Classical Poetry in Taiwanese [1]

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1. Introduction

"Taiwanese" in this paper refers to the Southern Mǐn dialects as spoken in Taiwan. Although there are some popular objections to the use of this term, it is widely understood and translates the Mandarin terms *Táiyǔ* 台語 and *Táiwānhuà* 台灣話, which have the same meaning and are similarly objected to by some people. I therefore use "Taiwanese" in this paper in its linguistic sense with apologies but without further explanation. "Taiwanese" is also an ethnic term. It is not easily defined — indeed, there is fervid disagreement about what it means — but I shall use it here to mean "the ethnicity encompassing those people who are fluent speakers of Taiwanese or who identify with the culture of fluent speakers of Taiwanese".

"Chanting" in Chinese culture is something poorly understood in the West. It is not outright singing, but rather the use of the tones of a given Chinese dialect to create a semi-musical performance of a work of literature, usually but not exclusively poetry. The pitches and contours of the tones are exaggerated, so that the music inherent in the language itself is projected onto a musical scale (usually but not always the pentatonic scale). The effect depends on the practitioner's skill, but it may be described as a kind of melodic declamation. By "chanting" I render the Mandarin word *yínsòng* 吟誦. *Yín* 吟 and *sòng* 誦 are two ancient separate words for this practice, distinguished in one recent study on the subject as *yīnyùehuà* 音樂化 "musicalization of poetry" as against *yǐ shēng jié zhī* 以聲節之 "constraining it by sound", especially rhythm (Lin Wen-pao 1989:59-61). Because Chinese literati chanting tends not to be fixed as a musical composition it would be inapt to compare it with the recitative of European opera, although conceptually that may be the closest familiar example. Yuen Ren Chao wrote that the difference between chanting and singing was not one of kind but of usage (1930:1).

There is at present a growing chanting movement in Taiwan. It is nothing so trendy as the great gastronomic and commercial fads that periodically sweep through Taiwan society, but plainly something has happened in the past few years. Whereas until recently most traditional chanting was to be heard only in small poetry societies, there are now a number of publications on the subject as well as recordings, and poetry societies themselves are experiencing a resurgence of interest.

My title uses "classical literature" in the loose sense. It is meant to include anything up to Sòng literature, and even later. The nature of the language used is not ordinary spoken Taiwanese, but

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character readings as well as other effects (this is discussed in Branner ms. 2). For example: the character 老 "old" is pronounced *lau*˧˥ (spoken), as opposed to *nɔ̃*˧˥ (character reading). The two pronunciations differ in initial (*l* vs. *n*), final (*au* vs. *ɔ̃*), and tone.[2] The character reading *nɔ̃*˧˥ is never used in speech except when reading something formal (which is rarely done), or quoting a learnèd saying. In rough terms, *lau*˧˥ is a real word, while *nɔ̃*˧˥ is a rarely used form comparable to a Latin or Greek technical word in English. In reading and chanting classical literature, only the rare character readings are supposed to be used.

It is often alleged that this reading pronunciation is a survival of the language of the Táng dynasty, although close examination shows that to be far from the truth. It is actually a late local form of one of the traditional southern reading accents, which varied from place to place but which had certain features in common. That traditional pronunciation surely derives in some way from Táng reading traditions, but in truth it is probably not much like the real thing. As with the Cantonese equivalent, the Taiwanese reading accent is employed in the reading of high literature of all pre-modern periods, not only Táng literature. Indeed, its legitimacy is precisely that the "Táng voice", whatever that has meant at different places and times, has been used to read much pre-modern literature in all the time since the end of the Táng.

Traditional-style poetry and its reading practice were closely connected with the *kējǔ* 科舉 "official examination" system for much of that time. In China proper, the official examinations and their intellectual trappings underwent a series of wrenching transformations, not the least of which was the May Fourth Movement, which advocated the use of Mandarin to replace more formal written styles. In Taiwan, however, the *kējǔ* tradition was simply cut off, overnight, by the 1895 Japanese occupation. In Nationalist and later Communist China, new ways of writing and reading Mandarin were actively promulgated by the Governments, and these movements were supported by a large proportion of the intelligentsia. During the first 40 years of Communist rule, much stigma was attached even to educated ways of speaking, and there remains a strong tendency to "working class" speech and writing, which intellectuals have gradually learned to resist. In Japanese-ruled Taiwan, by contrast, the tokens of traditional literate culture were treasured by many locals as symbols of ethnic Hàn identity (see Liao 1999:289-297). Because traditional Chinese learning was eclipsed in Taiwan rather than being undermined as in the Mainland, it survived for much longer intact, and with far less Mandarin influence.

The history of Mandarin has yet to be written. The relationship between standard and non-standard languages is complex in any society, and in greater China, with its wrenching social upheavals and stunning linguistic diversity, the situation can hardly be summed up in any simple way. Although the vernacular language movement is said to have begun in 1919, its influence was mainly urban and limited to the Mainland. No doubt many parts of the mainland were like the small city of Lóngyán 龍巖 in Fukien, where Mandarin was traditionally spoken only between the local prefect and his translator (*tíhuà* 提話, [ti_{33} $guæ_{34}$]) while the local population heard essentially nothing but only local dialects until the late 1930's or '40's (p.c. Mr. Chén Yízhì 陳一致, 1993).

[2] I have represented varieties of Taiwanese using the International Phonetic Alphabet in this paper. Tones are indicated by means of the five-level contour symbols devised by Yuen Ren Chao (the Chao "tone letters"). Transcription of medieval Chinese follows Branner 1999.

Taiwan did not really begin to be exposed to Mandarin until the arrival of the Kuomintang in 1945; before that, educated Taiwanese who could not visit the Mainland had to study in secret from Japanese textbooks, as did the painter Lin Mei-shu 林梅樹 (p.c. Mr. Lin Ching-kuang 林景光 1999).

After the withdrawal of Japan, Taiwanese traditions of reading and chanting seem to have been largely ignored by the Mainland-dominated academic world. It is telling, for instance, that when in 1967 Wayne Schlepp recorded more than 300 oral performances of traditional literature with the assistance of the Chinese Department at National Taiwan Normal University, not a single one of his samples was in Taiwanese, and only one reader (Miss [Zhū Guǎngpíng] 朱廣平) even had a Taiwan ethnicity. "Taiwanese" and "Mainlander" were starkly different ethnicities in those days, and in many walks of life quite separate. Hence, the Taiwanese reading and chanting tradition continued to exist apart from the Mainland tradition.

Today, Taiwanese linguistic culture has become a symbol of Taiwanese ethnic tradition and of Taiwan itself before the arrival of the KMT in 1945. It has survived in a number of places — most notably in small *shīshè* 詩社 "poetry societies", but also in *koa-á-hì* [*gēzǎixì*] 歌仔戲 (Taiwanese opera) and in funeral liturgy as chanted by bonzes. Although traditional chanting still exists in Mainland China, recordings of it are not nearly as available in the marketplace as in Taiwan. The bibliography to this paper lists a few recent recordings of classical literature (Jiāo Huàng 1999, Sūn Dàolín 2000, Wú Déēn 1996), all of which consist of dramatic readings in ordinary Mandarin, without chanting.

This paper considers some of the formal æsthetic features of traditional poetry that are exhibited through chanting: tonal prosody, various rhythmic effects, and *xiéyùn* 叶韻 or "accommodated rhyming".

2. Tonal prosody

The hallmark of Chinese literati chanting is the expression of elements of internal "order" of poetry. That includes rhyme, tonal prosody, vocalic consonances and especially dissonances. *Shī* 詩 poetry is at the center of this movement, although other literature also appears. Generally the works one hears performed are well-known anthology pieces, although poets also perform their own work.

What is the purpose of prosody in poetry? Characteristically, linguists and poets often see the matter in very different terms. It is informative to compare Matthew Chen's 1980 article with the comments on it by James Liu and Wayne Schlepp in the same volume. As a descriptive linguist, my sympathies are with the poets in this round. John Hollander opens his 1988 book on poetic "scheme" as follows:

> That the matter of poetry is metaphor and not pattern will underlie the concerns and guide the explorations of this book. But that the energies of patterning are necessary to poetic representations is undeniable. […] These are the patterns made by curious and ordinarily irrelevant arrangements — of words, sublexical and suprasegmental linguistic sounds, syntactic schemes, and graphic elements, on the one hand, and twisting or turnings of sense and reference of words and utterances on the other. (Hollander 1988:1)

[ggg this section left incomplete]

3. accommodated rhyming:

Shyjing

Gwoshang

13-yuan

kok > kek

In chanting, yangpyng seems to be distinguished from inpyng in sandhi by slight tremolo. Not always heard, but also not rare. it is not so much a sandhi form as a feature of a prolonged syllable - allows him not to have to do the whole long thingwith tone2.

