

Rhyming and Phonemic Contrast in Southern Min*

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1. Introduction

Reconstructions of the phonological systems of the earlier stages of the Chinese language, including Ancient Chinese and Early Mandarin, are to a large extent based on rhyme books such as *Chiē-yùn* (切韻) and *Jūng-yuán-yīn-yùn* (中原音韻). Some of the rhyme books are in turn based on the rhyming of the poetry at the time at which they were written. It is generally assumed that the phonemic distinctions are revealed in the separate groupings of the finals.

In this paper we shall demonstrate that rhyming may not reveal all the phonemic distinctions in Chinese. For one thing, there can be either "loose" (寬) or "strict" (嚴) rhyming. Slightly different finals, including different main vowels, can be treated as belonging to the same rhyme if loose rhyming is practiced. For another, it is generally known that the medials -i- and -u- are ignored in many rhyming systems. Moreover, even main vowels with phonemic contrast may appear in the same rhyme in modern Chinese dialects such as Taiwanese, a Southern Min dialect.¹

Examples of rhyming will be drawn mainly from oral traditions in Taiwanese, such as folk songs, popular songs and nursery rhymes to

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1. The pronunciation is generally based on the dialect spoken in Yilan County (宜蘭縣), my native place. This dialect is similar to that spoken in Lung-Shi (龍溪), as described by Tung (1960). Since the authors of various types of Taiwanese oral literature speak quite a variety of Taiwanese dialects, I sometimes have to take a guess as to what rhyme each author intends to use in indicating the variety of dialect he spoke.

demonstrate that rhyming does not indicate all phonemic distinctions. Some examples will be drawn from modern literary works as well, to show that loose rhyming is practiced not only in folk verse or vernacular literature.

2. Rhyming in Taiwanese

The four nasalized vowels /ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ/ are in phonemic contrast with their corresponding oral vowels /i, e, a, ɔ/ in Taiwanese, e.g. 姨 /iɿ/ 'aunt' vs. 圓 /ĩɿ/ 'round, 鷄 /keɿ/ 'chicken' vs. 焢 /kẽɿ/² 'type of food,' 絞 /kaɿ/ 'to twist' vs. 敢 /kãɿ/ 'to dare,' 五 /gɔɿ/ 'five' vs. 午 /ɲõɿ/ 'noon.' Similarly, the diphthongs /ũã, ãĩ, ỹũ, ỹĩ/ are in phonemic contrast with /ua, ia, iu, ui/ respectively, e.g. 大 /tuaɿ/ 'big' vs. 彈 /tũãɿ/ 'to hit, to flint,' 野 /iaɿ/ 'wild, shrewd' vs. 影 /ĩãɿ/ 'shade, image,' 油 /iuɿ/ 'oil' vs. 羊 /ỹũɿ/ 'sheep,' 圍 /uiɿ/ 'to surround' vs. 黃 /ỹĩɿ/ 'yellow.' However, an oral vowel may rhyme with a nasal vowel in Taiwanese oral literature quite frequently.

The other contrasts in Taiwanese finals include /o/ vs. /ɔ/, /im/ vs. /in/, /an/ vs. /aɲ/, e.g. 濁 /loɿ/ 'muddy' vs. /ɭɔɿ/ 爐 'stove,' 心 /simɿ/ 'heart' vs. 新 /sinɿ/ 'new,' 難 /lanɿ/ 'difficult' vs. 人 /laɲɿ/ 'person.' However, all these pairs of contrast are occasionally permitted to rhyme with each other.

In addition, a glottal stop in the syllable-final position is phonemically significant, e.g. 煞 /suaʔɿ/ 'to stop' 滴 /tiʔɿ/ 'to drip.' Such a stop is often ignored in Taiwanese rhyming.

In order to exclude unusual rhyming peculiar to individual authors, I have collected examples from different authors and different sources of Taiwanese oral literature to illustrate each type of rhyming.

Examples are given as below.

2.1 Vowels /i/ and /ĩ/

2.1.1 Rhymes using /i/ and /ĩ/

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2. In some types of Taiwanese, 鷄 is pronounced /kueɿ/ and 焢 /kĩɿ/. In such a case they are not in contrast. Other examples for this contrast are: 袋 teɿ 'bag' vs. 擠 /tẽɿ/ 'to squeeze', 細 seɿ 'small' vs. 姓 /sẽɿ/ 'surname'.

- (1) 伊, 暝, 伊, 甜, 記, 星, 去 (愁人: 心愛的小姐(-))³
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (2) 熾, 星, 是, 埕, 時, 邊, 滴, 兒, 子 (葉俊麟, 惜別夜港邊(-))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}}? & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (3) 喜, 兒, 圓, 伊 (古意人: 無緣的要出嫁(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (4) 暝, 支, 邊, 時, 痴, 綿, 綿, 詩 (譚鳳君: 溫泉鄉的流浪兒(-))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (5) 綿, 伊, 去, 箭, 吱 (申乃文: 追情記(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (6) 離, 詩, 醒, 利 (都馬調(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (7) 天, 遲, 枝 (病子歌(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (8) 備, 意, 四, 錢 (卜卦調(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (9) 起, 脂, 味, 起, 甜; 起, 青, 姨 (思想起)
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (10) 天, 邊, 煮, 纏 (桃花過渡(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (11) 天, 時, 意, 邊 (六月茉莉(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (12) 姊, 錢, 意, 年 (茶山相褒(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (13) 圓, 時, 喜, 甜 (陳達儒: 三線路(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (14) 指, 錢, 去, 物, 兒 (陳達儒: 母啊喂(-))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}}? & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (15) 枝, 平, 姊, 時 (陳達儒: 姊妹愛(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (16) 邊, 脾, 見, 暝 (陳達儒: 窗邊雨(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (17) 伊, 離, 見, 詩, 止 (周添旺: 月夜愁(=))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (18) 邊, 枝, 青, 時 (周添旺: 碎心花(-))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (19) 里, 悲, 期, 星; 天, 年, 缺, 枝; 伊, 邊, 意, 詩 (望鄉調)
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}}? & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$
- (20) 埕, 天, 見, 悲 (三步珠淚(-))
 $\begin{matrix} \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} & \dot{\text{i}} \end{matrix}$

3. The sources are indicated in parentheses, giving the author's name if available, followed by the title of the song or verse, and the number of stanza.

