pitch range of the speaker and other features of the emotional colouring, which are relatively easy to be caught by the ear, as they are universal.

In our transcription we mark first of all the rhythmical grouping of the speech, because just this prosodical feature is characteristically specific for Modern Chinese (the realization of the rhythmical grouping and scanning through the tonal syllable modifications) and just this prosodical feature is most liable to be substituted by that of the rhythmical grouping and scanning of the mother-tongue of the foreign learner.

The focus marking within the sentences of Chinese through the rhythmical grouping and marking the relative degrees of syllable prominences is unequivocal in our prosodical transcription, because the mark /'/ before a syllable is reserved first of all just for focus marking. The distinguishing of the logical and context-depending focuses from the purely syntactically determined focuses is unequivocal as it is always placed at non-the-last full tone syllable of the sentence.

The prosodic transcription and marking of the rhythmical scanning applied in Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese is based on the following principles:

a) the prosodical transcription is to the necessary extent based on experimental analysis and systematic auditive analysis of recorded utterances nearing the spontaneous speech and for comparison on some specimens of directly spontaneous speech;
b) it is accepted the system of three relative degrees of tonal prominence: full tone syllables, weak tone syllables and atonic syllables;
c) the sandhi change of 3rd tone syllables to 2nd tone syllables is marked by specific signs;
d) the full tone syllables are marked by the usual signs ā á ǎ à (the sandhi change of the 3rd tone syllables to 2nd tone syllable is marked by the sign <).

In the case of immediate sequences of two, three and four full tone syllables within the frame of a rhythmical segment the arses are determined by the following automatic "acronymic" rules: in the disyllabic sequences the ictus rests on the second syllable, in the trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic sequences there are ictuses on the first and the last syllables;

e) the figures 1 2 3 4 before the syllables are used for marking weak tone arses (the sign 2. is used for marking the sandhi change of the 3rd tone syllable to the 2nd

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as a statement, question, exclamation, order etc. The specific modifications of the contours and position of the pitch range band within the pitch range of the speaker of these syllables in different tones are in each case (statement, question etc.) in harmony with the universal intonational tendencies.

tone syllable). The weak tone theses as the 1st syllable of a rhythmical segment in the case of 1st, 2nd and 4th tone are left without any mark at all (they cannot be mistaken for atonic syllables, as atonic syllables – more accurately: toneless syllables – don't occur in this position); in other position they are marked indiscriminately by a dot below the vowel (or the main vowel) of the syllable.

The 3rd tone theses are marked in any position of the syllable by putting the mark a̲ below the vowel (or main vowel) of the syllable. (Whereas the tonal difference between the 1st, 2nd and 4th tone weak tone theses could be neglected in negligent speech, in the case of the 3rd tone syllables the tonal characteristics should be kept even in the weak tone theses);

f) the atonic syllables are written without any special mark at all; the eventual slight distinctions between toneless and tonally neutralized syllables have to be inferred by the learner himself. (Just the same as the "neutralization" of arses because of the immediate neighbourhood of tonally more prominent syllables has to be inferred by the learner himself – nevertheless the neutralization of the arses is rarely absolute and they are kept as "quiet" or "slight" arses even in the described positions);

g) the salient tonal prominence marked by the sign, before the syllable is a special case of full tone prominence. The salient tone prominence syllables are always bearers of ictus and the acronymic rules of the distribution of arses in the full tone syllable sequences is subordinated to the rule of salient tonal prominence being always bearer of ictus;

h) the division between sentences are marked by the diacritic marks . ? ! , the divisions between the cola are marked by , or ,, and the divisions between the rhythmical segments are marked by blank spaces. The junctures within the frame of the rhythmical segments (phrases) in the case of the lexical units are marked by writing the syllables together, in all other cases the syllables are hyphenated.

Binary groups of syllables (in a few cases trisyllabic lexical or semi-lexical units) and the remaining odd syllables within the frame of rhythmical segments have to be analysed and interred by the learner himself on the basis of grammatical analysis. Except for grammatical criteria we have to pay attention also to the so called "encliticization," i.e. uniting two prosodical monosyllabic proclitics into binaries, or uniting the proclitics with the preceding rhythmical segments.

Rhythmical patterns arise in any close sequence of syllables, if there are two or more arses (including eventually also the "quiet (slight)" ones). The basic rhythmical patterns of Chinese are various types of the so called acronymic rhythm consisting of a descending or "trochee"[7] sequence followed by an ascending one. In a trisyllabic acronymic pattern the ascending sequence (less often the descending one or the trochee one) is replaced by an odd syllable arsis.