[section above incomplete]

The *píngzè* distinction seems originally to have been introduced artificially into Chinese poetry (Mair and Mei ggg), but soon became a fundamental part of native prosody. Regulated poems are traditionally classified by their rime (rhyming category) and the prosodic value of the first prosodically crucial syllable of the first line (*zèqǐ* 仄起 'begins with *zè*' or *píngqǐ* 平起 'begins with *píng*'). There are four usual prosodic patterns for five- and seven-syllable regulated quatrain. If the quatrain rhymes in the *píngshēng*, the two patterns are:

píngqǐ:											*zèqǐ*:										
		※	○‖	※	●	○						※	●‖	※	○	○					five syllable line
		※	●‖	※	○	○						※	○‖	※	●	○					
		※	●‖	※	○	●						※	○‖	※	●	●					
		※	○‖	※	●	○						※	●‖	※	○	○					
※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	○					※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	○				seven syllable line
※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	○					※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	○				
※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	●					※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	●				
※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	○					※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	○				

(In this paper, I use the following special symbols: ○ represents a *píng* syllable; ● represents a *zè* syllable; ※ represents a syllable that is not prosodically significant; ‖ indicates a cæsura, which occurs after a prosodically significant foot.) If the quatrain rhymes in the *zèshēng*, the two patterns are:

píngqǐ:											*zèqǐ*:										
		※	○‖	※	●	●						※	●‖	※	○	●					five syllable line
		※	●‖	※	○	●						※	○‖	※	●	●					
		※	●‖	※	○	○						※	○‖	※	●	○					
		※	○‖	※	●	●						※	●‖	※	○	●					
※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	●					※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	●				seven syllable line
※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	●					※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	●				
※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	○					※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	○				
※	○‖	※	●‖	※	○	●					※	●‖	※	○‖	※	●	●				

The traditional practice in chanting is to prolong a *píng* syllable if it appears in any non-final prosodically significant position, and not to prolong a *zè* syllable in those positions. One of the effects of this practice is to highlight any *píng* syllable appearing before a cæsura and therefore the cæsura itself. Another effect is to create a contrast between the two lines in each regulated couplet. Below I illustrate this rule with transcriptions of some recorded performances. Note that the fact that this is not something unique to Taiwanese is evident in many of the performances in Schlepp's collection (*e.g.*,#214, 227, 242, 252, simply to cite poems that will also be mentioned here).

Consider first Dù Fǔ's 杜甫, classic poem "Chūnwàng 春望". The initial transcription is of a reading by Ms. Lin Hsiao-lin [Lín Xiàolín] 林孝璘 (Hung 1999a:68).

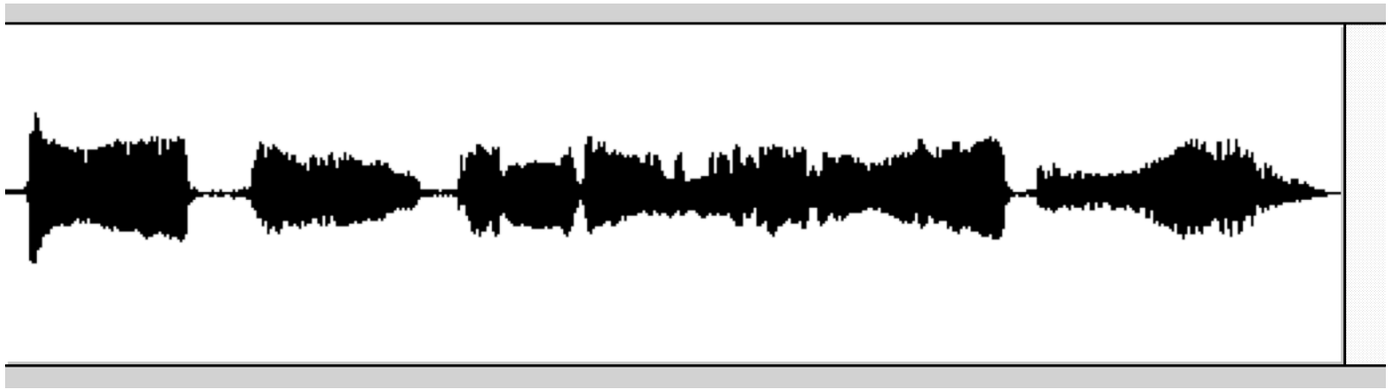
1	國	破	山	河	在	
	※	去 //	※	○	上	
	kok ˥	phɤ ˩	san ˧	hɤ ˦	tsai ˨	Note [3]
2	城	春	草	木	深	
	※	○ //	※	入	平	
	seŋ ˧	tshun ˨	tshɤ ˧	bɔk ˥	tshim ˨	
3	感	時	花	濺	淚	
	※	○ //	※	去	去	
	kam ˧	si ˩	hua ˧	tsɛn ˥	lui ˨	
4	恨	別	鳥	驚	心	
	※	入 //	※	○	平	
	hun ˥	pɛt ˩	niãu ˦	keŋ ˧	sim ˨	
5	烽	火	連	三	月	
	※	上 //	※	○	入	
	hoŋ ˧	hõ ˦	lɛn ˥	sam ˧	guat ˨	
6	家	書	抵	萬	金	
	※	○ //	※	去	平	
	ka ˧	su ˨	ti ˧	ban ˥	kim ˨	
7	白	頭	搔	更	短	
	※	○ //	※	去	上	
	pek ˥	thɤ ˩	sɤ ˧	keŋ ˥	tuan ˦	
8	渾	欲	不	勝	簪	
	※	入‖	※	○	平	
	hun ˥	iok ˨	put ˥	seŋ ˥	tsim ˨	Note [4]

In order to illustrate the relative durations of the syllables as chanted, I present below the actual waveforms produced by a chanted performance by Mr. Hung Tseh-nan [Hóng Zénán] 洪澤南 (Hung 1999a:68). The waveforms are produced by the SoundEdit program for Macintosh. I indicate the beginning of each syllable in the waveform using characters; I indicate the duration of each syllable using dots ("....") after the character. It is evident that, as this poem is in five-syllable form, the second and fourth syllables of each line alternate in length within a given couplet.

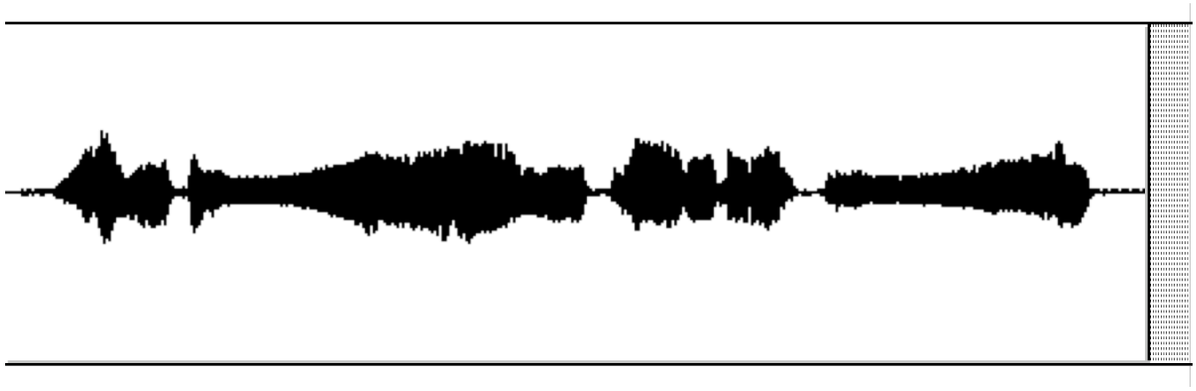
[3] Note on line 1. The phrase *kok phò* 國破 "the state is destroyed" is read with tone sandhi on the first syllable. We would ordinarily expect the subject *kok* to be read without tone change; by involving sandhi, the expression appears to be a compound, "as for the state's destruction".

[4] Note on line 8. For both prosody and sense, 勝 should be read **seng* ㄥ˧ (tone 1) "to bear", but here it is carelessly read *sēng* ㄥ˥ (tone 7) which means "victory".

