

A Phonological Study on the Rimes of *Shāgǒu jì*

Bo Jiang

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Zev Handel

John Christopher Hamm

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Bo Jiang

University of Washington

Abstract

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Bo Jiang

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Zev Handel

Department of Asian Languages and Literature

In this thesis I explore the rhyming patterns of *Shāgǒu jì* 殺狗記 [*Killing a Dog*], a representative work of southern drama, based on the *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ* 六十種曲 [*The Sixty Plays*] edition of the text, and establishes thirteen rime sets. Then I try to clarify the correspondence between these rime sets and those of *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中原音韻 [*Rimes of the Central Plains*], as well as *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 [*Expanded Rimes*]. Previous opinions that some of the language features of southern drama were influenced by Wú dialect are challenged after a careful examination of the rhyming patterns of *shī* 詩, *cí* 詞 and northern drama, which might be possible alternative sources for these features. After that, I compare two versions of the *Shāgǒu jì* text — the *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng* 風月錦囊 [*Brocade Satchel of Lyric Arias*] version and the *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ* version — particularly in terms

of rime, based on the assumption that the *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng*, being the earlier version, contains more original content, while the *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ*, revised by Míng scholars, is comparatively refined and regularized in its language. This comparison will shed light on the development of southern drama's language within the Míng dynasty and pave a way for future possible comparison between versions of other works of southern drama.

1. Introduction

1.1 Southern drama

Southern drama 南戲/南曲 (*nánxì/nánqǔ*) or *xìwén* 戲文 (drama text), as distinguished from northern drama 北曲 (*běiqǔ*) or *zájù* 雜劇 (variety play), is the earliest form of *xìqǔ* 戲曲 (Chinese opera), and took shape no later than the 12th century.¹ Given its possible birthplace in Yǒngjiā 永嘉 (modern-day Wēnzhōu), southern drama is also called *Yǒngjiā zájù* or *Wēnzhōu zájù*.

During the Yuán dynasty (1271-1368), southern drama gradually developed into a mature art form, mainly performed in southeastern China, where Wú, Mǐn and Gàn dialects are spoken nowadays.² Thus the language of southern drama was believed by the Míng (1368-1644) intelligentsia to be fundamentally influenced by dialects rather than by the *lingua franca* that was widely accepted by the literati. For example, Wáng Jidé 王驥德 (c.1540-1623) says in his *Qǔlǜ* 曲律 [*Musical Temperament*] that “southern drama naturally has southern readings, identical with [the dialects] there.” 蓋南曲自有南方之音，從其地也 (J. Wáng 2002, 450).

Such so-called “southern readings” can be found in the text of *Shāgǒu jì* 殺狗記 [*Killing a Dog*], for example, the intermix of nasal endings rimes, i.e. the three *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中原音韻 [*Rimes of the Central Plains*] (hereafter, *ZYYY*) rimes Zhēn-Wén 真文 [ən], Qīn-Xún 侵尋 [əm] and Gēng-Qīng 庚青 [əŋ], and the four *ZYYY* rimes Hán-Shān 寒山 [an], Huán-Huān 桓歡 [ɔn],

¹ The origin of southern drama is still unclear. At present most scholars have not yet reached a consensus on its formation time. Qián (2009, 11) claims that southern drama appeared in the late Northern Sòng dynasty (960-1127). Yú & Liú (2009, 7) pinpoints it between the Southern Sòng dynasty Chúnxī 淳熙 (1174-1189) reign and Shào xī 紹熙 (1190-1194) reign periods. Sun (1995) says southern drama first originated around the third decade of the 12th century. Idema & Haft (1997, 178) thinks it appeared no later than the 12th century. Liú (2007, 1) and Péng (2008, 1) both believe its formation should be before the Northern Sòng dynasty Xuānhé 宣和 (1119-1125) reign period.

Xiān-Tiān 先天 [æŋ] and Xiān-Xiān 廉纖 [æm], and the intermix of high vowel rimes, i.e. the three ZYYY rimes Qí-Wēi 齊微 [i], Zhī-Sī 支思 [ɿ/ɻ] and Yú-Mó 魚模 [u], appear repeatedly in the text.³ These are the typical features of Wú, Gà and Mǐn dialects.

Before the early Míng most composers of the southern drama were anonymous folk artists, with ill-educated low-class audiences such as peasants, merchants, artisans, etc. For this reason, southern drama during the Yuán and early Míng (1368-1644) was regarded by men of letters as an inferior art form. However, during the course of its expansion, more and more men of letters participated in southern drama composition, promoting its social status. One of the main figures was Gāo Míng 高明 (ca.1305-1371) whose representative piece *Pípá jì* 琵琶記 [*The Lute*] was recognized by Zhū Yuánzhāng 朱元璋 (1328-1398), the founding emperor of the Míng dynasty. Another influential figure was Shěn Jǐng 沈璟 (1553-1610), who advocated regularizing the language of southern drama according to Zhōu Déqīng's 周德清 (1277-1365) ZYYY. His proposal soon received wide and positive responses (W. Yú 2005, 234). Dramatist Fàn Wénruò 范文若 (1587-1634) writes in his drama *Huāyán zhuàn* 花筵賺 [*Flowery Banquet*] that “the rimes [in *Huāyán zhuàn*] are all based on Zhōu Déqīng's ZYYY, and not one character is imprecisely used.” [花]韻悉本周德清《中原》，不旁借一字。Shěn Zìjìn 沈自晉 (1583-1665), a dramatist born in the late Míng, asks in his *Náncí xīnpǔ* 南詞新譜 [*New Formulary of Southern Songs*], “as for songs, are there any that do not look to ZYYY as the standard?” 夫曲，有不奉《中原》為指南者哉？ (W. Yú 2005, 234).

³ I adopt Wáng Li's 王力 ZYYY reading reconstruction in this study. For more detail, see Wáng (1987, 392-470).

From the Wànlì 萬曆 (1573-1620) reign period onwards, ZYYY was basically becoming the rime standard for southern drama composition.⁴ Meanwhile, southern drama from then on was generally regarded as *chuánqí* 傳奇 (literarily, transmission of marvelous) by modern scholars, a new form of performance art embedded with the literati's aesthetic tastes.⁵

In this thesis, I divide the development of southern drama into three periods and presume that works of the earlier period are mostly coarse in language and imprecise in rime, while works of the later periods are comparatively more uniformly based on the ZYYY:

(1) The first group includes three southern drama pieces found in *Yǒnglè dàdiǎn* 永樂大典 [*Yǒnglè Encyclopedia*] that are believed to have been composed during Sòng (960-1279) and Yuán dynasties, i.e. *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán* 張協狀元 [*First Place Scholar Zhāng Xié*], *Huànmén zǐdì cuò lishēn* 宦門子弟錯立身 [*Grandee's Son Takes the Wrong Career*] and *Xiǎo Sūntú* 小孫屠

⁴ This does not mean that ZYYY was the only standard for composing southern drama. Shěn Jǐng's advocacy inevitably caused criticism from other dramatists who held different opinions. Wáng Jìdé thinks that southern drama should preserve its "southernness" by following its own rime tradition and avoiding the influence of ZYYY. Shěn Chǒngsuí 沈寵綏 and Féng Mènglóng 馮夢龍 insist that entering tone should be distinguished from other tones. Qīng dramatist, Lǐ Yú 李漁 (1611-1680) proposes that ZYYY rimes would be adjusted to southern drama phonology by setting apart the entering tone rimes from non-entering tones and distinguishing Yú 魚 and Mó 模 rimes.

⁵ The demarcation between southern drama and *chuánqí* is made by modern scholars such as Qián Nányáng 錢南揚 (2009). Sun (1998) lists several differences between southern drama and *chuánqí*: there are seven role categories in southern drama, while twelve in *chuánqí*; southern drama predominantly uses southern tunes, but *chuánqí* widely applies northern tunes; most southern drama plays are related to love, marriage or domestic stories, but a number of *chuánqí* plays are about political or military struggle. The way to divide southern drama and *chuánqí* is still ambiguous and controversial. *Zhōngguó dà bǎikē quánshū: xìqǔ qǔyì* 中國大百科全書·戲曲曲藝 [*Encyclopedia of China: Xiqǔ, Storytelling and Ballad-sing*] defines those composed in Sòng and Yuán as southern drama and those in Míng and Qīng as *chuánqí*. Qián Nányáng (2009) considers that the divide between southern drama and *chuánqí* is the appearance of *kūnshān qiāng* 崑山腔. Xú Shuòfāng 徐朔方 (1988) proposes that those accumulated folk dramas are southern drama, while those composed by the literati are *chuánqí*. Sun (1998) admits there was an overlap period of both the disappearance of southern drama and the formation of *chuánqí*. For more detail, please see Sun (1998). On the other hand, some modern scholars think this way to demarcate southern drama and *chuánqí* is subjective and reluctant to distinguish them. Fú Díxiū 伏滌修 (2014) says that *chuánqí* should be regarded as a new form of southern drama rather than a new type of drama. In fact, there was no substantial difference between these two terminologies in pre-modern scholarship, and they could even refer to one another. We thereby following pre-modern scholars' tradition and do not distinguish *chuánqí* from southern drama in this thesis.

[*Little Butcher Sun*].⁶ Noticeably, *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán* is believed to be written as early as in the Northern Sòng dynasty (960-1127) (Yú and Liú 2009, 201-210).

(2) The second group includes works that are believed to have been composed from the late Yuán to Míng Jiājìng 嘉靖 (1522-1566) reign period, including the representative play *Pípá jì*, as well as the “Great Four Southern Dramas”, i.e. *Jīngchāi jì* 荆釵記 [*The Thorn Hairpin*], *Báitù jì* 白兔記 [*The White Rabbit*], *Bàiyuèting* 拜月亭 [*The Pavilion for Praying to the Moon*] and *Shāgǒu jì*.⁷

(3) The third group includes those works created after Jiājìng reign period when Wèi Liángfǔ 魏良輔 (?1522-?1586) innovated *Kūnshān qiāng*, and later Shěn Jǐng advocated for ZYYY. This group has the largest number of plays with relatively clear authorship and regularized rime, such as *Xiāngnáng jì* 香囊記 [*The Perfume Satchel*] by Shào Càn 邵璨 (dates unknown), *Bǎojiàn jì* 寶劍記 [*The Sword*] by Lǐ Kāixiān 李開先 (1520-1568), *Huànshā jì* 浣紗記 [*Washing the Silken Gauze*] by Liáng Chényú 梁辰魚 (ca.1521- ca.1594) and *Yìxiá jì* 義俠記 [*The Noble Knight-errant*] by Shěn Jǐng, etc.

⁶ *Yōnglè dàdiǎn* is a large encyclopedia commissioned by Míng Emperor Zhū Dì 朱棣 (1360-1424) whose reign title is Yōnglè (1403-1424). By the year 1408 when it was completed, *Yōnglè dàdiǎn* comprised 22,937 *juàn* 卷 in 11,095 volumes. Most of the volumes were lost during the late Qīng dynasty (1636-1912), in the midst of Western attacks and social unrests. Today no more than 370 volumes are survived. The three dramas were found in the 13,991st *juàn* which was found by Yè Gōngchuò 葉恭綽 in London in 1920.

⁷ Líng Méngchū 凌濛初 (1580-1644), a Míng scholar, was the first person that can be found putting forward this term “Great Four Southern Dramas” in his *Tánqǔ zázhā* 譚曲雜劄 (*Notes on the Southern Drama*). These four works were later recognized by scholars as the most important and influential southern dramas appearing in the Yuán and the early Míng period, and thus the term “Great Four Southern Dramas” was widely accepted.

1.2 Literature review

The southern drama had been obscured by the illustriousness of Yuán *zájù* for a long period of time until in the 20th century, when some lost southern drama texts were rediscovered.⁸ The rediscovery of those texts soon attracted scholars' attention.

1.2.1 Research on southern drama

In his representative works *Shémòtā shì qǔhuà* 奢摩他室曲話 [*Drama Criticism in Samatha Studio*, 1907] and *Gùqǔ zhǔtán* 顧曲塵談 [*Idle Talk On Drama*, 1914], drama master Wú Méi's 吳梅 (1884-1939) discusses the metrical scheme of northern and southern dramas. These two books, along with *Sòng Yuán xìqǔ shǐ* 宋元戲曲史 [*A History of Song and Yuan Drama*, 1915] by Wáng Guówéi 王國維 (1877-1927) who places southern drama into the modern Chinese literary canon for the first time, initiated the research boom on southern drama in the early 20th century.

Noticeably, Wáng points out in his book that southern drama might have appeared as early as in Sòng, ahead of Yuán *zájù*. This opinion gained approval from other scholars. Qián Nányáng 錢南揚 (1899-1987) proposes in his *Sòng Yuán nánxì kǎo* 宋元南戲考 [*Study of Sòng Yuán*

⁸ In 1920, scripts of three dramas *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán*, *Huànmén zǐdì cuò lishēn* and *Xiǎo Sūntú* were discovered in volume 13,991 of the *Yōnglè dàdiǎn* which was found in an antique store in London by Yè Gōngchuò. In May 1936, *Nánqǔ jiǔgōng zhèngshǐ* 南曲九宮正始 [*The Rectified Beginnings Southern Drama's Nine Modes*] containing a large number of Sòng and Yuán southern drama songs was found by Féng Yuánjūn 馮沅君 and Lù Kǎnrú 陸侃如 at a bookstore in Beijing. In 1950s, *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng* 風月錦囊 [*Brocade Satchel of Lyric Arias*], a collection of Yuán and Míng dramas before 1421, was discovered in the *Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial* in Spain; at the same time, drama collections that are found in *Naikaku Bunko* 內閣文庫 [*Cabinet Library*] in Japan, such as *Cílín yìzhī* 詞林一枝 [*A Branch from the Forest of Song*], *Bānéng zòujǐn* 八能奏錦 [*Eight Facets Stuck from a Tapestry*], *Yùgǔ xīnhuáng* 玉谷新簧 [*New Reed Pipes in the Jade Valley*], *Zhāijīn qíyīn* 摘錦奇音 [*Strange Tones Plucked from a Tapestry*], *Dà míng tiānxià chūn* 大明天下春 [*Spring throughout the Realm of Great Brightness*] were introduced to scholarship. In later years, scripts of Jiǎjīng edition *Cài Bójiē* 蔡伯喈, Chéngguà 成化 (1465-1487) edition *Báitù jì* and Xuāndé 宣德 (1426-1435) edition *Liú Xībì jīnchā jì* 劉希必金釵記 [*Liú Xībì Gold Hairpin*] were unearthed from tombs in Jiēyáng 揭陽, Shànghài and Cháo'ān 潮安 respectively (Yú and Liú 2009).

Southern Drama, 1930] that southern drama might developed from folk song, Sòng dàqǔ 大曲 or Sòng zájù. Japanese scholar Aoki Masaru 青木 正児 (1887-1964) claims that southern drama originated from Southern Sòng (1127-1279) zájù in his *Shina kinsei gikyoku shi* 支那近世戲曲史 [*History of Chinese Theatre in Pre-modern Times*, 1930].

Later, three significant southern drama collections — *Sòng Yuán xìwén běnshì* 宋元戲文本事 [*The Subject Matter of Sòng and Yuán Xìwén*, 1934] by Zhào Jǐngshēn 趙景深 (1902-1985), *Sòng Yuán xìwén bǎi yī lù* 宋元戲文百一錄 [*Collection of One Hundred and One Sòng and Yuán Southern Dramas*, 1934] by Qián Nányáng and *Nánxì shíyí* 南戲拾遺 [*Collected Portions of Southern Drama*, 1936] by Féng Yuánjūn 馮沅君 (1900-1974) and Lù Kǎnrú 陆侃如 (1903-1978) — were published, collecting texts from 128 dramas.

After the Communist Party came into power in 1949, researches on southern drama pieces were mostly around their themes from a class struggle perspective. In the 1950s, scholarship launched a wide debate over *Pípá jì* concerning its realism and popular character. Scholars such as Tián Hàn 田漢 (1898-1968), Shàng Yuè 尚鉞 (1902-1982), Xú Shuòfāng 徐朔方 (1923-2007), Wáng Jìsī 王季思 (1906-1996), Dǒng Měikān 董每戡 (1907-1980), Yú Píngbó 俞平伯 (1900-1990) and others all joined this undertaking. Simultaneously, the debate around the Qīng (1636-1912) drama *Chángshēng diàn* 長生殿 [*The Palace of Eternal Life*] was in progress. Guān Dédòng's 關德棟 (1920-2005) idea that the theme of *Chángshēng diàn* was “love” faced criticism from various academics. Most contemporary scholars believe that there was only “class love” in a class society. Love that transcended society was nonexistent (Sūn and Xú 2003).

In 1981, Qián Nányáng published his seminal work *Xìwén gāilùn* 戲文概論 [*A General Study of Southern Drama*], combing the history and the development of the southern drama,

introducing southern drama comprehensively to scholars for the first time. Soon after that, Liú Niànzī 劉念茲 (1933-2017) put forward the multiregional origin hypothesis for the first time claiming that both Fújiàn and Wēnzhōu might be the birthplaces of southern drama in his *Nánxì xīzhèng* 南戲新證 [*New Critique of Southern Drama*, 1986]. Yú Wèimín 俞為民, one of Qián Nányáng's students, published a series of articles on the authorship and versions of drama pieces such as *Bàiyuè tíng*, *Báitù jì* and *Jīngchāi jì*.

Meanwhile, the *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng* 風月錦囊 [*Brocade Satchel of Lyric Arias*] (hereafter, *FYJN*), a Yuán and Míng drama collection discovered in the *Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial* in Spain was introduced to scholarship, leading to a research boom. In 1987, Taiwan's *Xuéshēng shūjú* 學生書局 issued the first photoreproduction of the *FYJN*. In 2000, Sūn Chóngāo 孫崇濤 and Huáng Shìzhōng 黃仕忠 published *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng jiānjiào* 風月錦囊箋校 [*Annotations on Brocade Satchel of Lyric Arias*], providing an relatively readable copy to scholarship. Sūn's *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng kǎoshì* 風月錦囊考釋 [*Criticisms and Explanations on Brocade Satchel of Lyric Arias*, 2000] lists all the errors in *FYJN* and makes a detailed comparison between *FYJN* dramas with their received editions.

In English scholarship, northern drama has attracted most scholars' attention for a long time, eclipsing the academic research of southern drama. The leading scholar in Míng *chuánqí* research for decades was Cyril Birch. He translates Tāng Xiǎnzǔ's 湯顯祖 *Mùdān tíng* 牡丹亭 and Mèng Chēngshùn's 孟稱舜 *Jiāohóng jì* 嬌紅記 as *The Peony Pavilion* (1980) and *Mistress and Maid* (2001) respectively. In *Chinese Theater 1100-1450: A Source Book* (1982), by Wilt Idema and Stephen H. West, the three southern dramas found in *Yǒnglè dàdiǎn* are fully translated into English for the first time.

The first comprehensive study concerning the southern drama in English scholarship is Polish Sinologist Tadeusz Zbikowski's (1930-1989) 1974 dissertation *Early Nan-Hsi Plays of the Southern Sung Period*, in which he studies southern drama in light of Western drama theory and places it in the world's drama history, comparing it with ancient Greek comedy and tragedy, India's Sanskrit theater and Japan's *nō* drama. Mei Sun's 1995 dissertation *Nanxi: the Earliest Form of Xiqu*, is the first study of southern drama from the perspective of theatrical performance. Later, in his article "The Division between Nanxi and Chuanqi" (1998), Sun analyzes this issue and proposes an overlap period of both the disappearance of the southern drama and the formation of *chuánqí*, trying to "avoid an artificial line of separation of the transition into two periods" (1998, 255).

1.2.2 Research on the rimes of southern drama

As for the language of southern drama, Lǐ Xiǎo's 李曉 "Nánxì qǔyùn yánjiū" 南戲曲韻研究 [Research on the Song Rime of Southern Drama, 1984] and Zhōu Wéipei's 周維培 "Shìlùn Míng Qīng chuánqí de yòngyùn" 試論明清傳奇的用韻 [On the Rime of Míng and Qīng chuánqí, 1988] focus on the rime pattern of southern drama. Lǐ (1984) generalizes several riming rules in southern drama in terms of ZYYY rimes:

(1) Rime Dōng-Zhōng 東鍾 [uŋ], Jiāng-Yáng 江陽 [aŋ], Yú-Mó [u], Jiē-Lái 皆來 [ai], Xiāo-Háo 蕭豪 [au], Chē- Zhē 車遮 [æ], and Yóu-Hóu 尤侯 [əu] are seldom intermixed.

(2) The [-m] ending rime Qīn-Xún is never purely used but is mixed with [-n] ending rime Zhēn-Wén and [-ŋ] ending rime Gēng-Qīng. Gē-Gē 歌戈 [ɔ] and Jiā-Má 家麻 [a], Qí-Wēi [i] and Zhī-Sī [ɿ/ʅ] are frequently intermixed. Hán-Shān [an], Huán-Huān [ɔn] and Xiān-Tiān [æɳ] are intermixed.

(3) Entering tone rimes can not only rime with themselves, but also rime with non-entering tone rimes.

Yú Wèimín's 俞為民 in his *Qǔtǐ yánjiū* 曲體研究 [*On the Structure of Qǔ*, 2005] indicates that the language of southern drama is based on Wú and Mǐn dialects. Soon after, Yú in his *Sòng Yuán nánxì shǐ* 宋元南戲史 [*The History of Southern Drama in Sòng and Yuán*, 2009] with Liú Shuǐyún 劉水雲 points out that the birthplace of southern drama is Wēnzhōu, implying that the base language of southern drama is Wēnzhōu Wú dialect. Yú also lists the rimes that are commonly found intermixed: (1) Xiān-Tiān [æŋ], Hán-Shān [an] and Huán-Huān [ɔŋ]; (2) Zhī-Sī [ɿ/ʅ], Qí-Wēi [i] and Yú-Mó [u]; (3) Zhēn-Wén [ən] and Gēng-Qīng [əŋ]; (4) Gē-Gē [ɔ], Jiā-Má [a] and Chē-Zhē [æ]; (5) [-m] ending rimes and [-n] [-ŋ] rimes; (6) entering tone rimes and non-entering tone rimes.

There are also works on specific southern drama texts. Liú Lihuī's 劉麗輝 2007 doctoral dissertation *Nánxì yòngyùn yánjiū* 南戲用韻研究 [*On the Rime Scheme of Southern Drama*], based on a corpus of 48 southern dramas (13,319 songs in total), finds that the rime scheme of southern drama is deeply influenced by *cí* as well as composers' personal dialects — Sūzhōu dialect rather than Wēnzhōu dialect.⁹

Huáng Liàng's 黃亮 2012 doctoral dissertation “*Liùshí zhǒng qǔ*” *yòngyùn yánjiū* 六十種曲用韻研究 [*On the Rime Scheme of “Sixty Plays”*] conducts an exhaustive research on southern

⁹ Liú finds it difficult to correspond southern drama rimes categories to modern Wēnzhōu dialect. For example, *GY* rimes Dōng 東 and Zhōng 鍾 are merged in southern drama, but are two different rimes in modern Wēnzhōu dialect, such as *xiōng* 兄, *zhōng* 中, *chǒng* 寵 [-oŋ] and *gōng* 恭, *zhǒng* 種, *yòng* 用 [-yo]. There are also many characters rime in Wēnzhōu dialect but never rime in southern drama nor ZYYY, e.g. *zhāng* 張, *zhāng* 章, *zhǎng* 掌, *zhàng* 丈; *zhān* 沾, *zhān* 粘, *zhǎn* 展, *zhàn* 戰; and *nǐ* 你, *nì* 膩, *lì* 例, though are characters of different ZYYY rimes, all sharing the same rime in Wēnzhōu dialect. Liú finds the correspondence between southern drama rime and modern Sūzhōu dialect is clearer and more systematic. Liú further compares Míng Sūzhōu folk song phonology with that of southern drama and finds they are identical with each other.

drama pieces in *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ*, a collection compiled by Máo Jīn 毛晉 (1599-1659) during the late Míng period, and finds that dramatists from southern China were more likely to intermix high vowel rimes (i.e. Qí-Wēi and Yú-Mó) and nasal ending rimes (i.e. Zhēn-Wén and Gēng-Qīng) than those from northern China. Huáng also finds out that the phonology of southern drama did not change much throughout the whole Míng dynasty, despite scholars' advocacy of regularizing drama riming in accordance with ZYYY. This opinion however is challenged by Péng Jìng's 彭靜 research. After investigating 60 *chuánqí* works (15,364 songs in total) that are written after Míng Jiājìng reign period in her 2008 dissertation *Míng chuánqí yòngyùn yánjiū* 明傳奇用韻研究 [*On the Rime Scheme of Míng Chuánqí*], Péng claims that ZYYY rimes are more likely to be intermixed in southern drama than in *chuánqí*, for instances: (1) Dōng-Zhōng [uŋ] and Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] as well as Zhēn-Wén [ən], Qīn-Xún [əm] are more often than not mixed in southern drama and thus can be merged into one group in some works; this merge however never occur in *chuánqí*. (2) Gē-Gē [ɔ] often rime with Chē-Zhē [æ] or Jiā-Má [a] in southern drama; this type of mixed-rime is rarely found in *chuánqí*.