- (21) 醒，天，離，詩 (陳達儒：港邊惜別(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (22) 邊，時，義，圓，時，離，起，義 (周添旺：河邊春夢(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (23) 微，圓，見，邊，啼，悲，暝 (江中清：春花望露(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (24) 暝，星，滴，天，時，意，時；啼，衣，氣，兒，起，墘；味，年，記，
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
 枝，死，悲 (陳達儒：青春悲喜曲)
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (25) 微，邊，是，滴，伊，起，疑；暝，更，氣，詩，時，暝 (周添旺：孤戀
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
 花)
 \dot{i}
- (26) 是，微，市，青，滴，意，兒，已，去，里，暝；時，邊，甜，奇，意，
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
 離，時，見，字，味，離 (呂傳梓：港都夜雨(一)、(二))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (27) 意，年，義，死 (咱嫂有心)
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (28) 青，平，綴，喜；時，去，嘻，錢，暝 (三輪車夫(二)、(四))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (29) 時，離，致，里，伊，墘，悲，邊；圓，啼，悲，暝，里，圓，時，邊 (周添旺：異鄉夜月(二)、(三))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (30) 起，時，義，居，喜，機，物，甜 (林啓清：日落西山(二))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (31) 意，邊，虛，去，微，星，悲 (葉俊麟：淡水暮色(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (32) 青，墘，伊，時，鄭，疑，生，她 (許丙丁：鑼聲若響(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (33) 意，去，市，耳，囉，去，彼，志，記，起，錢，伊，二，四 (安童哥買
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
 菜)
 \dot{i}
- (34) 時，媚，是，味，青，片，緒；時，邊，去，魚，意，詩，天；時，去，
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
 邊，侶，甜，啡，味 (葉俊麟：寶島四季謠(一)、(二)、(四))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}
- (35) 青，詩，意，離 (許正照：關仔嶺之戀(ㄟ))
 \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i} \dot{i}

Some authors such as 許正照 are not entirely unaware of the difference between an oral vowel and a nasalized vowel. The fact that the

author employs the syllable 青 ts'iŋ to rhyme with both 清 ts'iŋ and 詩 si in the song 關仔嶺之戀 is a case in point.

- (36) 己, 年, 見, 字, 記, 兒, 起, 悲, 死, 醫 (陳達儒: 安平追想曲(二))
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (37) 魚, 見, 錢, 魚, 時, 喜, 魚, 伊, 天, 魚 (田舍翁: 杯底不可飼金魚)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (38) 枝, 時, 圓, 去, 年; 枝, 邊, 甜, 去, 思。
 i i i i i i i i i i
 枝, 脂, 味, 枝, 甜; 枝, 青, 姨。
 i i i i i i i i i i
 枝, 甜, 生, 姨, 四, 兒 (思想枝1(-)、(二)、(5)2)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (39) 利, 錢。去, 錢 (向陽: 議員仙仔無在厝(-)、(四))
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (40) 暝, 魚, 見, 錢, 視, 時 (向陽: 三更半暝一隻貓仔喵喵咪(二))
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (41) 魚, 錢, 錢, 飼; 去, 你, 錢, 你; 是, 理, 錢, 理, 邊, 弟, 你 (向陽
 i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i
 : 杯底金魚盡量飼(-)、(四)、(六))
- (42) 邊, 避, 備, 去; 邊, 市, 備, 避; 理, (開), 錢, 氣; 置, 邊, 添,
 i i i i i i i i i i ui i i i i i i
 喜; 錢, 意, 理, 已; 去, 錢, 避, 持 (向陽: 草蜢無意弄鷄公(-)、(二)、
 i i i i i i i i i i i i
 (三)、(四)、(七)、(八))
- (43) 子, 年, 死, 屍 (芙蓉開花)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (44) 絲, 醒, 意, 伊 (木棉開花(-))
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (45) 絲, 屍, --, 年 (茉莉開花)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (46) 枝, 兒, 籬, 天 (一叢樹仔)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (47) 絲, 池, 見, 時 (水錦開花)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (48) 枝, 啼, 扇, 期 (杜鵑開花)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (49) 更, 漓, --, 悲 (暗頭就叫)
 i i i i i i i i i i
- (50) 起, 簾, 意, 錢 (新起大厝)
 i i i i i i i i i i

- (51) 鼻, 疑, 死, 基 (脚穿紅鞋)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (52) 天, 邊, 麼, 枝 (六月算來)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (53) 施, 意, 麼, 系 (七月算來)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (54) 境, 邊, 見, 時 (欲食好魚)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (55) --, 年, 遲, 時 (娘你十七)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (56) 碟, 系, 挾, 時 (一桌四邊)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ
 (57) 俐, 時, 椅, 圓 (娘仔生美)
 ĩ ĩ ĩ ĩ

It is clear from the above examples that /i/ rhymes freely with /ĩ/ in these Taiwanese popular songs. As far as we can see, there is no regular pattern for most of them. Only a few can be interpreted as /i/ alternating with /ĩ/.

There are numerous examples for /i/ rhyming with /ĩ/. Naturally there are also some examples for /i/ rhyming only with /i/, and for /ĩ/ rhyming only with /ĩ/, but rhymes with only /i/ (or only /ĩ/) are far less numerous.

2.1.2 Rhymes using /i/ only:

- (1) 枝, 時, 意, 離, 詩 (陳達儒: 月夜嘆(-))
 (2) 旗, 伊, 死, 匙 (狄青去取)
 (3) 枝, 死, 枝, 時 (詹天馬: 桃花江血記(-))
 (4) 時, 喜, 死, 子 (玉蘭開花)
 (5) 時, 起, 子; 意, 兒 (愁人: 媽媽我也真勇健(-)、(-))
 (6) 基, 微, 意, 啼 (赤菊開花)
 (7) 致, 紀, 刺, 意 (愁人: 南國賣花姑娘(-))
 (8) 微, 時, 意, 寺; 意, 微, 意 (莊啓勝: 關仔嶺之戀(-)、(-))
 (9) 義, 弟, 時, 時 (莊啓勝: 魯大哥王大哥(-))
 (10) 時, 啼, 微, 嘻, 米, 意, 池 (葉俊麟: 寶島四季謠(-))
 (11) 枝, 義, 味, 去, 悲; 枝, 披, 時, 意, 姨 (思想枝(-))
 (12) 微, 綴, 思, 理 (牡丹開花)
 (13) 枝, 理, 世, 時 (木棉開花(-))
 (14) 迷, 二, 里, 思 (杏花開來)