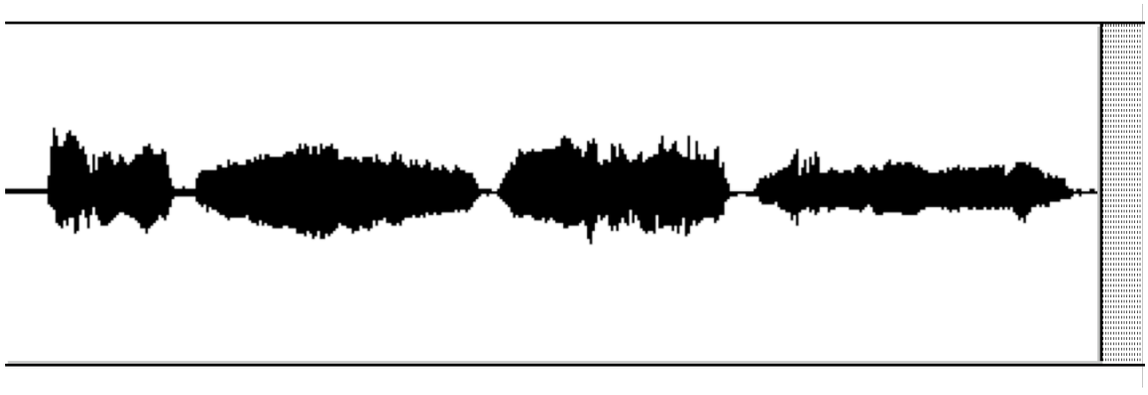
1 國.....破.....山.....河.....在.....|



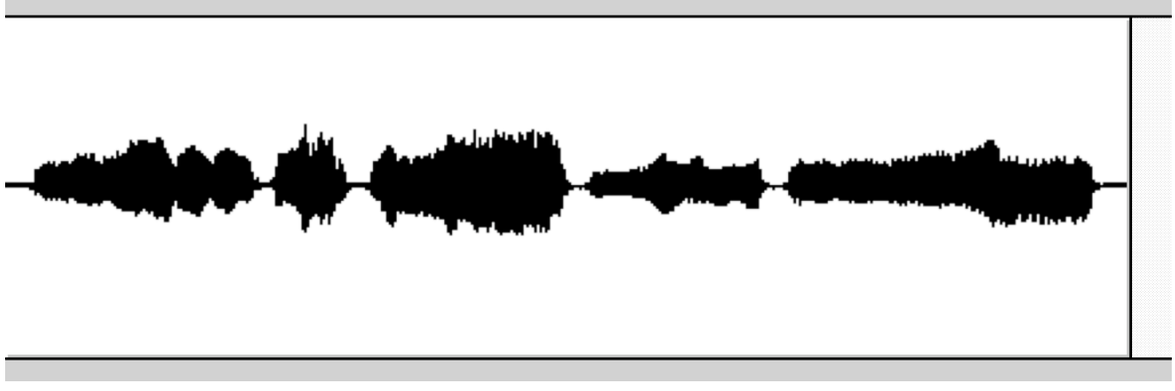
2 城.....春.....草.....木.....深.....|



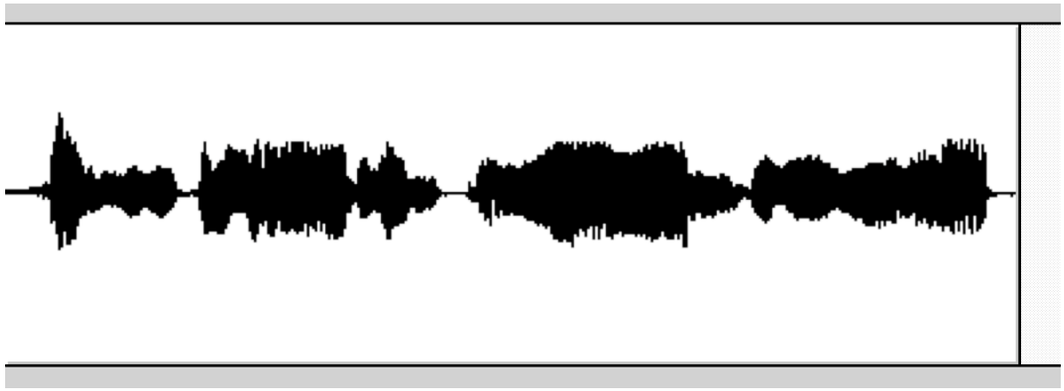
3 感.....時.....花.....濺.....淚.....|



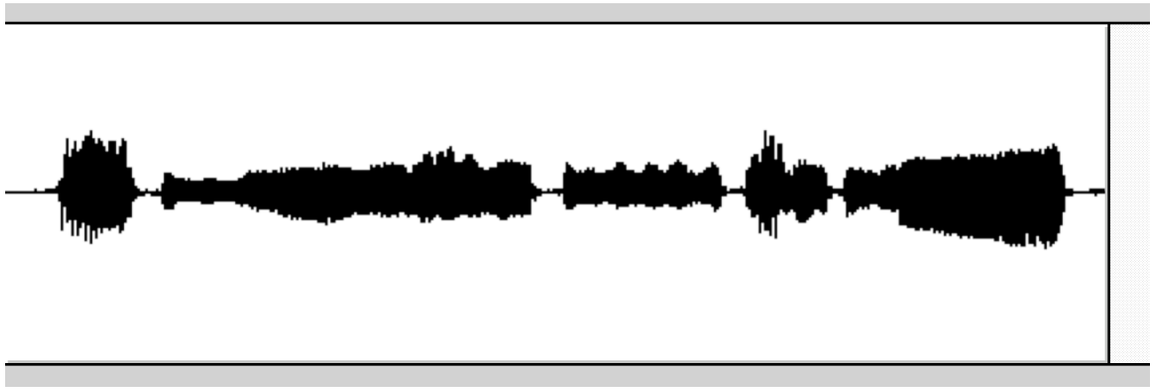
4 恨.....別.....鳥.....驚.....心.....|



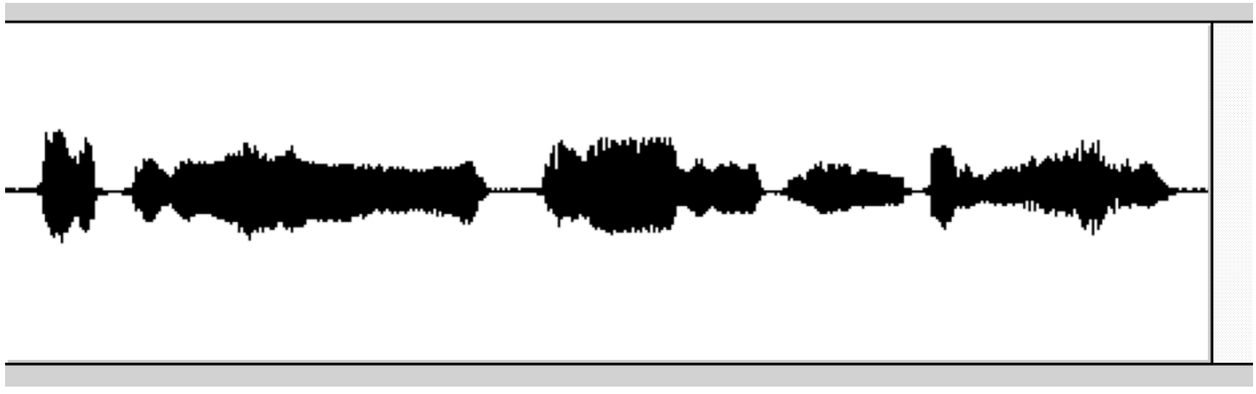
5 烽.....火.....連.....三.....月.....|



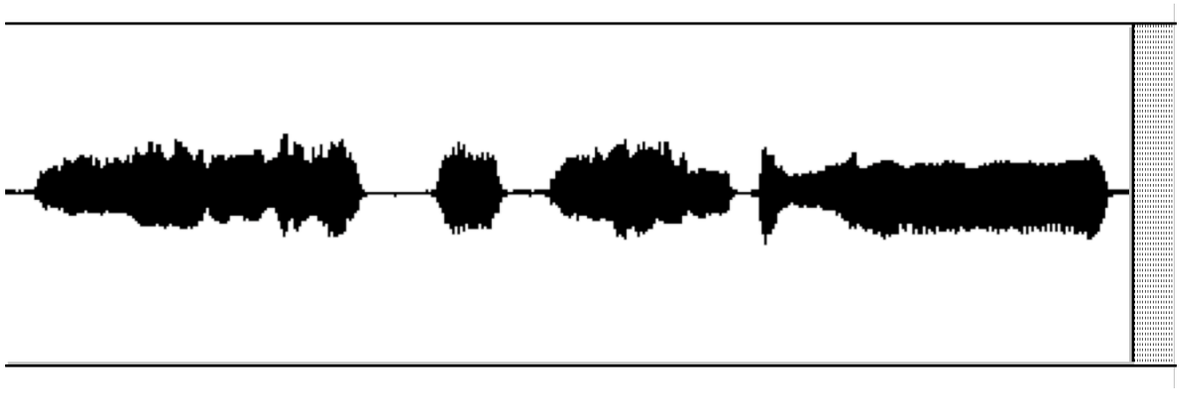
6 家.....書.....抵.....萬.....金.....|



7 白.....頭.....搔.....更.....短.....|



8 渾.....欲.....不.....勝.....簪.....|



Although a regulated *shī*-poem may appear on paper to consist of eight metrically identical lines, in the mouth of a chanter every line has its own distinctive length and character. Performances from Schlepp's collection, such as those of Ch'eng Fa-jen [Chéng Fārèn] 程發軔 of Húběi and Chen Ch'ieh-fan [Chén Qièfán] 陳鍥凡 of Jiāngsū express tonal prosody in the same way (Schlepp 2000[1967]: #242, 245). Clearly, as Yuen Ren Chao said, the principles of chanting regulated verse vary little from province to province (1930:1).

Here is another example, Hè Zhīzhāng's 賀知章 poem "Huíxiāng ǒushū 回鄉偶書", transcribed as read by Lin Hsiao-lin (Hung 1999a:59).

少	小	離	家	老	大	回
●	● //	※	○ //	※	●	㊥
siau˥	siau˩	li˧	ka˥	nɔ̃˧	tai˧	hai˩

鄉	音	無	改	鬢	毛	衰
○	○ //	※	● //	※	○	㊥
hiong˧	im˥	bu˧	kai˩	pin˥	mɔ̃˩	tshai˥

兒	童	相	見	不	相	識
○	○ //	※	● //	※	○	㊇
zi˧	tɔŋ˩	siɔŋ˧	kɛn˨	put˥	siɔŋ˧	sek˨

笑	問	客	從	何	處	來
●	● //	※	○ //	※	●	㊥
siau˥	bun˧	khek˥	tsiɔŋ˩	hɤ˧	tshu˨	lai˩

The same recording contains two chanted performances of this piece, by Hung Tseh-nan and Mr. Cheng Lao-ch'ang [Zhèng Lǎocháng] 鄭老長 (Hung 1999a:59, 92-93). Although the performances differ considerably with respect to the relative lengths of individual words, they nevertheless have in common that they tend to lengthen the *píng* syllables and fail to lengthen the *zè* syllables before the cæsuræ:

Hung 1 少.....小.....離..家.....老.大....回.....|
Cheng 1 少.....小....離....家.....老.....大..回.....|

Hung 2 鄉....音.....無.改.....鬢毛.....衰.....|
Cheng 2 鄉...音.....無...改....鬢...毛.....衰.....|

Hung 3 兒...童.....相.....見不.相.....識.....|
Cheng 3 兒.....童.....相.....見....不....相.....識.....|

Hung 4 笑.....問.客....從.....何處..來.....|
Cheng 4 笑.....問..客..從.....何.....處.....來.....|

It is also noticeable that in all three chanted performances, the first line is longer than the others in the same performance. That is evidently also a convention of this style of chanting.

A third example is Lǐ Bái's 李白 "[Jìng]yè sī [靜]夜思", as read by Lin Hsiao-lin and chanted by Hung Tseh-nan (pub. Hung 1999a:63):

床	前	明	月	光
※	○ //	※	●	㊥
tshoŋ˩	tsiɛn˧˥	beŋ˩	guat˩	koŋ˥

疑	是	地	上	霜
※	● //	※	●	㊥
gi˩	si˥	te˩	sioŋ˩	soŋ˥

舉	頭	望	明	月
※	○ //	※	○	❶
ku˩	tho˧˥	boŋ˩	beŋ˩	guat˥

低	頭	思	故	鄉
※	○ //	※	●	㊥
te˩	tho˧˥	su˩	kɔ˩˧	hioŋ˥