In addition, works such as Fàn Jùnmin's 范俊敏 research on the rime scheme of *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán* (Fàn 2011), Wú Píng's 吳萍 on that of *Xiǎo Sūntú* (P. Wú 2012), Sū Wén's 蘇雯 on *Pípá jì* (Sū 2015), Hè Yǐng's 賀穎 on *Báitù jì* (Y. Hè 2017), Liáng Yànqí's 梁艷琪 on *Jīngchāi jì* (Liáng 2018), etc. reveal the unique riming features of specific play.

1.2.3 Research on *Shāgǒu jì* and its rimes

As for *Shāgǒu jì*, the subject of the present investigation, no research work has been found in English scholarship yet. In Chinese scholarship, “*Shāgǒu jì*” *xìwén lùnshù* 《殺狗記》戲文論

述 [*Introduction to the Southern Drama “Shāgǒu jì”*, 2007] by Tsai Ju-ting 蔡如婷 introduces this drama comprehensively, involving the authorship, story plot, theme, characters, rhetoric, etc.

Lǐ Píng 李平, Yú Wèimín and Huáng Shìzhōng 黃仕忠 published three articles “Dú *Shāgǒu jì* zájì” 讀《殺狗記》雜記 [Notes on *Shāgǒu jì*, 1987], “Nánxì *Shāgǒu jì* zuòzhě hé bǎnběn kǎolüè” 南戲《殺狗記》作者和版本考略 [Brief Study on the Authorship of the Southern Drama *Shāgǒu jì* and Its Versions, 1988] and “*Shāgǒu jì* bǎnběn kǎolüè” 《殺狗記》版本考略 [Brief Study on the Editions of *Shāgǒu jì*, 1991] concerning its bibliographic history. Moreover, in “*Shāgǒu jì* zài jìndài dìfāngxì zhōng de liúbiàn” 《殺狗記》在近代地方戲中的流變 [The Development of *Shāgǒu jì* in Modern Local Operas, 2017], Lǚ Rú 呂茹 examines the development of the *Shāgǒu jì* story and how it adapts to local operas in different regions.

There are also researches on *Shāgǒu jì*, along with the other three dramas *Jīngchāi jì*, *Báitù jì* and *Bàiyuè tíng*, from a perspective of reception history, concerning the canonization of the “Great Four Southern Dramas”. These include “Zhōngguó gǔdài ‘sìdà nánxì’ jiēshòu kǎolùn” 中國古代“四大南戲”接受考論 [Textual Criticism on the Reception of “Great Four Southern Dramas” in Pre-modern China, 2011] by Wáng Liángchéng 王良成 and “*Jīng Liú Bào Shā* zhīchēng de jīngdiǎnhuà lìchéng” “荊劉拜殺”之稱的經典化歷程 [History of the Canonization of “*Jīng, Liú, Bào and Shā*”, 2014] by Zōu Qīng 鄒青.

Research on the language of *Shāgǒu jì* is extremely rare. There are only two works on *Shāgǒu jì* vocabulary, i.e. “Sìdà nánxì yǔqì fùcí yánjiū” 四大南戲語氣副詞研究 [On the Modal Adverb in “Great Four Southern Dramas”, 2011] by Lǐ Xiǎojìng 李小靜 and “*Shāgǒu jì* fùyīncí yánjiū yǔ císhū biānzǔǎn” 《殺狗記》復音詞研究與辭書編纂 [On Multi-syllable Words in

Shāgǒu jì and Dictionary Compiling, 2016] by Lǐ Yuǎnchéng 李遠城, but no articles on its phonology or riming — the goal of this study.

1.3 Plot of *Shāgǒu jì*

The *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ* 六十種曲 [*The Sixty Plays*] (hereafter, *LSZQ*) version *Shāgǒu jì*, a southern drama in thirty-six scenes, tells a story about brotherhood.

The rich Sūn Huá 孫華 lives a lavish lifestyle with his wife Yáng Yuèzhēn 楊月真, concubine Yíngchūn 迎春, and his younger brother Sūn Róng 孫榮. Two of Sūn Huá's fair-weather friends Liǔ Lóngqīng 柳隆卿 and Hú Zǐchuán 胡子傳, coveting Sūn's wealth, make mischief between the two brothers. Huá is deceived by Liǔ and Hú and thus drives Róng out. Yuèzhēn and Yíngchūn, though wise and intelligent, fail to stop this family dispute. Róng after leaving his family lives a poor and miserable life.

On a snowy day, after drinking with Liǔ and Hú, Huá is so heavily drunk that he never realizes that his jade and money have been stolen by his two friends. He is then left lying on the snowfield at risk of being frozen to death. His younger brother Róng happens to find him, so he carries him back home. After sobering up, Huá however accuses Róng of stealing from him and drives him out again.

In order to help the two brothers reunite, Yuèzhēn and Yíngchūn kill a dog and dress it up as human and put it outside the gate of their house. The Earth God subsequently turns the dead dog into a human corpse.

Coming back in the evening, Huá mistakes the dead dog for a human body. Yuèzhēn suggests that he ask Liǔ and Hú to help him bury the body to avoid possible legal liability. The two fair-weather friends however reject to offer help. Then Yuèzhēn suggests that he ask Róng for

help. Róng does the favor for his elder brother. At this time, Huá realizes brotherhood is most valuable and regrets what he did towards his brother. As a result, the two brothers reconcile and Róng is able to return home. Huá, on the other hand, breaks up with Liǔ and Hú.

Realizing that they can no longer scrounge any money from Huá, the two villains thereby report to local police that Huá has murdered somebody and Róng has buried the corpse. Then local officials disinter the body but find only a dead dog. At this time, the whole event is revealed, and everyone knows the truth. Good and evil at last have their reward. The Sūn brothers are commended by the court for their brotherhood, but Liǔ and Hú are sent into exile.

Though regarded as one representative of early southern dramas, *Shāgǒu jì* is not highly evaluated in terms of its language by the literati. Qīng litterateur Liáng Tíngnán 梁廷柀 (1796-1861) comments in his *Téng huā tíng qǔ huà* 藤花亭曲話 [*Wisteria Flower Pavilion's Talks on Songs*] that “song lyrics in *Jīngchāi jì*, *Liú Zhīyuǎn báitù jì*, *Bàiyuè tíng* and *Shāgǒu jì* are unacceptably vulgar and coarse. *Shāgǒu jì* is particularly detested.” 《荊》《劉》《拜》《殺》曲文，俚俗不堪，《殺狗記》尤惡之甚者。¹⁰

It is easy to understand those scholars' negative evaluation on *Shāgǒu jì*, considering the fact that early southern drama pieces were initially written by uneducated anonymous folk performers. For this reason, as the text handed down from generation to generation, the literati would inevitably participate in composition and editing one after another, making the *Shāgǒu jì* text what we read today an accumulated piece, rather than a homogenous work written by just one person.

But the scholars' participation and composition do not represent that *Shāgǒu jì* was turned into an elaborate flawless *magnum opus* that valued by the literati, and this is why Qīng scholar Liáng Tíngnán and modern scholar Wú Méi criticize its language even though the texts they read

¹⁰ See <http://www.guoxuedashi.com/a/7382g/72000m.html>.

had already been revised by Míng scholars. This thesis therefore compares the two versions of the text in an attempt to address the issues of how Míng scholars revised it, to what degree did they revise it, and principles they followed in their revisions, especially in regard to the rime pattern.

1.4 Versions of *Shāgǒu jì*

The supposedly composer of *Shāgǒu jì* is Xú Zhěn 徐嘒 (fl. ca.1377), as Qīng scholar Zhāng Dàfù 張大復 (ca.1554-1630) annotates in his *Hánshāntáng qǔpǔ* 寒山堂曲譜 [*Cold Mountain Hall Score*] that “the old version of *Shāgǒu jì* was composed by Chún’ān Xú Zhěn whose courtesy name was Zhòngyóu.” 古本淳安徐嘒仲由著 (Zhāng, n.d.). Xú’s birth and death dates are unknown, but he is believed to be a person of the late Yuán and early Míng (S. Wú 1999). However, this opinion is questioned by later scholars such as Wú Méi (2000) who claims in *Gùqǔ zhǔtán* that *Shāgǒu jì* should never be attribute to Xú Zhěn considering the stark contrast between Xú’s presumed educational background and social status with *Shāgǒu jì*’s poor quality and coarse language.¹¹

Zhāng Dàfù further points out that “current version had been revised three times by Wúzhōng Qíngnú, Shěn Xìngbái and Lóngyóuzǐ.” 今本已由吳中情奴、沈興白、龍猶子三改矣 (Zhāng, n.d.). Noticeably, Lóngyóuzǐ is Féng Mènglóng 馮夢龍 (1574-1646), a productive Míng dynasty writer who compiled the short vernacular fiction collections “Sānyán èrpāi” 三言二

¹¹ According to *Yōngzhèng Zhèjiāng tōngzhì* 雍正浙江通志 [*Yōngzhèng Zhèjiāng General Annals*, 1899], we know that Xú Zhěn was an acknowledged scholar — “[he] widely read hundreds of books of multiple areas. He was good at writing and was recommended by the community to the position of *jìjiǔ*. During the early years of Hóngwǔ, he was called to teach at local school. After three years, he resigned. Afterwards, he was called by the emperor to be a *xiùcái*. He started it reluctantly. Upon arriving in the provincial capital, he pushed the position and returned. 博習經史百家之書。善屬文，鄉里推為祭酒。洪武初，辟教邑庠，三年，自免去。已詔征秀才，強起之，至省，力辭而歸。

拍。Dates of the other two editors are unclear yet. Today, the most widely circulated version of *Shāgǒu jì* is the *LSZQ* version, which as mentioned by Zhāng Dàfù, was edited at least by the three scholars above and was later collected into *LSZQ* by Máo Jīn, a late Míng editor and publisher.

The other version is the *FYJN* version. *FYJN* is a drama collection compiled by Míng scholar Xú Wénzhāo 徐文昭 (dates unknown). This *FYJN* version found in Spain was a reprint in 1553, earlier than Féng Mènglóng's lifetime.¹² Thereby, we suppose that this *FYJN* version *Shāgǒu jì* was not so revised as the *LSZQ* was and it may be closer to the original Yuán version.

In addition, a small number of earlier version *Shāgǒu jì* songs can be found in song score collections such as *Nánqǔ jiǔgōng zhèngshǐ* 南曲九宮正始 [*Correct Origins of the Nine Modes of Southern Drama*] by Niǚ Shàoyǎ 鈕少雅 (1564-?), *Jiùbiān nán jiǔgōng pǔ* 舊編南九宮譜 [*Old Score of Southern Nine Modes*] by Jiǎng Xiào 蔣孝 (fl. ca. 1544), *Nánqǔ pǔ* 南曲譜 [*Southern Drama Score*] by Shěn Jǐng, and *Cílín yìzhī* 詞林一枝 [*A Branch from the Forest of Song*] by Huáng Wénhuá 黃文華 (dates unknown) and Xī Xiùfǔ 郗繡甫 (dates unknown), etc.

Simultaneously, there is a *zájù* version *Yángshì nǚ shāgǒu quàn fū* 楊氏女殺狗勸夫 [*Lady Yang Warns Her Husband by Killing a Dog*] by Xiāo Déxiáng 蕭德祥 (fl. ca. 1331). As for this *zájù* work and the southern drama *Shāgǒu jì*, there is no final decision as to which one appeared first and served as the base of the other.¹³

¹² On the last page of *FYJN*, it writes “Reprinted on the seventh month, the year of Guǐ-Chǒu of the Jiājìng period” 嘉靖癸丑歲七月詹氏進賢堂重刊, which is the year of 1553.

¹³ Qīng dramatist Jiāo Xún 焦循 (1763-1820) points out in his *Jùshuō* 劇說 [*On Play*] that “southern drama of the Míng people are mostly based on *zájù* of the Yuán people. Plays such as *Shāgǒu*, *Bāyì* and so on simply adopt those *zájù* stories.” 明人南曲，多本元人雜劇。如《殺狗》《八義》之類，則直用其事。 Other scholars like Liáng Tíngnán and Aoki (2010, 87) hold this view as well. On the contrary, Qián Nányáng (2009, 146) believes Xiāo Déxiáng adapted the southern drama play for *zájù*. This question of priority will not impact our study, given *Shāgǒu jì*'s quality of being heterogeneous.

1.5 Research Methods and Purpose

One hypothesis this study is based on is that *Shāgǒu jì* is a heterogeneous work accumulated throughout history. Like that of *jīngjù* 京劇 or Beijing opera, the language of *Shāgǒu jì* or, to a broader sense, of southern drama, was not a real language that ever existed in history or was spoken by people in real life, but an artificial composite language only used in drama performing. It was influenced not only by dialects where southern drama spread to as Wáng Jìdé points out that “southern drama naturally has southern readings, identical with [the dialects] there,” but also by the languages of other poetic genres such as *shī* 詩, *cí* 詞 and northern drama. It was further regularized by the literati to comply with *ZYYY* rimes. This study aims at exploring some of the features of this language concerning its rhyme patterns: how many rime sets in *Shāgǒu jì* can be established, what are the correspondences between those rime sets with *ZYYY* and *GY* rimes, how and to what degree was the language influenced by dialects and other poetic genres, how people regularized the language, etc.

To begin with, I identify the riming character in each song of the *LSZQ* based on Wú Méi’s 吳梅 *Nánběi cí jiǎnpǔ* 南北詞簡譜 [*Brief Score of Southern and Northern Drama*, 2015], in which he lists 957 song tunes with examples from *sǎnqǔ* 散曲, *zájù* and southern drama works. The riming characters in each song example are labeled with a character *xié* 叶 “rime” underneath.

Twenty-seven *Shāgǒu jì* songs are found in *Nánběi cí jiǎnpǔ*. For example, one song *Líhuār* 梨花兒 in scene 29 of *Shāgǒu jì* is collected in Wú’s book:

Líhuār 梨花兒: 凝望我夫不見歸_{不可}。朦朧月淡人寂靜_叶。不見回來越悶生_叶。愁聽鐵馬兒丁當韻_叶 (M. Wú 2015, 686).

Wú identifies *jìng* 靜, *shēng* 生 and *yùn* 韻 — the last character of line two, three and four are riming characters, while *guī* 歸 — the one of line one doesn't rime with the others.

For those songs in *Shāgǒu jì* of the same tune with the songs in Wú's score, the riming characters are in the same positions. For example, for the tune *Zhùyúnfēi* 駐雲飛, Wú lists one song from *Xiùrú jì* 繡襦記 [*Story of the Embroidered Coat*]:

Zhùyúnfēi: 環珮鏗鏘_叶。倦舉金蓮曲檻旁_叶。花影搖屏障_叶。柳色侵羅幌_叶。嗟。暖日散晴光_叶。游絲輕颺_叶。牽引殘英。眷戀多情況_叶。相逐東風上下狂_叶 (M. Wú 2015).

In scene 12 of *Shāgǒu jì*, there is one song of tune *Zhùyúnfēi* as well. Based on Wú's work, I can identify the riming characters are *zhī* 知, *chǐ* 恥, *bèi* 輩, *suì* 碎, *kuī* 虧, *qì* 氣, *zuì* 醉 and *guī* 歸:

Zhùyúnfēi: 酒保無知。故意教他來笑恥。堪恨喬才輩。惱得心兒碎。呸。吃了這場虧。教人嘔氣。吃得醺醺。拚卻今宵醉。痛飲前村踏雪歸 (Z. Xú 2001, 583).

In addition, there is a group of *Shāgǒu jì* songs that cannot be found in Wú's score or, if they can be found, are not compatible with the metrical scheme as Wú points out in his book. In this case, we adopt two principles to identify the riming characters in them:

First, compare them with other songs of the same tune title in *Shāgǒu jì*. For example, Wú illustrates the rime pattern of tune *Dàshèng yuè* 大聖樂 by quoting a piece of *sǎnqǔ*:

Dàshèng yuè: 一床弦索塵埋_叶。兩眉峰不展開_叶。香肌瘦損愁無奈_叶。懶刺繡傍妝臺_叶。舊恨新愁如何捱_叶。蜨使蜂媒不再來_叶。臨鸞鏡也_不。道來顏未改_不。郎意先改_叶 (M. Wú 2015, 431).

Wú clearly points out that *nài* 奈 the last character of the third line is one of the riming characters. However, one of *Dàshèng yuè* in *Shāgǒu jì* does not match Wú's example:

Song 2.5: 吾家累代纓紳。我一身享現成。金玉滿堂多豪貴。怎答謝父娘恩。嫡親兄弟不和順。卻與非親結義親。此事非容易也。算人生好惡。宿世緣分 (Z. Xú 2001, 531).

If we follow Wú's pattern, then *guì* 貴 in song 2.5 would be considered to rime with other [-n/-ŋ] ending characters *shēn* 紳, *chéng* 成, *ēn* 恩, *shùn* 順, *qīn* 親 and *fēn* 分. This mix of vowel ending rime with nasal ending rimes violates the riming rules in southern drama and no scholars have mentioned this kind of usage before. So there are two possibilities to explain this phenomenon: the last character of third line is not a riming character, or it is but *guì* 貴 is an exception.

Fortunately, there is another song of the same tune in *Shāgǒu jì*, in which the last character of the third line *ròu* 肉 does not rime with other riming characters either, indicating that it is not an exception and that the rime pattern of the tune *Dàshèng yuè* in *Shāgǒu jì* is not compatible with that in Wú's score. We then eliminate *guì* 貴 and *ròu* 肉 from the set of riming characters. See below:

Song 2.6: 東人富室豪門。論結交須謹慎。他人怎比親骨肉。久久見假和真。尋思及早回頭省。莫把親人陌路人。此事非容易也。算人生好惡。宿世緣分 (Z. Xú 2001, 531).

Another example is a song of *Guìzhēnr* 掛真兒, the tune of which cannot be found in Wú's score:

Song 2.1: 積善之家慶有餘。傳留下萬卷詩書。性稟剛貞。胸懷仁義。更喜門庭豪貴 (Z. Xú 2001, 529).

Here we suppose the last characters of each line — *yú* 餘, *shū* 書, *zhēn* 貞, *yì* 義 and *guì* 貴 — are the riming characters. But *zhēn* 貞 is an [-n] ending character which is impossible to rime with the other four characters with a [+high] vowel ending according to Wáng Lì's reconstruction.

Song 2.2: 兄弟怡怡樂有餘。終日裡玩史攻書。十載辛勤。一朝遭籍。不負家傳豪貴
(Z. Xú 2001, 529).

Fortunately, in another song of *Guìzhēnr*, we find the same rime pattern with a nasal ending character *qín* 勤 at the end of line three. Then we may say that the last character of line three of *Guìzhēnr* in *Shāgǒu jì* is not a riming character.

The second principle is to identify the riming character in light of the *ZYYY* and *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 [*Broad Rimes*] (hereafter, *GY*) readings, as well as with the general southern drama riming rules clarified by other scholars. This principle is for those songs that cannot be found in Wú's score, with no other songs of the same tune in *Shāgǒu jì*. Here is one example of *Xīnshuǐlìng* 新水令 from scene 4:

Song 4.2: 奴家年少多聰惠。伴娘行宴樂遊戲。晝永拈針指。聽簾錢呼喚。不知有何言語 (Z. Xú 2001, 539).

It is persuasive to say that *huì* 惠, *xì* 戲, *zhǐ* 指 and *yǔ* 語 are riming characters, because rimes Qí-Wēi, Zhī-Sī and Yú-Mó can be commonly found intermixed in other songs in *Shāgǒu jì* as well as other southern drama pieces. However, *huàn* 喚, a character of rime Huán-Huān, never rimes with non-nasal ending rimes. Therefore, we know that the last character of the fourth line is not the riming character. Somewhat speculative as it might be, this is the only method we have to pinpoint the riming character in songs that are absent in Wú's or other score collections.

Thirdly, I *xìlián* 繫聯 or link up all *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 [*Expanded Rimes*] (hereafter, *GY*) rimes and *ZYYY* rimes that appear in one song in *Shāgǒu jì*.¹⁴ For example, the song of *Xíngxiāngzǐ* 行

¹⁴ The method of *xìlián* was first created by late Qīng scholar Chén Lǐ 陳澧 (1810-1882) in his work *Qīyùn kǎo* 切韻考 (*Criticism on Qiēyùn*) in categorizing *GY* rimes by linking the characters that share the same lower speller or *fǎnqiē xiàzì* 反切下字. If a character A is marked "BC *qiē*" in *GY*, it means that A has the same initial with character

香子 has five riming characters *qíng* 晴, *yíng* 盈, *pín* 貧, *líng* 零 and *jīn* 金, indicating these five characters could rime with one another. Characters *qíng*, *yíng*, *líng* belong to rime Gēng-Qīng ([-ŋ] ending) in ZYYY, character *pín* 貧 belongs to rime Zhēn-Wén ([-n] ending), and character *jīn* 金 belongs to rime Qīn-Xún ([-m] ending). Based on this, we know that the three ZYYY rimes Gēng-Qīng, Zhēn-Wén and Qīn-Xún are intermixed in *Shāgǒu jì* — and thus can be linked to one “set”. As for why they can be mixed, there are two possible explanations: one is that the three nasal endings [-ŋ], [-n] and [-m] had merged before *Shāgǒu jì*'s era; the other is that these three rimes were unmerged, but they were similar and close enough — all three rimes had the same phonetic structure [əN] — to be mixed-used.

In Chapter Two, I list the 13 sets in *Shāgǒu jì*, as well as their correspondences to *GY* and ZYYY rimes. Most of these sets correspond to at least one ZYYY rime, indicating that *Shāgǒu jì* riming is simpler than that of ZYYY.

In Chapter three, I discuss the mixed use of nasal endings rimes, mixed use of high vowel rimes, divergence of *GY* rime *Tài* 泰 and the disappearance of entering tone rimes in *Shāgǒu jì*. This chapter also involves the rime pattern of *shī*, *cí* and *zájù*, in order to see if the rime pattern of *Shāgǒu jì* was just influenced by dialects or followed the tradition that inherited from earlier poetic genre.

B — the upper speller, and has the same final and tone with characters C — the lower speller. If another character D is marked “XC *qiē*”, then we know that D has the same final and tone with C and so with A. If character E is marked as “YA *qiē*”, then we know that E has the same final and tone with A, C and D. As a result, characters A, C, D, and E are linked up and categorized into one group. By doing so, Chén linked up all the characters in *GY* that has the same final and tone. In *Shāgǒu jì*, we adopt this *xilián* method to link up all characters of the same rime set. For example, if characters A, B and C rime with one another in one song, and characters A, D and E rime with each other in another song, then we know that characters A, B, C, D, and E rime with each other in *Shāgǒu jì*. If characters A, B and C belong to rime I in ZYYY, and characters D and E belong to rime II in ZYYY, then we know that rime I and rime II characters are intermixed.

Chapter four is a comparative study between two versions of *Shāgǒu jì*, *FYJN* and *LSZQ*, based on the assumption that the *FYJN* version reflects the earlier southern drama language while the *LSZQ* version was revised by Míng scholars. This comparison will shed light on the language development of southern drama.

I mainly adopt the *LSZQ* version *Shāgǒu jì* text from *Liùshí zhǒng qǔ píngzhù* (vol. 21) 六十種曲評注 [*Comments on the Sixty Dramas*, 2001] by *Jílín rénmin chūbǎnshè* 吉林人民出版社 based on a Qīng reprinted version that is collected in *Shānxī shěng túshūguǎn* 山西省圖書館, and further consult *LSZQ* version in *Shāgǒu jì* in *Xùxiū sìkù quánshū* (Vol. 1773) 續修四庫全書 [*Complete Library in Four Sections Continued*, 2002] by *Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè* 上海古籍出版社 copied from the *Máoshì Jígǔgé kèběn* 毛氏汲古閣刻本 which was found in *Shànghǎi túshūguǎn* 上海圖書館.

The *FYJN* version text is from *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng jiānjiào* by Sūn Chóngtāo and Huáng Shìzhōng, published by *Zhōnghuá shūjú* 中華書局. When necessary, I will also consult the facsimile edition in *Shànběn xìqǔ cóngkān* (Issue 4) 善本戲曲叢刊 published by Taiwan *Xuéshēng shūjú* 學生書局 in 1987.

2. Linked Sets of Rhyming Characters in *Shāgǒu jì*

By rime-linking, we finally get 13 sets of characters in *Shāgǒu jì*, among which 7 sets have vowel endings, 4 have nasal endings and 2 have stop endings. These 13 sets are labeled A through M.

2.1 Vowel ending rimes

2.1.1 Set A

There are 149 songs in *Shāgǒu jì* that rhyme with set A. Here we investigate set A's correspondences in *ZYYY* and *GY* and respectively.¹⁵ In each corresponded rime, one line from *Shāgǒu jì* with its number is illustrated as an example. The last character in each line is the riming character.

2.1.1.1 *ZYYY* correspondences

- a. Rime Zhī-Sī 支思: 思之 (Song 2.3).¹⁶
- b. Rime Qí-Wēi 齊微: 行過柳堤 (Song 3.1).
- c. Rime Yú-Mó 魚模: 亂荒荒婆婆前去 (Song 10.8).