- (15) 啼，起，椅，耑，箸，示（做人鷄鷓）
- (16) 支，喜，--，遲（卜卦調一）
- (17) 味，脂，四，時（含笑過午）
- (18) 二，枝，起，魚（我哥生美）
- (19) 死，思，死，伊（半壁吊肉）
- (20) 枝，理，世，時（木棉開花）
- (21) 啼，薯，豬，米，你（嬰仔你漫啼）
- (22) 絲，池，去，茹（水錦開花）
- (23) 歧，悲，意，書（四月樹蟬）
- (24) 氣，遲，志，期（勸娘免）
- (25) 志，移，志，支（明明有影）
- (26) 米，枝，意，基（米缸空空）
- (27) 寺，池，記，時（光景真好）
- (28) 系，時，勢，疑（水錦開花）
- (29) 系，醫，死，意（水錦開花）
- (30) 志，思，字，疑（兄哥不知）

In his song 寶島四季謠 the author employs rhymes using both /i/ and /ĩ/ interchangeably in the first, second and fourth stanzas, but only /i/ in the third. Apparently the use of the pure oral vowel in the third is accidental rather than deliberate.

2.1.3 Rhymes using /ĩ/ only:

- (1) 墘，邊，見，錢（要食魚腥）
- (2) 浪，更，醒，錢（想屈歹命）
- (3) 青，精，--，更（夾竹桃花）
- (4) 姓，天，物，甜（兄妹一人）
- (5) 邊，墘，綿，甜（咱嫂坐在）
- (6) 天，邊，麼，糰（十一月算來）
- (7) 邊，墘，麼，墘（十二月算來）
- (8) 冥，見，邊，更（月仔光）

Only a few rhymes using /ĩ/ only. In the song 卜卦調, for example, only the rhyme /i/ is used in the first stanza, yet both rhymes /i/ and /ĩ/ are used in the third stanza.

2.2 Rhymes using /iu/ and /ĩũ/

- (1) 娘，想，愁，張，樹（葉俊麟：重回故鄉）
ĩũ iũ iu iũ iu

- (2) 六拍手，七圍牆（兒戲歌）
iu iũ
- (3) 流，憂，場，愁，想（葉俊麟：酒場悲戀影(三)）
iu iu iũ iu iũ
- (4) 酒，鬚，秀，樣，酬，調（農村酒歌(一)）
iu iu iu iũ iu iu
- (5) 秀，鴛，賞，憂；想，張，手，求（草螟弄鷄公(四)）
iu iũ iũ iu iũ iũ iu iu
- (6) 由，秋，像，愁（陳達儒：雙雁影(二)）
iu iu iũ iu
- (7) 想，由，樣，憂；手，流，樣，鴛；守，娘，樣，秋（陳達儒：欲怎樣）
iũ iu iũ iu iu iu iũ iũ iu iũ iũ iu
- (8) 賞，鴛，樣，由（陳達儒：滿山春色(一)）
iũ iũ iũ iu
- (9) 鴛，由，想，愁，秋（周添旺：秋風夜雨(二)）
iũ iu iũ iu iu
- (10) 巢，救，鬚，場，像；救，樣，求，救，留，憂；張，求，受，由；救，
iu iu iu iũ iũ iu iũ iu iu iu iu iũ iu iu iu iu
張，溜，求；張，手，溜，究；救，娘（向陽：一隻鳥仔哮無救(三)、(四)、
iũ iu iu iũ iu iu iu iu iũ
(五)、(六)、(七)、(八)）
- (11) 幼，薑，像，娘（我娘生美）
iu iũ iũ iũ

2.3 Rhymes using /ui/ and /ũĩ/:

- (1) 歸，費，位，梅（李臨秋：人道）
ui ui ui iũ⁴

2.4 Rhymes using /e/ and /ẽ/:

- (1) 火金姑，十五暝，請恁姑，來食茶（宜蘭童謠）
o ẽ o e
- (2) 唏咐挨，篩米來飼鷄；飼鷄會報更，飼狗會吠暝（兒戲歌）
e e e ẽ
- (3) 家，的，罵，罵，罵，嫁（草子仔花）
e e ẽ ẽ ẽ e
- (4) 星，嬰，耙，生，嬰，更（天頂一粒星）（花壇）
ẽ ẽ e ẽ ẽ ẽ

4. The syllable 梅 /mũĩ⁴/ is historically not derived from a nasal ending. The nasality of the vowels [ũĩ] is due to the preceding initial /m-/, thus it is a phonetic rather than phonemic feature (Ting, private discussion). However, as Chang (forthcoming) pointed out, syllables with nasal initials predominantly rhyme with syllables with nasalized vowels, e.g. 天，錢，--，呢（兄哥一年），and this indicates that they are considered nasalized by the native speakers.

- (5) 暫, 家, 的, 罵, 罵, 罵, 嫁 (草子仔花) (屏東)
 e e e ě ě ě e

2.5 Rhymes using /a/ and /ã/:

- (1) 暖, 柵, 敢, 今 (日頭出來)
 ã a ã ã

2.6 Rhymes using the low vowel plus a high front glide

2.6.1 Rhymes using /ai/ and /ãĩ/ or /ũãĩ/:

- (1) 妹, 哀, 來 (莊啓勝: 魯大哥王大哥(二))
 uãĩ⁵ ãĩ⁶ ai
- (2) 西, 歹, 採, 該; 哀, 內, 屎, 栽 (三聲無奈)
 ai ãĩ⁷ ai ai ãĩ ai ai ai
- (3) 內, 眉, 歹, 來 (林天津: 黃昏再會(三))
 ai ai ãĩ ai
- (4) 栽, 宰, 愛, 知 (六月茉莉(1) 4)
 ai ãĩ ai ai
- (5) 猜, 知, 歹, 知 (水錦開花)
 ai ai ãĩ ai
- (6) 內, 西, 歹, 來 (二人意愛)
 ai ai ãĩ ai

The nasal feature of the diphthongs /ãĩ/ and /ũãĩ/ in the examples above is not historically derived from a nasal ending. It is either due to the initial nasal, as in /mũãĩ/, or is a result of a secondary development, as in /ãĩ/ and /p'ãĩ/. However, native speakers are aware of the nasal feature of the diphthongs, which differs from the purely oral diphthongs such as /ai/ and /uai/. Cf. Note 4.