And here are the relative syllable lengths. Notice that this is not a regulated quatrain, because line 2 has a *zè* tone in syllable 4 and line 3 has a *píng* tone in syllable 2. But the performer has nonetheless applied the usual rules of length according to the actual *píngzè* values of the syllables at the crucial positions:

1床.....前.....明.....月.....光.....|
2疑.....是.....地.....上.....霜.....|
3舉..頭.....望.....明.....月.....|
4低.....頭.....思.....故.....鄉.....|

As I have described elsewhere (Branner ms. 3), the *píngzè* contrast is even emphasized in the chanting of Táng parallel prose. There is a very clear example in Lǐ Bái's 李白, "Chūnyè yàn zònqdì táohuā yuán xù 春夜宴從弟桃花園序", as read by Ms. Lin Hsiao-lin and chanted by Mr. Hung Tseh-nan and Ms. Lin Ya-p'ing [Lín Yǎpíng] 林亞蘋 (Hung 1999a:90-91 and 1999b:2/8). Transcription of Lin's recording follows. Above I have already introduced the tilde ~ after a syllable as a symbol of gentle vibrato affecting some syllable in the *yángpíng* tone category. Here the tilde means that Lin draws out the syllable and applies melisma to its contour, an effect far more pronounced in the chanting and affecting more syllables than shown here.

夫	天	地	者
hu˧˥~	thiɛn˩	ti˥~	tsia˨.

萬	物	之	逆	旅	也
ban˩	but˥	tsi˩	gek˨	li˩˧~	ia˨.

光 陰 者
koŋ˥ im˧ tsia˨

百 代 之 過 客 也
pek˦ tai˧ tsi˥ ko˦ khek˨ ia˨

而 浮 生 若 夢
zi˨~ hu˥ seŋ˧ ziok˨ boŋ˧

為 歡 幾 何
ui˥ huan˧ ki˥ ho˨

古 人 秉 燭 夜 遊
kɔ˥ zin˨~ peŋ˥ tsiok˨ ia˨ iu˨

良 有 以 也
lioŋ˥ iu˥ i˦ ia˨

況 陽 春 召 我 以 烟 景
hoŋ˩~ ioŋ˥ tshun˧ tiau˦ ŋɔ̃˦ i˥ iɛn˥ keŋ˦

大 塊 假 我 以 文 章
tai˨ khuai˩ ka˥ ŋɔ̃˦ i˥ bun˥ tsioŋ˧

會 桃 花 之 芳 園
hue˧~ to˥ hua˧ tsi˥ hoŋ˥ guan˨

序 天 倫 之 樂 事
si˧~ thiɛn˥ lun˨ tsi˥ lok˨ su˧

群 季 俊 秀
kun˥ kui˩ tsun˦ siu˩

皆 為 惠 連
kai˥ ui˨~ hui˨ liɛn˨

吾 人 詠 歌
ŋɔ̃˥ zin˨ eŋ˨ ko˧

獨 慚 康 樂
tok˨ tsam˨~ khoŋ˥ lok˧

幽 賞 未 已
iu˥ sioŋ˦ bi˨ i˦

高 談 轉 清
ko˥ tam˨ tsuan˥ tsheŋ˧

開	瓊	筵	以	坐	花
khai˥~	khɐŋ˦	iɛn˧	i˦	tso˦	hua˥

飛	羽	觴	而	醉	月
hui˦~	u˦	sioŋ˥~	zi˦	tsui˩	guat˥

不	有	佳	詠
put˩	iu˦	ka˦	eŋ˥

何	伸	雅	懷
ho˦	sin˥	ŋã˦	huai˧

如	詩	不	成
li˦	si˥~	put˩	seŋ˧

罰	依	金	谷	酒	數
huat˨	i˦~	kim˦	kok˩	tsiu˦	sɔ˨˩

ggg this section left incomplete

3. Rhythmic effects

(not the same as dramatic reading, favored in Mainland)

prolongation of first line

prolongation of empty syllables and use of ictus beats

tremolo and melisma on yangpyng

Most Chinese *shī* poetry is of regular line length, and visually gives the impression of unchanging rhythm. In fact, poetry in performance varies a great deal in rhythm. I have already mentioned then tendency to elongate the first line of a regulated *shī* or *juéjù*, and of course the whole preceding section deals with the variations in syllable length introduced at even-numbered syllables. Here I discuss rhythmic effects , ggg *gǔshī* etc. Prolongation of special poetic particles. ggg

ggg Hàn Wǔdì, “Qiūfēng cí 秋風詞” Sung by Mr. Cheng Lao-ch‘ang (Hung 1999a:92). Other performances by Ms. Huang Pao-ju [Huáng Bǎorú] 黃寶如, Mr. Shih Sheng-lung [Shī Shènglóng] 施勝隆, and Mr. Hsü Chih-sh‘eng [Xǔ Zhìchéng] 許志誠 (privately recorded by Hung Tseh-nan).