There are 17 characters of exception corresponding to *ZYYY* rime Chē-Zhē 車遮 (藉, 雪), Jiē-Lái 皆來 (外, 色, 捱), Gēng-Qīng 庚青 (生, 命), Zhēn-Wén 真文 (困, 嗔, 燈, 人), Gē-Gē 歌戈 (泊, 婆, 禍), Yóu-Hóu 尤侯 (有, 肉) and Xiāo-Háo 蕭豪 (窰). There are 9 characters that cannot be found in *ZYYY*, i.e. 恹, 糲, 筋, 鞞, 喻, 簌, 抵, 識, 嬉.

¹⁵ Four characters 簌, 恹, 狠 and 捱 are not found in *GY*. For this reason, I use their *Jìyùn* 集韻 [Collected Rime] (hereafter, *JY*) rime instead.

¹⁶ Song 2.3 refers to the third song in Scene 3.

2.1.1.2 *GY* correspondences

All rimes in rime group Zhǐ 止攝:

- a. Rime Zhī 支: 他心事哥哥儘知 (Song 2.3).¹⁷
- b. Rime Zhī 脂: 怎不見孫兄來至 (Song 3.1).
- c. Rime Zhī 之: 做個道理 (Song 6.1).
- d. Rime Wēi 微: 今世傲于飛 (Song 7.1).

All rimes in rime group Yù 遇攝:

- e. Rime Yú 魚: 他兩人專靠花言巧語 (Song 7.5)
- f. Rime Yú 虞: 默默思量怨我夫 (Song 15.1).
- g. Rime Mó 模: 感天地暗相扶 (Song 23.9).

Grade I, III and IV rimes in rime group Xiè 蟹攝 except for rime Hāi 哈:

- h. Rime Tàì 泰 *hékǒu*: 尋芳殢酒排宴會 (Song 21.2).¹⁸
- i. Rime Huī 灰: 娘行殺狗勸夫回 (Song 36.4).
- j. Rime Jì 祭: 幸遇太平年歲 (Song 9.1).
- k. Rime Fèi 廢: 怕只怕半途而廢 (Song 6.1).
- l. Rime Qí 齊: 兩軍交戰鳴鼙 (Song 17.3).

Labial initial rimes in rime group Liú 流攝:

- m. Rime Hóu 侯: 攢下家私傳父母 (Song 23.13).

¹⁷ In this thesis, we “use a *GY* level tone rime to represent itself and its corresponding rising tone and departing tone rimes” 舉平以駭上去。So the rime Zhǐ 支 here represents three *GY* rimes, i.e. Zhī 支, Zhǐ 紙 and Zhì 寘。

¹⁸ Three rime A characters can be found corresponding to rime Tàì 泰, i.e. 會, 外, 貝, 猥, all of which could be regarded as *hékǒu*, though 貝 and 猥 are categorized as *kāikǒu* in *Rime Mirror* 韻鏡。For more detail, see chapter 3.3.

n. Rime Yóu 尤: 是田真兄弟媳婦 (Song 23.7).

All entering tone rimes in rime group Tōng 通攝:

o. Grade I rime Wū 屋: 祖上遺下財和祿 (Song 23.12).

p. Rime Wò 沃: 婦女每心腸太毒 (Song 23.8).

q. Grade III rime Wū 屋: 聽老夫從頭拜覆 (Song 23.6).

r. Rime Zhú 燭: 殺人坐獄 (Song 24.7).

All entering tone rimes in rime group Zēng 曾攝:

s. Rime Zhí 職: 試向前排喫食 (Song 3.2).

t. Rime Dé 德: 你兩個昧心賊 (Song 35.12).

Grade III entering tone rimes in rime group Zhēn 臻攝 except for rime Qì 迄:

u. Rime Zhì 質: 晚來雲布密 (Song 13.1).

v. Rime Shù 術: 無故趕出 (Song 25.1).

w. Rime Wù 物: 喬人物 (Song 23.10).

Grade III and grade IV open-mouth entering tone rimes in rime group Gěng 梗攝 except for Mò 陌:

x. Rime Xī 昔: 是真難滅假除易 (Song 34.2).

y. Rime Xī 錫: 賽過關張管飽的 (Song 3.3).

There are 14 characters in these 150 songs that are not corresponding to those *GY* rimes listed above. These characters of exception are from rime Gē 戈 (婆, 禍, 禍), Xiāo 宵 (窰), Yóu 尤 (有), Xuē 薛 (雪), Zhēn 真 (嗔, 人), Hún 魂 (困), Duó 鐸 (泊), Dēng 登 (燈) and Gēng 庚 (生, 命), Jiā 佳 (捱).

2.1.2 Set B

There are 11 songs that rhyme with set B.

2.1.2.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Jiē-Lái 皆來: 依然兩下人情在 (Song 25)

There are 5 characters of exception corresponding to ZYYY rime Qí-Wēi 齊微 (歸, 內), Jiā-Má 家麻 (麻), Zhēn-Wén 真文 (本); one character 踰 is not found in ZYYY. There are 4 characters that cannot be found in ZYYY, i.e. 睬, 保, 尫, 踰.

2.1.2.2 GY correspondences

Grade I and II rimes in rime group Xiè 蟹攝 except for Huī 灰:

a. Rime Tài 泰 *kāikǒu*: 好語解人金腰帶 (Song 25.11).¹⁹

b. Rime Hāi 哈: 王婆你好不相待 (Song 25.9).

c. Rime Jiē 皆: 惱人心懷 (Song 25.9).

d. Rime Jiā 佳: 拖一雙破鞋 (Song 16.5).

e. Rime Guài 夬: 同心同氣同歡快 (Song 6.13).

There are 5 characters of exception corresponding to GY rime Má 麻 (麻), Huī 灰 (內), Wēi 微 (歸), Huán 桓 (踰) and Hún 魂 (本). There are 2 characters that cannot be found in GY, i.e. 睬, 保.

¹⁹ Six rime B characters can be found corresponding to rime Tài 泰 *kāikǒu* in GY, i.e. 外, 奈, 帶, 害, 丐 and 蓋, among which 外, though a *hékǒu* character in GY, might had two readings in *Shāgǒu jì*. For more details, see chapter 3.3.

2.1.3 Set C

There are 13 songs that rhyme with set C.

2.1.3.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Xiāo-Háo 蕭豪: 賽關張結義做知交 (Song 28.2).

There are 2 characters of exception corresponding to ZYYY rime Gē-Gē 歌戈 (囉) and Yú-Mó 魚模 (謀) respectively. There is 1 character that cannot be found in ZYYY, i.e. 靠.

2.1.3.2 GY correspondences

All rimes in rime group Xiào 效攝:

a. Rime Háo 豪: 孫榮本富豪 (Song 8.4).

b. Rime Yáo 肴: 賽關張強如管鮑 (Song 12.3).

c. Rime Xiāo 宵: 空惹得外人笑 (Song 17.15).

d. Rime Xiāo 蕭: 好沒分曉 (Song 17.16).

There are 2 characters of exception corresponding to GY rime Gē 歌 (囉), Yóu 尤 (謀) respectively.

2.1.4 Set D

There are 3 songs that rhyme with set D.

2.1.4.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Gē-Gē 歌戈: 待我開門看則個 (Song 25.4).

There are 2 characters of exception, both corresponding to ZYYY rime Yú-Mó 魚模(速, 福).

2.1.4.2 GY correspondences

All grade I rimes in rime group Guǒ 果攝:

a. Rime Gē 歌: 話不投機半句多 (Envoi 4).

b. Rime Gē 戈: 誰人叫王婆 (Song 25.4).

There are 2 characters of exception, both corresponding to *GY* rime Wū 屋 (速, 福).

2.1.5 Set E

There are 6 songs that rhyme with set E.

2.1.5.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Jiā-Má 家麻: 長安多少賣酒人家 (Song 12.1).

b. Rime Gē-Gē 歌戈: 欲待不睬他 (Song 12.8).

There is 1 character that cannot be found in ZYYY, i.e. 唵.

2.1.5.2 GY correspondences

a. Grade II rime Má 麻 in rime group Jiǎ 假攝: 那堪狂雪交加 (Song 11.1).

b. Grade I rime Gē 歌 in rime group Guǒ 果攝: 我待不管他 (Song 12.8).

There are 3 characters of exception, two of which correspond to *GY* rime Guà 卦 (差, 掛) and one corresponds to rime Gěng 梗 (打). The 2 characters that cannot be found in *GY* are 唵 and 咱.

2.1.6 Set F

There is just 1 song that rhyme with set F.

2.1.6.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Chē-Zhē 車遮: 早晨等他不來也 (Song 14.2).

2.1.6.2 *GY* correspondences

- a. Grade III rime Má 麻 in rime group Jiǎ 假攝: 昨宵喫酒醉了也 (Song 14.2).
- b. Grade IV rime Xiè 屑 in rime group Shān 山攝: 雪中孫大喫一跌 (Song 14.2).

2.1.7 Set G

There are 9 songs that rhyme with set G.

2.1.7.1 *ZYYY* correspondences

- a. Rime Yóu-Hóu 尤侯: 覆水算來難收 (Song 10.6).

2.1.7.2 *GY* correspondences

Grade I rime Hóu 侯 and grade III rime Yóu 尤 in rime group Liú 流攝:

- a. Rime Hóu 侯: 被打出門珠淚流 (Song 6.12).
- b. Rime Yóu 尤: 到此移尸首 (Song 27.4).

2.2 Nasal ending rime groups

2.2.1 Set H

There are 7 songs that rhyme with set H.

2.2.1.1 *ZYYY* correspondences

- a. Rime Dōng-Zhōng 東鍾: 拐錢圖使用 (Song 14.5).

There are 5 exceptions corresponding to the rime Xiān-Tiān 先天 (錢), Zhēn-Wén 真文 (門, 殞, 肯) and Gē-Gē 歌戈 (他).

2.2.1.2 *GY* correspondences

All non-entering tone rimes in rime group Tōng 通攝 except for rime Dōng 冬:

a. Grade I rime Dōng 東: 我心疼實難移動 (Song 28.3).

b. Grade III rime Dōng 東: 錢落手中 (Song 14.7).

c. Rime Zhōng 鍾: 尋思跌破凶 (Song 14.7).

There are 6 characters of exceptions, corresponding to rime Gē 歌 (他), Xiān 仙 (錢), Gēng 庚 (兄), Hún 魂 (門), Zhēn 真 (殞) and Dēng 登 (肯).

2.2.2 Set I

There are 16 songs that rhyme with set I.

2.2.2.1 *GY* correspondences

a. Rime Jiāng 江 in rime group Jiāng 江攝: 這容龐 (Song 12.10).

All non-entering tone rimes in rime group Dàng 宕攝:

b. Rime Táng 唐: 好恓惶 (Song 16.4).

c. Rime Yáng 陽: 謁朱門九不開無承望 (Song 12.5).

There is only 1 character of exception, corresponding to *GY* rime Yú 魚(去). There is 1 character that cannot be found in *GY*, i.e. 謊.

2.2.2.2 *ZYYY* correspondences

a. Rime Jiāng-Yáng 江陽: 賽過關張 (Song 29.4).

There is only 1 character of exception, corresponding to *ZYYY* rime Yú-Mó 魚模 (去). There is 1 character that cannot be found in *ZYYY*, i.e. 慌.

2.2.3 Set J

There are 95 songs that rhyme with set J.

2.2.3.1 ZYYY correspondences

- a. Rime Zhēn-Wén 真文: 良人 (Song 31.4).
- b. Rime Gēng-Qīng 庚青: 養兒長成 (Song 22.2).
- c. Rime Qīn-Xún 侵尋: 朝夕兩人勸他回心 (Song 6.8).

There are eight characters of exception, corresponding to rime Dōng-Zhōng 東鍾 (仲), Jiā-Má 家麻 (華), Zhī-Sī 支思 (時), Yóu-Hóu 尤侯 (口), Yú-Mó 魚模 (珠目), Xiān-Tiān 先天 (見) and Gē-Gē 歌戈 (他). There are 4 characters that cannot be found in ZYYY, i.e. 稟, 擯, 棍, 每.

2.2.3.2 GY correspondences

All non-entering tone rimes in the rime group Zhēn 臻攝:

- a. Rime Hén 痕: 你緣何背主忘恩 (Song 22.6).
- b. Rime Hún 魂: 不合撲着趙盾 (Song 35.8).
- c. Rime Zhēn 真: 時未至龍門難進 (Song 5.1).
- d. Rime Zhūn 諄: 敗亂人倫 (Song 31.6).
- e. Rime Xīn 欣: 打教伊皮開見筋 (Song 6.10).
- f. Rime Wén 文: 休戚難分 (Song 10.14)

All non-entering tone rimes in rime group Gēng 梗攝:

- g. Grade II rime Gēng 庚: 不見回來越悶生 (Song 29.2).
- h. Rime Gēng 耕: 向莘野鋤耕 (Song 18.4).
- i. Grade III rime Gēng 庚: 幸得一人有慶 (Song 35.1).

j. Rime Qīng 清: 乞賜受領 (Song 23.2).

k. Rime Qīng 青: 跌倒在草徑 (Song 27.2).

All non-entering tone rimes in rime group Zēng 曾攝:

l. Rime Dēng 登: 纔過燒燈 (Song 21.1).

m. Rime Zhēng 蒸: 吉凶事無憑 (Song 29.10).

n. Rime Qīn 侵 in the rime group Shēn 深攝: 無辜趕逐痛苦難禁 (Song 6.1).

There are nine characters of exception, corresponding to *GY* rime Dōng 東 (仲), Wū 屋 (目), Dōng 冬 (疼), Zhī 之 (時), Yú 虞 (珠), Huī 灰 (每), Xiān 先 (見), Má 麻 (華) and Hòu 厚 (口).

2.2.4 Set K

There are 19 songs that rhyme with set K.

2.2.4.1 ZYYY correspondences

a. Rime Hán-Shān 寒山: 不聽勸諫 (Song 4.3).

b. Rime Huán-Huān 桓歡: 聽呼喚 (Song 10.3).

c. Rime Xiān-Tiān 先天: 眉黛淡掃春山遠 (Song 4.1).

d. Rime Lián-Xiān 廉纖: 這苦難誰憐念 (Song 11.4).

There is only 1 character of exception, corresponding to *ZYYY* rime Qí-Wēi 齊微 (睡). There is 1 character that cannot be found in *ZYYY*, i.e. 漣.

2.2.4.2 *GY* correspondences

Non-entering tone rimes in rime group Shān 山攝:

a. Rime Huán 桓: 合藥用多搬 (Song 25.5).

b. Rime Shān 刪: 不聽勸諫 (Song 4.3).

- c. Rime Xiān 仙: 花陰荏苒疾似箭 (Song 19.1).
- d. Rime Yuán 元: 逆耳乃忠言 (Song 4.5).
- e. Rime Xiān 先: 我和你雙雙遊賞歡宴 (Song 9.2).

Non-entering tone rimes in rime group Xián 咸攝:

- f. Rime Xián 咸: 霞襯臉 (Song 4.1).
- g. Rime Yán 鹽: 把骨肉頓成拋閃 (Song 4.3).
- h. Rime Tiān 添: 開食店 (Song 10.1).

There is only 1 character of exception, corresponding to *GY* rime Zhi 寘 (睡).

2.3 Stop ending sets

2.3.1 Set L

There are 2 songs that rhyme with set L.

2.3.1.1 ZYYY correspondences

- a. Rime Xiāo-Háo 蕭豪: 官人煞不量度 (Song 25.3).

2.3.1.2 *GY* correspondences

- a. Open-mouth rime Duó 鐸 in rime group Dàng 宕攝: 心間事難推索 (Song 25.2).

2.3.2 Set M

There are 2 songs that rhyme with set M.

2.3.2.1 ZYYY correspondences

- a. Rime Yú-Mó 魚模: 幾年向文場馳逐 (Song 1.1).

There is 1 character that cannot be found in *ZYYY*, i.e. 碌.

2.3.2.2 *GY* correspondences

All entering tone rimes in rime group *Tōng* 通攝 except for rime *Wò* 沃:

- a. Grade I rime *Wū* 屋: 虛名好似聲傳谷 (Song 1.1).
- b. Grade III rime *Wū* 屋: 推敲舊譜無瑕玉 (Song 1.1).
- c. Rime *Zhú* 燭: 聽拜稟殺狗非心欲 (Song 35).

2.4 Conclusion

The correspondence between *Shāgǒu jì* rime sets with *ZYYY* and *GY* rimes is shown in the table below, from which we can find that *Shāgǒu jì* rimes sets are wider, corresponding to more than one rime in *ZYYY* and *GY*.

	<i>Shāgǒu jì</i>	<i>ZYYY</i>	<i>GY</i>	
Vowel ending rimes	Set A	<i>Zhī-Sī</i> [ɿ/ʅ] <i>Qí-Wēi</i> [i] <i>Yú-Mó</i> [u]	Group <i>Zhǐ</i>	<i>Zhī</i> 支 [j(w)(i)e], <i>Zhī</i> 脂 [(j)(w)ij], <i>Zhī</i> 之 [i], <i>Wēi</i> [j(w)ij]
			Group <i>Yù</i>	<i>Yú</i> 魚 [jo], <i>Yú</i> 虞 [ju], <i>Mó</i> [u]
			Group <i>Xiè</i>	<i>Tài</i> [waj], <i>Huī</i> [woj], <i>Jì</i> [j(w)(i)ej], <i>Fèi</i> [j(w)oj], <i>Qí</i> [(w)ej]
			Group <i>Liú</i>	<i>Hóu</i> [uw], <i>Yóu</i> [juw]
			Group <i>Tōng</i>	<i>Wū</i> [(j)uwk], <i>Wò</i> [owk], <i>Zhú</i> [jowk]
			Group <i>Zēng</i>	<i>Zhí</i> [ik], <i>Dé</i> [ok]
			Group <i>Zhēn</i>	<i>Zhì</i> [(j)it], <i>Shù</i> [(j)wit], <i>Wù</i> [jut]

			Group Gěng	Xī 昔 [j(w)(i)ek], Xī 錫 [(w)ek]
	Set B	Jiē-Lái [ai]	Group Xiè	Tài [aj], Hāi [oj], Jiē [(w)ɛj], Jiā [(w)ɛi], Guài [(w)æj]
	Set C	Xiāo-Háo [au]	Group Xiào	Háo [aw], Yáo [æw], Xiāo 宵 [j(i)ew], Xiāo 蕭 [ew]
	Set D	Gē-Gē [ɔ]	Group Guō	Gē 歌 [a], Gē 戈 [wa]
	Set E	Jiā-Má [a]	Group Jiǎ	Má 麻 [(w)æ]
		Gē-Gē [ɔ]	Group Guō	Gē 歌 [a]
	Set F	Chē-Zhē [æ]	Group Jiǎ	Má 麻 [j(w)æ]
			Group Shān	Xiè 屑 [(w)et]
	Set G	Yóu-Hóu [əu]	Group Liú	Hóu 侯 [uw], Yóu 尤 [juw]
Nasal ending rimes	Set H	Dōng-Zhōng [uŋ]	Group Tōng	Dōng 東 [(j)uwng], Zhōng 鍾 [jowng]
	Set I	Jiāng-Yáng [aŋ]	Group Jiāng	Jiāng 江 [æwng]
			Group Dàng	Táng 唐 [(w)ang], Yáng 陽 [j(w)ang]
	Set J	Zhēn-Wén [ən] Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] Qīn-Xún [əm]	Group Zhēn	Hén [on], Hún [won], Zhēn [(j)in], Zhūn [(j)win], Xīn [jin], Wén [jun]
			Group Gěng	Gēng 庚 [(j)(w)æng], Gēng 耕 [(w)ɛng], Qīng 清 [j(w)(i)eng], Qīng 青 [(w)eng]
			Group Zēng	Dēng 登 [(w)ong], Zhēng 蒸 [ing]
			Group Shēn	Qīn 侵 [(j)im]
	Set K	Hán-Shān [an] Huán-Huān [əŋ] Xiān-Tiān [æŋ] Lián-Xiān [æm]	Group Shān	Huán [wan], Shān 刪 [(w)æn], Xiān [j(w)(i)en], Yuán [j(w)on], Xiān [(w)en]
			Group Xián	Xián [ɛm], Yán [j(i)em], Tiān [em]

Stop ending rimes	Set L	Xiāo-Háo [au]	Group Dàng	Duó [(w)ak]
	Set M	Yú-Mó [u]	Group Tōng	Wū [(j)uwk], Zhú [jowk]

3. Comparison of rimes in *Shāgǒu jì* and *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*

Shāgǒu jì, though having its unique riming pattern, shares many common features with other southern drama works. In this chapter, we will analyze the rime sets in *Shāgǒu jì* in comparison with other works including Táng (618-907) *shī*, Sòng *cí*, and Yuán drama in the light of ZYYY rimes. *GY* rimes will be taken into consideration when necessary.

3.1 Mixed use of nasal ending rimes

In southern drama, cross riming occurs between nasal ending rimes with close similar main vowels. That is to say, rimes Zhēn-Wén [ən], Gēng-Qīng [əŋ], Dōng-Zhōng [uŋ] and Qīn-Xún [əm] can be intermixed for their [-low] vowels, and rimes Xiān-Tiān [æn], Hán-Shān [an], Huán-Huān [ɔn], Jiān-Xián [am] and Lián-Xiān [æm] can be intermixed for their [-high] vowels. Rime Jiāng-Yáng [aŋ] however is an exception though its main vowel is [-high].²⁰

Examples of this type of mix can widely be found in southern drama works:

Liángzhōu xù 梁州序: *xióng* 雄 (Dōng-Zhōng), *fēng* 風 (Dōng-Zhōng), *dōng* 東 (Dōng-Zhōng), *lìng* 令 (Gēng-Qīng) (Scene 15, *Báitù jì*).²¹

Sānyuè hǎitáng 三月海棠: *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *dùn* 頓 (Zhēn-Wén), *rèn* 認 (Zhēn-Wén), *qíng* 情 (Gēng-Qīng), *bēn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *jīn* 襟 (Qīn-Xún) (Scene 23, *Báitù jì*).²²

²⁰ Even in modern Sūzhōu dialect, Jiāng-Yáng never rime with other rimes.

²¹ “白兔記,” Wikisource, accessed April 16, 2020, <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/白兔記>.

²² Ibid.

Gāo yángtái 高陽臺: *huàn* 換 (Huán-Huān), *rán* 然 (Xiān-Tiān), *yuán* 緣 (Xiān-Tiān), *nián* 年 (Xiān-Tiān), *qiǎn* 遣 (Xiān-Tiān), *yuán* 園 (Xiān-Tiān), *ān* 安 (Hán-Shān), *quán* 全 (Xiān-Tiān) (Scene 3, *Jīngchāi jì*).²³

Hóng nà'ǎo 紅衲襖: *qián* 錢 (Xiān-Tiān), *liǎn* 斂 (Lián-Xiān), *yàn* 晏 (Hán-Shān), *xiān* 先 (Xiān-Tiān), *sān* 三 (Jiān-Xián), *qián* 錢 (Xiān-Tiān), *yán* 言 (Xiān-Tiān) (Scene 4, *Jīngchāi jì*).²⁴

In *Shāgǒu jì*, we group rimes Zhēn-Wén, Gēng-Qīng and Qīn-Xún to set J, rime Dōng-Zhōng to set H, and rimes Xiān-Tiān, Hán-Shān, Huán-Huān and Lián-Xiān to set K. There are no characters of the ZYYY rime Jiān-Xián to be found in *Shāgǒu jì*.

In set K songs, Xiān-Tiān is the rime that all 19 songs use. In addition, 7 of 19 songs use at least two rimes: one is Xiān-Tiān, and the other is Hán-Shān, Huán-Huān or Lián-Xiān. The predominance of Xiān-Tiān is common in other works such as *Pípá jì*, *Báitù jì*, *Zhàoshì gū'ér jì* 趙氏孤兒記 [*Orphan of the Zhao Family*], *Mùyáng jì* 牧羊記 [*Herding the Sheep*], etc (Liu 2007, 48).

3.1.1 Mixed use of [-m] [-n] and [-ŋ]

Based on *Shāgǒu jì* text, we can find that 68 songs use both rimes Zhēn-Wén and Gēng-Qīng, making up the majority of the total 95 songs of set J. In only 13 songs are they not intermixed.²⁵

²³ “荊釵記,” Wikisource, accessed April 16, 2020, <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/荊釵記#第三齣慶誕>.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The 13 songs are Song 10.12, 10.13, 10.14, 18.9, 23.3, 26.2 and 36.2 and Envoi 7, 11, 15, 16, 23 and 24. Except for song 18.9 and envoi 7, all the other 11 songs are not found in *FYJN* version and so might probably be composed by Míng scholars. Song 18.9 though can be found in *FYJN* version, however, was revised by Míng scholars because it intermixes Zhēn-Wén and Gēng-Qīng.

There are 14 songs of set J that only use Zhēn-Wén, 1 song that only uses Gēng-Qīng, and no songs that only use Qīn-Xún. Likewise, there are 12 songs of set K that only use Xiān-Tiān, but no songs that only use Lián-Xiān.