2.6.2 Rhymes using /ia/ and /ĩã/:

- (1) 車, 行, 命, 城, 聲 (陳達儒: 母啊喂(三))
 ia iã iã iã iã
- (2) 命, 爹, 疼, 晨, 影, 兄, 隻, 城, 姐, 聲 (陳達儒: 安平追想曲(三))
 iã ia iã iã iã iã ia iã ia iã

2.7 Rhymes using /ua/, /uaʔ/ and /ũã/:

5. The nasality of the vowels /uãĩ/ in the syllable 妹 /muai-ɿ/ is due to the initial /m-/. It can thus be treated as a phonetic feature. See Note 4.
6. The syllable 哀 /ãĩɿ/ is nasalized, in my own dialect. It is not nasalized in most other Taiwanese dialects. This syllable appears to rhyme with the oral vowels /ai/ in many popular songs not listed here.
7. The morpheme-syllable 歹 (or written as 呆) may or may not have the nasality in the vowel nuclei, depending on the individual speakers (see Chang 1980: 55, Note 7).

- (1) 山，煞⁸，汗，熱，大，活 (陳達儒：農村曲(三))
ũã ua? ũã ua ua ua
- (2) 岸，跨，煞，肝，活；伴，寒，我，單，活；滿，山，散，灘，活 (陳君
ũã ua ua? ũã ua ũã ũã ua ũã ua ũã ũã ũã ũã ua
玉：那無兄)
- (3) 外，活，伴，歌 (陳達儒：天清清(二))
ua ua ũã ua
- (4) 散，寒，化，肝 (陳達儒：港邊惜別(-))
ũã ũã ua ũã
- (5) 寒，單，看，伴，我，瞞，怎，肝 (周添旺：河邊春夢(-))
ũã ũã ũã ũã ua ũã ũã ũã
- (6) 岸，歌，磨，單 (惰)，汗 (牛犁歌(二))
ũã ua ua ũã ũã
- (7) 山，伴，活，單 (六月茉莉(1) 1)
ũã ũã ua ũã
- (8) 熱，煞，岸，官 (人講春寒)
ua ua? ũã ũã
- (9) 磨，山，看，肝 (風吹菅尾)
ua ũã ũã ũã
- (10) 揸，炭，線，...，剛，大，大，...，散，炭，彈，散，看，爛，線，爛 (正月初一日)
ũã ũã ũã ua? ua ua ũã ũã ũã ũã ũã ũã ũã ũã
- (11) 磨，杆，盤，單 (風吹菅尾)
ua ũã ũã ũã

Based on the pronunciation of my own dialect in Ilan, the glottal stop in the syllable-final position is generally retained in the *yīn-rù* (陰入) syllables, e.g. 煞 /sua? ʔ/, but lost in the *yáng-rù* (陽入) syllables, e.g. 熱 /dzua ʔ/, 活 /ua ʔ/. This is indicated here as in my own pronunciation. See also the following section, §2.8.

Sometimes we find that different syllabic endings are permitted to rhyme with each other, as in the following two sub-sections. These are different cases of loose rhyming.

2.8 Rhyming of an open syllable and a closed syllable ending with a glottal stop:

- (1) 打，肉，肉，乾，脚。鼈，意，去，耳，去 (安童哥買菜)
a a? a? a a i? i i i i

8. I have regularized the written characters in this paper. Both characters 刹 and 煞 have been used to represent the same morpheme-syllable /sua? ʔ/ 'to stop' by different authors.

- (2) 去, 去, 星, 滴, 悲, 時, 記, 意, 義 (葉俊麟: 惜別夜港邊(ㄟ))
 i i i i? i i i i i
- (3) 支, 滴, 義, 字, 字, 兒, 箭 (莊啓勝: 田庄姑娘(-))
 i i? i i i i i
- (4) 滴, 死, 時, 豬, 字 (農村酒歌(二))
 i? i i i i
- (5) 滴, 滴, 池, 枝, 見 (周添旺: 雨夜花(四))
 i? i? i i i
- (6) 天, 年, 缺, 枝 (望鄉調(二))
 i i i? i
- (7) 滴, 囑, 味, 你; 去, 枝, 比, 滴 (愁人: 南國賣花姑娘(二)、(三))
 i? i? i i i i i i?
- (8) 碟, 系, 挾, 時 (一桌四邊, 臺灣民間文學集, p.80)
 i i i? i
- (9) 惜, 尺, 笑, 照, 惜, 笑 (向陽: 搖子歌(ㄟ))
 io? io? io io io? io
- (10) 索, 哥, 好, 無 (水桶飴離)
 o? o o o
- (11) 雪, 茶, 欲, 个 (水錦開花)
 e? e ue e
- (12) 雪, 茶, 下, 罈 (水錦開花)
 e? e e e
- (13) 冊, 茶, 濟, 個 (咱哥一日)
 e? e e e
- (14) 詛, 活, 煞, 差 (看兄你那)
 ua ua ua? ua
- (15) 熾, 離, 去, 吱 (日屆中午)
 i? i i i
- (16) 鴿 (鳩), 脚, 合, 差 (一隻鸚鳥)
 a? a a a
- (17) 脚, 踏, 搭, 膠 (娘仔生美)
 a a a? a
- (18) 遮, 車, 隻 (爹爹夯門扇)
 ia ia ia?

It is clear that the syllable-final glottal stop is generally ignored in Taiwanese rhyming. Normally the stop is dropped in singing.

2.9 Rhymes using different consonant endings

Most rhyme patterns use only the same nasal ending, including /-am/, /-an/, /-uan/, /-aŋ/, /-im/, /-in/, /-un/, /-ɔŋ/ and /-əŋ/. However, a few rhyme patterns sometimes mix different nasal endings, as illustrated in Section 2.9.1 below:

2.9.1 Rhymes using /-m/, /-n/ and /-ŋ/⁹

- A (1) 面，心，深，信，緊，真 (葉俊麟：母親請安(-))
in im im in in in
(2) 叮，陣，枕，心 (蘆薈管破)
in in im im
(3) 沉，心，陣，身 (石頭擲水)
im im in in
B (3) 香，房，挽，人 (六月茉莉(-))
aŋ aŋ an aŋ
(4) 難，動，通，款，粽 (張邱東松：賣肉粽(-))
an aŋ aŋ uan aŋ
(5) 葱，人，萬，穢 (水錦開花)
aŋ aŋ an aŋ
(6) 丹，人，咱，丹 (第一好花)
an aŋ an an
(7) --，難，動，人 (牽牛開花)
an aŋ aŋ
(8) 人，紅，港，航；望，等；港，taŋ，人，等，人 (等無人)
aŋ aŋ aŋ aŋ aŋ an aŋ aŋ aŋ an aŋ

As Chang (1980: 57, note 5) pointed out, some dialects do not distinguish between 安 /an/ and 骯 /aŋ/. However, speakers and singers who distinguish between them do use these two different finals in the same rhyme.