[7] The term "trochee sequence" is used in a broad, loose sense: any sequence of a tone-syllable followed by one or more (maximum: four) atonic syllables.

The maximum number of syllables within an ascending or descending[8] sequences are four syllables.

The maximum number of syllables joined together to form acronymic pattern are six syllables: two arses (at the beginning and at the end of the sequence) with four theses inbetween.[9] The syllables may be grouped into one rhythmical segment (without any "blank space" in between) or there may be two rhythmical segments joined together to form such an acronymic sequence.

Under certain conditions the trisyllabic acronymic patterns may interchange with trisyllabic ascending patterns and tetrasyllabic acronymic patterns may interchange with terasyllabic ascending patterns or the sequences consisting of two iamb disyllables.

The rhythmical flow of the two acronymic rhythmical sequences immediately following each other may be softened by proclitical and enclititcal syllables attached at the beginning or at the end of more than disyllabic acronymic sequences.

The rhythmical analysis of the often occurring two descending sequences joined to form a single rhythmical segment is dubious, because such a sequence – especially if the last syllable of such a sequence is a toneless one – may be interpreted as a trisyllabic acronymic pattern, the last syllable being not counted as it is realized as a mere tonal "tag" of the preceding tonal syllable.

Rhythmical segments (phrases) are not autonomous rhythmical units unless they are realised as a colon or a sentence characterised by a specific type of intonation as well.

There often arise "large" acronymic sequences consisting of more rhythmical segments (phrases) with an intermediate subordinated arsis between the main front and end arses of such a "large" acronymic pattern (the relative degree of prominence between the front and end arses may vary).

Around of an acronymic pattern within the frame of a colon or sentence there may occur one or more descending or "trochee" sequences before the central acronymic patterns (less often an ascending sequence following the acronymic pattern).

The following specimens of the prosodic transcription of Chinese are quoted from the following publication:

(1213), (1214): entries No. (1213) & (1214) in O. Švarný, Xiandai Hanyu changyong yusu huibian (Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese/ *Učební slovník jazyka čínského*). Publishing House of the Palacký University, Olomouc (the 1st volume appeared 1998, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th volumes are in print; the 5th volume with necessary explanatory passages translated into English is being prepared for print).

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[8] Descending sequences of four syllables are extremely rare. (The first syllable has to be in this case always of salient prominence.)

[9] The maximum number of syllables of analogous rhythmical sequences in a certain type of abbreviations in European languages are four syllables, cp. e. g. the abbreviation USSR.

The audio-cassestes as well as CD accompanying the Dictionary can be ordered at the Publishing House of the Palacký University, Biskupské nám. 1, Olomouc, ČR.

骗 (1213) 騙.(騙) 1144 piàn

1. 你不用騙我，我知道你說的不是眞話。
2. 那次他騙了我，我再也不信他的話了。
3. 他从我这儿骗了不少钱去。
4. 他从我这儿騙的綫都拿去买糖吃了。
5. 人家說他是冒充貴族的騙子。
6. 这个流氓欺騙过不少妇女。

1. nǐ-'bú-yong piàn-wǒ „ wǒ-'zhīdao nǐ-shuō-d bú-shi-zhēnhuà.
2. nèi-ci ta-'piànle-wǒ „ wǒ-'zài-yě-bu-xìn ta'-d-huà-le.
3. ta-cóng-'wǒ-zher piànle bù-shǎo-qián-qu.
4. ta-cóng-wǒ-zher piàn-d-qián,dou-'náqu mǎi-'táng chī-le.
5. rénjia shuō, ta'-shi màochōng-guìzú-d 'piànz.
6. zhe⁴ge-liú'máng, qīpiengo bu-shǎo-'fùnǚ.

1. You needn't lie to me, I know you're not telling the truth.
2. Last time he cheated me, and I shall never believe him again.
3. He cheated me out a lot of money.
4. He spent all the money he got out of me on sweets.
5. People say that he is an imposter who passes himself off as an aristocrat.
6. That hooligan has cheated a lot of women.