1		秋	風	起	兮	白	雲	飛
		tshiu˦	hoŋ˥	khi˩	he˧	pek˨	hun˦	hui˥
2	草	木	黃	落	兮	鴈	南	歸
	tsho˦	bok˨	hoŋ˦	lok˨	he˧	iɛn˨	lam˦	kui˥

3	蘭	有	秀	兮	菊	有	芳
	lan˨˧	iu˥˥	siu˨˩	he˥·	kiok˨˧	iu˥˥	hoŋ˥˧
4	攜	佳	人	兮	不	能	忘
	huai˥˥	ka˥˥	lin˨˧	he˥·	put˥	leŋ˥˥	boŋ˥˧
5	泛	樓	舡	兮	濟	汾	河
	huan˥˥	liu˥˥	suan˨˧	he˥·	tse˥˥	hun˥˥	ho˨˧
6	橫	中	流	兮	揚	素	波
	heŋ˥˥	tioŋ˥˥	liu˨˧	he˥·	ioŋ˥˥	sɔ˥˥	pho˥˧
7	簫	鼓	鳴	兮	發	棹	歌
	siau˥˥	kɔ˨˩	beŋ˨˧	he˥·	huat˥	tsau˥˧	ko˥˧
8	歡	樂	極	兮	哀	情	多
	huan˥˥	lok˥	kek˥˧	he˥·	ai˥˥	tseŋ˥˥	to˥˧
9	少	壯	幾	時	兮	奈	老	何
	siau˥˥	tsoŋ˨˩	ki˥˥	si˨˧	he˥·	nãi˥˥	nɔ̃˨˩	ho˨˧

ggg trans?

Notes:The particle 兮 generally loses its initial *h* and sounds as *ê* alone.

Line 4. 攜 has no reading *hôai*; the performer appears to be substituting 懷.

Line 5. For 舡 *hong*, the performer appears to be substituting 船 *sôan*. The reading *liû* for 樓 (Campbell's *l*) is known in some accents.

1秋...風.....起...兮.....白...雲.....飛.....|
2草木.黃.落.兮.....鴈.....南.....歸.....|
3蘭有.....秀兮.....菊有...芳.....|
4攜.佳....人....兮.....不.....能.....忘.....|
5泛樓....舡..兮.....濟.....汾.....河.....|
6橫中.....流兮.....揚.....素.....波.....|
7簫鼓...鳴..兮.....發.....棹.....歌.....|
8歡.樂..極兮.....哀.....情.....多.....|
9少.壯....幾..時....兮.....奈.....老.....何.....|

Rhythm.

Example: Lǐ Bái 李白, "Shǔdào nán 蜀道難". Chanted by [Xǔ Zhìchéng] 許志誠. Recorded by Hung Tseh-nan 洪澤南.

The recording is not very clear. I have transcribed what I believe to be the underlying tonal values of this performance.

1	噫	吁	戲
	i +	u	hi

2	危	乎	高	哉					
	ui ˧˥	hɔ	kɔ˥	tsai˥					
3	蜀	道	之	難	[ ]				
	siok˨	tɔ˨˦	tsi˨˦	lan ˧˥ +	koʔ				
4	難	於	上	青	天				
	lan˨˦	ɯ ˧˥	siɔŋ˨˦	tsheŋ˨˦	thiɛn˨˦				
5	蠶	叢	及	魚	鳧				
	tsham˨˦	tsɔŋ˧˥	khek˨	gɯ˨˦	hu ˧˥—				
6	開	國	何	茫	然				
	khai˨˦	kok˨	hɔ˨˦	boŋ˨˦	liɛn˧˥	[rest]			
7	爾	來	四	萬	八	千	歲	[ ]	
	nĩ˨	lai˧˥	sɯ˨	ban˨˦	pat˨	tshiɛn˨˦	sui ˧˥+	koʔ˨	
8	始	與	秦	塞	通	人	煙		
	nãi +	ɯ ˨˦	tsin˨˦	sai˩˧	thoŋ˨˦	lin˨˦	iɛn˥	[rest]	
9	西	當	太	白	有	鳥	道		
	se˨˦	tɔŋ˨˦	thai˨	pek˥	iu˥	niãu˨˦	tɔ˥—		
10	可	以	橫	絕	峨	眉	巔		
	khɔ̃˨˦ +	i˨˦	heŋ˨˦	tsuat˨	ŋɔ̃˨˦	bi˨˦	tiɛn˥		
11	地	崩	山	摧	壯	士	死		
	te˥	pheŋ˥	san˥	tshue˥	tsɔŋ˨	tsɯ˥	sɯ ˧˥—		
12	然	後	天	梯	石	棧	方	鉤	連
	lian˨˦ +	hiu˨˦	thiɛn˨˦	the˥	sek˨	tsan˥	hoŋ˨˦	kiu˨˦	liɛn˨˦
13	上	有	六	龍	回	日	之	高	標
	sioŋ˨˦	iu˨˦	liok˨	lioŋ˧˥	hue˨˦	lit˥	tsi˥	ko˥	phiau˥—
14	下	有	衝	波	逆	折	之	迴	川
	ha˥+	iu˨˦	tshioŋ˨˦	phɔ˨˦	gek˨	tshia˥	tsi˨˦	hue˨˦	tshuan˥ (rest)
15	黃	鶴	之	飛	尚	不	得		
	hong	hok	tsi	hui	sioŋ	put	tek +	li	
16	猿	猱	欲	度	愁	攀	援		
	huan (?)	iu	iok	tɔ	tshiu	phan	uan		

˥ ˧˥ ˩˧ ˧ ˧˥ ˥˥

[transcription incomplete from here on]

17	青	泥	何	盤	盤			
	tsheŋ	le	hɔ	phuan	phuan			
18	百	步	九	折	縈	巖	巒	
	pek +	pɔ	kiu	tsek	eŋ (?)	gam	ban	
19	捫	參	歷	井	仰	脅	息	
	bun	tsham	lek	tseŋ	ioŋ	hiak	sit (?)	
20	以	手	撫	膺	坐	長	歎	
	i +	tshiu	bu	eŋ	tsɔ	tsioŋ	than	
21	問	君	西	遊	何	時	還	
	bun	kun	se	iu	hɔ	si	huan	
22	畏	途	巉	巖	不	可	攀	
	ui	tɔ	tshai	gam	put	khɔ̃	phan	
23	但	見	悲	鳥	號	古	木	
	tan	kian	pi	niãu	hɔ	kɔ	bok +	li
24	雄	飛	雌	從	繞	林	間	
	hioŋ	hui	tsioŋ	tshɯ	iau	lim	kan	
25	又	聞	子	規	啼	夜	月	
	iu	bun	tsɯ	kui	the	ia	guat	
26	愁	空	山					
	tshiu	khoŋ	san					
27	蜀	道	之	難				
	sioŋ	tɔ	tsi	lan + koʔ				
28	難	於	上	青	天			
	lan	ɯ	sioŋ	tsheŋ	thiɛn			

Special notation: “+” after a syllable means it is prolonged half a beat and the following syllable is shortened half a beat.

Notes: Lines 1-2. The first five characters are somewhat slurred together.
Line 8. Reader apparently subsitutes *nāi* 乃 for ggg 使.
Line 11. Reading *pheng* attested in Campbell for 崩 (usually *peng*).
Line 13. Reading *phiau* attested for 標.

Line 14. Reading *tshia* (?) for 折 is apparently a different character: 車?
Line 24. Chanter reverses 雌從 as *tsioŋ tshɯ.*

4. "accommodated Rhyming"

Xiéyùn 叶韻 "accommodated rhyming" (or "harmonized rhyming") is the name for the adjustment of rhyme-words in the poetry of earlier eras so that they rhyme in modern pronunciation. The best known compendium of *xiéyùn* materials is Zhū Xī's *Shījīng jízhù* 詩經集註 (pref. 1178), in which the classical poems are made to rhyme in Zhū Xī's own literary reading accent. Some modern Chinese historical linguists look down on *xiéyùn* practice as bad science. It was, however, clearly an attempt to restore an æsthetic element to high poetry whose ancient rhyming had become inexplicable, and so should not be viewed in terms of early Chinese reconstruction.