- C (9) 輪，情，陣，身 (金橘開花)
in iŋ in in
(10) 新，經，用，情 (虎耳開花)
in iŋ iŋ iŋ
(11) 用，神，肯，情 (廣東目鏡)
iŋ in iŋ iŋ
D (12) 港，人，甘 (送兄西港口)
aŋ aŋ am
(13) 風，茫，--，參 (九月算來)
ɔŋ ɔŋ ɔm

There are a few rhymes using /-m/ and /-n/ or /-n/ and /-ŋ/ as

9. As Yu-hung Chang (personal communication) pointed out, a couple of these examples can be interpreted as shifting of rhymes in the same song, e. g. A(2) and (3), in both of which the first and second lines rhyme with each other, while the third and fourth lines shift to another rhyme. This type of shifting rhyme patterns is found in some of the songs, such as 菜豆開花 using rhymes /au/ and /iŋ/, 鷹爪開花 using rhymes /aŋ/ and /üɛ/, 韭菜開花 using rhymes /i/ and /iɔŋ/. See also Tsang (1980: 195).

listed above, but rarely rhymes using /-m/ and /-ŋ/ perhaps due to the fact that the labial and velar nasals are far apart in their points of articulation. In fact, I have seen only two cases for /-m/ rhyming with /-ŋ/, as in D above.

I have not come across any rhymes using /-p/ and /-t/ or /-t/ and /-k/, or rhymes using both nasal and stop endings such as /-m/ and /-p/. This seems to indicate that the nasals /-m, -n, -ŋ/, unlike the stops /-p, -t, -k/, bear the feature of nasality which is only secondary, whereas the stops bear a feature which is more primary.

2.9.2 Rhymes using stop endings /-p, -t, -k/

I have found only a few instances of rhymes with these entering tone syllables in Taiwanese. Moreover, only the same vowel followed by strictly the same stop ending appears in the same rhyme as below:

- A (1) 握，結，喝，值 (甘蔗要食)
at at at at
- (2) --，--，識，值 (新起草厝)
at at
- (8) 密，賊 (點咯鷄)
at at
- B (4) 筆，密，一，直 (含笑開花)
it it it it
- (5) 筆，日，--，-- (茅芒開花)
it it
- C (6) 切，別，澈，熱 (鹹菜好食)
iet iet iet iet
- (7) 挽，熱，設，列 (鱸魚落瀨)
iet iet iet iet
- D (8) 壳，毒，煞，目 (戶蠅戴着)
ak ak ak ak
- (9) 北，六，腹，目 (東西不行)
ak ak ak ak
- (10) 曝，腹，縛 (月光光(李1936: 167))
ak ak ak
- (11) --，--，目，縛 (金針開花)
ak ak
- (12) 讀，墨 (竹篙叉)
ak ak
- (13) 曝，廐 (挨呀挨唏咐)
ak ak

- E (14) 十六去磨墨，十七去賣筆，十八去賣冊（數字歌）
 ak ak it it e? e?

2.10 Rhymes using /o/ and /ɔ/

Occasionally open and closed back vowels such as /o/ and /ɔ/ rhyme with each other, perhaps due to the fact that these two vowels are fairly close to each other:

- (1) 雨，落，某，鼓，嫂，路，姑，路，雨，落；
 ɔ o ɔ ɔ o ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ o
 雨，落，路，河，倒，好，婆，路，雨，落（西北雨直直落）
 ɔ o ɔ o o o o ɔ ɔ o
 (2) 苦，土，露，何（陳達儒：日日春(=)）
 ɔ ɔ ɔ o
 (3) 苦，途，路，波（蔡啓東：陳三五娘(=)）
 ɔ ɔ ɔ o
 (4) 土，土，顧，雨，途，落，何（周添旺：雨夜花(=)）
 ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ o o
 (5) 路，壺，顧，無（六月茉莉(2) 6）
 ɔ ɔ ɔ o
 (6) 疏，勞，好，何（是娘共哥）
 ɔ o o o
 (7) 粗，何，顧，勞（阿娘不是）
 ɔ o ɔ o
 (8) 舖，敖，好，無（毯仔敷來）
 ɔ o o o

However, these two vowels are not distinct in some Taiwanese sub-dialects such as Taipei and Penghu (Kubler 1978, Ting 1980). It is not clear whether the authors of these songs all speak these subdialects. If so, they are not really employing two different vowels in the same rhyme.

* * * * * *

As is the usual practice in all Chinese poetry, the medials -u- and -i- are sometimes ignored in rhyming in Taiwanese.

2.11 Rhymes with or without the medial -u-

2.11.1 Rhymes using /ui/ and /i/, /ĩ/ or /i?/

- (1) 意，甜，開，暝（愁人：心愛的小姐(=)）
 i ĩ ui ĩ
 (2) 意，離，去，時，淚，邊（葉俊麟：可憐戀花再會吧(=)）
 i i i i ui ĩ

- (3) 開，期，滴，悲 (都馬調(二))
 ui i i? i
- (4) 見，隨，離，里，圓，時 (那卡諾：望你早歸)
 i ui i i i i
- (5) 滴，持，味，氣，蕊 (許丙丁：可愛的花蕊(-))
 i? i i i ui
- (6) 味，美，開，飛，義，隨，非，離 (洪一峯：蝶戀花(三))
 i i ui ui i ui ui i
- (7) 微，時，隨，意，寺；意，微，美，意 (許正照：關仔嶺之戀(-)、(二))
 i i ui i i i i ui i
- (8) 迷，淚，開，隨 (六月茉莉(1)6)
 i ui ui ui