避 (1214) 73 bì

1. 我們找个地方儿去避避雨吧！
2. 就要下大雨了，快找个地方避一避吧！
3. 他們全家都到海边儿避暑去了。
4. 爸爸生气了，快避开吧！
5. 最近他老避开我。
6. 我越想法子避开这个問題越是「避不开它(避它不开)。
7. 承認錯誤吧，不要想法子逃避責任了。
8. 他为了避免伤风每天洗冷水澡。
9. 打雷的时候儿不要「躲避在（躲在）大树底下。

①避孕

1. wǒmen zhǎo-ge-difang, qu-bì-bi-'yǔ-ba.
2. jiù-yao-xià dà-'yǔ-le „ kuài-zhao-ge-difang 'bì-yi-bì-ba.
3. tāmen-quán-jiā dōu-dao-hǎibiānr bì'shǔ-qu-le.
4. bàba shēng-'qì-le „ kuài 'bìkai-ba.
5. zuì-jìn, ta-lǎo 'bìkai-wǒ.
6. wǒ-'yuè-xiǎng-fǎz bìkai-zhe⁴-ge-wèntí, yuè-shi bìbu'kāi-ta.
7. chéngren cuòwu-ba „ 'búyao-xiǎng-fǎz táobi-zéren-le.
8. ta-wèile bìmian shāng'fēng, 'měi-tiān xi-lěngshuízǎo.
9. dǎ-'léi-d-shíhour /'búyao duǒbi-zai dà-shù-dǐxia.

1. Let's look for a place to shelter ourselves from the rain.
2. There will soon be a downpour, let's hurry up and look for a shelter!
3. The whole family has gone to the seaside for summer holidays.
4. Father is angry, better get out of his way.
5. He has been avoiding me recently.
6. The more I try to avoid this problem, the less I can get away from it.
7. Better admit your mistakes and not try to shun responsibilities.
8. To avoid getting colds he takes a cold bath every day.
9. Don't hide under a tree when it thunders.

Selected literature:

Nordenhake M. and Jan-Olof Svantesson: Duration of Standard Chinese Word Tones in Different Sentences. *Working Papers*, *Lingusitics-Phonetics*, *Lund University* 1983, 25, pp. 105–111.

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Švarný, Oldřich and Tang Yunling Rusková: Prosodic Features in Chinese (Pekinese): Prosodic Transcription and Statistical Tables. *ArOr* 1991, 59, 3, pp. 234–254.

Švarný, Oldřich: Rhythmical Features of Spoken Chinese, Quantitative and Grammatical Analysis. *Rocznik Orientalisticzny* 1991, 47, 2, pp. 131–137.

LEARNING DICTIONARY OF MODERN CHINESE
UČEBNÍ SLOVNÍK JAZYKA ČÍNSKÉHO I–IV
EXEMPLIFICATORY SENTENCES

Abstract: *This text is an introduction to the Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese (Učební slovník hovorové čínštiny) published by the Publishing House of Palacky University in Olomouc, Czech Republic from 1998 till 2000. Generally, the dictionary maps 2,000 of the most frequent syllabosemes of modern Chinese portrayed by a prosodic analysis of more than 16,000 sentences. Indispensable recordings by Tang Yunling Rusková, a native speaker of Pekinese, are attached. The recorded material is written in Chinese characters, transcribed in prosodic transcription based on pinyin, and translated into Czech. This paper also provides practical advice on its usage and a list of the files on accompanied by three CD-ROMs. The end of the text is devoted to the genesis of the entire project from the 1950s up until the end of the millennium.*

Key words: *phonology, morphology, modern Chinese (Pekinese), Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*

On the CD-ROMs the files corresponding to the entries of the *Learning Dictionary* are ordered in the following way (vide also the booklet accompanying this CR-ROM course, "*List of the Files*"):

CD-ROM No. 1: entries (1)–(500)
CD-ROM No. 2: entries (501)–(1300)
CD-ROM No. 3: entries (1301)–(1969)

"*Phonetic Exercises*" (vide also "*List of Files*"):

CD-ROM No. 3:
CD72 – CD78
CD76-77-78,6 – CD 76-77-78,33b
CD76-78,6 – CD 76 -78,33b
FII – FII, Rhymes

Speaker **Tang Yunling Rusková** 唐云凌

O. Švarný: **Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese**
(*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I – IV)
Publishing House of the Palacký University, Olomouc, 1998–2000
Instruction for installation you can find on the CD-ROM No. 1 in the file "readme.txt"

Exemplificatory material of the Learning Dictionary recorded on CD-ROMs

The 1969 entries of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV) analyse the syntactical, formally – grammatical as well as lexically-grammatical functional characteristics of more than 2000 monosyllabic semantical units (in Chinese called 语素 yusu), in the Chinese scrip written by about 1800 most frequent characters (the 1800 characters cover approximately 96% of any modern Chinse text). The analysis and explanations of the functional characteristics of the monosyllabic units [yusu] treated in the *Learning Dictionary* are exemplified by about 16 000 sentences or short dialogues of conversational character (written by about 150 000 Chinese characters) and occasional specimens of publicistic style.