Examples of *xiéyùn* are found here and there before Zhū Xī. The earliest surviving case is apparently a *fǎnqiè* gloss by Shěn Chóng 沈重 (*zì* Zǐhòu 子厚, 500-583) quoted in the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* ("Máo shī yīnyì 毛詩音義, 上/10b) on the character *nán* 南 in "Yànyàn 燕燕":

> 沈云協句、宜乃林反、今謂古人韻緩、不煩改字
>
> [Shěn says: a rhyming line; it should be pronounced {nem_3}. Today we hold that people in antiquity used loose rhymes, and should not find it burdensome to alter characters.]

The last line is celebrated as the title of a note by Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武 (1613-1682; 1966[1667]:1b), part of his attack on the exactitude of medieval phonology (although Gù himself calls it a famous line). Gù seems to have been the first person to view *xiéyùn* in moral terms; before that, and certainly for Zhū Xī, it was evidently a practical, pedagogical matter. Gù elsewhere quotes a 725 decree by Táng Xuán zōng 唐玄宗 proposing a *xiéyùn* reading involving the characters 頗 and 陂 in the *Shàngshū* 尚書. The word written 叶 (not the modern simplified form of *yè* 葉 but a graphic variant of *xié* 協) is closely related to *hé* 合 "to combine"; the principle is nothing more complicated than to read in such a way as to allow different sounds to combine in rhyme.

Here is how Shěn Chóng's gloss is to be applied. Below is the text of the third stanza of "Yànyàn", with the rhyme-words indicated using their medieval values (following Branner 1999).

> 燕燕于飛
> 下上其音 em_3
> 之子于歸
> 遠送于南 nam_{1a}
> 瞻望弗及
> 實勞我心 sem_3

Since *yīn* 音 and *xīn* 心 belong to the rhyme {-em_3}, it is plain enough that 南 (nam_{1a}) does not match them. Shěn Chóng's proposal is to read 南 as {nem_3} (Mandarin *nín*) to improve the rhyming.

Xiéyùn is most closely associated with the reading of early Chinese poetry in medieval pronunciation. Below I present two examples.

The first is the poem "Yuèchū 月出" from the "Chénfēng 陳風" section of the *Shījīng* 詩經. A performance chanted by Lin Ya-p'ing is published in Hung 1999a:90. Lin prefaces the three stanzas

of the poem with the opening of Sū Shì's 蘇軾 "Qián Chìbì fù 前赤壁賦", which mentions the first stanza. She reads the"Chìbì fù" passage, and then chants the *Shījīng* poem.

In her reading, the tones are somewhat different from most Taiwanese dialects: the sandhi value of tone 2 (*yīnshǎng* 陰上) is a rising ˧˥, rather than ˥˧. I have heard this tone contour from older Changhua 漳化 informants. Her tone 8 (*yángrù* 陽入) in isolation appears to be ˨, rather than the higher value ˩ more common among readers in Hung's collection. Lin reads in a highly dramatic fashion, reminiscent of the *báikǒur* 白口兒 of opera, causing most level tones (˥, ˩, ˧, ˨) to drop at the end if at all prolonged. Transcription of the tones in the sung passage is much more tenuous than in the read passage, because the melody can conceal or distort the spoken contours. On the "refrain" syllables *hê* 兮 and *hū* 賦 she generally drops the initial *h*, and I have not transcribed it. As above, the tilde ~ indicates some form of melisma.

Reading:

1	壬	戌	之	秋	
	zim˧˥	sut˩	tsi˧	tshiu˥~	
2	七	月	既	望	
	tshit˨	guat˩	ki˨	boŋ˩	
3	蘇	子	與	客	
	sɔ˧	tsu˥	u˧˥	khek˩	
4	泛	舟	游	於	
	huan˨	tsiu˥~	iu˧	u˧˥~	
5	赤	壁	之	下	
	tshek˨	phek˩	tsi˧	ha˩	
6	清	風	徐	來	
	tsheŋ˧	hoŋ˥	su˧	lai˧˥	
7	水	波	不	興	
	sui˧˥	phɔ˥	put˨	heŋ˩	
8	舉	酒	屬	客	
	ku˧˥	tsiu˥	tsu˨	khek˩	
9	誦	明	月	之	詩
	sioŋ˧	beŋ˧	guat ˩	tsi˧	si˥
10	歌	窈	窕	之	章
	kö˧	iau˧	thiau˥	tsi˧	tsioŋ˥
11	月	出	、	陳	風

guat ㄧ　tshut ㄚ　tin ㄟ　hoŋ ㄱ

Chanting:

12 月　出　皎　兮
guat ㄧ　tshut ㄚ　kiau ㄚ　e ㆎ

13 佼　人　僚　兮
kau ㄏ　lin ㄟ～　liau ㄚ　e ㆎ

14 舒　窈　糾　兮
su ㄱ　iau ㄏ　kiau ㄚ　e ㆎ

15 勞　心　悄　兮　、　賦　也
lɔ ㄏ　sim ㄱ～　tshiau ㄚ　e ㆎ　u ㄅ　ia ㆎ

16 月　出　皓　兮
guat ㄧ　tshut ㄚ　hiu ㄚ　e ㆎ

17 佼　人　懰　兮
kau ㄏ　lin ㄟ～　liu ㄚ　e ㆎ

18 舒　慢　受　兮
su ㄱ　iu ㄏ　siu ㄧ　e ㆎ

19 勞　心　慅　兮　、　賦　也
lɔ ㄏ　sim ㄱ～　tshiu ㄚ　e ㆎ　u ㄅ　ia ㆎ

20 月　出　照　兮
guat ㄧ　tshut ㄚ　tsiau ㄧ　e ㆎ

21 佼　人　燎　兮
kau ㄏ　lin ㄟ～　liau ㄧ　e ㆎ

22 舒　夭　紹　兮
su ㄱ　iau ㄣ　siau ㄧ　e ㆎ

23 勞　心　慘　兮　、　賦　也
lɔ ㄏ　sim ㄱ～　tshiau ㄥ　e ㆎ　hu ㄅ　ia ㆎ

Translation

1　In the Fall of the year Rénxū,

2　once the seventh moon was full,

3 Master Sū sailed out with guests
4 on an outing
5 beneath Red Cliffs.
6 A pure breeze blew gently,
7 the waves were not stirred up;
8 he raised his wine and toasted his guests,
9 and chanted the ancient poem about the bright moon,
10 reciting the verse that goes *yǎotiǎo*, "graceful…"

Performer here recites the title of the poem

11 From the "Airs of Chén": "The Moon Appears"

12 The moon appears, gleams, yea —
13 lovely woman, fine, yea —
14 moves away, graceful, yea —
15 pains my heart, aches, yea — (It is "display".)

16 The moon appears, splendid, yea —
17 lovely woman, radiant, yea —
18 moves away, allures, yea —
19 pains my heart, burns, yea — (It is "display".)

20 The moon appears, shines, yea —
21 lovely woman, dazzling, yea —
22 moves away, smoulders, yea —
23 pains my heart, forlorn, yea — (It is "display".)

Within the *Shījīng*, this is quite an unusual piece. It has three-syllable rather than four-syllable lines, and the third line of each stanza does not break syntactically in the same place as the others. It is memorable for the large number of rhyming words it contains not only at the ends of lines, but within lines. Although it is not regulated, Ms. Lin prolongs and ornaments the *píng* tones appearing before the cæsura (second syllable of lines 2 and 4). She correctly places the cæsura of each of the the third lines after the first syllable, not by pausing but by failing to make the tone change.

Why does she say "賦也 [it is display]" at the end of each stanza? "Display" is one of the three types of imagery used in the *Shī*, according to traditional criticism. Kǒng Yǐngdá 孔穎達 and Zhū Xī both consider this poem to be an example of *xìng* 興, indirect depiction, rather than *fù* 賦. I have imagined these words to be the performer's comment on the seductive woman in the poem. Lin's

voice, too, is dazzlingly seductive, and if this is the way Sū Shì (in the story of the "Chìbì fù") sang this poem, it is no wonder his guest was overwhelmed with emotion.

In several places, Lin practices *xiéyùn* 叶韻 ("accommodated" or "harmonized" rhyming). It is most interesting that she does not slavishly follow the suggestions of the old books, but produces a set of readings designed for Taiwanese. In a word, this is modern *xiéyùn*.