2.11.2 Rhymes using /e/ and /ue/ or /ue?/

- (1) 批，過，題，勢，花，做 (葉俊麟：省都一封信(三))
 e ue e e ue ue
- (2) 過，題，多，做，貨，批 (葉俊麟：母親請安(二))
 ue e e ue ue e
- (3) 下，吹，嫁，家，白，弟，勢，琶 (李臨秋：望春風(-))
 e ue e e e e e e
- (4) 花，花，花，切，回 (周添旺：雨夜花(-))
 ue ue ue e ue
- (5) 賣，切，花 (賣花女)
 e e ue
- (6) 麗，迷，切，嗟，吹，火，月 (葉俊麟：暗淡的月(-))
 e e e e ue ue ue
- (7) 下，世，地，花 (向陽：春花不敢望露水(五))
 e e e ue
- (8) 體，花，狠，陪 (娘仔生做)
 e ue ue ue
- (9) 低，飛，過，茶 (手舉烏銃)
 e ue ue e
- (10) 紗，茶，客，冊，筆，糜，會，疼 (竹篙駝駝好披紗)
 e e e e e e ue ue
- (11) 衰，花，洗，低 (是哥今年)
 ue ue e e
- (12) 低，飛，過，冊 (心肝煩惱)
 e ue ue e

The problem with the examples for /e/ rhyming with /ue/ above is that there is great dialectal variation in having the medial. The vowels of the syllables are indicated on the basis of my own pronunciation as in the Ilan dialect.

A few of the examples above (Nos. 6, 10) can be interpreted as using the rhyme /e/ and then shifting to the rhyme /ue/, and vice versa (No. 11).

2.12 Rhymes with or without the medial -i-

These rhymes are rare.

2.12.1 Rhymes using /aŋ/ and /iaŋ/

- (1) 夢，帆，港，雙（姚讚福：我的青春(一)）
aŋ aŋ aŋ iaŋ
(2) 芳，夫，陽，雙，鰲（韭菜花）
aŋ aŋ iaŋ iaŋ aŋ

2.12.2 Rhymes using /au/ and /iau/

- (1) 口，--，後，了（打鼓開嘴）
au au iau

2.12.3 Rhymes using /am/ and /iam/

- (1) 愁，參，點，南（一看娘面）
am am iam am
(2) 潞，吟，嚴，甘（天頂落雨）
am am iam am

2.12.4 Rhymes using /a/ and /ia/ or /ĩã/

- (1) 家，我，命，謝（譚鳳君：溫泉鄉的流浪兒(一)）
a ua iã ia

2.12.5 Rhymes using /ɔŋ/ and /iɔŋ/

- (1) 雄，通，講，崇（莊中出有）
iɔŋ ɔŋ ɔŋ ɔŋ

2.13 Rhymes with the medial -u- or -i-

However, the medials are more often considered in rhyming, especially when the main vowel is a high vowel such as /i/ or /u/. In an independent study carried out by Yu-hung Chang (private communication), he found only 5 examples for /ui/ rhyming with /i/ (cf. Section 2.11.1 above), but no example for /iu/ rhyming with /u/.

2.13.1 Rhyming with /ui/ only

- (1) 位，堆，水，開（莊啓勝：送出帆(一)），（陳達儒：送出帆(二)）
(2) 錐，開，嘴，哮（氣），美（申乃文：追情記）
(3) 開，悸（氣），對，堆（六月茉莉(1) 2）美，錐，對，虧（六月茉莉(2) 1）
(4) 美，謎，虧，垂（三聲無奈(一)）
(5) 蕊，開，美，圍（陳達儒：白牡丹(一)）

- (6) 蕊，開，美，飛（陳達儒：青春嶺(一)）
- (7) 水，開，爲，開（三步珠淚(一)）
- (8) 美，肥，水，開，位，醉，須，畏，圍（陳達儒：賣菜姑娘(三)）
- (9) 水，開，氣，開，慰，堆，累，威，隨（許丙丁：鑼聲若響(三)）
- (10) 美，錐，嘴，開（林天津：黃昏再會(一)）
- (11) 蕊，鬼，蕊，梯（朱蘭開花）
- (12) 蕊，虧，肥，氣（鳳仙開花）
- (13) 美，虧，對，歸（咱娘生做）
- (14) 美，匱，桂，虧（仰頭一看）
- (15) 磊，簑，堆，歸，鎚，梯（一個作檣）
- (16) 墜，堆，--，開（天頂落雨）
- (17) 對，隨，蕊，堆（二箇枕頭）
- (18) 嘴，堆，氣，危（哥今莫聽）
- (19) 蕊、開、美、開（含笑拍莓）
- (20) 墜、維、美、虧（天頂落雨）
- (21) 堆、隨、美、虧（會得共娘）
- (22) 水、堆、開、垂（無風無雨）
- (23) 櫃、開、嘴、開（神魂給娘）

2.13.2 Rhyming with /iu/ only

- (1) 樹，丟，幼，流；守，羞，友，鬚（草螟弄鷄公(一)、(二)）
- (2) 救，巢，巢，休（一隻鳥仔哮救救(一)）
- (3) 愁，留，秀，流（陳達儒：日日春(一)）
- (4) 壽，壽，流，（鬚），究，鬚，鬚，酒，愁；
壽，壽，羞，究，流，酒，遊，休；
壽，壽，憂，究，鬚，手，（壽），求，州（蔡長興：老長壽）
- (5) 秋，友，救，仇（月桂開花）
- (6) 手，酒，收，咒（香楊開花）
- (7) 球，油，幼，綢（風葱開花）
- (8) 修，鬚，毬，油，珠（調），抽，流，鬚，憂（一個老不修）
- (9) 樹，榴，救，泗（內山出有）
- (10) 鬚，泗，手，丟（蝦仔出世）
- (11) 手，由，咒，丟（雙人相好）
- (12) 憂，瘤，手，由（肥力嘴笑）
- (13) 柳，鶯，手，溜（一儼柴名）
- (14) 友，溜，受，留（伙計來煞）

(15) 溜，油，就，泗（韭菜開花）

In fact, the medial is usually considered in rhyming even when it is followed by a mid or low vowel as follows:

2.13.3 Rhymes with the medial -u- or -i- followed by a mid or low vowel

2.13.3.1 Rhymes with /io/ only

- (1) 蕉，葉，叫，鳶（含笑開花(=)）
- (2) 少，蕭，叫，燒（爲娘掛吊）
- (3) 腰，燒，笑，着（黃梔開花）
- (4) --，着，着，橋（娘仔生做）
- (5) 橋，腰，少，着（哥仔不是）
- (6) 廟，橋，笑，着（火車欲行）
- (7) 笑，虐，笑，蕭（離父離母）
- (8) 橋，鏢，燒，着（新庄對面）
- (9) 笑，着，着，橋（娘仔生美）
- (10) 醺，橋，笑，着（猛艸慶成）
- (11) 趨，燒，笑，着（燈火無油）
- (12) 搖，超，笑，着（水錦開花）
- (13) 叫，橋，笑，招（火車起行）
- (14) 超，葉，笑，招（手揷茶簍）