Both Qīn-Xún and Lián-Xiān are [-m] ending rimes. Lacking songs exclusively of these two rimes might demonstrate that [-m] ending had disappeared at that time. However, given that [-m] was still existing in ZYYY, a rime book of Dàdū 大都 phonology, the disappearance of [-m] was considered by scholars as a feature of the Wú dialect, rather than Mandarin. Furthermore, the merge of [-n] and [-ŋ] ending rimes is another feature of Wú dialect.

Xú Wèi 徐渭 (1521-1593) says in his *Náncí xùlù* 南詞敘錄 [*Account of Southern Drama*] that “as for singing, dialects must be prohibited. Wú people do not distinguish between three rimes Qīng 清, Qīn 親 and Qīn 侵.” 凡唱，最忌鄉村音。吳人不辨清、親、侵三韻 (W. Xú 2009, 247). Wáng Jidé says in *Lùn bìkǒuzì* 論閉口字 [*On ‘-m’ Ending Characters*] in *Qǔlù* that “due to the lack of [-m] ending, Wú people often use qīn 侵 as qīn 親, use jiān 監 as jiān 奸, use lián 廉 as lián 連, causing the disappearance of the three rimes of the total nineteen rimes.” 蓋吳人無閉口字，每以侵為親，以監為奸，以廉為連，至十九韻中，遂缺其三 (J. Wáng 2002, 451). Lǐ Yú 李漁 (1611-1680) mentions in his *Xiánqíng ǒujì* 閒情偶寄 [*Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*] that Wú people “do not distinguish the three rimes: Zhēn-Wén, Gēng-Qīng and Qīn-Xún, which can be used as one, no matter whatever the main vowel is” 真文、庚青、侵尋不論開口、閉口，同作一音韻用者 (Li 2002, 515). Modern scholars like Wáng Lì (2005, 756), Yú & Liú (2009, 105-6), Huáng Xiǎoyàn (2011), Liú Lihuī (2007, 113) and Péng Jīng (2008, 118) hold the same opinion as well.

This opinion however is challenged by Mài Yún (1991), who believes that [-m] ending disappeared earlier in the north than in the south and supposes it changed into [-n] in the north around the late 16th century while still existing in the south until the early 18th century. Wàn Xiànchū (2012) based on a research on 108 rime dictionaries and rime tables claims that even in the late Qīng dynasty (1636-1911), [-m] ending was still existing in Jiāngsū, Zhèjiāng, Ānhuī, Fújiàn, Jiāngxī, etc. The date of *Shāgǒu jì* is much earlier than the time when [-m] disappeared in Wú dialect. For these reasons, the mixed use of [-m] and [-n] may not be a dialectal feature, but a tradition followed by dramatists for centuries.

Huò Wényàn (2008, 49) finds that [-m], [-n], [-ŋ] ending characters intermixed in *Dūnhuáng qǔzǐcí* 敦煌曲子詞, which were believed composed during the late Táng and Five Dynasties. The mix can also be found in Sòng *shī* and *cí* as well as Yuán northern dramas or *zájù* (X. Liú 2001) (Wèi 2005) (R. Lǐ 2009, 106). Based on a corpus of 13,275 northern dramas, R. Lǐ finds out that mixed use of Zhēn-Wén, Gēng-Qīng and Qīn-Xún can be found in works composed by Yuán dramatists not only from Zhèjiāng and Jiāngsū where Wú was spoken but also from northern China such as Shāndōng, Héběi, Hénán, Shānxī, Běijīng and so on. But she further points out that there is a regional imbalance for the distribution of dramatists who tend to mix Zhēn-Wén and Gēng-Qīng, with more in the south and less in the north. The mix of Zhēn-Wén with Qīn-Xún, Hán-Shān with Jiān-Xián, and Xiān-Tiān with Lián-Xiān however is less frequent and there is no such a regional imbalance for dramatists' distribution. Therefore, we may say that the merger between [-n] and [-ŋ] is influenced by Wú dialect, but there is not enough evidence to back the view that the mixed use of [-m] and [-n] is also influenced by Wú and it is more likely to be a convention followed by writers from generation to generation (see Chapter 5).

3.1.2 Mutation from [əN] to [uŋ]

A group of characters of rime group Gěng 梗攝 and Zēng 曾攝 in *GY* such as *xiōng* 兄, *qīng* 傾, *róng* 榮, *bēng* 崩, *yǒng* 永 and *héng* 橫, are categorized to both rime Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] and rime Dōng-Zhōng [uŋ] in *ZYYY*. The two readings indicate that some characters with a [uəŋ/iuəŋ] final were gradually turning into [uŋ/iuŋ] during the 14th century in northern China (L. Wáng 2004, 224).

This mutation can also be found in the south, though the time of this mutation is still unknown. In modern Sūzhōu and Wēnzhōu Wú dialects, some of the *GY* group Gěng 梗攝 characters today have a round main vowel, merging with *GY* group Tōng 通攝 characters, such as *hóng* 宏: Sūzhōu [hoŋ], Wēnzhōu [hoŋ]; *qióng* 瓊: Sūzhōu [dzioŋ], Wēnzhōu [dzyoŋ]; *xiōng* 兄: Sūzhōu [ɛioŋ], Wēnzhōu [ɛyoŋ]; *yǒng* 永: Sūzhōu [ioŋ], Wēnzhōu [yoŋ/jyoŋ], etc.

In southern drama, we can find evidence of this mutation as well. Wáng Jidé documents in his *Qǔlù* that *héng*'s 橫 can be read as *hóng* 紅 and *péng*'s 鵬 can be read as *péng* 蓬 in southern drama (J. Wáng 2002, 450). Because of the merger between nasal endings rime Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] and rime Zhēn-Wén [ən], we here will use [əN] to refer the two rimes in *Shāgǒu jì*.

In *Shāgǒu jì*, we find one example: character *xiōng* 兄 rime with [əN] characters in song 10.10, 16.11 and 35.4, but rime with [uŋ] characters in 28.3 and 34.1.²⁶

Song 10.10: *xiōng* 兄, *bēn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *hěn* 狠 (Zhēn-Wén), *mén* 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *wěn* 吻 (Zhēn-Wén).

Song 16.11: *jìng* 競 (Gēng-Qīng), *zhèng* 正 (Gēng-Qīng), *xiōng* 兄, *mèn* 悶 (Zhēn-Wén), *qīn* 親 (Zhēn-Wén), *jìn* 盡 (Zhēn-Wén).

²⁶ Here [əN] refers to both rime Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] and rime Zhēn-Wén [ən], given that these two rimes are intermixed in *Shāgǒu jì*.

Song 35.4: *mín* 民 (Zhēn-Wén), *xìn* 信 (Zhēn-Wén), *xiōng* 兄, *yǐn* 引 (Zhēn-Wén), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), *yǐn* 尹 (Zhēn-Wén).

Song 28.3: *tòng* 痛 (Dōng-Zhōng), *xiōng* 兄, *dòng* 動 (Dōng-Zhōng), *kōng* 空 (Dōng-Zhōng), *tóng* 同 (Dōng-Zhōng).

Song 34.1: *xiōng* 兄, *mén* 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *bìn* 殯 (Zhēn-Wén), *cóng* 從 (Dōng-Zhōng), *tā* 他 (Tā-Tā), *zhōng* 鍾 (Dōng-Zhōng), *kěn* 肯 (Zhēn-Wén), *xiōng* 凶 (Dōng-Zhōng).

Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that neither song 28.3 nor song 34.1 can be found in *FYJN* version, which might suggest that the pronunciation of *xiōng*'s final had not turned to [uŋ] before 1553.²⁷ However, this single case is not enough evidence to reach a conclusion. A convincing method would be to examine all the 41 dramas in the *FYJN* to see if we can find any rime group Gěng 梗攝 and Zēng 曾攝 characters riming with [uŋ]. If not, that would demonstrate that the mutation [uəŋ/iuəŋ] > [uŋ/iuŋ] as is pointed out by Wáng Lí above had not occurred before 1553 in the southern drama. This thesis concerns only on *Shāgǒu jì* rather than the whole *FYJN*. So we will not talk about this issue here. Possible work might be done in the future to settle this issue.

3.2 Mixed use of high vowel rimes

The intermix of three high vowel rimes Zhī-Sī 支思 [ɿ], Qí-Wēi 齊微 [i], Yú-Mó 魚模 [u], which correspond to set A in *Shāgǒu jì*, is another feature shared by many southern drama works. Here are two examples of the 149 set A songs:

²⁷ This assumption needs more evidence to demonstrate. A convincing method is to examine all dramas and songs in the *FYJN* to see if we can find the [uəŋ/iuəŋ] > [uŋ/iuŋ] mutation of not. This topic is not what we are concerning in this thesis. Further work will be done in the future.

Qiānqiū suì 千秋歲: *shū* 書 (Yú-Mó), *qù* 趣 (Yú-Mó), *lú* 閫 (Yú-Mó), *qù* 去 (Yú-Mó), *zhǐ* 旨 (Zhī-Sī), *shí* 時 (Zhī-Sī), *guī* 歸 (Yú-Mó), *yī* 伊 (Qí-Wēi), *xì* 細 (Qí-Wēi), *chuí* 捶 (Qí-Wēi), *lǐ* 李 (Qí-Wēi). (Scene 3, *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán*).²⁸

Shuāng xīchì 雙鸞鵲: *chí* 墀 (Qí-Wēi), *chí* 持 (Qí-Wēi), *zhī* 之 (Zhī-Sī), *qù* 覷 (Yú-Mó), *zhī* 知 (Qí-Wēi), *dì* 地 (Qí-Wēi), *méi* 楣 (Qí-Wēi). (Scene 14, *Pípá jì*).²⁹

Among the set A songs that use two rimes, there are 21 songs that intermix Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi rime, but no songs intermix Zhī-Sī and Yú-Mó. Moreover, there are 34 songs that use all three rimes. Thus, we might say that [ɿ/ʅ] could rime with [i], and [i] could rime with [u], but [ɿ/ʅ] never rime with [u] directly.

3.2.1 Intermixing of Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi

Rime Zhī-Sī corresponds to *GY* group Zhǐ 止攝 rimes Zhī 支, Zhī 脂 and Zhī 之 with Zhuāng 莊 group and Jīng 精 group initials. Rime Qí-Wēi corresponds to *GY* group Zhǐ 止攝 rimes Zhī 支, Zhī 脂, Zhī 之 with no Zhuāng 莊 group or Jīng 精 group initials and Wēi 微, group Xiè 蟹攝 rimes Tàì 泰, Huī 灰, Jì 祭, Fèi 廢, Qí 齊, as well as entering tone rimes of groups Zhēn 臻, Shēn 深, Gěng 梗 and Zēng 曾. Obviously, Zhī-Sī and part of Qí-Wēi are two *ZYYY* rimes both originating from *GY* group Zhǐ 止攝.

A careful examination of *Qiēyùn zhǐzhǎng tú* 切韻指掌圖 [*Finger-and-palm Charts to the Cut Rime*] reveals the fact that apical vowels had already appeared, as rimes Zhī 支 and Zhī 之 characters *zī* 茲, *cí* 雌, *cí* 慈, *sī* 思, *cí* 詞 were placed on grade one rather than grade four, indicating

²⁸ “張協狀元,” Wikisource, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/張協狀元>.

²⁹ “琵琶記,” Wikisource, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/琵琶記>.

vowel [i] had turned to [ɿ] under the influence of the dental sibilant initials. Based on this, Wáng Lì claims that [ɿ] appeared as early as the late Táng and Five Dynasties, and from then on Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi started to diverge (L. Wáng 1987, 163).

However, poets and dramatists in later ages still used these two rimes interchangeably even after they had diverged. In Sòng *cí*, Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi are grouped into one rime. Qīng scholar Zhòng Héng 仲恆 (c.1623-c.1694) in his book *Cíyùn* 詞韻 [*Ci Rime*] categories 19 rimes of Sòng *cí*, among which Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi are grouped into one. In *zhūgōngdiào* 諸宮調 [*all keys and modes*], a type of performance art prevailing in Sòng and Jīn (1115-1234), Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi are used as one rime as well. Even in *Měngǔ zìyùn* 蒙古字韻 [*Rimes in Mongol Script*], probably written 1269-1292, Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi are grouped into one rime. The cross-riming of Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi thus can be regarded as one of the features of Middle Chinese, the predecessor of Old Mandarin.³⁰

When it comes to Yuán dynasty, Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi though often intermixed in some cases, were almost divided into two rimes. Examining the 100 northern songs in *Yuánqǔ xuǎn* 元曲選 [*Selection of Yuán drama*], Yè Guìchēn (1999) finds that Zhī-Sī rime was used 15 times, Qí-Wēi was used 41 times, and they were mixed 10 times. R. Lǐ (2009) finds in northern drama, the cases that Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi are mixed taking up around 34% of the total cases they were used. Huáng Xiǎoyàn (2011, 8-9) investigates Míng southern drama works and finds out that Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi were mixed 104 times, occupying only 28.9% of the total times Zhī-Sī or Qí-Wēi were used.

In summary, in spite of the fact that [ɿ/ʅ] had emerged from [i] before the 10th century, *cí* writers and dramatists still intermixed Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi following the *GY* tradition, as pointed

³⁰ It's hard to say that rimes Zhī-Sī [ɿ/ʅ] and Qí-Wēi [i] are two allophones. Lǐ believes in the Yuán dynasty [ɿ/ʅ] and [i] are two phonemes, such as in *sǐ* 死 [sɿ] and *xǐ* 洗 [si], *zhī* 支 [tʂɿ] and *zhī* 知 [tʂɿi], *shì* 是 [ʂɿ] and *shì* 世 [ʂɿi] (X. Lǐ 1983, 93-94).

out by Zhōu Zǔmó's 周祖謨 that Zhī-Sī and Qí-Wēi were two rimes in the Northern Sòng capital dialect but were not distinguished in *shī* and *cí* composition (Zhōu 1966). But from the Yuán dynasty on, we can find more and more cases in which they are distinguished, probably under the influence of their real pronunciation.

3.2.2 Mixed use of Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi

The mixture of Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi is regarded by some scholars as one feature of the Wú dialect. In *Dùqǔ xūzhī* 度曲須知 [*Handbook of Composing Songs*], Shěn Chǒngsuī 沈寵綏 (?-1645) says “in Wúxīng dialect, *qín* 勤 is read as *qún* 群, and *xǐ* 喜 is read as *xǔ* 許.” 吳興土俗以“勤”讀“群”，以“喜”讀“許” (C. Shěn 1984, 232). Here, we can see *xǐ* (Qí-Wēi) and *xǔ* (Yú-Mó) were pronounced the same in Wú dialect in Míng dynasty. In Féng Mènglóng's 馮夢龍 *Shān 'gē* 山歌 [*Anthology of Mountain Songs*], there is a piece of folk song in Wú dialect: “I am dating with my beloved, but people don't find it, even ghosts don't know it. I come to the green screen window again to send rouge to my beloved. I upturn my face to swipe, but dust fall into my eye. An abacus is smashed to pieces and the beads are jumping everywhere in the street.” 結識私情人弗覺鬼弗知，再來綠紗窗下送胭脂。仰面掃塵落來人眼裡，算盤跌碎滿街珠 (R. Liú 2005). The rime characters *zhī* 知 (Qí-Wēi), *zhī* 脂 (Zhī-Sī), *lǐ* 裡 (Qí-Wēi) and *zhū* 珠 (Yú-Mó) demonstrates that Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi were mixed then. In Qīng dynasty, scholar Qián Dàxīn 錢大昕 (1728-1804) mentions in his *Shíjiàzhāi yǎngxīn lù* 十駕齋養新錄 [*Record of Cultivating New Knowledge in the Shíjià Study*] that “in Wú dialect, *guǐ* 鬼 sounds same with *jǔ* 舉, *guī* 歸 same with *jū* 居, *guì* 跪 same with *jù* 巨, *wěi* 緯 same with *yù* 喻, *kuī* 虧 same with *qù* 去 in level tone, and *kuí* 逵 same with *qú* 瞿 (D. Qián 1983, 117).” 吳中方言“鬼”如“舉”、“歸”如“居”、“跪”如“巨”、“緯”如

“喻”、“虧”如“去”平聲、“逵”如“瞿”。*Guǐ* 鬼, *guī* 歸, *guì* 跪, *wěi* 緯, *kuī* 虧 and *kuí* 逵 are all characters of rime Qí-Wēi, while *jǔ* 舉, *jū* 居, *jù* 巨, *yù* 喻, *qù* 去 and *qú* 瞿 are of rime Yú-Mó. Today, examples can widely be found in modern Wú dialect as well, for instances, in modern Sūzhōu dialect, both *jū* 居 (Yú-Mó) and *guǐ* 鬼 (Qí-Wēi) have the same final [y]; in Wēnzhōu dialect, *hù* 戶 (Yú-Mó) and *wèi* 謂 (Qí-Wēi) have the same final [u].

However, an investigation of Chinese literature history and northern drama reveals that the intermix is not a unique feature of Wú dialect, but can also be found in other parts of China. The intermix of Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi can also be found in Táng manuscripts excavated in Dūnhuáng and Turpan located in northwestern China (Zhū 2008). Luó Chángpéi (2012) finds that *hékǒu* characters of the *GY* rime group Zhǐ 止攝 had merged with some of the rime Yú 魚 characters in northwestern Táng empire. Wèi Huībīn (2005, 72-74) based on a corpus of 20,191 pieces of Sòng *cí*, finds out that the mixed use of Qí-Wēi and Yú-Mó can be found in composers from all places in China, with 40 cases of composers from Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng where Wú is spoken, 37 cases from the Central Plain, 19 cases from Jiāngxī, 13 cases from Fújiàn, 5 cases from Shāndōng, 3 cases from Sìchuān, and 2 cases from Guǎngdōng. Dù (1998) points out that the mixed use of Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi is a common feature shared by Wú, Gàn and Mǐn dialects. R. Li's (2009, 123-125) research on northern drama finds out that the mixed use of Qí-Wēi and Yú-Mó was widely and commonly adopted by composers from Dàdū (8 cases) and Zhèjiāng (6 cases). For this reason, I am reluctant to say the mixed use of Yú-Mó and Qí-Wēi was influenced by Wú dialect, but more likely to be a tradition.

The reason for this intermixing however is unclear by now. But what is worth noticing is that all Qí-Wēi characters in *Shāgǒu jì* have a [+high] medial vowel, if not, a [+high] main vowel

in *GY*.³¹ Yú-Mó, corresponding to *GY* rime group Yù 遇攝, has [+high] finals as well. The closeness of their vowels might explain the mixed use.

3.3 Divergence of *GY* rime Tàì

Tàì 泰 is a grade I rime in group Zhǐ 止攝. In *Shāgǒu jì*, four rime Tàì characters — *huì* 會, *wài* 外, *bèi* 貝, *bèi* 狽 — are linked to set A, and six rime Tàì characters — *wài* 外, *nài* 奈, *dài* 帶, *hài* 害, *gài* 丐, *gài* 蓋 — are linked to set B.

According to *GY*, *huì* 會, *wài* 外, *bèi* 貝 and *bèi* 狽 are *hékǒu* characters, while *nài* 奈, *dài* 帶, *hài* 害, *gài* 丐 and *gài* 蓋 are all *kāikǒu* characters.³² Therefore, we might assume, those Tàì characters with a medial [-w-] correspond to *Shāgǒu jì* set A, while those that do not have a medial [-w-] correspond to set B, except for *wài*.

Moreover, rime Hāi 哈 and Huī 灰, both of which are grade I rimes in group Zhǐ 止攝 and have the same main vowel and ending, also obey this rule. Hāi 哈, a *kāikǒu* rime, corresponds to set B, and Huī 灰, a *hékǒu* rime, corresponds to set A.

<i>Shāgǒu jì</i>	Set A	Set B
ZYYY	Zhī-Sī 支思 Qí-Wēi 齊微 Yú-Mó 魚模	Jiē-Lái 皆來

³¹ As is pointed out before, all Qí-Wēi characters are from *GY* rime group Zhǐ 止 grades III and group Xiè 蟹 grade I *hékǒu*, grade III and grade IV, as well as those grade III stop ending characters of rime group Zhēn 臻, Shēn 深, Gěng 梗 and Zēng 曾. *Bèi* 貝 in song 13.9 and *bèi* 狽 in song 17.12, which however could be regarded as with a [-u-] medial for their bilabial initial. The only exception that could be found is *dé* 得, which is a grade I character of group Zēng 曾, as in song 13.7 and song 25.14.

³² *Bèi* 貝 and *bèi* 狽 can be regarded as *hékǒu* because of their bilabial initials.

GY Group Zhǐ Grade I	Tài 泰 <i>kāikǒu</i> [waj] ³³ Huī 灰 [woj]	Tài 泰 <i>hékǒu</i> [aj] Hāi 哈 [oj]
GY Group Zhǐ Grade II	--	Jiē 皆 [ɛj] [wɛj] Jiā 佳 [ɛi] [wɛi] Guài 夬 [æj] [wæj]
GY Group Zhǐ Grade III	Jì 祭 [j(i)ɛj] [jw(i)ɛj] Fèi 廢 [joj] [jwoj]	--
GY Group Zhǐ Grade IV	Qí 齊 [ɛj] [wej]	--

This divergence based on medial [-w-] is not an innovation in *Shāngǒu jì*, but a tradition from Song *cí*. Hāi and Huī, though two different rimes in GY, could rime one another in Táng *shī*. Tài however is an independent rime that mix with Hāi 哈 or Huī 灰.

The example below is Yuán Zhěn's 元稹 (779-831) *Zèng Máo xiānwēng* 贈毛仙翁 [*To the Old Man Máo*]:

Zèng Máo xiānwēng: lái 來 (Hāi), tái 台 (Hāi), bēi 杯 (Huī), méi 梅 (Huī), péi 陪 (Huī).³⁴

But when it comes to Sòng dynasty, Hāi 哈 and Huī 灰 became two rimes in *cí* and Tài 泰 also divided into two. In Míng scholar Zhòng Héng's *Cíyùn*, rime Tài 泰 *hékǒu* and rime Huī 灰 are grouped into one set, and rime Tài 泰 *kāikǒu* and Hāi 哈 are grouped into another one. Qīng scholar Gē Zài 戈載 (1786-1856) groups them in the same way in his *Cílín zhèngyùn* 詞林正韻 [*Correct Rimes of Cí*] — Tài 泰 *hékǒu* and Huī 灰 as one set, and Tài 泰 *kāikǒu* and Hāi 哈 as

³³ We adopt Baxter's (1992) Middle Chinese reconstruction in this thesis.

³⁴ [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/贈毛仙翁_\(元稹\)](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/贈毛仙翁_(元稹)).

another. This rime rule is followed by Yuán drama composers. In *ZYYY*, rime Qí-Wēi corresponds to *GY* Tàì 泰 *hékǒu* and Huī 灰, and Jiē-Lái corresponds to Tàì 泰 *kāikǒu* and Hāi 哈.

However, the character wài 外 is an exception — it is a character of Tàì 泰 *hékǒu* in *GY* but of Jiē-Lái in *ZYYY*. This further explains why in *Shāgǒu jì* wài 外 is linked to both set A and set B. But this is no innovation. Gē Zài had already noticed the special feature of wài 外 in Song *cí* and provides two readings — one is *wǔ-huì qiè* 五會切, the other is *wǔ-tài qiè* 五泰切. The former reading containing a medial [-w-] corresponds to *GY* Tàì 泰 *hékǒu* and *Shāgǒu jì* set A, and the latter corresponds to *GY* Tàì 泰 *kāikǒu* and set B.

Lǐ Ruǐ (2009, 80) finds that wài 外 is used as a Jiē-Lái character 144 times and as a Qí-Wēi character only twice in Yuán northern drama. In *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻 [*Hóngwǔ Correct Rimes*, 1375], wài 外 is notated as *wǔ-kuài qiè* 五塊切, a reading of rime Jiē-Lái. As for today, wài 外 is mostly read as a rime Jiē-Lái character, though it may be found read as rime Qí-Wēi [uei] in colloquial reading a limited number of places in Hénán, Shānxī and Shǎnxī.

In other words, wài's 外 being linked to two sets of rimes in *Shāgǒu jì* reflects its two possible readings at that time. The old reading of Qí-Wēi later disappeared, but Jiē-Lái is preserved.

3.4 Disappearance of entering tone

If we strictly follow the linking principle, then we would have eleven sets in total — set L would be merged with set C, and set M would be merged with set A. However, we do not link these two sets with others because entering tone is preserved in southern drama (X. Lǐ 1984) (Yú and Liú 2009, 7-14) (W. Yú 2005, 218).

Wáng Jìdé writes in *Qǔlǚ* that “in southern drama, entering tone keeps its own pronunciation on one hand, but it can also adapt to even, rising and falling tones on the other hand. There are no tones it cannot be read in.” 南則入聲自有正音，又施於平、上、去之三聲，無所不可 (J. Wáng 2002, 446-447). In *Nánqǔ rùshēng kèwèn* 南曲入聲客問 [*Questions of Entering Tone in Southern Drama*], Máo Xiānshū 毛先舒 (1620-1688) explains in detail that entering tone had disappeared and was distributed into other three tones in northern drama, but in southern drama it had not and there are two ways to read it — in its original tone or as a non-entering tone, depending on the context.³⁵

Here is one example from *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán*:

Envoi: *lù* 綠 (Zhú 燭), *fú* 福 (Wū 屋), *lù* 祿 (Wū 屋). (Scene 25, *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán*).³⁶

Yìzhī huā 一枝花: *pǔ* 圃 (Mó 模), *cù* 蹙 (Wū 屋), *qǔ* 曲 (Zhú 燭), *wǔ* 舞 (Yú 虞), *bù* 步 (Mó 模). (Scene 49, *Zhāng Xié zhuàngyuán*).³⁷

The envoi uses *GY* entering tone rimes Wū 屋 and Zhú 燭. So the three riming characters *lù* 綠, *fú* 福 and *lù* 祿 are read in entering tone, probably with a stop ending [-k]. In the song *Yìzhī huā*, riming with non-entering rimes Mó 模 and Yú 虞 characters *pǔ* 圃, *qǔ* 曲, *wǔ* 舞 and *bù* 步, *cù* 蹙 — a *GY* rime Wū character — is thus not read in entering tone, but read as a vowel ending syllable, probably in rising tone matching the tone value of the characters they rime with.