The exemplificatory material of the *Learning Dictionary* was being compiled towards the end of the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties of the last century; the specimens of the publicistic style reflect the social atmosphere on the People's Republic of China and in the Czechoslovak Republic of that time.

The whole corpus of collected exemplificatory material was checked by four native speakers of Chinese and in the year 1969 during about two months it was recorded on the magnetic tapes by 唐云凌 Tang Yunling Rusková, native from and educated in Beijing.

The natural fluent way of recording was occasionally enlivened by the speakers spontaneous comments concerning either the content of the recorded material or various grammatical as well as lexical questions and problems connected in this or that way with the recorded material (the speaker simulates an alive dialogue with the author of the *Dictionary*). A definitive wording of some sentences has thus arisen in this last phase of preparing the exemplificatory material of the *Learning Dictionary*.

The recorded material is written in Chinese characters, transcribed in pinyin and translated into Czech in the *Learning Dictionary* (*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV; the English translation will appear in the fifth volume of the *Dictionary*, which is being prepared).

For the transcription in pinyin there was devised a special system of traditional as well as newly-invented marks and rules to indicate the rich scale of prosodic features in Chinese: variously close junctures and breaks as well as various degrees of syllabic tonal-prominence: stressed tonal prominence, ictus-bearing and non-ictus bearing full tone prominence, ictus-bearing and non-ictus bearing weakened tone prominence as well as atonic syllables – either tonally neutralized or altogether toneless. In this way the sufficient basic information is given for the student to enable him to perceive and gradually master the rhythmical flow of the fluent speaking of Chinese.

The rhythmical flow of the speech, which is of course variable according to varying syntactic structures of the sentences, changing emphasis on different words of the sentence, changing emotional mood or speech-tempo, was marked in the *Dictionary* on the basis of the analysis of the same recorded material, which was used for the production of the CD-ROM course as well.

In learning Spoken Colloquial Chinese we must be prepared to cope with some difficulties arising from the fact, that the prosodic features known from non-tonal languages (word-accent, logical stress, sentence intonation etc.) are so-to-say superimposed over the lexical tones and manifest themselves just through the modifications (exaggerating, preserving, weakening or neutralization of the pitch-movement characteristics) of these tones as well as by simultaneous lengthening or on the contrary shortening of the syllables according to their varying tonal prominence; especially carefully must be avoided using "force" (i. e. loudness) in differentiating the tonal prominence.

It is recommended always carefully compare the auditive impression of the recordings with the prosodic transcription of the same texts, as the analysis of the rhythmical structure of sentences in both ways mentioned is complementary and they have to be mutually checked.

The process and circumstances of the recordings of the exemplificatory material has had to be arranged in such a way, that the spontaneity should not be disturbed or handicapped. For this reason the material was not recorded in a studio as the atmosphere there is not favourable in this respect, but at the speaker's home using a standard tape-recorder. Some slight technical imperfections that might arise in this way are of no importance in view of the main goal and purpose of the recording: to obtain clear auditive impression of the melody contours of the stressed tone, full tone, weakened tone and atonic syllables and their duration in order to be clearly aware of the rhythmical segmentation of fluent spontaneous speech.

As it was mentioned already, the material was recorded continuously during about two months. The spontaneous speech tempo during this span of time was gradually slightly increasing. In this way the extensive corpus of our recordings may be used also as a suitable material for the study of the modifications of the various prosodic features under the influence of changing speech tempo in Spoken Colloquial Chinese (and not only in Chinese).

During the checking of the recorded exemplificatory material a few newly recorded sentences had to be incorporated into the material recorded earlier. The sentences recorded later are marked as such in the *Dictionary* and by studying the influence of the gradually increasing speech tempo may be neglected.

In a few instances there occurred in the exemplificatory material also some dialectal words or words with non-standard pronunciation. In these cases the sentences were "corrected" according to the standard of the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (Beijing 1988), recorded anew and inserted into the material; nevertheless the original sentences were usually retained too and marked by a "tinkling" before the sentence.

Certain timbre-modifications of the reduced vowels of the toneless syllables and neutralizations of certain distinctive features of certain pairs of the syllable "finals," typical for the Beijing dialect (but not accepted in the Standard Chinese) were easily tolerated (usually they are not clearly perceived by the students) and they may be even of some help by calling attention to the toneless syllables.