The rhyme-word of third line of the first stanza (糾) should be read *kiu* ㄟ in Taiwanese, but she reads it *kiau* ㄠ, following Zhū Xī's prescription for this poem. The reading *kiau* ㄠ allows the whole stanza to rhyme together. In the second stanza, Ms. Lin uses *xiéyùn* readings for the rhyme-words *hiu* ㄟ 皓 and *tshiu* ㄟ 慅 to create the same effect. These particular values, however, are not based on the two main sources for such alternate readings, the *Jīngdiǎn shìwén* 經典釋文 (毛詩音義, 中/2b; most of whose notes reappear in the commentary of *Kǒng Yǐngdá* p. 378下) or Zhū Xī's *Shījīng jízhù*.

Below is a table of the *xiéyùn* readings from these two sources, and Ms. Lin's actual readings.

rhyme-word	*Jīngdiǎn shìwén's sound gloss*	*equivalent reading*	*Zhū Xī's sound gloss*	*equivalent reading*	*Lin Ya-p'ing's actual reading*
皎	古了反	= kiau ㄠ	*[none]*		kiau ㄠ
僚	音了	= liau ㄠ	音了	= liau ㄠ	liau ㄠ
糾	其趙反又其小反、	= kiau ㄐ	音矯	= kiau ㄠ, ㄐ	kiau ㄠ
	一音其了反、	= kiau ㄐ			
	說文音已小反又居酉反	= iau, kiu ㄠ			
悄	七小反	= tshiau ㄠ	*[none]*		tshiau ㄠ
皓	胡老反	= hau ㄐ	音昊	= ho ㄐ	hiu ㄟ
懰	力久反	= liu ㄟ	音柳、叶朗老反	= liu, lau ㄠ	liu ㄟ
受	*[none]*		叶時黝反	= siu ㄐ	siu ㄐ
慅	七老反	= tshau ㄠ	音草	= tshau ㄠ	tshiu ㄟ
照	*[none]*		*[none]*		tsiau ㄐ
燎	力召反	= liau ㄐ	音料	= liau ㄐ	liau ㄐ
紹	*[none]*		音邵	= siau ㄐ	siau ㄐ
慘	七感反	= tsham ㄠ	當作懆、七弔反	= tsho, tshiau ㄋ	tshiau ㄋ

For another example of *xiéyùn* in early poetry, I present the moving "Guóshāng 國殤", from the "Jiǔ gē 九歌" in the *Chǔcí* 楚辭. The version I have transcribed was composed by Hung Tseh-nan, and sung chorally by the Fèngmíng Yínshè 鳳鳴吟社 of Taiwan Wenhua University 台灣文化大學. It is published in Hung 2000, item #3.

The main interest in this transcription is the use of *xiéyùn*. Our best source for traditional *xiéyùn* readings in the *Chǔcí* is another of Zhū Xī's books, the *Chǔcí jízhù* 楚辭集注. Below I transcribe the text (I have not attempted to restore the tones here based on the melody), then translate, and finally discuss the rhyming.

Sung

1	操	吳	戈	兮	被	犀	甲
	tshau	thã	ko	he	phi	se	kap
2	車	錯	轂	兮	短	兵	接
	ku	tsho	kok	he	tuan	peŋ	tsiap
3	旌	蔽	日	兮	敵	若	雲
	tseŋ	pe	lit	he	tek	liok	hun
4	矢	交	墜	兮	士	爭	先
	si	kau	tui	he	su	tseŋ	sun
5	凌	余	陣	兮	躡	余	行
	leŋ	u	teŋ	he	liap	u	hoŋ
6	左	驂	殪	兮	右	刃	傷
	tso	tsham	e	he	iu	lin	sioŋ
7	霾	兩	輪	兮	縶	四	馬
	mãi	u	lun	he	tek	su	mũ
8	援	玉	枹	兮	擊	鳴	鼓
	huan	giok	phu (?)	he	kek	beŋ	ku
9	天	時	墜	兮	威	靈	怒
	thian	si	tui	he	ui	leŋ	nũ
10	嚴	殺	盡	兮	棄	原	壓
	iam	sat	tsin	he	khi	guan	su
11	出	不	入	兮	往	不	返
	tshut	put	lip	he	oŋ	put	huan
12	平	原	忽	兮	路	超	遠
	pheŋ	guan	hut	he	lɔ	tshiau	uan

Interpolation, spoken (man's voice):

tshut˥ lai ˧˩ sio˧ tsian˨˩

tsiu˧ bo˧ an˥ sŋ˥ be?˥ tŋ˥˧ khi ˧˩ ɔ ˨˩

(woman's voice)

peŋ˧ guan˨˧ khui˧ phua˥ tshoŋ˧ boŋ˨˧

kɔ˥ hiɔŋ˥˩, li˧ tsin˧ iau˧ uan˥˧ e ˧˩ sɔ˧ tsai˨˩

(poem continues, sung)

13	帶	長	劍	兮	挾	秦	弓
	tai	tioŋ	kiam	he	hiap	tsin	keŋ
14	首	身	離	兮	心	不	懲
	siu	sin	li	he	sim	put	teŋ
15	誠	既	勇	兮	又	以	武
	seŋ	ki	ioŋ	he	iu	i	bu
16	終	剛	強	兮	不	可	凌
	tsioŋ	koŋ	kioŋ	he	put	kho	leŋ
17	身	既	死	兮	神	以	靈
	sin	ki	su	he	sin	i	leŋ
18	子	魂	魄	兮	為	鬼	雄
	hun	kek	phek	he	ui	kui	heŋ

Translation

1 Wielding spears from other lands,
yea, bearing rhino armor —

2 Chariots touching, wheel to wheel,
yea, short weapons meeting —

3 Banners hide the sun;
yea, our foe is like the clouds —

4 Arrows fall, exchanging sides,
yea, brave soldiers vie for the front lines —

5 They encroach on our formation,
yea, tread hard on our ranks —

6 The leftmost horse on my team is dead;
yea, on the right a blade wounds me —

7 Two wheels are sunk in;
yea, four horses are tangled up —

8 Someone grasps jade drumsticks;
yea, beats resounding drums —

9 Heaven's moment has dropped away;
yea, the awesome spirits are wroth —

10 The powerful killing is at an end;

yea, I am abandoned to the plains and wilderness —

11 Came out but cannot go in;

yea, left but will not return —

12 The flat plains are vast;

yea, the road to pass over is endless —

(Interpolation, spoken — man's voice):

Come out and fight!

So you don't intend to go back, eh…

(woman's voice)

The plains enlighten us as to their vast boundlessness. (?)

O homeland, you far-off place!

(poem continues)

13 Holding a long sword,

yea, a Qín bow tucked under my arm —

14 Head and body gone separate ways,

yea, heart uncowed —

15 Truly! not only brave,

yea, but also martial —

16 Hard and strong to the end,

yea, not one to be overcome —

17 Though my body is dead,

yea, my spirit is powerful —

18 Soul of the body and soul of the mind,

yea, as ghosts they will be manly.

(I have chosen to render this poem in the first person, which is not usual. It is usually read in the third person, but may originally have been performed antiphonally, with two voices alternating between first and third person.)

The composer has made several changes to the canonical text. In line 1, for "操吳戈 [wielding daggers of Wu]" he has written what sounds like *tshau thã ko* 操他戈 [wielding foreign daggers]. In line 18, for "子魂魄 [your upper and lower souls]", he has written what sounds like *hun kek phek* 魂及魄 [upper and lower souls].

There are some other variants I cannot explain. In line 5, 陣 *teŋ* is expected to be read **tin*. In line 7, 縶 *tek* is expected to be read **tsip*. These may be cases where my transcription is inaccurate, or the composer may have altered the text in ways that have escaped me. In line 8, the character 枹 is pronounced *phu*, which is in accordance with Zhū Xī's sound gloss "音孚".

There are two interesting examples of *xiéyùn* in the rhymes. First, in lines 3-4, the rhyme-words *hun* 雲 and *siɛn* 先 do not rhyme, but the composer has followed Zhū Xī's suggestion ("先叶音詢") to read 先 as if it were *sun* 詢.