There are four songs in *Shāgǒu jì* that use *GY* entering tone rimes exclusively. They are songs 25.2 and 25.3, both of which use rime Duó 鐸 and are grouped into set L, and song 1.1 and

³⁵ <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=402885>.

³⁶ “張協狀元,” Wikisource, accessed May 10, 2020, <https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hans/張協狀元>.

³⁷ Ibid.

35.10, both of which use group Tōng 通攝 entering tone rimes Wū 屋 and Zhú 燭 and are grouped into set M. All the entering rimes are [-k] ending in *GY*.

Song 25.2: *suǒ* 索 (Duó 鐸), *cuò* 錯 (Duó 鐸), *è* 惡 (Duó 鐸), *hè* 壑 (Duó 鐸), *luò* 落 (Duó 鐸).

Song 25.3: *dù* 度 (Duó 鐸), *bó* 泊 (Duó 鐸), *tuō* 托 (Duó 鐸), *è* 惡 (Duó 鐸).

Song 1.1: *zhú* 逐 (Wū 屋), *zú* 足 (Zhú 燭), *gǔ* 谷 (Wū 屋), *lù* 碌 (Wū 屋), *sù* 宿 (Wū 屋), *zú* 足 (Zhú 燭), *lǜ* 綠 (Zhú 燭), *yù* 玉 (Zhú 燭), *dú* 獨 (Wū 屋).

Song 35.10: *yù* 欲 (Zhú 燭), *mù* 睦 (Wū 屋), *mù* 目 (Wū 屋), *fú* 福 (Wū 屋).

But we can also find in some other songs that those entering tone rime being intermixed with non-entering tone rimes. For example:

Song 23.11: *gù* 故 (Mù 暮), *zhǔ* 主 (Yú 虞), *bó* 泊 (Duó 鐸), *kǔ* 苦 (Mǔ 姥), *sú* 俗 (Zhú 燭), *fù* 富 (Yǒu 宥), *kǔ* 苦 (Mǔ 姥).

Song 8.1: *gū* 孤 (Mó 模), *fū* 夫 (Yú 虞), *sù* 宿 (Wū 屋), *chǔ* 楚 (Yǔ 語), *fū* 夫 (Yú 虞), *gū* 姑 (Mó 模).

Song 15.1: *fū* 夫 (Yú 虞), *gū* 辜 (Mó 模), *tú* 徒 (Mó 模), *nù* 怒 (Mù 暮), *zú* 足 (Zhú 燭).

In songs 25.2, 25.3, 1.1 and 35.10, characters of *GY* rimes Duó 鐸, Wū 屋 and Zhú 燭 are read in entering tone, probably with a [-uk] final. In songs 23.11, 8.1 and 15.1, characters *bó* 泊, *sú* 俗, *sù* 宿 and *zú* 足, though being of *GY* entering rimes, are read in non-entering tone because of other riming characters' tone, probably with a [-u] final with no stop ending.

Noticeably, [-k] ending riming can be found in most southern drama works except for short pieces such as *Huànmén zǐdì cuò lishēn* and *Xiǎo Sūntú*. This may to a certain extent reflect how the stop ending rimes disappeared (Gwon 2000). Wei's (2005, 98) research on Song *cí* also finds

that [-k] ending entering tone rimes Wū-Zhú 屋燭 and Yào-Duó 藥鐸 are stable and rarely mixed with other rimes, but other [-p] ending and [-t] ending rimes are frequently intermixed. In *Gǔjīn yùnhuì jǔyào* 古今韻會舉要 [*Abridged Collection of Rimes of the Ancient and Modern*], a rime book written in 1297 and believed to be a document of characters' reading during the late Sòng and early Yuán, [-p], [-t] and part of [-k] ending characters are merged into glottal stop [-ʔ]. Besides that, [-k] ending reading are still preserved in a limited number of characters (W. Hè 1995).

Even today, [-k] ending is found more than [-p] or [-t] in Chinese dialects. One example is Fúzhōu dialect, in which [-p] and [-t] have totally disappeared, but [-k] can still be found pronounced by some people.

3.5 Conclusion

Shāgǒu jì has some of the rime features that most southern drama works share in common, such as the intermix of rimes Zhēn-Wén [ən], Gēng-Qīng [əŋ] and Qīn-Xún [əm], intermix of rimes Xiān-Tiān [æn], Hán-Shān [an], Huán-Huān [ɔn], Jiān-Xián [am] and Lián-Xiān [æm], intermix of rimes Zhī-Sī [ʅ/ɿ], Qí-Wēi [i] and Yú-Mó [u], and the two readings of entering tone. On the other hand, *Shāgǒu jì* has its own unique features, for instance, the two readings of character wài 外.

For some of the exceptions that do not comply with ZYYY rime or any dialects, it is wise to check *GY* rimes and review the rime pattern of previous poetic genres such as *shī* and *cí*, which might provide evidence to help us understand *Shāgǒu jì* rimes. One example is the *GY* rime Tàì 泰 characters that split into two rime sets in *Shāgǒu jì* based on the medial — this usage can be traced back to Táng *shī*.

4. A Comparison of *FYJN* version and *LSZQ* version

In this chapter, we will compare two *Shāgǒu jì* versions concerning their rime patterns.

The former one is the *FYJN* version, which gets its name from the drama collection *Fēngyuè jǐnnáng* that was found in Spain in the 1920s. As it says on the title page, this version was reprinted in 1553, the 23rd year of Jiājìng reign period, indicating that the original version must be earlier.

The second one is the *LSZQ* version, named after the southern drama collection *Liùshí zhōng qǔ*. The date of the publication is still unknown, but given the compiler Máo Jìn's living years 1599-1659, we may speculate it came out during the late Míng and early Qīng times.

Based on the fact that Míng literati did not extensively participate in southern drama editing and composition until Wànlì period (1573-1620), we suppose that the *FYJN* version *Shāgǒu jì* might preserve more original content than the *LSZQ* version does. By comparing these two texts, we can explore how Míng scholars revised the low-graded early southern drama texts in order to uplift it to meet the literati's aesthetic tastes.

4.1 Brief comparison on language

Generally speaking, *FYJN* version, a drama text in ten scenes providing only a brief story outline, is much shorter than the fleshed-out *LSZQ* version, which has thirty-six scenes. The ten scenes in *FYJN* version correspond to scene 2, 9, 7, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 25, 35&36 in *LSZQ* version respectively. Below is the correspondence between the *FYJN* and *LSZQ* scenes:

<i>FYJN</i> version	<i>LSZQ</i> version
	1. <i>Jiāmén dàyì</i> 家門大意
1. <i>Lìnghóu qǐngyàn</i> 令侯請宴	2. <i>Jiànxiōng chùnnù</i> 諫兄觸怒
	3. <i>Jiǎngyuán jiéyì</i> 蔣園結義
	4. <i>Qīqiè gong yì</i> 妻妾共議
	5. <i>Sūn Róng zìtàn</i> 孫榮自嘆
	6. <i>Qiáorén xíngzèn</i> 喬人行潛
3. <i>Yángshì quàn fū bù yǔn</i> 楊氏勸夫不允	7. <i>Sūn Huá jù jiàn</i> 孫華拒諫
	8. <i>Lǚdiàn jièjū</i> 旅店借居
2. <i>Sūn Huá jiāyàn</i> 孫華家宴	9. <i>Sūn Huá jiāyàn</i> 孫華家宴
4. <i>Lǎozhàng xúnwèn Sūn Róng</i> 老丈詢問孫榮	10. <i>Wángpó zhú kè</i> 王婆逐客
	11. <i>Yáozhōng shòukùn</i> 窟中受困
5. <i>Lù xuě sòngxiōng</i> 路雪送兄	12. <i>Xuěyè jiùxiōng</i> 雪夜救兄
6. <i>Xiánsǎo cìshí</i> 賢嫂賜食	13. <i>Guījiā bèi zhú</i> 歸家被逐
	14. <i>Qiáorén suànzhàng</i> 喬人算賬
	15. <i>Qīqiè tàn fū</i> 妻妾嘆夫
	16. <i>Wú Zhōng kānzhǔ</i> 吳忠看主
7. <i>Qǐng dú shǐshū</i> 請讀史書	17. <i>Kànshū kǔjiàn</i> 看書苦諫
8. <i>Liǎngqiáo suǒ sòng</i> □ <i>gǔ xiàng fū</i> 兩喬唆訟 □ 古向夫	18. <i>Yáozhōng jùjiān</i> 窟中拒奸
	19. <i>Jì qiàn Wánglǎo</i> 計倩王老
	20. <i>Ān Tóng jiāng mìng</i> 安童將命
	21. <i>Huāyuán yóushǎng</i> 花園遊賞
	22. <i>Sūn Róng diànmù</i> 孫榮奠墓
	23. <i>Wánglǎo jiànzhǔ</i> 王老諫主
	24. <i>Móushā Sūn Róng</i> 謀殺孫榮
9. <i>Tuō Wánglǎo quàn Sūn Huá, Yángshì mǎigǒu</i> 托王老勸孫華 楊氏買狗	25. <i>Yuè Zhēn mǎigǒu</i> 月真買狗
	26. <i>Tǔdì xiǎnhuà</i> 土地顯化
	27. <i>Jiàngǒu jīngxīn</i> 見狗驚心

	28. <i>Qiáorén fùxīn</i> 喬人負心
	29. <i>Yuànjūn huíhuà</i> 院君回話
	30. <i>Wú Zhōng zhàngyì</i> 吳忠仗義
	31. <i>Fūfū kòuyáo</i> 夫婦叩窰
	32. <i>Yíng Chūn sītàn</i> 迎春私嘆
	33. <i>Qīndì yíshī</i> 親弟移屍
	34. <i>Jùjué qiáorén</i> 拒絕喬人
10. <i>Jīngbiǎo xiánfù</i> 旌表賢婦	35. <i>Duàn míng shāgǒu</i> 斷明殺狗
	36. <i>Xiàoyǒu bāofēng</i> 孝友褒封

Furthermore, each scene in *FYJN* version is shorter and briefer, with songs reduced in quantity and the spoken parts abridged. For example, scene 2 of the *LSZQ* version has six songs: two songs of *Guàzhēr* 掛真兒, *Xiùdàir* 繡帶兒 and *Dàshèngyuè* 大聖樂. But its correspondent scene in *FYJN* version — scene 1, there are only three songs: one song of *Júhuā xīn* 菊花新 and two songs of *Dàshèngyuè*.

However, the briefness of the *FYJN* is not enough to determine whether the *FYJN* version is a full drama script, or an abridged drama script by the compiler Xú Wénzhāo, or just a rough draft providing basic information to remind drama performers.

Míng scholars also revised part of the original text in order to make positive figures be in conformity with Confucian ethic codes. Here are two examples of the songs of *Guìzhī xiāng* 桂枝香 in both versions:

桂枝香: 熟油苦菜, 由人心愛。忒恁低, 識假不識真, 把我做何人看待! 想夫妻義重, 結髮恩愛, 只得忍奈。說得來, 莫怪君無禮, 都緣是我命。(Scene 3, *FYJN*) (W. Xú 1987, 497).

Guìzhī xiāng: Even bitter herb with boiled oil is loved by some persons, why is he doing so? He recognizes the fake but does not recognize the true. What kind of person does he treat me as! Considering our conjugal affection, I have to tolerate him. As a matter of fact, do not blame my husband for being rude. It is all my destiny.

桂枝香: 忠言不聽，生出惡性。欲要把幾句回他，又恐怕夫妻爭競，只落得外人，只落得外人，胡言講論。講論家不和順。自評論，耐了一時氣，家和萬事成。(Scene 7, *LSZQ*) (W. Xú 1987, 561).

Guìzhī xiāng: Deaf to sincere advice, he gets angry. I want to say something to him, but I am afraid of family quarrel. This will cause others' gossips. This will cause others' gossips. They will comment on our family dissension. I am discussing with myself: I should tolerate his anger. Only a peaceful family would prosper.

In the *Guìzhī xiāng* in *FYJN* version, Yáng is so aggressive that she accuses her husband of being gullible and ascribes what she has suffered to her destiny. But in *LSZQ*, she is a family-oriented female who is willing to suffer wrong to keep the family in harmony. The revision of Yáng's words reflects the social ethic during the late Míng, which encourages women to suffer and tolerate (S. Huáng 1991).

4.2 Comparison on rime pattern

The most obvious change between the two versions of *Shāgǒu jì* is the riming pattern. In *LSZQ*, the riming pattern is more regularized than that in *FYJN*. Thus, I generalize four major types of revisions that Míng scholars did.

4.2.1 One song one rime

Five songs that use two or more sets of rime in *FYJN* were revised by Míng scholars based on the principle “one song one rime”. They are songs 2.5, 3.1, 3.2, 4.2 and 10.2.

For example, song 4.2 in *FYJN* uses two sets of rime, alternating between Qí-Wēi 齊微 (the vowel ending rime) and Zhēn-Wén-Qīn-Xún 真文侵尋 (nasal ending rimes). In the corresponding song in *LSZQ* — song 10.11, Míng scholars replaced the three vowel-ending characters *chuí* 垂, *dì* 弟, *yì* 意 with nasal-ending characters *wén* 聞, *qíng* 情, *bìn* 擯 so the song uses pure nasal ending rimes.

FYJN song 4.2: *mēn* 悶 (Zhēn-Wén), *chuí* 垂 (Qí-Wēi), *dì* 弟 (Qí-Wēi), *yì* 意 (Qí-Wēi), *pín* 貧 (Zhēn-Wén), *shèn* 甚 (Qīn-Xún).

LSZQ song 10.11: *mēn* 悶 (Zhēn-Wén), *wén* 聞 (Zhēn-Wén), *qíng* 情 (Gēng-Qīng), *bìn* 擯 (Zhēn-Wén), *pín* 貧 (Zhēn-Wén), *kěn* 肯 (Zhēn-Wén).³⁸

Another example is song 10.2 in *FYJN*. It uses two sets of rimes Zhēn-Wén and Yú-Mó-Qí-Wēi 魚模齊微. Míng scholars replaced the Zhēn-Wén characters *ēn* 恩 and *mén* 門, so its corresponding in *LSZQ* — song 36.3 — uses pure rime Qí-Wēi:

FYJN song 10.2: *ēn* 恩 (Zhēn-Wén), *mén* 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *ēn* 恩 (Zhēn-Wén), *yǔ* 與 (Yú-Mó), *guì* 貴 (Qí-Wēi), *zhí* 職 (Not found), *měi* 美 (Qí-Wēi), *guì* 貴 (Qí-Wēi).

LSZQ song 36.3: *mí* 迷 (Qí-Wēi), *qī* 妻 (Qí-Wēi), *yí* 怡 (Qí-Wēi), *jī* 機 (Qí-Wēi), *zhí* 職 (Not found), *zhī* 知 (Qí-Wēi), *guì* 貴 (Qí-Wēi), *yí* 宜 (Qí-Wēi).

³⁸ *Bìn* 擯 cannot be found in *ZYYY*. But considering its phonetic component *bīn* 賓 and its pronunciation in *GY* and *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻, we strongly believe that *bìn* was a [-n] ending character in *Shāgǒu jì*'s era.

As for *FYJN* song 2.5 which uses two rimes Huán-Huān and Hán-Shān, Míng scholars replaced all the riming character with Xiān-Tiān characters:

FYJN song 2.5: *guǎn* 管 (Huán-Huān), *shān* 山 (Hán-Shān), *jiān* 間 (Hán-Shān).

LSZQ song 9.6: *yàn* 宴 (Xiān-Tiān), *nián* 年 (Xiān-Tiān), *quán* 全 (Xiān-Tiān).

Two other examples are songs 3.1 and 3.2 in *FYJN*, both of which use two sets of rimes. Míng scholars did not revise these songs, but they deleted them in the *LSZQ* version:

FYJN song 3.1: *shēng* 聲 (Gēng-Qīng), *jīng* 兢 (Gēng-Qīng), *rěn* 忍 (Zhēn-Wén), *jīng* 兢 (Gēng-Qīng), *yìng* 應 (Gēng-Qīng), *yán* 言 (Xiān-Tiān), *miàn* 面 (Xiān-Tiān).

FYJN song 3.2: *nǎo* 惱 (Xiāo-Háo), *dǎo* 倒 (Xiāo-Háo), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), *chèn* 趁 (Zhēn-Wén), *bèn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *wèn* 問 (Zhēn-Wén).

This is one exception that Míng scholar did not revise or delete, and can be found using two rimes in *LSZQ*:

FYJN song 9.2 (*LSZQ* song 25.4): *pó* 婆 (Gē-Gē), *sù* 速 (Yú-Mó), *gè* 個 (Gē-Gē), *fú* 福 (Yú-Mó).

4.2.2 Exceptions excluded

To regularize song riming patterns, most of the exceptions in *FYJN* songs were replaced. This can be found in 8 *FYJN* songs: 4.1, 6.5, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 8.2, 8.7 and 10.1. Here are some examples:

In song 4.1 in *FYJN*, the exception *qián* 錢 is a character of rime Xiān-Tiān, which could not rime with Zhēn-Wén. In *LSZQ*, it was replaced with a Zhēn-Wén character *hěn* 狠.

FYJN song 4.1: *xiōng* 兄 (Dōng-Zhōng), *bēn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *qián* 錢 (Xiān-Tiān), *mén* 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *hèn* 恨 (Zhēn-Wén).

LSZQ song 10.10: *xiōng* 兄 (Dōng-Zhōng), *bēn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *hěn* 狠 (Zhēn-Wén), *mén* 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *wěn* 吻 (Zhēn-Wén).

The exception *dào* 到, a rime Xiāo-Háo character, was replaced by *zhì* 至, a Zhī-Sī character. Zhī-Sī and Qī-Wēi are in one rime set, but Xiāo-Háo is not.

FYJN song 6.5: *shí* 時 (Zhī-Sī), *shí* 食 (Qí-Wēi), *dào* 到 (Xiāo-Háo), *guì* 貴 (Qí-Wēi), *zhù* 筓 (Not found), *dé* 得 (Qí-Wēi), *dé* 得 (Qí-Wēi), *shí* 食 (Qí-Wēi), *xí* 席 (Qí-Wēi).

LSZQ song 13.6: *shí* 時 (Zhī-Sī), *shí* 食 (Qí-Wēi), *zhì* 至 (Zhī-Sī), *guì* 貴 (Qí-Wēi), *zhù* 筓 (Not found), *dé* 得 (Qí-Wēi), *dé* 得 (Qí-Wēi), *shí* 食 (Qí-Wēi), *xí* 席 (Qí-Wēi).

The last riming character in *FYJN* song 10.1 — *ān* 安, is an exception. Míng scholars replaced it with *qīng* 清 so that song 35.1 in *LSZQ* only use one set of rime.

FYJN song 10.1: *qìng* 慶 (Gēng-Qīng), *níng* 寧 (Gēng-Qīng), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), *ān* 安 (Hán-Shān 寒山).

LSZQ song 35.1: *qìng* 慶 (Gēng-Qīng), *níng* 寧 (Gēng-Qīng), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), *qīng* 清 (Gēng-Qīng).

In these 3 songs below, the characters of exception are not replaced in *FYJN*:

FYJN song 7.1 (*LSZQ* song 17.3): *sè* 色 (Jiē-Lái), *zuì* 罪 (Qí-Wēi), *qǔ* 取 (Yú-Mó), *lǐ* 裏 (Qí-Wēi), *dì* 地 (Qí-Wēi), *pí* 鞮 (Not found), *dì* 地 (Qí-Wēi).

FYJN song 7.3 (*LSZQ* song 17.5): dìng 定 (Gēng-Qīng), *shuǐ* 水 (Qí-Wēi), *qǐ* 起 (Qí-Wēi), *mí* 迷 (Qí-Wēi), *shuǐ* 水 (Qí-Wēi), *qù* 去 (Yú-Mó).³⁹

FYJN song 8.7 (*LSZQ* song 18.9): *qīn* 親 (Zhēn-Wén), *ēn* 恩 (Zhēn-Wén), kǒu 口 (尤侯), *zhēng* 爭 (Gēng-Qīng), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *zhēn* 真 (Zhēn-Wén).

4.2.3 Distinguish [-m] and [-n/-ŋ]

Another effort that Míng scholars made to regularize southern drama is to distinguish [-m] and [-n/-ŋ] ending rimes. Among the 11 songs that intermix [-m] and [-n/-ŋ] in *FYJN*, 7 are found revised in *LSZQ* and 1 is deleted by Míng scholars, but the rest 3 are preserved in *LSZQ*.

In song 1.2, 1.3, 4.2, 8.3 and 8.5 in *FYJN*, characters of rime Qīn-Xún were replaced by characters of Zhēn-Wén in *LSZQ*.

FYJN song 1.2: *yīng* 纓 (Gēng-Qīng), *chéng* 成 (Gēng-Qīng), *ēn* 恩 (Zhēn-Wén), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), shēn 深 (Gīn-Xún), *fēn* 分 (Zhēn-Wén).

LSZQ song 2.5: *shēn* 紳 (Zhēn-Wén), *chéng* 成 (Gēng-Qīng), *ēn* 恩 (Zhēn-Wén), *shùn* 順 (Zhēn-Wén), qīn 親 (Zhēn-Wén), *fēn* 分 (Zhēn-Wén).

FYJN song 1.3: jīn 金 (Gīn-Xún), *qīn* 親 (Zhēn-Wén), *míng* 明 (Gēng-Qīng), *wén* 聞 (Zhēn-Wén), *xǐng* 省 (Gēng-Qīng), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén).

LSZQ song 2.6: mén 門 (Zhēn-Wén), *shèn* 慎 (Zhēn-Wén), *zhēn* 真 (Zhēn-Wén), *xǐng* 省 (Gēng-Qīng), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén).

³⁹ In *LSZQ*, *dìng* 定 is replaced by *zhù* 住, a character of rime Yú-Mó.

FYJN song 4.2: *mēn* 悶 (Zhēn-Wén), *chuí* 垂 (Qí-Wēi), *dì* 弟 (Qí-Wēi), *yì* 意 (Qí-Wēi), *pín* 貧 (Zhēn-Wén), *shèn* 甚 (Gīn-Xún).

LSZQ song 10.11: *mēn* 悶 (Zhēn-Wén), *wén* 聞 (Zhēn-Wén), *qíng* 情 (Gēng-Qīng), *bìn* 擯 (Zhēn-Wén), *pín* 貧 (Zhēn-Wén), *kěn* 肯 (Zhēn-Wén).

FYJN song 8.3: *jīn* 今 (Gīn-Xún), *jūn* 均 (Zhēn-Wén), *nìng* 佞 (Gēng-Qīng), *xìn* 信 (Zhēn-Wén), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *shēn* 身 (Zhēn-Wén).

LSZQ song 18.5: *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *děng* 等 (Gēng-Qīng), *nìng* 佞 (Gēng-Qīng), *xìn* 信 (Zhēn-Wén), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *shēn* 身 (Zhēn-Wén).

FYJN song 8.5: *shēng* 生 (Gēng-Qīng), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *xìng* 性 (Gēng-Qīng), *jǐng* 井 (Gēng-Qīng), *xīn* 心 (Gīn-Xún), *qīn* 親 (Zhēn-Wén).

LSZQ song 18.7: *shēng* 生 (Gēng-Qīng), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *xìng* 性 (Gēng-Qīng), *bèn* 奔 (Zhēn-Wén), *hèn* 恨 (Zhēn-Wén), *qīn* 親 (Zhēn-Wén).

In song 2.4 and 3.3, characters of rime Lián-Xiān were replaced by characters of Xiān-Tiān in LSZQ.

FYJN song 2.4: *jiàn* 見 (Xiān-Tiān), *mián* 綿 (Xiān-Tiān), *yán* 鹽 (Lián-Xiān), *xiàn* 羨 (Xiān-Tiān), *qiǎn* 遣 (Xiān-Tiān).

LSZQ song 9.5: *jiàn* 見 (Xiān-Tiān), *mián* 綿 (Xiān-Tiān), *nián* 年 (Xiān-Tiān), *xuān* 軒 (Xiān-Tiān), *qiǎn* 遣 (Xiān-Tiān).

FYJN song 3.3: *xiàn* 線 (Xiān-Tiān), *juān* 絹 (Xiān-Tiān), *jiàn* 見 (Xiān-Tiān), *quàn* 勸 (Xiān-Tiān), *biàn* 變 (Xiān-Tiān), *xián* 嫌 (Lián-Xiān), *yán* 言 (Xiān-Tiān).