As an Appendix to the exemplificatory material of the *Learning Dictionary* there are recorded "Phonetic Exercises" marked by the abbreviations CD and FII.

"List of the Files of the CD-ROM Course"
of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*
(*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV)

On the CD-ROMs of the Phonetic course of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese* there is record the following material:

A. Exemplificatory sentences of the individual entries of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV)
B. "Phonetic Exercises"

A. The individual files of the exemplificatory sentences of the *Learning Dictionary* are designated in the same way as are the entries of the *Learning Dictionary* (*Učební slovník*), i.e. by Arabic figures in round (eventually square) brackets (because of technical reasons the exemplificatory sentences of two of the entries – (1559), (1892) – were not recorded).

The entries of the *Learning Dictionary* are treated in the four volumes of this *Dictionary* in the following order:

Vol. I: entries (1)–(265)
Vol. II: entries (266)–(799)
Vol. III: entries (800)–(1389)
Vol. IV: entries (1390)–(1969)

On the CD-ROMs the files corresponding to these entries are ordered in the following way:

CD-ROM No. 1: files (1)–(500)
CD-ROM No. 2: files (501)–(1300)
CD-ROM No. 3: files (1301)–(1969)

B. The material of the "Phonetic Exercises" is of two kinds:

1) "Phonetic Exercises" from the 1st volume of the *Learning Dictionary* (p. LIII–LXII, doubled pages designated as grafy (1) – grafy (39)) marked by the abbreviation CD
2) Selection of the "Phonetic Exercises" from the textbook *Introduction to the Study of Colloquial Chinese* (*Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny*, Olomouc 2001, p. 36–76) marked by the abbreviation FII

The designation of the files of the "Phonetic Exercises" marked as files CD are followed by indications of the doubled pages of the *Learning Dictionary* (*Učební slovník* I), where the content of the files is written in Chinese characters, transcribed in pinyin and accompanied by curves of the pitch-movement of the vocal cords. The files marked by the abbreviation CD follow in this order:

CD72 (grafy(1)–grafy(3))
CD72,1 CD72,2 etc. till CD72,12

CD73 (grafy(4)–grafy(7))
CD73,1 CD 73,2 etc. till CD73,13

CD74 (grafy(7)–grafy(9))
CD74,1 CD74,2 etc. till 74,7

CD75 (grafy(10)–grafy(12))
CD75,1 CD75,2 etc. till CD75,9

CD76 (grafy(13)–grafy (21))
CD76,1 CD76,2 etc. till CD76,5 CD76,5b CD76,6 etc. till CD76,33b

CD77 (grafy (21)–grafy(30))
CD77,1 CD 77,2 etc. till CD77,33b

CD78 (grafy (31)–grafy(39))
CD78,1-2 CD78,3-4 CD78,5 CD78,6 etc. till CD78,10 CD78,11 etc. till CD78,33b

CD76-77-78,6 CD76-77-78,7 etc. till CD76-77-78,33b

CD76-78,6 CD76-78,7 etc. till CD76-78,33b

The designation of the files of the "Phonetic Exercises" marked as files FII are followed by indications of the pages of the textbook *Introduction to the Study of Colloquial Chinese* (*Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny*) where the content of the files is written in Chinese characters, transcribed phonetically and occasionally accompanied by curves of the pitch movement of the vocal cords as well. The files marked by the abbreviation FII follow in this order:
FII (p. 72–76)
FII, Isol.syllables (p. 72, p. 39)
FII, Syllables dist. (p. 39–40)[1]
FII, 1+0 (p. 44)
FII, 2+0 (p. 44)
FII, 3+0 (p. 44)
FII, 4+0 (p. 44)
FII, Tone+O dist. (p. 51)
FII,1+1 FII, 1+2 FII, 1+3 FII, 1+4 (p. 46–47)
FII,2+1 FII, 2+2 FII, 2+3 FII, 2+4 (p. 47–48)

[1] The abbreviation "dist.! (cp. the designations of the files FII, Syllables dist. and FII, Tone+O dist.) has to be read: distinguished by tone(s) only.

FII,3+1 FII, 3+2 FII, 3+3 FII, 3+4 (p. 48–50)
FII,4+1 FII, 4+2 FII, 4+3 FII, 4+4 (p. 50–51)
FII, Contrast (p. 51)
FII, Polysyllables (p. 52, 53, 54, 54)
FII, Accent, Emphasis (p. 51–52, 58)
FII, Intonation (p. 62, 64, 64–65)
FII, Text (p. 73–75)
FII, Rhymes (p. 75–76)

The "Phonetic Exercises" of both types (CD, FII) are recorded on the CD-ROM No. 3.