2.13.3.2 Rhymes with /ien/ only

- (1) 天，緣，騙，緣（黃茶開花）
- (2) 天，攆／輪，展，年（大樹倒落）
- (3) 天，蟬，騙，然（月香開花）
- (4) 天，璉，便，然（春仔開花）
- (5) 延，言，噲，緣（目莉開花）
- (6) 天，輪，緣，善（大樹剝倒）
- (7) 前，仙，癡，煙（蟬朴開花）
- (8) 天，輪，展，現／年（大樹倒落）
- (9) 善，連，便，年（一隻好鳥）
- (10) 天，輪，便，然（綢春開花）

2.13.3.3 Rhymes with /iəŋ/ only

- (1) 終，雄，重，長（分開也是）
- (2) （香），中，將，暢（指甲開花）
- (3) 香，中，暢，雄（韭菜開花）

- (4) 中，詳，嚷，終（雙腳踏屨）
- (5) 重，雄，用，終（趁食查某）
- (6) 龍，恭，向，商（三國猛將）
- (7) 暢，雄，勇，忠（阿哥不來）
- (8) 暢，傷，相，容（有時煩惱）

2.13.3.4 Rhymes with /iam/ only

- (1) 鍊，鹹，閃，針（鹹草開花）
- (2) 險，粘，儉，砧（共娘相好）
- (3) 尖，鹽，險，尖（菅蘭開花）
- (4) 險，尖，嫌，籤（欲去娘兜）
- (5) 店，瞻，欠，嫌（欲討阿兄）
- (6) 店，鹽，念，鹹（人的阿哥）

2.13.3.5 Rhymes with /iau/ only

- (1) 條，朝，了，住（菜豆開花）
- (2) 狂，條，誚，彫（爲嫂掛吊）
- (3) 了，曲，了，梟（七寸枕頭）
- (4) 了，梟，柱，彫（盡有好話）
- (5) 漂，紹，調，梟（水錦開花）

2.13.3.6 Rhymes with /ua/ or /uaʔ/ only

- (1) 瓜，沙，帶，活；瓜，花，--，何（竹筍離土）
- (2) --，沙，我，磨（柳烟開花）
- (3) 歌，拖，倚，沙（手牽牛繩）
- (4) 砂，活，我，磨（月內無土）
- (5) 枯，砂，賴，活（竹筍離土）
- (6) 娶，詛，我，化（你是未嫁）

2.13.3.7 Rhymes using /ue/ only (cf. §2.11.2 above)

- (1) 飛，月，--，尾/飛（獵鳶副風）
- (2) 火，月，尋，月（欽差設景）
- (3) 飛，花，話，皮（獵鳶副風）
- (4) 歲，花，過，月（我兄生美）
- (5) 花，倍，配，花（黃梔拍莓）
- (6) 火，皮，過，衰（交着新的）

2.14 Rhymes using literary reading and colloquial reading

There are generally two different readings, literary reading (文讀)

and colloquial reading (白讀) in all Southern Min dialects. A writer may sometimes shift from one type of reading to another in order to preserve his rhyme (see also Tsang 1980: 206-208).

- (1) 蕊，開， 美， 飛 (陳達儒：青春嶺(二))
 ui ui (白) ui (白) ui (文)
 ai (文) i (文) ue (白)

The character 飛 is pronounced /pueŋ/ in colloquial reading and /huiŋ/ in literary reading. These two readings can be reversed to keep perfect rhyming of the song.

A mixture of literary and colloquial readings to preserve rhyme can also be observed in the following popular songs:

- (2) 靜， 聲， 頂， 前， 境， 命， 冷， 情
 iŋ (文) iŋ (文) iŋ iŋ (白) iŋ (文) iŋ (文) iŋ iŋ (文)
 ĩã (白) ien (文) ĩã (白) ĩã (白)
 (周添旺：河邊春夢(白))
- (3) 開， 知， --， 梨 (病子歌：正月算來)
 ai (文) ai (白) ai (白)
- (4) 天， 輪， 緣， 善 (大樹剝倒)
 ien(文) ien(白) ien(文) ien(文)
- (5) 前， 仙， 癮， 煙 (蟬朴開花)
 ien(文) ien(文) ien(白) ien(文)

3. Some Implications of the Data

It is interesting to note that more or less the same morpheme-syllables are employed in the rhymes of folk songs and popular songs, especially by the same authors.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature in Taiwanese rhyming is that oral vowels are permitted to rhyme with their corresponding nasalized vowels despite the fact they are in phonemic contrast. This implies that nasalization might be only a secondary phonetic feature for most Taiwanese speakers. In other words, vowel height and backness, and rounding of the lips are allowed to override nasalization in rhyming.

This seems to indicate that, instead of treating the nasalized vowels /ĩ, ẽ, ă, ɔ̃, ũĩ, ũă, ĩă, ĩũ/ in Taiwanese as segments separate from their corresponding oral vowels, we should simply treat the nasality in these vowels as an autosegment. To carry this one step further, even the

nasal endings /-m, -n, -ŋ/ seem to bear only a secondary feature, since different nasal endings are sometimes permitted to rhyme with each other, especially /-m/ and /-n/ or /-n/ and /-ŋ/¹⁰; see §2.9. We have not, however, found a single case where different stop endings /-p, -t, -k/ are permitted to rhyme with each other, or any stop ending is permitted to rhyme with a nasal ending. Nasals behave differently from the true consonants such as stops in Taiwanese. Thus rhyming in Taiwanese gives us an important clue as to how to treat Taiwanese phonology in an economical and proper way.

Does rhyming in poetry reveal all the phonemic distinctions in Chinese? Unfortunately, it does not seem so if similar practices to those exemplified in this paper have been followed in Chinese poetry throughout the Chinese history. Studies on various stages of the history of Chinese phonology such as the Han period (Lo and Chou 1958), the Wei-Chin period (Ting 1975) and the Six Dynasties period (Ho 1981) are mostly based on the rhyming systems of the poetry of these periods. It seems, therefore, that we should be cautious about the conclusions drawn in these studies and in interpreting similar data.