LSZQ song 7.1: *xiàn* 線 (Xiān-Tiān), *juān* 絹 (Xiān-Tiān), *jiàn* 見 (Xiān-Tiān), *quàn* 勸 (Xiān-Tiān), *biàn* 變 (Xiān-Tiān), *yán* 言 (Xiān-Tiān), *yán* 言 (Xiān-Tiān).

The songs that are not revised are 8.6, 9.4 and 9.5. The [-m] ending characters *xīn* 心, *shèn* 甚 and *jīn* 金 are preserved in *LSZQ* version.

FYJN song 8.6 (*LSZQ* song 18.8): *tīng* 聽 (Gēng-Qīng), *lún* 倫 (Zhēn-Wén), *lùn* 論 (Zhēn-Wén), *xīn* 心 (Gīn-Xún).

FYJN song 9.4 (*LSZQ* song 25.7): *lín* 鄰 (Zhēn-Wén), *xìng* 性 (Gēng-Qīng), *mìng* 命 (Gēng-Qīng), *chēn* 嗔 (Zhēn-Wén), *chēn* 嗔 (Zhēn-Wén), *rén* 人 (Zhēn-Wén), *shèn* 甚 (Gīn-Xún).

FYJN song 9.5 (*LSZQ* song 25.8): *chéng* 成 (Gēng-Qīng), *mìng* 命 (Gēng-Qīng), *qīng* 輕 (Gēng-Qīng), *jīn* 金 (Gīn-Xún), *yín* 銀 (Zhēn-Wén), *zhēn* 珍 (Zhēn-Wén), *pín* 貧 (Zhēn-Wén).⁴⁰

But we cannot find Míng scholars' attempt to distinguish [-n] from [-ŋ] as they did to distinguish [-m]. This might be due to the merge of [-n] with [-ŋ] in Wú, as what I discussed in Chapter 3.1.1, [-n] merged with [-ŋ] earlier in the Wú dialect than with [-m] which could still be found in some places of Wú in the 19th century (Wàn 2012). Though Míng scholars made every effort to get rid of the influence of dialects, they failed in this battle in terms of nasal endings. As a result, the mixture of [-n] and [-ŋ] could be widely found in the *LSZQ*.

4.3 Conclusion

Based on the comparison above, we can find that Míng scholars revised and rewrote the *Shāgǒu jì* text on two aspects: they tended to select appropriate words to ensure the content is in

⁴⁰ In *LSZQ*, *zhēn* 珍 is replaced by *zhū* 珠, a character of rime Yú-Mó.

conformity with contemporary social ethic codes and satisfy the Confucian scholars' aesthetic tastes, and regularized the language particularly on rhyming pattern according to the *ZYYY*.

Scholars' adaption and rewriting might be attributed to the fact that southern drama or *chuánqí* then was no longer a type of performance for the countrymen, but a type of mature stagecraft recognized and accepted by the literati in the late Míng and even slowly acquired "a certain degree of literary standing" (W. L. Idema 2015, 29).

5. Conclusion

This study analyzes the language of *Shāgǒu jì* in terms of its rhyming pattern, based on the presumptions that (1) *Shāgǒu jì* is an accumulative heterogenous work composed by multiple persons with different linguistic and educational backgrounds. These authors' involvement would inevitably influence the language, making it an impure and composite language, which might not be spoken by people in their real lives; (2) the late Míng literati revised and rewrote the *Shāgǒu jì* text intentionally to adapt it to the social context ensuring it on one hand did not violate Confucian ethnic codes and on the other hand satisfied the literati's taste.

In Chapter two, we established 13 rime sets in *Shāgǒu jì* and their correspondences to rimes in *GY* and *ZYYY*. We can find that *Shāgǒu jì* rime sets are “broader” than those in *ZYYY*, with rime Zhēn-Wén [ən], Gēng-Qīng [əŋ], Qīn-Xún [əm] being mixed-used, rime Xiān-Tiān [æŋ], Hán-Shān [an], Huán-Huān [ɔn], Jiān-Xián [am], Lián-Xiān [æm] being mixed-used, and rime Zhī-Sī [ʅ/ɿ], Qí-Wēi [i], Yú-Mó [u] being mixed-used. Moreover, we admit entering tone is partly preserved in *Shāgǒu jì*, considering the four songs using [-k] ending rimes. Noticeably, the fact that [-k] ending is the most commonly found stop endings among the three stop endings in modern Chinese dialects convinces us that [-k] was the last stop ending that disappeared during *Shāgǒu jì*'s era.

Some features found in *Shāgǒu jì*, such as the intermix of Qí-Wēi [i] and Yú-Mó [u], and the divergence of *GY* rime Tàì, are more likely to arise from the poetic tradition rather than Wú dialects, since these types of usage can be found in *cí* and northern drama as well. The poetic tradition might be due to the possible generic relation between southern drama songs and *cí* on the one hand, evidenced by Xú Wèi's words in *Náncí xùlù* that “its [southern drama's] songs are Sòng people's *cí* added with folk songs.” 其曲，則宋人詞益以里巷歌謠。Qiáng Nányáng also

identifies that 190 out of the 543 songs in *Chóngdìng nán jiǔgōng cípǔ* 重定南九宮詞譜 [Revised Southern Nine Modes Scores] are from Táng or Sòng *cí* (2009, 33). On the other hand, the tradition might be brought from northern drama after the Yuán conquered the Southern Sòng and *zájù* was introduced to the southern China by many of the *zájù* composers who moved to the south, such as Mǎ Zhìyuǎn 馬致遠 (1255-1321), Qiáo Jí 喬吉 (1280-1345), Zhèng Guāngzǔ 鄭光祖 (1260-?), etc. Southern drama at this time absorbed some of the features of *zájù*, one aspect of which is the rime pattern. This poetic tradition did not stop by *Shāgǒu jì*'s era but had continued to the 20th century. In *Shí sān zhé* 十三轍 [Thirteen Rimes], a rime system circulated among the folk storytellers and opera performers in northern China from Míng to the 20th century China, both *jī* 基 and *jū* 居 belongs to the same rime Yī-Qī 一七, corresponding to *Shāgǒu jì* rime set A, though these two characters have different finals in most dialects in northern China.

A comparison between *LSZQ* and *FYJN* versions reveals how Míng literati regularized southern drama on both its content and form: the sketchy story line is fleshed out, the arbitrarily rhymed pattern is regularized, and the vulgar and coarse words are replaced. The literati's involvement in southern drama text adaptation was closely related to the booming social economy in the Jiāngnán 江南 area in the late Míng, which directly gave birth to a group of prosperous towns on Yangtze delta with an increasing number of middle class. Southern drama constituted one of the most important entertainment genres for those townspeople.

Simultaneously, the motivation to adapt and rewrite drama text came from above (W. L. Idema 2015). Idema mentions that by the Míng dynasty, drama had already been played in the court. In order to deal with the severe political censorship and on the other hand to showcase their refined aesthetic tastes, late Míng scholars rewrote the southern drama text intentionally or unintentionally “with a reading audience of Jiangnan literati in mind” (West 2003). The literati's

participation in the creation and adaption activity followed the literary and poetic tradition from Tang *shi*, Song *ci* and norther drama. In this way, the southern drama gradually deviated from the stage and became a new literature genre standing by itself.

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Appendix I: Riming characters in *LSZQ* with *GY* and *ZYYY* phonological classifications

1. Songs are listed with their number in *Shāgǒu jì* with tune names. For example, song 2.1 refers to first song in chapters 2. *Guàzhēnr* 掛真兒 is the tune name.

2. Envois or *xiàchǎngshī* 下場詩 (exit poem) are marked by the chapter number. For example, envoi 1 refers to the envoi of chapter 1.

3. For one riming character, the set of characters in the left indicates its classification in *GY*, that is, *shè*, *kāi/hé*, division, tone, rime. The set of characters in the right indicates its classification in *ZYYY*, that is rime (two characters), *sihū* (*kāi/qí/hé/cuō*), tone (two characters).

1. Vowel ending rimes

Set A

Envoi 1

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
疏：遇開三平魚 | 魚模合 陰平
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 2.1 掛真兒

餘：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平
書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 2.2 前腔 掛真兒

餘：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平
書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 2.3 繡帶兒

幾：止開三上尾 | 齊微齊 上聲
齊：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平

箎：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
鬼：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
背 (bèi)：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
事：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 2.4 前腔 繡帶兒

規：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陰平
輩：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
追：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陰平
疑：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
悔：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 上聲
俐：(利) 止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
子：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲
低：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 3.1 丹鳳吟

堤：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
 內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
 處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
 是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
 嘴：止合三上紙 | 齊微合 上聲
 喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
 取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
 取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
 回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平
 處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
 至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲

Song 3.2 節節高犯

弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
 至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
 碎：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
 食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
 藉：梗開三入昔 | 車遮齊 去聲
 的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
 喫：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
 志：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲

Song 3.3 解連環

娛：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陽平
 醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
 去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 己：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
 義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 3.4 前腔 解連環

杯：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陰平
 慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 3.5 前腔 解連環

依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
 喫：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
 至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲

Song 3.6 前腔 解連環

非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
 起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 恥：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Envoi 3

醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
 歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
 低：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 4.2 新水令

惠：蟹合四去霽 | 齊微合 去聲
 戲：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
 指：止開三上旨 | 支思開 上聲
 語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 6.1 朱奴兒

慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
 義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
 廢：蟹合三去廢 | 齊微齊 去聲
 是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
 理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 7.1 風馬兒

媚：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
 朱：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平
 比：止開三上旨 | 齊微齊 上聲
 會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
 飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 7.2 本宮賺

吁：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
悲：止開三平脂 | 齊微合 陰平
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
地：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
與：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 7.3 前腔 本宮賺

啓：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
句：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
急：深開三入緝 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲

Song 7.4 竹馬兒

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
尾：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
俐：（利）止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
棄：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平

碎：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 7.5 前腔 竹馬兒

語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
皮：止開三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
席：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
位：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
宜：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
機：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
美：止開三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
濟：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 7.6 尾聲

的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
誰：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陽平
底：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 7.7 清歌兒

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 7.8 前腔 清歌兒

醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 7.9 前腔 清歌兒

事：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲

誰：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陽平
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 7.10 桂枝香

啓：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
施：止開三平支 | 支思開 陰平

Song 7.11 前腔 桂枝香

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
乳：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
聚：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 去聲
議：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 8.1 吳小四

孤：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陰平
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
宿：通開三入屋 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
楚：遇開三上語 | 魚模合 上聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
姑：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 8.4 前腔 五更轉

庇：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
棣：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
累：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 9.1 夜行船

貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲
歲：蟹合三去祭 | 齊微合 去聲
妻：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
配：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Envoi 9

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
宜：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
枝：止開三平支 | 支思開 陰平

Song 10.8 山坡羊

去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
此：止開三上紙 | 支思開 上聲
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
閉：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
誰：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陽平
之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
捱（集韻）：蟹開二平佳 | 皆來齊 陽平
期：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平

Envoi 10

宜：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
恹：蟹開四平齊 | Not found.
時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平

Song 11.5 前腔 駐雲飛

迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
扉：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
煑：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲

米：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
倚：止開三上紙 | 齊微齊 上聲
侶：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
隨：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 11.6 前腔 駐雲飛

糲：蟹開四平齊 | Not found.
饑：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
米：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
濟：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
鬼：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
灰：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 12.2 駐雲飛

知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
恥：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
輩：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
碎：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
虧：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陰平
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平

Envoi 12

歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
悲：止開三平脂 | 齊微合 陰平
移：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 13.1 醉中歸

密：臻開三入質 | 齊微合 入聲作去聲
威：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
砌：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

瑞：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 13.2 泣顏回

兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
世：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微齊 去聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲

Song 13.3 前腔 泣顏回

飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
衣：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 13.4 前腔 泣顏回

滴：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
洗：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
飢：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 13.5 前腔 泣顏回

食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
持：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
持：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平

Song 13.6 賺

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲
筓：遇開三去御 | Not found.
得：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
出：臻合三入術 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
席：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲

Song 13.7 前腔 賺

水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
砌：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
得：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
與：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
持：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
懼：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 13.8 撲燈蛾

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平⁴¹
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
衢：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陽平
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲

Song 13.9 前腔 撲燈蛾

理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
貝：蟹開一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
輩：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 13.10 前腔 撲燈蛾

威：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
困：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
離：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
世：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 13.11 前腔 撲燈蛾

起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
誰：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陽平
醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 13.12 尾聲

內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
取：遇合三上虞 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 14.1 梨花兒

喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲

⁴¹ Characters in the boxes are regarded as exceptions.

Song 15.1 梁州令

夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
 辜：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陰平
 徒：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
 怒：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
 足：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲

Song 15.2 雁過聲

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
 歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
 衣：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
 覩：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
 筋：遇開三去御 | Not found.
 起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
 句：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
 去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 15.3 前腔 雁過聲

書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
 意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
 非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
 去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
 乳：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
 義：止開三去真 | 齊微齊 去聲
 棄：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
 取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
 書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
 義：止開三去真 | 齊微齊 去聲
 非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
 是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
 回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 15.4 尾聲

盃：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陰平
 歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
 取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 16.1 三臺令

歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
 兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
 悲：止開三平脂 | 齊微合 陰平
 垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 16.2 七賢過關

雪：山合三入薛 | 車遮撮 入聲作上聲
 醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
 裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平
 氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
 鬼：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
 歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
外：蟹合一去泰 | 皆來合 去聲
 弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 16.3 前腔 七賢過關

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
 住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
 睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
 兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
 起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
 去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
 意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 17.1 菊花新

徒：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平

吾：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
縷：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 17.2 前腔 菊花新

醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
書：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 17.3 絳都春序

色：曾開三入職 | 皆來開 入聲作上聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
地：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
聲：蟹開四平齊 | Not found.
地：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 17.4 降黃龍

敵：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
蹠：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平
子：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 17.5 前腔 降黃龍

住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 17.6 黃龍滾

垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平

垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 17.7 前腔 黃龍滾

胥：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
胥：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
敵：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
退：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 17.8 前腔 黃龍滾

夷：止開三平脂 | 齊微夷 陽平
夷：止開三平脂 | 齊微夷 陽平
麗：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 17.9 前腔 黃龍滾

之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
棄：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
沸：止合三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 17.10 尾聲

位：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平

Song 17.11 引子

裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 17.12 普天樂

會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
猥：蟹開一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲
丕：止開三平脂 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 17.13 前腔 普天樂

志：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
句：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
位：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 17.14 前腔 普天樂

啓：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
喻：遇合三去遇 | Not found.
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲

Song 18.1 那吒令

依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平

議：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 18.2 前腔 那吒令

兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
己：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 19.2 掛真兒

霽：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
致：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 21.1 粉蝶兒

燈：曾開一平登 | 庚青開 陰平
食：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
綺：止開三上紙 | 齊微齊 上聲
媚：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
禊：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 21.2 長生道引

翠：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
翠：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
奇：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
媚：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
習：深開三入緝 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
遲：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陽平
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
戲：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
西：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
沸：止合三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲

齊：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
西：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 21.3 前腔 長生道引

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
居：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
蕊：止合三上紙 | 齊微合 上聲
女：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
離：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 21.4 前腔 長生道引

蟻：止開三上紙 | 齊微齊 上聲
蟻：止開三上紙 | 齊微齊 上聲
飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
水：止合三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
堤：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
比：止開三上旨 | 齊微齊 上聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
地：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
珥：止開三去志 | 支思開 上聲

Song 21.5 前腔 長生道引

趣：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
趣：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
席：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
襖：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
題：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平

卉：止合三去未 | 齊微合 上聲
耳：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲
戲：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 21.6 尾聲

古：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲
時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
幾：止開三上尾 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 22.4 梧桐樹

此：止開三上紙 | 支思開 上聲
慧：蟹合四去霽 | 齊微合 去聲
勢：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微齊 去聲
低：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 22.5 前腔 梧桐樹

取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
婢：止開三上紙 | 齊微合 去聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
戲：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 23.1 夜行船

媚：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
蕊：止合三上紙 | 齊微合 上聲
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
禮：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 23.4 憶多嬌

之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平
之：止開三平之 | 支思開 陰平

取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
庇：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
侍：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲

Song 23.5 前腔 憶多嬌

鬼：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
鬼：止合三上尾 | 齊微合 上聲
皮：止開三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲

Song 23.6 園林好

覆：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
目：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
樹：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
圖：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 23.7 前腔 園林好

婦：流開三上有 | 魚模合 去聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲
阻：遇開三上語 | 魚模合 上聲
居：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平

Song 23.8 忒忒令

毒：通開一入沃 | 魚模合 入聲作平聲
妬：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
枯：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 23.9 沉醉東風

苦：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲
簌（集韻）：通合一入屋 | Not found.
扶：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陽平
故：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲

足：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
故：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
古：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲

Song 23.10 川撥棹

物：臻合三入物 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
乎：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
乎：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
腹：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
儒：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陽平

Song 23.11 荳葉黃

故：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
泊：宕開一入鐸 | 歌戈開 入聲作平聲
苦：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲
俗：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作平聲
富：流開三去宥 | 魚模合 去聲
苦：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲

Song 23.12 三月海棠

覆：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
祿：通開一入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
富：流開三去宥 | 魚模合 去聲
怒：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
餘：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平
如：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平

Song 23.13 翠地錦襜

屋：通開一入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
母：流開一上厚 | 魚模合 上聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
苦：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲

Song 23.14 雙勸酒

肉：通開三入屋 | 尤侯齊 入聲作去聲
悟：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
初：遇開三平魚 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 23.15 紅繡鞋

樹：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
樹：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
居：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
居：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
疏：遇開三平魚 | 魚模合 陰平
睦：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 24.1 似娘兒

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
吁：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲

Song 24.2 玉交枝

主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
地：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
二：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
死：止開三上旨 | 支思開 上聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
恥：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
恥：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 24.3 前腔 玉交枝

語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
主：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 24.4 好姐姐

裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
誓：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微齊 去聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲

Song 24.5 前腔 好姐姐

你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
抵：蟹開四上齊 | Not found.
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
遲：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 24.6 前腔 好姐姐

裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
肉：通開三入屋 | 尤侯齊 入聲作去聲
福：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
吾：遇開一平模 | 魚模合 陽平
怒：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
子：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 24.7 前腔 好姐姐

虛：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
古：遇開一上姥 | 魚模合 上聲

獄：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作去聲
顧：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
付：遇合三去遇 | 魚模合 去聲
有：流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲
無：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陽平

Song 24.8 番鼓兒

你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
耳：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲

Song 24.9 前腔 番鼓兒

揮：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
揮：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
避：止開三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 25.1 上林春

出：臻合三入術 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
吁：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平

Song 25.12 江頭送別

里：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
垂：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
危：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 25.13 前腔 江頭送別

悽：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
碎：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 25.14 北清江引

取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
淚：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
得：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲

Envoi 25

夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平
扶：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陽平
婆：果合一平戈 | 歌戈開 陽平

Song 27.1 翫仙燈

醉：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
至：止開三去至 | 支思開 去聲

Envoi 27

識：曾開三入職 | Not found.
力：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作去聲
息：曾開三入職 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲

Song 28.1 普賢歌

嬉：止開三平之 | Not found.
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
恹：蟹開四平齊 | Not found.
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 28.5 前腔 玉抱肚

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
屍：止開三平脂 | 支思開 陰平
虛：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
誰：止合三平脂 | 齊微合 陽平

Song 29.1 青玉案

慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
緒：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 去聲
與：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
屍：止開三平脂 | 支思開 陰平

Envoi 29

疏：遇開三平魚 | 魚模合 陰平
無：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陽平
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 30.1 鐵騎兒

兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
碎：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
飛：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
窟：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陽平
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 31.1 菊花新

利：止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
愧：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
梯：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 31.10 四邊靜

的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
齒：止開三上止 | 支思開 上聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

美：止開三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲

Song 31.11 前腔 四邊靜

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
備：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 31.12 前腔 四邊靜

理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 31.13 前腔 四邊靜

意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲

Song 32.1 天下樂

兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平
指：止開三上旨 | 支思開 上聲
依：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平

Envoi 32

池：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
美：止開三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲
底：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 33.1 步步嬌

去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
矣：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 33.2 梅子黃時雨

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
濟：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲

Song 33.3 忒忒令

歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
間：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陽平
慮：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 33.4 前腔 忒忒令

離：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
跡：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 33.5 紅繡鞋

席：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲
題：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
美：止開三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲

Song 33.6 前腔 紅繡鞋

義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
脾：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 34.2 啄木兒

啓：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 上聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
易：梗開三入昔 | 齊微齊 入聲作去聲

色：曾開三入職 | 皆來開 入聲作上聲
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 34.3 前腔 啄木兒

迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
理：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
灰：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 34.4 三段子

離：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平
伊：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陰平
嘴：止合三上紙 | 齊微合 上聲
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
賊：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 34.5 前腔 三段子

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
軀：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平
語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
避：止開三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
遲：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 34.6 纏枝花

住：遇合三去遇 | 魚模撮 去聲
志：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
起：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
是：止開三上紙 | 支思開 去聲
處：遇開三去御 | 魚模合 去聲

Song 34.7 前腔 纏枝花

對：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
計：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲

Song 34.8 賀新郎

氣：止開三去未 | 齊微齊 去聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
皮：止開三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
伊：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陰平
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 34.9 生姜芽

裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
細：蟹開四去霽 | 齊微齊 去聲
袂：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微合 去聲
癡：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陰平
意：止開三去志 | 齊微齊 去聲

Song 35.9 秋夜月

去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
露：遇開一去暮 | 魚模合 去聲
婦：流開三上有 | 魚模合 去聲
福：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲

Song 35.11 前腔 秋夜月

去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
類：止合三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
袂：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微合 去聲
夫：遇合三平虞 | 魚模合 陰平

Song 35.12 北後庭花

識：曾開三入職 | Not found.

貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲
禍：果合一上果 | 歌戈合 去聲
喜：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
賊：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
志：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
志：止開三去志 | 支思開 去聲
備：止開三去至 | 齊微合 去聲
非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
跪：止合三上紙 | 齊微合 去聲
際：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微齊 去聲
持：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
妻：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平

Song 35.13 念佛子

會：蟹合一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
猥：蟹開一去泰 | 齊微合 去聲
袂：蟹開三去祭 | 齊微合 去聲
屍：止開三平脂 | 支思開 陰平
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 35.14 前腔 念佛子

實：臻開三入質 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
裏：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 35.15 前腔 念佛子

非：止合三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲

此：止開三上紙 | 支思開 上聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
恕：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲

Song 35.16 前腔 念佛子

你：止開三上止 | 齊微齊 上聲
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲
罪：蟹合一上賄 | 齊微合 去聲
癡：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陰平
恕：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
實：臻開三入質 | 齊微齊 入聲作平聲

Song 35.17 尾聲

取：遇合三上麌 | 魚模撮 上聲
抵：蟹開四上齊 | Not found.
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲

Envoi 35

機：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
癡：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陰平
遲：止開三平脂 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 36.1 金雞叫

語：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 上聲
緒：遇開三上語 | 魚模撮 去聲
俐：（利）止開三去至 | 齊微齊 去聲
美：止開三上旨 | 齊微合 上聲

Song 36.3 羽調排歌

迷：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
妻：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陰平
怡：止開三平之 | 齊微齊 陽平
機：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
職：曾開三入職 | Not found.
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
貴：止合三去未 | 齊微合 去聲

宜：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 36.4 道和排歌

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
的：梗開四入錫 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
虛：遇開三平魚 | 魚模撮 陰平
知：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陰平
德：曾開一入德 | 齊微齊 入聲作上聲
義：止開三去寘 | 齊微齊 去聲
逼：曾開三入職 | 齊微合 入聲作平聲
回：蟹合一平灰 | 齊微合 陽平
離：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平

Song 36.5 尾聲

弟：蟹開四上齊 | 齊微齊 去聲
稀：止開三平微 | 齊微齊 陰平
兒：止開三平支 | 支思開 陽平

Envoi 36

隨：止合三平支 | 齊微合 陽平
齊：蟹開四平齊 | 齊微齊 陽平
移：止開三平支 | 齊微齊 陽平

Set B

Song 6.13 皂羅袍

外：蟹合一去泰 | 皆來合 去聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
懷：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陽平
快：蟹合二去夬 | 皆來合 去聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
災：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
賽：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲

Envoi 13

災：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
歸：止合三平微 | 齊微合 陰平

Song 16.5 古皂羅袍

乖：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陰平
內：蟹合一去隊 | 齊微合 去聲
在：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
財：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
睬：Not found.
待：蟹開一上海 | 皆來開 去聲

Song 16.6 前腔 古皂羅袍

麻：假開二平麻 | 家麻開 陽平
解：蟹開二上蟹 | 皆來齊 上聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
奈：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲
懷：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陽平
帶：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲

Song 16.7 前腔 古皂羅袍

腮：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
邁：蟹開二去夬 | 皆來開 去聲
丐：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲
鞋：蟹開二平佳 | 皆來齊 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
採：Not found.
懷：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陽平
害：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲
尬：蟹開二去怪 | Not found.