In the last, the author is very glad to have the opportunity to express his sincere thanks to Dr. H. Dziková, Director of the Publishing House of the Palacký University and other workers from this Institution, Dr. H. Pilátová, Director of the Audiovisual Center UP as well as M. Buka and Mgr. B. Řeháková from the same Center, Prof. J. Černý, head of the Department of Romance Philology UP, Mgr. D. Uher from the Section of the Far East UP, Dr. D. Sehnal from the Department of the Far-Eastern Studies (Charles University), M. Suchý, Dr. M. Kocián, Mgr. J. Lom and many other colleagues and friends, who contributed to the production of this course.

The Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (International Sinological Center at Charles University, Director Prof. O. Král, Prof. O. Lomová) has generously sponsored and assisted the production of the CD-ROMs accompanying the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV).

Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese (*Učební slovník jazyka čínského* I–IV) has been being prepared by its author O. Švarný in the Oriental Institute ČSAV since the late fifties of the last century at the instance of Prof. J. Průšek, director of the Oriental Insitute and the author of the first textbook of the Chinese in Czech, small in size but very successful, which was published in the year 1938 in Zlín.

After World War II there appeared textbooks written by Prof. A. Palát and Dr. J. Bartůšek. In the years 1967–1968 there appeared in the Publishing House SPN, Prague, *Introduction to Colloquial Chinese* (*Úvod do hovorové čínštiny* I–II), a textbook compiled for the use of the University students as well as other interested people with O. Švarný as coauthor and editor-in-chief. In the years 1974–1984 there appeared *Czech –Chinese Dictionary* (*Česko-čínský slovník*) in 9 volumes compiled by the Lexicographic group of the Oriental Institute ČSAV (editor-in-chief Dr. D. Šťovíčková-Heroldová). In the years 1991–1993 there appeared *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* (*Gramatika hovorovej čínštiny v príkladoch* Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, Comenius University, Bratislava) with O. Švarný as editor-in-chief and 唐云凌 Tang Yunling Rusková, whose care was the redaction of the exemplificatory sentences in Chinese.

There are two works published by the Palacký University, Olomouc which are closely connected with the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese*: O. Švarný –

D. Uher, *Introduction to the Study of Colloquial Chinese* (*Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny*, Univerzita Palackého 2001) and *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* (*Hovorová čínština v příkladech* I–IV, Univerzita Palackého 1998). The full understanding of the analysis of the 1800 Chinese Characters treated in the *Learning Dictionary* presupposes thorough acquaintance with the material treated in both of the two above mentioned works (or some other textbooks comparable with them).

Except for authorship or other participation in the compiling of majority the above mentioned works, O. Švarný has written some monographs and a serie of articles treating problems first of all in the field of prosody of Modern Colloquial Chinese.

The whole corpus of exemplificatory material of the *Learning Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (*Učební slovník* I–IV) was recorded by 唐云凌 Tang Yunling Rusková, native from and educated in Beijing. Mrs Tang Yunling together with other native Chinese also participated in the redaction of exemplificatory material of the *Learning Dictionary* as well as in the redaction of the Chinese sentences of the grammar of *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* (Bratislava 1991–1993) and *Colloquial Chinese in Sentence Examples* (Olomouc 1998).

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奥·史瓦尔尼、吴大伟、朱敏
《现代汉语练习句子》
奥洛莫茨：帕拉斯基大学1998年版

我校出版社于一九九七年出版了一本综合性的教材《现代汉语》（Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny），这本教材最主要的部分“汉语语法入门”旨在说明汉语语法系统。读者现在所看的四册一套的教材《现代汉语练习句子》（Hovorová čínština v příkladech）主要内容基本上可说是给《现代汉语》“汉语语法入门”里的规则与规律提供尽可能多的实例，所以也叫做《现代汉语练习句子》（简称《练习句子》）。《现代汉语》与《练习句子》两本书组成整体。除了现代汉语语法实例以外，这本书也丰富了《现代汉语》其他部分，如对汉字、汉语的语音系统（声调、重音、语调、现实性、表达情绪等）、汉语的类型学特征等方面作了补充说明。