In lines 7-10, however, something more complicated has taken place. It is clear that the last syllables of these four lines are intended to rhyme. The four words 馬, 鼓, 努, and 墼 (this last is merely an ancient form of *yě* 野) belong to the *yú* 魚 rime group of early Chinese. Virtually all modern linguists now reconstruct this category as *-a* or something like it, and it is understood that both the medieval rimes {-$a_{2/3}$} and {-uo_1} derive from it. It happens that *yú* was one of the earliest rime groups to be discovered. Most of the early Chinese rime groups in their currently accepted forms were not known until after the time of Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 (1735-1815), who first saw how to study the the sounds of words for which no direct rhyming evidence existed. There are, however, enough examples of rhyming words in the *yú* 魚 group that even the earliest students of the field, such as Wú Yù 吳棫 and Gù Yánwǔ, were able to see that words such as {maQ_2} 馬 and {kuoQ_1} 鼓 must originally have rhymed. However, it was characteristic of their methods that they were led to believe the sound of the *yú* 魚 rime group was some form of *u* rather than *a* as is now understood.

It happens that Zhū Xī's *xiéyùn* glosses make the same assumption. For 馬, he reads 叶滿補反 (= {muoQ_1}, Mandarin *mǔ*); for 墼 he reads 上與反 (= {dzyuoQ_{3b}}, Mandarin *shù*). The composer of the present setting has chosen to follow Zhū Xī's glosses, with the result that all four of these rhyme words are assigned uncanonical readings that are unfamiliar to the listener. So 馬 is sung here evidently as *mũ* (or perhaps *bu*) instead of its expected reading *mã*; 鼓 is sung *ku* rather than the expected *kɔ*; 努 is evidently sung *nũ* (or perhaps *lu*), instead of *lɔ*; and 墼 is sung *su* instead of *ia*. Hung Tseh-nan went to immense effort to reproduce Zhū Xī's accommodated rhyming, but perhaps it was not actually necessary. The usual pronunciations of these four rhyme-words are *mã ~ kɔ ~ lɔɔ ~ ia*, and while they are not a perfect rhyme, they sound close enough to be viable.

Xiéyùn is historically a medieval approach to reconciling earlier rhyming with living pronunciation. But at times we can observe *xiéyùn*-like practices being applied even to medieval poetry itself. For instance, consider the performance of Lǐ Shāngyǐn's 李商隱, "Dēng lèyóu yuán 登樂遊原" (Hung 1999a:61):

向	晚	意	不	適	
※	● //	※	○	㊋	
hioŋ˩	buan˥	i˨	put˩	siek˧	Note [5]
驅	車	登	古	原	
※	○ //	※	●	㊥	
khu˦	ku˥	tieŋ˦	kɔ˦	gun˨	

[5] Note on line 1: The character 不 has readings in both the *píng* and *rù* tones in the *Guǎngyùn*, although the *rù* tone reading is considered regular. Regulated seven-syllable verse rarely places 不 in prosodically significant syllables so that we might examine its actual usage in the past. It is, however, occasionally found in the fourth syllable of five-syllable lines. Most of those latter occasions require a *zè* reading but there are some occasional examples where the *píng* reading appears to be meant. The present poem is one such possible case. In any case, the Taiwanese reader uses the usual *rùshēng* reading *put* here.

夕	陽	無	限	好
※	○ ⫽	※	●	㊤
sek˩	ioŋ˧˥	bu˩	han˩	hɔ̃˥

只	是	近	黃	昏
※	●‖	※	○	㊥
tsi˩	si˨	kin˩	huaŋ˩	hun˥

The rhymewords **guân* 原 and *hun* 昏 have different main vowels in Taiwanese and therefore do not rhyme very well. In traditional *guānyùn* 官韻 "rhyming for the official examinations", these words belonged to the notorious 13-*yuán* 元 rime group — notorious because it combined many words that did not rhyme in any known variety of Chinese into a single entity. (See the discussion of this matter in Branner 1999:39-44.) Hung practices a kind of *xiéyùn* by "accomodating" the pronunciation of **guân* 原 to *gûn* in order to rhyme with *hun* 昏. Not all practitioners do this in Taiwan today, and indeed there is some controversy over whether it is appropriate or not. Liang Chiung-hui [Liáng Jiǒnghuī] 梁炯輝, for instance, reads 原 as *guân* (1995:369; 1999c) because that is the traditional character reading.

There are many such examples. In Wáng Wéi's 王維 "Xiāngsī 相思", the rhyme words 枝 and 思 rhyme correctly in medieval phonology, but have not in Taiwanese. Liang Chiung-hui (1995:327; 1999c) adheres to the traditional pronunciation, but Hung Tseh-nan (1999a:61) alters it in order preserve the rhyme.

	medieval	*Liang*	*Hung*
紅豆生南國			
春來發幾枝	$tsyi_{3b}$	tsi	ki
願君多采擷			
此物最相思	si_{3d}	su	si

Hung not only accommodates **su* 思 to *si* to restore the æsthetics of the rhyme; he also changes 枝 from *tsi* (which sounds like an obscene word in the Zhāngzhōu accent of Taiwanese) to its colloquial reading *ki*. Although it is not a rhyme-word in this poem, Hung also reads **kok* 國 as *kek*, because it is one of a number of common words whose rhyming pronunciation always needs to be accommodated. Here is an example from the opening of Bái Jūyì's 白居易 "Chánghèn gē 長恨歌"; the "standard" reading here follows Campbell 1913.[6]

[6] Campbell, together with Shěn 1954, is one of the two main dictionaries of traditional Taiwanese character readings now in use in Taiwan. Although compiled by a Westerner with native assistants, it is an accurate and highly regarded register of traditional character readings.

	medieval	*dictionary (Campbell)*	*as prescribed by Hung (p.c. 2001)*
漢皇重色思傾國	kwek$_{1}$	kok	kek
御宇多年求不得	tek$_{1}$	tit	tek
楊家有女初長成			
養在深閨人未識	syek$_{3}$	sek	sek
天生麗質難自棄			
一朝選在君王側	tsrek$_{3}$	tshek	tsek
回眸一笑百媚生			
六宮粉黛無顏色	srek$_{3}$	sek	sek

Hung also reads **tit* 得 as *tek*, to maintain the rhyme.

There are any number of parallel examples. Here is Wáng Hàn's 王翰 "Liángzhōu cí 涼州詞". Liang (1995:408; 1999c) renders 催 in its traditional reading *tshui*; Hung (1999a:58) "accommodates" it to rhyme with 杯 *pai* and 回 *hai*:

	medieval	*Liang*	*Hung*
葡萄美酒夜光杯	pwei$_{1a}$	pue	pai
欲飲琵琶馬上催	tshwei$_{1a}$	tshui	tshai
醉臥沙場君莫笑			
古來征戰幾人回	ghwei$_{1a}$	hue	hai

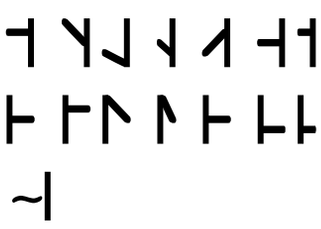
Here is Wáng Chānglíng's 王昌齡 "Guīyuàn 閨怨":

	medieval	*Liang*	*Hung*
閨中少婦不知愁	dzrou$_{3b}$	tshiu	tshiu
春日凝妝上翠樓	lou$_{1}$	lɔ	liu
忽見陌頭楊柳色			
悔教夫婿覓封侯	ghou$_{1}$	hɔ	hiu

These are some of the major rimes in which Taiwanese misrepresents medieval phonology, but they appear in countless examples in poetry. The principle that Hung and his colleagues follow is to preserve something of the æsthetic coherence of the original, even if that means altering the received reading tradition. In so doing, they are continuing the practice of *xiéyùn*, best known from the pedagogical commentaries of Zhū Xī but originating in the early medieval period, when Chinese first began to realize that there was a painful gap between themselves and the language of their ancient texts.

[next page omitted]

張九齡 望月懷遠



[transcription here incomplete ggg]

海	上	生	明	月
hai˫	sioŋ˩	seŋ˫	beŋ˫	guat˩

天	涯	共	此	時
thiɛn˫gai˧—		kioŋ˫	tshu˫	si˧

情	人	怨	遙	夜
tseŋ˫	zin˧—	uan˥	iau˫	ia˩

竟	夕	起	相	思
keŋ	sek	khi	sioŋ	su

滅	燭	憐	光	滿
biɛt tsiok	lin	koŋ	buan	

披	衣	覺	露	滋
phi	i	kak	lɔ	tsu

不	堪	盈	手	贈
put	kham	eŋ	siu	tseŋ

還	寢	夢	佳	期
huan	tshim	boŋ	ka	ki

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For a small collection of recordings available on the Internet, please see:
http://www.kaing.net/wwwroot/poemsing.htm (壽峰詩社)

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