Song 16.8 前腔 古皂羅袍

腮：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
柴：蟹開二平佳 | 皆來開 陽平
彩：蟹開一上海 | 皆來開 上聲
財：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
怪：蟹合二去怪 | 皆來合 去聲

Song 25.9 皂羅袍

賣：蟹開二去卦 | 皆來開 去聲
懷：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
待：蟹開一上海 | 皆來開 去聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
懷：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陽平
喘：山合一去換 | Not found.

Song 25.10 前腔 皂羅袍

快：蟹合二去夬 | 皆來合 去聲
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
哀：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
蓋：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲
財：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
擺：蟹開二上蟹 | 皆來開 上聲
賣：蟹開二去卦 | 皆來開 去聲

Song 25.11 前腔 皂羅袍

本：臻合一上混 | 真文開 上聲
胎：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
開：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平
帶：蟹開一去泰 | 皆來開 去聲
耐：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲
解：蟹開二上蟹 | 皆來齊 上聲
在：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲

Song 32.2 孝順歌

骸：蟹開二平皆 | 皆來齊 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
愛：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲
財：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平

Song 32.3 前腔 孝順歌

來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
 乖：蟹合二平皆 | 皆來合 陰平
 愛：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲
 來：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陽平
 賽：蟹開一去代 | 皆來開 去聲
 災：蟹開一平哈 | 皆來開 陰平

Set C

Song 7.14 前腔 桂枝香

告：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 道：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 惱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
 叫：效開四去嘯 | 蕭豪齊二 去聲
 燥：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 朝：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陰平
 牢：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平

Song 8.3 五更轉

告：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 豪：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平
 調：效開四平蕭 | 蕭豪開二 陽平
 好：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
 鬧：效開二去效 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 暴：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 靠：效開一去号 | Not found.

Song 12.3 水紅花

交：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪齊一 陰平
 鮑：效開二上巧 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 羔：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
 飄：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪開二 陰平
 遶：效開三上小 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲
 陶（集韻）：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一陽平
 囉：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陽平

Song 12.4 前腔 水紅花

交：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪齊一 陰平
 鮑：效開二上巧 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 勞：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平
 飄：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪開二 陰平
 遶：效開三上小 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲

Song 17.15 梁州序

狡：效開二上巧 | 蕭豪齊一 上聲
 牢：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平
 刀：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
 鮑：效開二上巧 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 道：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 梢：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
 笑：效開三去笑 | 蕭豪齊二 去聲

Song 17.16 前腔 梁州序

笑：效開三去笑 | 蕭豪齊二 去聲
 謀：流開三平尤 | 魚模合 陽平
 叨：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
 妙：效開三去笑 | 蕭豪開二 去聲
 燥：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 惱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
 刀：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平

Song 17.17 前腔 梁州序

胞：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪開二 陰平
 靠：效開一去号 | Not found.
 消：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陰平
 告：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 抱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
 陶：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪齊二 陽平
 高：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
 曹：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平

Song 17.18 前腔 梁州序

苗：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪開二 陽平
告：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
曉：效開四上篠 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲
惱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
饒：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陽平
招：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陰平
熬：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平

Song 17.19 尾聲

寶：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
草：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
惱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲

Song 20.2 前腔 出隊子

道：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
遙：效三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陽平
勞：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陽平
好：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
少：效開三上小 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲

Song 28.2 前腔 普賢歌

交：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪齊一 陰平
了：效開四上篠 | 蕭豪開二 上聲
高：效開一平豪 | 蕭豪開一 陰平
苗：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪開二 陽平
少：效開三上小 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲

Song 28.6 前腔 玉抱肚

好：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
小：效開三上小 | 蕭豪齊二 上聲
報：效開一去号 | 蕭豪開一 去聲
朝：效開三平宵 | 蕭豪齊二 陰平
梢：效開二平肴 | 蕭豪開一 陰平

Envoi 34

惱：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲
了：效開四上篠 | 蕭豪開二 上聲

保：效開一上皓 | 蕭豪開一 上聲

Set D

Envoi 4

和：果合一平戈 | 歌戈合 陽平
何：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陽平
多：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

Envoi 14

多：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平
何：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陽平
磨：果合一平戈 | 歌戈開 陽平

Song 25.4 光光乍

婆：果合一平戈 | 歌戈開 陽平
速：通開一入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
個：果開一去箇 | 歌戈開 去聲
福：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲

Set E

Song 8.2 胡搗練

呀：假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平
差：蟹開二去卦 | 家麻開 陰平
家：假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平

Song 11.1 金瓏璫

加：假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平
花：假合二平麻 | 家麻合 陰平
家：假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平
呀：假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平

Song 11.2 霸陵橋

喙：Not found.
架：假開二去禡 | 家麻齊 去聲
化：假合二去禡 | 家麻合 去聲
下：假開二上馬 | 家麻齊 去聲
那：果開一去箇 | 家麻開 去聲

Song 11.3 疊字錦

嗒: Not found.

怕: 假開二去禡 | 家麻開 去聲

哥: 果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

打: 梗開二上梗 | 家麻開 上聲

家: 假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平

咱: Not found | 家麻開 陽平

差: Unclear.

嗒: Not found.

Song 12.1 薔薇花

加: 假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平

下: 假開二上馬 | 家麻齊 去聲

家: 假開二平麻 | 家麻齊 陰平

價: 假開二去禡 | 家麻齊 去聲

Song 12.8 雁過南樓

他: 果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

他: 果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

咱: Not found | 家麻開 陽平

掛: 蟹合二去卦 | 家麻合 去聲

他: 果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

他: 果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平

麻: 假開二平麻 | 家麻開 陽平

Set F

Song 14.2 前腔 梨花兒

也: 假開三上馬 | 車遮齊 上聲

跌: 山開四入屑 | 車遮齊 入聲作平聲

也: 假開三上馬 | 車遮齊 上聲

Set G

Song 6.12 臨江仙

流: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

投: 流開一平侯 | 尤侯開 陽平

休: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

頭: 流開一平侯 | 尤侯開 陽平

Song 10.4 劉哀

羞: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

手: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲

休: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

醜: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲

Song 10.5 前腔 劉哀

抽: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

由: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

受: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 去聲

手: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲

Song 10.6 雙勸酒

憇: 流開三去宥 | 尤侯開 去聲

後: 流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 去聲

收: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

求: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

Song 10.7 前腔 雙勸酒

受: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 去聲

救: 流開三去宥 | 尤侯齊 去聲

Song 10.9 胡搗練

悠: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

求: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

流: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平

Song 14.4 賀新郎

酒: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲

後: 流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 去聲

走: 流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 上聲

走: 流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 上聲

有: 流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲

羞: 流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平

Song 27.4 雙聲子

厚：流開一去候 | 尤侯開 去聲
 首：流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲
 留：流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陽平
 休：流開三平尤 | 尤侯齊 陰平
 愁：流開三平尤 | 尤侯開 陽平

Song 27.5 前腔 雙聲子

口：流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 上聲
 友：流開三上有 | 尤侯齊 上聲
 後：流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 去聲

2.2 Nasal ending rime groups

Set H

Envoi 2

中：通開三平東 | 東鍾合 陰平
 濃：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陽平
 風：通開三平東 | 東鍾合 陰平

Song 14.5 賞宮花

凶：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陰平
 用：通開三去用 | 東鍾撮 去聲
 空：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陰平
 葱：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陰平

Song 14.6 前腔 賞宮花

錢：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
 濃：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陽平
 空：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陰平

Song 14.7 前腔 賞宮花

中：通開三平東 | 東鍾合 陰平
 凶：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陰平
 蹤：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陰平

Song 28.3 玉抱肚

痛：通開一去送 | 東鍾合 去聲
 兄：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陰平
 動：通開一上董 | 東鍾合 去聲
 空：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陰平
 同：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陽平

Envoi 33

濃：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陽平
 空：通開一平東 | 東鍾合 陰平
 中：通開三平東 | 東鍾合 陰平

Song 34.1 水底魚兒

兄：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陰平
 門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
 殞：臻開三去震 A | 真文齊 去聲
 從：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陽平
 他：果開一平歌 | 歌戈開 陰平
 鍾：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾合 陰平
 肯：曾開一上等 | 真文開 上聲
 凶：通開三平鍾 | 東鍾撮 陰平

Set I

Envoi 5

量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
 剛：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
 涼：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平

Song 12.5 小桃紅

去：遇開三去御 | 魚模撮 去聲
 堂：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
 康：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
 坊：宕合三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
 望：宕合三去漾 | 江陽合 去聲
 惶：宕合一平唐 | 江陽合 陽平
 綱：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平

Song 12.6 蠻牌令

莊：宕開三平陽 | 江陽合 陰平
涼：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
養：宕開三上養 | 江陽齊 上聲
娘：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
裳：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平
羊：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
腸：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Song 12.7 繡停針

傷：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
當：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
望：宕合三去漾 | 江陽合 去聲
傍：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
鄉：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陰平
祥：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
喪：宕開一去宕 | 江陽開 去聲
腸：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Song 12.9 下山虎

坊：宕合三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
傷：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
湯：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
昌：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
亡：宕合三平陽 | 江陽合 陽平
殃：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陰平

Song 12.10 園林杵歌

龐：江開二平江 | 江陽開 陽平
郎：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
蕩：宕開一去宕 | 江陽開 去聲
忙：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
狂：宕合三平陽 | 江陽合 陽平
當：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平

量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
傷：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
長 (zhǎng)：宕開三上養 | 江陽開 上聲
腸：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Song 12.11 望歌兒

賞：宕開三上養 | 江陽開 上聲
上：宕開三上養 | 江陽開 去聲
張：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
謊：Not found. | 江陽合 上聲
漾：宕開三去漾 | 江陽齊 去聲

Song 12.12 羅帳裏坐

傷：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
牆：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
殃：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陰平
霜：宕開三平陽 | 江陽合 陰平
當：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平

Song 12.13 江頭送別

長 (cháng)：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平
忘：宕合三去漾 | 江陽合 去聲
妨：宕合三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平

Song 12.14 憶多嬌

長 (cháng)：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平
強：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
長 (zhǎng)：宕開三上養 | 江陽開 上聲
長 (cháng)：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Song 12.15 尾聲

巷：江開二去絳 | 江陽齊 去聲
想：宕開三上養 | 江陽齊 上聲
謊：Not found | 江陽合 上聲

Song 16.4 駐雲飛

章：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平

行：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
樣：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 去聲
障：宕開三去漾 | 江陽開 去聲
藏：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平
惶：宕合一平唐 | 江陽合 陽平
狀：宕開三去漾 | 江陽合 去聲
長：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Envoi 17

良：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
強：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
長 (cháng)：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Song 29.4 呼喚子

量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
張：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陰平
當：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
慌：宕合一上蕩 | **Not found.**
娘：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
祥：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平

Song 29.5 前腔 呼喚子

良：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
常：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平
牆：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
量：宕開三平陽 | 江陽齊 陽平
剛：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
漾：宕開三去漾 | 江陽齊 去聲
腸：宕開三平陽 | 江陽開 陽平

Envoi 30

忘：宕合三去漾 | 江陽合 去聲
蒼：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陰平
忙：宕開一平唐 | 江陽開 陽平

Set J

Song 1.2 鴛鴦陣

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
承：曾開三平蒸 | 庚青齊 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平

Song 2.5 大聖樂

紳：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平

Song 2.6 前腔 大聖樂

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
慎：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 5.1 五供養

幸：梗開二上耿 | 庚青齊 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
纓：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
進：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
雲：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陽平
卿：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 5.2 前腔 五供養

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
禁：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
明：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 6.3 引軍旗

仁：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
忖：臻合一上混 | 真文合 上聲
誠：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
悶：臻合一去慁 | 真文開 去聲
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 6.4 前腔 引軍旗

君：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
井：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲

Song 6.5 惜奴嬌

忍：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
准：臻合三上準 | 真文撮 上聲

Song 6.6 前腔 惜奴嬌

辛：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
珍：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
今：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
運：臻合三去問 | 真文撮 去聲

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 6.7 前腔 惜奴嬌

稟：深開三上寢 | Not found.
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
奔：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 6.8 錦衣香

應 (yìng)：曾開三去證 | 庚青齊 去聲
忿：臻合三去問 | 真文開 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
問：臻合三去問 | 真文開 去聲

Song 6.9 前腔 錦衣香

睿：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
悶：臻合一去慁 | 真文開 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
盈：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 6.10 漿水令

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
筋：臻開三平欣 | 真文齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
禁：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
應 (yìng)：曾開三去證 | 庚青齊 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
趁：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲

Song 6.11 前腔 漿水令

文：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
奔：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陰平

Song 7.13 前腔 桂枝香

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
競：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平

Envoi 7

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
噴：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Envoi 8

身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
清：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
塵：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 10.10 鎖南枝

兄：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陰平
奔：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陰平
狠 (集韻)：臻開一上很 | 真文開 上聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平

吻：臻合三上吻 | 真文開 上聲

Song 10.11 前腔 鎖南枝

悶：臻合一去恩 | 真文開 去聲
聞：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
擯：臻開三去震 | Not found.
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
肯：曾開一上等 | 真文開 上聲

Song 10.12 前腔 鎖南枝

文：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
存：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
憫：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
困：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲

Song 10.13 前腔 鎖南枝

俊：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
華：假合二平麻 | 家麻合 陽平
運：臻合三去問 | 真文撮 去聲
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
頓：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲

Song 10.14 駐馬聽

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
醺：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
困：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
存：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲

Envoi 11

紛：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Envoi 15

醺：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 16.9 福清歌

每：蟹合一上賄 | Not found.
傾：梗合三平清 | 東鍾撮/庚青齊 陰平
恨：臻開一去恨 | 真文開 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
神：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
傾：梗合三平清 | 東鍾撮/庚青齊 陰平

Song 16.10 前腔 福清歌

因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
君：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 16.11 香柳娘

競：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
正：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
兄：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陰平
悶：臻合一去恩 | 真文開 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲

Song 16.12 前腔 香柳娘

心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

悶：臻合一去恩 | 真文開 去聲
順：臻合三去稇 | 真文撮 去聲
君：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
君：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Envoi 16

恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
魂：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平

Song 18.3 行香子

晴：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
盈：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
零：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 18.4 風入松

時：止開三平之 | 支思開 陽平
耕：梗開二平耕 | 庚青齊 陰平
信：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲
濱：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
卿：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 18.5 前腔 風入松

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
等：曾開一上等 | 庚青開 上聲
佞：梗開四去徑 | 庚青齊 去聲
信：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Song 18.6 急三鎗

飲：深開三上寢 | 侵尋齊 上聲
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平

Song 18.7 風入松

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
奔：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陰平
恨：臻開一去恨 | 真文開 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Song 18.8 急三鎗

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
倫：臻合三平諄 | 真文撮 陽平
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 18.9 風入松

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
□：流開一上厚 | 尤侯開 上聲
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Song 18.10 博頭錢

逞：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
穩：臻合一上混 | 真文合 上聲
村：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陰平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
存：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
競：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 18.11 前腔 博頭錢

性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
忖：臻合一上混 | 真文合 上聲
聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
每：蟹合一上賄 | Not found.
每：蟹合一上賄 | Not found.
忖：臻合一上混 | 真文合 上聲
每：蟹合一上賄 | Not found.
惺：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
競：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平

Song 19.3 錦上花

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
墳：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 19.4 前腔 錦上花

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
正：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 19.5 前腔 錦上花

成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
君：臻合三平文 | 真文撮 陰平

Envoi 19

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
音：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 20.1 出隊子

鬢：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
尊：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陰平
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 20.3 古針線廂

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲

Song 20.4 前腔 古針線廂

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
城：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 20.5 前腔 古針線廂

城：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
墳：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 20.6 前腔 古針線廂

成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
臣：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
信：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲

Envoi 20

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 22.1 慶青春

茵：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
陰：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
飲：深開三上寢 | 侵尋齊 上聲
明：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 22.2 雁過沙

榮：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陽平
辛：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
頓：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
傾：梗合三平清 | 東鍾撮/庚青齊 陰平
零：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 22.3 前腔 雁過沙

明：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
零：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
庭：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平

甚：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 22.7 前腔 多嬌面

稟：深開三上寢 | Not found.
奔：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陰平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲

Song 22.8 前腔 多嬌面

心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
緊：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲

Envoi 22

情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平

Song 23.2 石竹花

情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
墳：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
零：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
領：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲

Song 23.3 柳絮飛

墳：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
墳：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陽平
珍：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
珍：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Envoi 23

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Envoi 24

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
停：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
更：梗開二平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 25.6 繫人心

緊：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
悶：臻合一去恩 | 真文開 去聲
深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
鄰：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
付：臻合一上混 | 真文合 上聲
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 25.7 前腔 繫人心

鄰：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
噴：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
噴：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
甚：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲

Song 25.8 前腔 繫人心

成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
輕：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
銀：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
珠：遇合三平虞 | 魚模撮 陰平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 25.15 錦纏道

成：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
形：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
巾：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
驚：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 25.16 前腔 錦纏道

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
行 (xíng)：梗開二平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
形：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 26.2 北得勝令

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
見：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
認：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
魂：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Envoi 26

形：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
明：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 27.2 薄媚哀

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
忍：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
徑：梗開四去徑 | 庚青齊 去聲
醒：梗開四上迥 | 庚青齊 上聲
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Song 27.3 前腔 薄媚哀

因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
悶：臻合一去慁 | 真文開 去聲
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
鄰：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
禁：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平

Song 28.4 前腔 玉抱肚

定：梗開四去徑 | 庚青齊 去聲
深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
貧：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Envoi 28

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 29.6 大迓鼓

深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
目：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 29.7 前腔 大迓鼓

因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
疼：通開一平冬 | 庚青開 陽平
病：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 29.8 前腔 大迓鼓

稟：深開三上寢 | Not found.
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
肯：曾開一上等 | 真文開 上聲
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 29.9 前腔 大迓鼓

深：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
禁：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲
信：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 29.10 大河蟹

人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
憑：曾開三平蒸 | 庚青齊 陽平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Song 29.11 前腔 大河蟹

音：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
真：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
問：臻合三去問 | 真文開 去聲
行 (xíng)：梗開二平庚 | 庚青齊 陽平

Song 29.2 梨花兒

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
靜：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 去聲
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平

韻：臻合三去問 | 真文撮 去聲

Song 29.3 前腔 梨花兒

誠：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
准：臻合三上準 | 真文撮 上聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲

Song 31.2 粉蝶兒

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
靜：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
燈：曾開一平登 | 庚青開 陰平
興：曾開三平蒸 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 31.3 石榴花

親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
星：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
塵：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
聲：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
性：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 31.4 紅芍藥

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
兵：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平
聲：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
精：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
景：梗開三上梗 | 庚青齊 上聲
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 31.5 大影戲

徑：梗開四去徑 | 庚青齊 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
問：臻合三去問 | 真文開 去聲
正：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
魂：臻合一平魂 | 真文合 陽平
兢：曾開三平蒸 | 庚青齊 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
悶：臻合一去恩 | 真文開 去聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
頓：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲

Song 31.6 念佛子

嗔：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
每：蟹合一上賄 | **Not found.**
金：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
倫：臻合三平諄 | 真文撮 陽平

Song 31.7 縷縷金

門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
形：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
淨：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
證：曾開三去證 | 庚青齊 去聲
競：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
驚：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 31.8 越恁好

生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
論：臻合一去恩 | 真文合 去聲
認：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
認：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲

Song 31.9 尾聲

兵：梗開三平庚 | 庚青齊 陰平
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平

Envoi 31

星：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 35.1 西地錦

慶：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
寧：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陽平
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
清：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陰平

Song 35.3 好姐姐

尹：臻合三上準 | 真文齊 上聲
榮：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陽平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
殞：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
因：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平

Song 35.4 前腔 好姐姐

民：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
信：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
兄：梗合三平庚 | 東鍾/庚青撮 陰平
引：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 上聲
順：臻合三去稭 | 真文撮 去聲
尹：臻合三上準 | 真文齊 上聲

Song 35.5 前腔 好姐姐

隱：臻開三上隱 | 真文齊 上聲
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平
認：臻開三去震 | 真文齊 去聲
棍：臻合一上混 | **Not found.**
禁：深開三去沁 | 侵尋齊 去聲

Song 35.6 前腔 好姐姐

聽：梗開四平青 | 庚青齊 陰平
身：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
辛：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
恨：臻開一去恨 | 真文開 去聲
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
心：深開三平侵 | 侵尋齊 陰平

Song 35.7 前腔 好姐姐

正：梗開三去勁 | 庚青齊 去聲
鏡：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
省 (xǐng)：梗開三上靜 | 庚青齊 上聲
仲：通開三去送 | 東鍾合 去聲
盡：臻開三上軫 | 真文齊 去聲
生：梗開二平庚 | 庚青開 陰平

Song 35.8 普天樂

鏡：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
命：梗開三去映 | 庚青齊 去聲
人：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
恨：臻開一去恨 | 真文開 去聲
問：臻合三去問 | 真文開 去聲
臣：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陽平
盾：臻合一上混 | 真文合 去聲
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平

Song 36.2 駐馬聽

紛：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
窘：臻合三上軫 | 真文撮 上聲
分：臻合三平文 | 真文開 陰平
門：臻合一平魂 | 真文開 陽平
恨：臻開一去恨 | 真文開 去聲
親：臻開三平真 | 真文齊 陰平
論：臻合一去慁 | 真文合 去聲

Song 22.6 多嬌面

傾：梗合三平清 | 東鍾撮/庚青齊 陰平

影：梗開三上梗 | 庚青齊 上聲
恩：臻開一平痕 | 真文開 陰平
情：梗開三平清 | 庚青齊 陽平

Set K

Song 4.1 杜韋娘

艷：咸開三去豔 | 廉纖齊 去聲
遠：臻合三上阮 | 先天撮 上聲
臉：咸開二上賺 | 廉纖齊 上聲
軟：山合三上獮 | 先天撮 上聲
願：臻合三去願 | 先天撮 去聲
縷：臻合三上阮/去願 | 先天撮 去聲

Song 4.3 集賢賓

偏：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陰平
冤：臻合三平元 | 先天撮 陰平
宴：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
閃：咸開三上琰 | 廉纖齊 上聲
諫：山開二去諫 | 寒山齊 去聲
遠：臻合三上阮 | 先天撮 上聲
念：咸開四去禡 | 廉纖齊 去聲
院：山合三去線 | 先天撮 去聲

Song 4.4 前腔 集賢賓

然：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
緣：山合三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
轉：山合三上獮 | 先天撮 上聲
勸：臻合三去願 | 先天撮 去聲
言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
變：山開三去線 | 先天齊 去聲
念：咸開四去禡 | 廉纖齊 去聲
遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲

Song 4.5 琥珀貓兒墜

言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
賢：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平

冤：臻合三平元 | 先天撮 陰平
言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
轉：山合三上獮 | 先天撮 上聲

Song 4.6 前腔 琥珀貓兒墜

言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
見：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
冤：臻合三平元 | 先天撮 陰平

Song 7.12 前腔 桂枝香

線：山開三去線 | 先天齊 去聲
絹：山合三去線 | 先天撮 去聲
見：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
勸：臻合三去願 | 先天撮 去聲
變：山開三去線 | 先天齊 去聲
言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平

Song 9.2 祝英臺

芊：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平
天：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平
韃：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陰平
筵：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲
宴：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲

Song 9.3 祝英臺

然：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
蟬：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
船：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陽平
戀：山合三去線 | 先天撮 去聲
遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲

Song 9.4 前腔 祝英臺

然：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
娟：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陰平

遠：臻合三上阮 | 先天撮 上聲
羨：山開三去線 | 先天齊 去聲
遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲

Song 9.5 前腔 祝英臺

見：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
綿：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
年：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
軒：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陰平
遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲

Song 9.6 尾聲

宴：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
年：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
全：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陽平

Song 10.1 一疋布

店：咸開四去栳 | 廉纖齊 去聲
年：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
傳：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陽平
錢：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
拳：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陽平

Song 10.2 前腔 一疋布

睡：止合三去寘 | 齊微合 去聲
眠：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
纏：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
前：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
虔：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平

Song 10.3 前腔 一疋布

喚：山合一去換 | 桓歡合 去聲
前：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
漣：山開三平仙 | Not found.
錢：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平

Song 11.4 駐雲飛

天：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平
 憐：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
 伴：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 去聲
 念：咸開四去栳 | 廉纖齊 去聲
 穿：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陰平
 遣：山開三上獮 | 先天齊 上聲
 見：山開四去霰 | 先天齊 去聲
 天：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平

Envoi 18

憐：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平
 天：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平
 言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平

Song 19.1 臘梅花

箭：山開三去線 | 先天齊 去聲
 言：臻開三平元 | 先天齊 陽平
 漣：山開三平仙 | **Not found.**
 筵：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平
 前：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陽平

Envoi 21

先：山開四平先 | 先天齊 陰平
 漣：山開三平仙 | **Not found.**
 錢：山開三平仙 | 先天齊 陽平

Song 25.5 前腔 光光乍

痊：山合三平仙 | 先天撮 陰平
 般：山合一平桓 | 寒山開/合 陰平
 犬：山合四上銑 | 先天撮 上聲
 貫：山合一去換 | 寒山合/桓歡合 去聲

2.3 Stop ending rime groups

Set L

Song 25.2 宜春令

索：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作上聲
 錯：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作上聲
 惡：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作去聲
 壑：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作上聲
 落：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作去聲

Song 25.3 前腔 宜春令

度：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作平聲
 泊：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作平聲
 托：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作上聲
 惡：宕開一入鐸 | 蕭豪開一 入聲作去聲

Set M

Song 1.1 滿江紅

逐：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作平聲
 足：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
 谷：通開一入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲
 碌：通開一入屋 | **Not found.**
 宿：通開三入屋 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
 足：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作上聲
 綠：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作去聲
 玉：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作去聲
 獨：通開一入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作平聲

Song 35.10 前腔 秋夜月

欲：通開三入燭 | 魚模撮 入聲作去聲
 睦：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
 目：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作去聲
 福：通開三入屋 | 魚模合 入聲作上聲

Appendix II: Riming characters comparison between FYJN and LSZQ

Characters in the boxes are those that are different from the other version.