这本教材可以分成几个重要的部分：

首先是“现代汉语语法实例1”和“现代汉语语法实例2”（简称“语法势力1”、“语法实例2”）。“语法实例1”在《练习句子》第一、二册分成拼音与汉字部分。拼音部分不只是标出一个句子里每个汉字的发音，更重要的是标出了每个句子的音段的划分，就是小段（即2.5至4.5个音节的阶段）、大段（即两个停顿之间的阶段），表明音节的重要性在大、小段里的不同等。这些特性均出于句子自然发音的录音分析。拼音、汉字部分都包括生词目录部分（汉字部分还有生字部分）。总的来说，第一册“现代汉语语法实例”是为初级阶段的学习现代汉语的学生准备的。“语法实例2”语法说明顺序与“语法实例1”是同样的。这各材料是为中级阶段，已学会《现代汉语》“汉语语法入门”的学生准备的。

除了“现代汉语语法实例”两个部分以外，《练习句子》第一、二册还有另外几个部分：如“语音联练习”（三套）、“汉字增补例释”第一、二部分（补充说明另外二百六十个较常用的字，与这些字的在句子中的用法）、中国常识、民间寓言、歌谣等别的方面文章的节选等。《练习句子》第二册也分析了部分常用语速的不同意项及构词能力。这些材料是按照拼音排列的，主要说明语速的“独立性”与“非独立性”。这些常用语速挑选自《现代汉语常用语素汇编》（Učební slovník jazyka čínského）中的一万六千例句（附三十九个录音磁带），意在概括地、系统地向初级阶段的学生展示语素分析的结果。

《练习句子》第三册的材料在理论方面补充《现代汉语》的“汉语语法入门”（见“简明汉语类型特征”、“捷汉汉捷汉语语言学专名索引”与“语法实例1”的“语法结构注释”三个部分），同时也补充《现代汉语》的“汉语语音特征”（见“音节结构”、“句子节奏成分”与其它跟语言系统有关系的说明部分）。

《练习句子》第四册分析约一千八百四十个常用字的笔顺、部首与声旁系统。这些材料也实践性地补充了《现代汉语》关于汉字起源与汉字结构的理论。

《练习句子》带有一套十盒的磁带（每盒九十分钟）。这些磁带是对该书第一、二册的文章，同时也包括《现代汉语》“文章选集”的录音。

《练习句子》是奥·史瓦尔尼（O. Švarný）、吴大伟（D. Uher）与南京师范大学讲师朱敏女士合作编写的。奥·史瓦尔尼做编辑工作。

我们对所有的帮助过我们和给我们提出过改进意见的人表示热烈的感谢。我们感谢帕拉斯基大学哲学院的罗马语系系主任伊·奇尔尼（J. Černý）教授、奥斯陆大学哈尔不斯麦尔（Ch. Harbsmeier）教授、东方研究所的哈·特日斯格瓦（H. Třísková）博士、查理大学远东研究所的戴维（D. Sehnal）博士以及技术设备室的工作人员米·考吉安（M. Kocián）博士等。

我们特别感谢唐云凌女士：没有她的帮助与发端就没我们课本的中心部分“语法实例1”。我们同时也特别感谢抄写大部分第一、三、四册材料的J. Š. 女士。

欢迎大家提出宝贵意见。来函请寄：David Uher, Wurmova 7, 771 80 Olomouc, CZECH REPUBLIC.

编者

一九九八年三月于奥洛莫茨

奥・史瓦尔尼
《现代汉语常用语素汇编》
奥洛莫茨：帕拉斯基大学1998年版

我们之所以要编写这套《现代汉语常用语素汇编》的主要动机与愿望，是要增补一般课本、字典与词典里所缺少的内涵，这具体指的是下列两点：

一、 语素之是否可以作为独立的词来使用

词本身与欧洲语言大有差异的语法功能特征一从系统角度来衡量

汉语构词法的规律

二、 声调与节奏，实际上是受着重音、语调与现实性以及情感的影响

史瓦尔尼（O. Švarný）的科学研究是一个长期性的、较艰苦的大课题。

远在五十年代的末期，史瓦尔尼得到了捷克斯洛伐克科学院院士，当时的东方研究所所长，欧洲著名汉学家普实克（Jaroslav Průšek）教授和当时的捷克斯洛伐克东方研究所副所长白利德（Augustin Palát）博士以及东方研究所远东部主任勃阔拉（Timoteus Pokora）博士明智的大力支持，为研究上述课题提供了许多方面的条件，因此也有可能在漫长的六、七十年代，获得张景瑜、唐云凌、关明哲、王如珍等华人的群力协助。