Nevertheless, Chinese historical phonologists need not be alarmed by this study. Rhyming in Taiwanese (and perhaps in other Chinese dialects) shows that generally only the same main vowel can rhyme with each other. Occasionally the same main vowel with slightly different endings, such as /ua/ and /ua?/ (see Sections 2.7 and 2.8), /im/ and /in/, /an/ and /aŋ/ (see Section 2.9) are permitted to rhyme with each other in popular songs. Entirely different main vowels, such as /a/ and /i/, /i/ and /u/, or /a/ and /ap/, are never permitted to rhyme with each other. A few authors appear to employ the open and closed back vowels, /o/ and /ɔ/, in the same rhyme. However, they may have come from the areas where these two vowels are not kept distinct (see Section 2.10).

10. There are a few cases where both nasalized vowels and vowels followed by a nasal seem to appear in the same rhymes:

(1) 申, 寅, 醒, 邊 (日來煩惱)

in in ĩ ĩ

(2) 丹, 田, 行, 兄 (一條手巾)

an an ĩã ĩã

(3) 倅, 平, 藏, 物 (路頭離遠)

ij ij əj i

Even if they should have come from the areas where the vowels are distinct, that would be the only rare example for two neighboring vowels to rhyme with each other, a case of "loose rhyming" indeed.

It is generally known that the traditional tone categories were strictly kept apart in the early history of Chinese poetry such as the *Shr̄ Jīng* 詩經. Nevertheless, in the later periods such as the *chiú* 曲 in the Yuan Dynasty, different tone categories were permitted to rhyme with each other. Different tones do appear in the same rhyme quite frequently in the oral traditions in Taiwanese with the exception of entering tone syllables.¹¹ This is another interesting feature in Taiwanese rhyming.

The independent studies on Taiwanese rhyming carried out by Yuhung Chang (forthcoming) and myself have the following findings in common: (1) tonal contrast and the final glottal stop are lost in songs; (2) syllables with medials /i/ and /u/ seldom rhyme with syllables without these medials, nor do they rhyme with syllables with different medials, and this practice is rather different from the Chinese tradition of poetics. Our studies are based on somewhat different source materials: Chang examines chiefly two types of literary works, lyrics of songs and verses without accompanying music, while I cover, in addition, folk songs, modern popular songs, nursery rhymes, and modern literary works (see Section 1). We have, therefore, come up with these different results: (1) Nasalization of vowels is distinctive in Chang's materials, but not in mine; (2) Chang has not found any example for syllables with different nasal endings in the same rhyme, yet I have found a dozen examples for this type of rhyming (see Section 2.9.1); (3) While Chang does not believe that two neighbouring vowels can appear in the same rhyme, I suggest the possibility of /o/ and /ɔ/ in Taiwanese rhyming (see Section 2.10). How shall we account for these discrepancies? One possible reason is that literary works generally use stricter rhyming. On the other hand, Robert Cheng (1986) suggests that, as the sound system of the dialect has changed, the intuition of Taiwanese speakers has also changed accordingly.

11. Here I refer to entering tone syllables ending with -p, -t or -k, but not with -ʔ, which generally disappears in singing and rhymes with open syllables (see Section 2.8).

Chang (forthcoming) concludes that the syllable-final -ʔ in Taiwanese is only a tonal feature, rather than a true stop consonant.

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閩南語的押韻與音韻對比

(摘要)

李 壬 癸

閩南語方言的音韻系統包括以下幾個現象：

一、口部元音與鼻化元音的對比：

i : ĩ	如 姨：圓	ia : iã	如 野：影
e : ě	挨：嬰	iu : iũ	油：羊
a : ă	絞：敢	ui : uĩ	圍：黃
ua : uă	大：彈		

二、o 與 ɔ 的對比，如羅：盧，高：姑，棗：祖。

三、音節尾的喉塞音有辨義作用。

可是閩南語的歌謠押韻却有以下的現象：

一、口部元音與鼻化元音互押，極為普遍，尤其是前高元音。

本文列舉了下列各種押韻的例證：i 押 ĩ, iu 押 iũ, ui 押 uĩ, e 押 ě, a 押 ă, ai 押 aĩ 或 uaĩ, ia 押 iã, ua 押 uă 或 ua?

二、o 押 ɔ。但是有的方言不分這兩種元音，如臺北，澎湖。

三、i 押 iɿ, a 押 aɿ, io 押 ioɿ，因為喉塞音尾在歌唱時消失。音節尾的喉塞音其主要功能是辨別調值的不同，而不同的聲調卻可以互押（見下文第六條）。

四、介音的有無偶爾也可以互押，如 i 押 ui, e 押 ue, aŋ 押 iaŋ, am 押 iam, a 押 ua 或 ia, ɔŋ 押 iɔŋ，然而以不互押為絕大多數。這個現象跟傳統的漢語押韻習慣不同。

五、有少數不同鼻音尾的音節互押，如 im 押 in, in 押 iŋ, an 押 aŋ，但很少 -m 押 -ŋ 的例子，如甘 kam 押人 laŋ。

六、不同的聲調可以互押，入聲除外。這種習慣雖不合於早期如詩經的押韻習慣，却合於晚期如元朝的戲曲。

漢語語音史的重建有不少的時代是根據當時的詩歌或戲曲的押韻而求得的，如羅常培和周祖謨所研究的兩漢，丁邦新的魏晉，何大安的南北朝，周德清的元朝（中原音韻）等。從詩歌的押韻是否可以求得當時的音韻系統？詩歌的押韻有寬有嚴，這常與作者的素養有關。同時，作者的押韻習慣常受方言的影響；來自不同的方言會顯示不同的押韻系統。我們對於作者的方言背景常無法確定。因此，對於使用押韻的材料得要格外謹慎。

押韻的材料是否顯示所有的音韻對比？從閩南語的例子看來，答案並非完全肯定。然而，大致的音韻系統仍然可以由押韻看出來。大體上說，主要元音相同才可互押。

閩南語押韻的現象給我們的另一重要啓示是鼻音的地位問題。既然口部元音與鼻化元音可以互押，（而且不同鼻音尾又有互押的現象，）這似乎說明了鼻化元音並非獨立的音段（separate segments），鼻音應只是超音段的（suprasegmental）徵性而已。這一來，我們不但對閩南語的音韻系統有了更進一步的瞭解，而且對音韻理論方面也可提供一些重要的啓示。

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