<i>FYJN</i> version	<i>LSZQ</i> version
Scene 1 令侯請宴	Scene 2 諫兄觸怒
<p>Song 1.1 菊花新</p> <p>餘：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陽平</p> <p>梧：遇開一平模 魚模合 陽平</p> <p>富：流開三去宥 魚模合 去聲</p>	<p>Song 2.1 掛真兒</p> <p>餘：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陽平</p> <p>書：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陰平</p> <p>貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲</p>
<p>Song 1.2 大聖樂</p> <p>纓：梗開三平清 A 庚青齊 陰平</p> <p>成：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平</p> <p>恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平</p> <p>順：臻合三去稭 真文撮 去聲</p> <p>深：深開三平侵 侵尋齊 陰平</p> <p>分：臻合三平文 真文開 陰平</p>	<p>Song 2.5 大聖樂</p> <p>紳：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p> <p>成：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平</p> <p>恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平</p> <p>順：臻合三去稭 真文撮 去聲</p> <p>親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p> <p>分：臻合三平文 真文開 陰平</p>
<p>Song 1.3 前腔 大聖樂</p> <p>金：深開三平侵 B 侵尋齊 陰平</p> <p>親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p> <p>明：梗開三平庚 庚青齊 陽平</p> <p>聞：臻合三平文 真文開 陽平</p> <p>省：梗開三上靜 庚青齊 上聲</p> <p>人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平</p>	<p>Song 2.6 前腔 大聖樂</p> <p>門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平</p> <p>慎：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲</p> <p>真：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p> <p>省：梗開三上靜 庚青齊 上聲</p> <p>人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平</p>
<p>Envoi 1</p> <p>樽：臻合一平魂 真文合 陰平</p> <p>遵：臻合三平諄 真文合 陰平</p> <p>門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平</p>	Not found.
Scene 2 孫華宴春	Scene 9 孫華家宴
<p>Song 2.1 祝英臺</p> <p>Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 9.2 祝英臺</p> <p>芊：山開四平先 先天齊 陰平</p> <p>天：山開四平先 先天齊 陰平</p> <p>韃：山開三平仙 先天齊 陰平</p>

	<p>筵：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲 宴：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲</p>
<p>Song 2.2 然：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 <u>展</u>：山開三上獮 先天齊 上聲 蟬：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 船：山合三平仙 先天撮 陽平 戀：山合三去線 先天撮 去聲 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>	<p>Song 9.3 前腔 祝英臺 然：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 蟬：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 船：山合三平仙 先天撮 陽平 戀：山合三去線 先天撮 去聲 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>
<p>Song 2.3 然：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 娟：山合三平仙 A 先天撮 陰平 遠：臻合三上阮 先天撮 上聲 <u>宴</u>：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>	<p>Song 9.4 前腔 祝英臺 然：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 娟：山合三平仙 A 先天撮 陰平 遠：臻合三上阮 先天撮 上聲 <u>羨</u>：山開三去線 先天齊 去聲 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>
<p>Song 2.4 見：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 綿：山開三平仙 A 先天齊 陽平 <u>鹽</u>：咸開三平鹽 廉纖齊 陽平 <u>羨</u>：山開三去線 先天齊 去聲 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>	<p>Song 9.5 前腔 祝英臺 見：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 綿：山開三平仙 A 先天齊 陽平 <u>年</u>：山開四平先 先天齊 陽平 <u>軒</u>：臻開三平元 先天齊 陰平 遣：山開三上獮 A 先天齊 上聲</p>
<p>Song 2.5 尾聲 <u>管</u>：山合一上緩 桓歡合 上聲 <u>山</u>：山開二平山 寒山開 陰平 <u>間</u>：山開二平山 寒山齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 9.6 尾聲 <u>宴</u>：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 <u>年</u>：山開四平先 先天齊 陽平 <u>全</u>：山合三平仙 先天撮 陽平</p>
<p>Envoi 2 Same as right.</p>	<p>Envoi 9 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 宜：止開三平支 B 齊微齊 陽平 枝：止開三平支 支思開 陰平</p>
<p>Scene 3. 楊氏勸夫不允</p>	<p>Scene 7. 孫華拒諫</p>
<p>Song 3.1 寄生草 <u>聲</u>：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陰平 <u>兢</u>：曾開三平蒸 庚青齊 陰平</p>	<p>Not found.</p>

<p>忍：臻開三上軫 真文齊 上聲 兢：曾開三平蒸 庚青齊 陰平 應：曾開三去證 庚青齊 去聲 言：臻開三平元 先天齊 陽平 面：山開三去線 A 先天齊 去聲</p>	
<p>Song 3.2 惱：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 上聲 倒：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一上聲 順：臻合三去稭 真文撮 去聲 趁：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲 奔：臻合一平魂 真文開 陰平 問：臻合三去問 真文開 去聲</p>	Not found.
<p>Song 3.3 桂枝香 線：山開三去線 先天齊 去聲 絹：山合三去線 A 先天撮 去聲 見：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 勸：臻合三去願 先天撮 去聲 變：山開三去線 B 先天齊 去聲 嫌：咸開四平添 廉纖齊 陽平 言：臻開三平元 先天齊 陽平</p>	<p>Song 7.12 前腔 桂枝香 線：山開三去線 先天齊 去聲 絹：山合三去線 A 先天撮 去聲 見：山開四去霰 先天齊 去聲 勸：臻合三去願 先天撮 去聲 變：山開三去線 B 先天齊 去聲 言：臻開三平元 先天齊 陽平 言：臻開三平元 先天齊 陽平</p>
<p>Song 3.4 菜：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 愛：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 待：蟹開一上海 皆來開 去聲 愛：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 奈：蟹開一去泰 皆來開 去聲 命：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲</p>	Not found.
<p>Song 3.5 告：效開一去号 蕭豪開一 去聲 道：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 去聲 惱：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 上聲 燥：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 去聲 了：效開四上篠 蕭豪開二 上聲 牢：效開一平豪 蕭豪開一 陽平</p>	<p>Song 7.14 前腔 桂枝香 告：效開一去号 蕭豪開一 去聲 道：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 去聲 惱：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 上聲 叫：效開四去嘯 蕭豪齊二 去聲 燥：效開一上皓 蕭豪開一 去聲 朝：效開三平宵 蕭豪齊二 陰平 牢：效開一平豪 蕭豪開一 陽平</p>

<p>Envoi 3 Same as right.</p>	<p>Envoi 7 門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平 噴：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平</p>
<p>Scene 4. 老丈詢問孫榮</p>	<p>Scene 10. 王婆逐客</p>
<p>Song 4.1 鎖南枝 兄：梗合三平庚 東鍾撮 陰平 奔：臻合一平魂 真文開 陰平 錢：山開三平仙 先天齊 陽平 門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平 恨：臻開一去恨 真文開 去聲</p>	<p>Song 10.10 鎖南枝 兄：梗合三平庚 東鍾撮 陰平 奔：臻合一平魂 真文開 陰平 狠：Not found 真文開 上聲 門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平 吻：臻合三上吻 真文開 上聲</p>
<p>Song 4.2 悶：臻合一去慁 真文開 去聲 垂：止合三平支 齊微合 陽平 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 甚：深開三去沁 侵尋齊 去聲</p>	<p>Song 10.11 前腔 鎖南枝 悶：臻合一去慁 真文開 去聲 聞：臻合三平文 真文開 陽平 情：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 擯：臻開三去震 A Not found. 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 肯：曾開一上等 真文開 上聲</p>
<p>Envoi 4 宜：止開三平支 B 齊微齊 陽平 恹：Not found. 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平</p>	<p>Envoi 10 宜：止開三平支 B 齊微齊 陽平 恹：Not found. 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平</p>
<p>Scene 5. 路雪送兄</p>	<p>Scene 12. 雪夜救兄</p>
<p>Song 5.1 蠻牌令 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 12.6 蠻牌令 莊：宕開三平陽 江陽合 陰平 涼：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 養：宕開三上養 江陽齊 上聲 娘：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 裳：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陽平 羊：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 量：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 量：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 腸：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陽平</p>

<p>Song 5.2 繡停針 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 12.7 繡停針 傷：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平 當：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陰平 望：宕合三去漾 江陽合 去聲 傍：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陽平 鄉：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陰平 祥：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 喪：宕開一去宕 江陽開 去聲 腸：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陽平</p>
<p>Song 5.3 下山虎 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 12.9 下山虎 坊：宕合三平陽 江陽開 陰平 傷：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平 量：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 湯：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陰平 昌：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平 亡：宕合三平陽 江陽合 陽平 殃：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 5.4 園林好 [儻]：宕開一去宕 Not found. 郎：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陽平 蕩：宕開一去宕 江陽開 去聲 忙：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陽平 [強]：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 當：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陰平 量：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 傷：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平 長：宕開三上養 江陽開 上聲 [傷]：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平</p>	<p>Song 12.10 園林杵歌 [寵]：江開二平江 江陽開 陽平 郎：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陽平 蕩：宕開一去宕 江陽開 去聲 忙：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陽平 [狂]：宕合三平陽 江陽合 陽平 當：宕開一平唐 江陽開 陰平 量：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 傷：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陰平 長：宕開三上養 江陽開 上聲 [腸]：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陽平</p>
<p>Scene 6. 賢嫂賜食</p>	<p>Scene 13. 歸家被逐</p>
<p>Song 6.1 泣顏回 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 13.2 泣顏回 兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平 會：蟹合一去泰 齊微合 去聲 回：蟹合一平灰 齊微合 陽平 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲</p>

	<p>世：蟹開三去祭 齊微齊 去聲 處：遇開三去御 魚模合 去聲</p>
<p>Song 6.2 飛：止合三平微 齊微齊 陰平 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 知：止開三平支 齊微齊 陰平 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 歸：止合三平微 齊微合 陰平</p>	<p>Song 13.3 前腔 泣顏回 飛：止合三平微 齊微齊 陰平 衣：止開三平微 齊微齊 陰平 取：遇合三上麌 魚模撮 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 歸：止合三平微 齊微合 陰平</p>
<p>Song 6.3 泥：蟹開四平齊 齊微齊 陽平 袂：蟹開三去祭 A 齊微合 去聲 處 (chǔ)：遇開三上語 魚模撮 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 飢：止開三平脂 B 齊微齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 13.4 前腔 泣顏回 滴：止開三平支 齊微齊 陽平 洗：蟹開四上霽 齊微齊 上聲 理：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 飢：止開三平脂 B 齊微齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 6.4 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 13.5 前腔 泣顏回 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 持：止開三平之 齊微齊 陽平 歸：止合三平微 齊微合 陰平 睡：止合三去寘 齊微合 去聲 持：止開三平之 齊微齊 陽平 兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平</p>
<p>Song 6.5 賺 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 到：效開一去号 蕭豪開一 去聲 貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲 筵：遇開三去御 Not found. 得：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 得：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 席：梗開三入昔 齊微齊 入聲作平聲</p>	<p>Song 13.6 賺 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲 筵：遇開三去御 Not found. 得：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 出：臻合三入術 魚模撮 入聲作上聲 食：曾開三入職 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 席：梗開三入昔 齊微齊 入聲作平聲</p>
<p>Song 6.6 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲</p>	<p>Song 13.7 前腔 賺 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲</p>

<p>砌：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲 得：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 與：遇開三上語 魚模撮 上聲 持：止開三平之 齊微齊 陽平 懼：遇合三去遇 魚模撮 去聲 是：止開三上紙 支思開 去聲 計：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲</p>	<p>砌：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲 得：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 與：遇開三上語 魚模撮 上聲 持：止開三平之 齊微齊 陽平 懼：遇合三去遇 魚模撮 去聲 是：止開三上紙 支思開 去聲 計：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲</p>
<p>Scene 7. 請讀史書</p>	<p>Scene 17. 看書苦諫</p>
<p>Song 7.1 絳都春 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 17.3 絳都春序 色：曾開三入職 皆來開 入聲作上聲 罪：蟹合一上賄 齊微合 去聲 取：遇合三上麌 魚模撮 上聲 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 地：止開三去至 齊微齊 去聲 聲：蟹開四平齊 Not found. 地：止開三去至 齊微齊 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.2 降黃龍 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 17.4 降黃龍 敵：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 蹠：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陽平 子：止開三上止 支思開 上聲 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.3 定：梗開四去徑 庚青齊 去聲 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲 起：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 迷：蟹開四平齊 齊微齊 陽平 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>	<p>Song 17.5 前腔 降黃龍 住：遇合三去遇 魚模撮 去聲 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲 起：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 迷：蟹開四平齊 齊微齊 陽平 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.4 袞遍 垂：止合三平支 齊微合 陽平 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>	<p>Song 17.6 黃龍滾 垂：止合三平支 齊微合 陽平 垂：止合三平支 齊微合 陽平 水：止合三上旨 齊微合 上聲</p>

<p>垂：止合三平支 齊微合 陽平 走：流開一上厚 尤侯開 上聲</p>	<p>去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 淚：止合三去至 齊微合 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.5 胥：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陰平 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 敵：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 退：蟹合一去隊 齊微合 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>	<p>Song 17.7 前腔 黃龍滾 胥：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陰平 胥：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陰平 至：止開三去至 支思開 去聲 敵：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作平聲 退：蟹合一去隊 齊微合 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.6 夷：止開三平脂 齊微夷 陽平 麗：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲 內：蟹合一去隊 齊微合 去聲 中：通開三平東 東鍾合 陰平 喜：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲</p>	<p>Song 17.8 前腔 黃龍滾 夷：止開三平脂 齊微夷 陽平 夷：止開三平脂 齊微夷 陽平 麗：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲 內：蟹合一去隊 齊微合 去聲 裏：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 喜：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲</p>
<p>Song 7.7 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 17.9 前腔 黃龍滾 之：止開三平之 支思開 陰平 之：止開三平之 支思開 陰平 棄：止開三去至 A 齊微齊 去聲 會：蟹合一去泰 齊微合 去聲 沸：止合三去未 齊微齊 去聲 喜：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲</p>
<p>Song 7.8 普天樂 會：蟹合一去泰 齊微合 去聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 猥：蟹開一去泰 齊微合 去聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲 丕：止開三平脂 B 齊微合 陰平</p>	<p>Song 17.12 普天樂 會：蟹合一去泰 齊微合 去聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 去：遇開三去御 魚模撮 去聲 猥：蟹開一去泰 齊微合 去聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲 歸：止合三平微 齊微合 陰平 貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲 丕：止開三平脂 B 齊微合 陰平</p>
<p>Song 7.9 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 17.13 前腔 普天樂 志：止開三去志 支思開 去聲</p>

	<p>的：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作上聲 句：遇合三去遇 魚模撮 去聲 位：止合三去至 齊微合 去聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 依：止開三平微 齊微齊 陰平 理：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲</p>
<p>Song 7.10 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 17.14 前腔 普天樂 啓：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 上聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲 喻：遇合三去遇 Not found. 取：遇合三上麌 魚模撮 上聲 弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲 嗔：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 非：止合三平微 齊微齊 陰平 的：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作上聲</p>
<p>Song 7.11 尾聲 位：止合三去至 齊微合 去聲 沸：止合三去未 齊微齊 去聲 兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平</p>	<p>Song 17.10 尾聲 位：止合三去至 齊微合 去聲 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平</p>
<p>Envoi 7 Same as right.</p>	<p>Envoi 17 良：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 強：宕開三平陽 江陽齊 陽平 長：宕開三平陽 江陽開 陽平</p>
<p>Scene 8. 兩喬唆訟 □古向夫</p>	<p>Scene 18. 窟中拒奸</p>
<p>Song 8.1 行香子 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 18.3 行香子 晴：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 盈：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 零：梗開四平青 庚青齊 陽平 金：深開三平侵 B 侵尋齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 8.2 風入松 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 耕：梗開二平耕 庚青齊 陰平 信：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲</p>	<p>Song 18.4 風入松 時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平 耕：梗開二平耕 庚青齊 陰平 信：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲</p>

<p>盡：臻開三上軫 真文齊 去聲 <u>叟</u>：流開一上厚 尤侯開 上聲 卿：梗開三平庚 庚青齊 陰平</p>	<p>盡：臻開三上軫 真文齊 去聲 <u>濱</u>：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 卿：梗開三平庚 庚青齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 8.3 <u>今</u>：深開三平侵 B 侵尋齊 陰平 <u>均</u>：臻合三平諄 A 真文撮 陰平 佞：梗開四去徑 庚青齊 去聲 信：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 身：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 18.5 前腔 風入松 <u>人</u>：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 <u>等</u>：曾開一上等 庚青開 上聲 佞：梗開四去徑 庚青齊 去聲 信：臻開三去震 真文齊 去聲 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 身：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 8.4 飲：深開三上寢 B 侵尋齊 上聲 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平 <u>俊</u>：臻合三去稭 真文撮 去聲 <u>門</u>：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平</p>	<p>Song 18.6 急三鎗 飲：深開三上寢 B 侵尋齊 上聲 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平</p>
<p>Song 8.5 生：梗開二平庚 庚青開 陰平 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 性：梗開三去勁 庚青齊 去聲 <u>井</u>：梗開三上靜 庚青齊 上聲 <u>心</u>：深開三平侵 侵尋齊 陰平 親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 18.7 風入松 生：梗開二平庚 庚青開 陰平 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 性：梗開三去勁 庚青齊 去聲 <u>奔</u>：臻合一平魂 真文開 陰平 <u>恨</u>：臻開一去恨 真文開 去聲 親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 8.6 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 18.8 急三鎗 聽：梗開四平青 庚青齊 陰平 倫：臻合三平諄 真文撮 陽平 論：臻合一去慇 真文合 去聲 心：深開三平侵 侵尋齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 8.7 親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平 口：流開一上厚 尤侯開 上聲 <u>爭</u>：梗開二平耕 庚青開 陰平 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 真：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 18.9 風入松 親：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平 口：流開一上厚 尤侯開 上聲 <u>論</u>：臻合一去慇 真文合 去聲 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 真：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平</p>

<p>Envoi 8 Same as right.</p>	<p>Envoi 18 憐：山開四平先 先天齊 陽平 天：山開四平先 先天齊 陰平 言：臻開三平元 先天齊 陽平</p>
<p>Scene 9. 托王老勸孫華 楊氏買狗</p>	<p>Scene 25. 月真買狗</p>
<p>Song 9.1 上林春 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 25.1 上林春 出：臻合三入術 魚模撮 入聲作上聲 意：止開三去志 齊微齊 去聲 吁：遇合三平虞 魚模撮 陰平</p>
<p>Song 9.2 光光乍 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 25.4 光光乍 婆：果合一平戈 歌戈開 陽平 速：通開一入屋 魚模合 入聲作上聲 個：果開一去箇 歌戈開 去聲 福：通開三入屋 魚模合 入聲作上聲</p>
<p>Song 9.3 繫人心 緊：臻開三上軫 A 真文齊 上聲 悶：臻合一去慁 真文開 去聲 深：深開三平侵 侵尋齊 陰平 情：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平</p>	<p>Song 25.6 繫人心 緊：臻開三上軫 A 真文齊 上聲 悶：臻合一去慁 真文開 去聲 深：深開三平侵 侵尋齊 陰平 <u>鄰</u>：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 <u>親</u>：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 <u>忖</u>：臻合一上混 真文合 上聲 情：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平</p>
<p>Song 9.4 Same as right.</p>	<p>Song 25.7 前腔 繫人心 鄰：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 性：梗開三去勁 庚青齊 去聲 命：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲 嗔：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 嗔：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平 甚：深開三去沁 侵尋齊 去聲</p>
<p>Song 9.5 成：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 命：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲 輕：梗開三平清 A 庚青齊 陰平 金：深開三平侵 B 侵尋齊 陰平</p>	<p>Song 25.8 前腔 繫人心 成：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 命：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲 輕：梗開三平清 A 庚青齊 陰平</p>

<p>銀：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 <u>珍</u>：臻開三平真 真文齊 陰平 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平</p>	<p>金：深開三平侵 B 侵尋齊 陰平 銀：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平 <u>珠</u>：遇合三平虞 魚模撮 陰平 貧：臻開三平真 B 真文齊 陽平</p>
<p>Song 9.6 情：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陽平 甚：深開三去沁 侵尋齊 去聲 人：臻開三平真 真文齊 陽平</p>	<p>Not found.</p>
<p>Song 9.7 皂羅袍 懷：蟹合二平皆 皆來合 陽平 來：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 待：蟹開一上海 皆來開 去聲 耐：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 解：蟹開二上蟹 皆來齊 上聲 在：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲</p>	<p>Song 25.9 皂羅袍 <u>賣</u>：蟹開二去卦 皆來開 去聲 懷：蟹合二平皆 皆來合 陽平 來：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 待：蟹開一上海 皆來開 去聲 <u>來</u>：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 <u>懷</u>：蟹合二平皆 皆來合 陽平 <u>端</u>：山合一去換 Not found.</p> <p>Song 25.11 前腔 皂羅袍 <u>本</u>：臻合一上混 真文開 上聲 <u>胎</u>：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陰平 <u>開</u>：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陰平 <u>帶</u>：蟹開一去泰 皆來開 去聲 耐：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 解：蟹開二上蟹 皆來齊 上聲 在：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲</p>
<p>Song 9.8 快：蟹合二去夬 皆來合 去聲 來：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 <u>愛</u>：蟹開一去代 皆來開 去聲 蓋：蟹開一去泰 皆來開 去聲</p>	<p>Song 25.10 前腔 皂羅袍 快：蟹合二去夬 皆來合 去聲 來：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 <u>哀</u>：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陰平 蓋：蟹開一去泰 皆來開 去聲 <u>財</u>：蟹開一平哈 皆來開 陽平 <u>擺</u>：蟹開二上蟹 皆來開 上聲 <u>賣</u>：蟹開二去卦 皆來開 去聲</p>

Scene 10. 旌表賢婦	Scene 35. 斷明殺狗, Scene 36. 孝友褒封
<p>Song 10.1 西地錦</p> <p>慶：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲</p> <p>寧：梗開四平青 庚青齊 陽平</p> <p>順：臻合三去稊 真文撮 去聲</p> <p>安：山開一平寒 寒山開 陰平</p>	<p>Song 35.1 西地錦</p> <p>慶：梗開三去映 庚青齊 去聲</p> <p>寧：梗開四平青 庚青齊 陽平</p> <p>順：臻合三去稊 真文撮 去聲</p> <p>清：梗開三平清 庚青齊 陰平</p>
<p>Song 10.2 排歌</p> <p>恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平</p> <p>門：臻合一平魂 真文開 陽平</p> <p>恩：臻開一平痕 真文開 陰平</p> <p>與：遇開三上語 魚模撮 上聲</p> <p>貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲</p> <p>職：曾開三入職 Not found</p> <p>美：止開三上旨 B 齊微合 上聲</p> <p>貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲</p>	<p>Song 36.3 羽調排歌</p> <p>迷：蟹開四平齊 齊微齊 陽平</p> <p>妻：蟹開四平齊 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>怡：止開三平之 齊微齊 陽平</p> <p>機：止開三平微 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>職：曾開三入職 Not found.</p> <p>知：止開三平支 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>貴：止合三去未 齊微合 去聲</p> <p>宜：止開三平支 B 齊微齊 陽平</p>
<p>Song 10.3</p> <p>此：止開三上紙 支思開 上聲</p> <p>比：止開三上旨 A 齊微齊 上聲</p> <p>知：止開三平支 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>與：遇開三上語 魚模撮 上聲</p>	<p>Song 36.4 道和排歌</p> <p>時：止開三平之 支思開 陽平</p> <p>的：梗開四入錫 齊微齊 入聲作上聲</p> <p>虛：遇開三平魚 魚模撮 陰平</p> <p>知：止開三平支 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>德：曾開一入德 齊微齊 入聲作上聲</p> <p>義：止開三去寘 B 齊微齊 去聲</p> <p>逼：曾開三入職 齊微合 入聲作平聲</p> <p>回：蟹合一平灰 齊微合 陽平</p> <p>離：止開三平支 齊微齊 陽平</p>
<p>Song 10.4 尾聲</p> <p>婿：蟹開四去霽 齊微齊 去聲</p> <p>喜：止開三上止 齊微齊 上聲</p> <p>兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平</p>	<p>Song 36.5 尾聲</p> <p>弟：蟹開四上齊 齊微齊 去聲</p> <p>稀：止開三平微 齊微齊 陰平</p> <p>兒：止開三平支 支思開 陽平</p>