近八十年代，由于众所周知的原因，科研条件不如前，虽然困难重重，问题此起彼伏，但上述课题的分析研究工作仍继续了下去，并且还具体地利用了从科研分析中所获得的结果与唐云凌合作，编写了《现代汉语语法实例》（布拉迪斯拉发，夸美纽斯大学出版社1991至1993年出版），之后再次经过补充与改编，又命名以《现代汉语练习句子》，于 1998 年在奥洛莫茨市帕拉斯基大学出版社重新出版。

在此还特别要提到的是帕拉斯基大学伊・奇尔尼（J. Černý）教授，并且以哈・兹考娃（H. Dziková）博士、伊・斯考比洛娃（J. Skoupilová）女士为代表的帕拉斯基大学出版社多位出版社的同人，以及中国讲师朱敏女士所给予本著作的大力关怀与支持，在这里向他们致以衷心的谢意。

一九九八年于奥洛莫茨

奥·史瓦尔尼、吴大伟
《现代汉语》
奥洛莫茨：帕拉斯基大学1997年版、2001年再版

早在前捷克斯洛伐克共和国时期，捷克斯洛伐克科学院东方研究所（Orientální ústav Akademie věd ČSR）就产生了编写现代汉语教学教材的设想。按照该设想，所编教材应不但适合大学生使用，而且业余学习汉语者也可以使用。这个设想最初是由东方研究所所长、帕拉斯基大学（Univerzita Palackého）及查理大学（Univerzita Karlova）教授雅·普鲁塞克（Jaroslav Průšek）提出的，后来也是在他的积极倡导下才得以实现的。这就是一九六七年在布拉格（Praha）出版的两册语言教材——《汉语》（Úvod do hovorové čínštiny），普鲁塞克先生是该书的科学编辑。《汉语》是由奥·史瓦尔尼（Oldřich Švarný）、雅·卡洛斯考娃（Jarmila Kalousková）、约·巴杜塞克（Josef Bartůšek）、张景瑜·洛特洛娃（Čang Ťing-jü Rotterová）等编写的，另外还有一些母语为汉语的人也参加了编写。

设想的最后部分是编写《现代汉语常用语素汇编》（Učební slovník jazyka čínského），该书目的是想要更深入、更广泛地说明两千汉字语素的语法功能特征。此书四册，一九九八至二零零零年间已在奥洛莫茨（Olomouc）市帕拉斯基大学出版社（Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého）出版了。全书例句都录在三十九盘磁带（三碟CD）上，作为该书的附加资料。

《汉语》的出版早在三十年以前，此后，形势的发展对教材编写提出了许多新的要求，所以我们在原来的基础上，编写了这套新的教材——《现代汉语》（Úvod do studia hovorové čínštiny）和《现代汉语练习句子》（Hovorová čínština v příkladech）。这两部教材还带有一套十盒的录音磁带（每盒九十分钟），二者配合使用，关系密切。这些磁带是对该书“汉语语法”（Základní kurs gramatiky hovorové čínštiny）部分六十四个小节的丰富和补充。磁带上的例子的拼音、汉字、注释与翻译也同时是《现代汉语练习句子》一书的重要内容。虽然原来的作者集体只剩下了奥·史瓦尔尼与唐云凌·鲁斯考娃（Tchang Jün-ling Rusková），但是参加编写活动的也增加了一些年轻的汉学家。由于技术等方面的原因，我们不能按合适的顺序出版这套教材，因为从使用的角度来说，《现代汉语》一书应出版在前，但实际上，排列在后的《现代汉语语法实例》两册已分别于一九九一、一九九三年在布拉基斯拉瓦市考蒙斯基大学出版了。《现代汉语语法实例》跟《现代汉语》配套使用，同时也是后者的必要补充。

《现代汉语》是奥·史瓦尔尼与吴大伟（David Uher）合作编写的。哈·特日斯格娃（Hana Třísková）整理了《现代汉语》一书后附设的语法条目目录。磁带是奥·史瓦尔尼和唐云凌制作的，小部分来自原《汉语》课本。

我们对所有帮助过我们和给我们提出过改进意见的人表示热烈的感谢。我们特别感谢查理大学远东研究所（Ústav Dálného východu FF UK Praha）的奥·格拉尔（Oldřich Král）教授、与戴维（David Sehnal）先生，帕拉斯基大学哲学院的罗马语系系主任伊·奇尔尼（Jiří Černý）教授以及南京师范

大学国际文化教育学院汉语教师朱敏女士以及技术设备室的工作人员米·考吉安（Milan Kocián）先生等。

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二零零零年十二月于奥洛莫茨