

Introduction to Chinese Dialectology

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To the memory of Tung T'ung-ho (1911- 1963)

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Preface

Ever since my childhood, I have had a keen interest in Chinese dialects, partially due to my family background and partially to close contacts with my classmates or friends of different dialects. These initial Chinese dialect experiences spurred my interest to pursue linguistics and Chinese dialectology in later life. But not until I started to work in Chinese dialect studies after I came to the United States for my graduate training in 1968, did I then realize that China has hundreds of varieties of dialects, which can provide linguists with invaluable data to explore the nature of language structures and linguistic changes. However, to collect all the data of Chinese dialects is a difficult and challenging task. Over the last thirty years, so many dialect field reports have been published but, unfortunately, those data form only a small portion of the whole picture. We certainly need to have many more scholars who can and would like to engage in Chinese dialect studies. Training Chinese dialectologists is not an easy task, either in or outside China. Fortunately, there are several Chinese dialectology textbooks written in Chinese, but still no introductory Chinese dialectology textbooks written in English that are available to students.

It has long been my dream to fill this gap with such a textbook. When the Director of LINCOS contacted me to write this book a few years ago, I agreed to do so without realizing how much time I would need to spend on organizing the data and collecting my thoughts. In the fall of 2002, I took my early retirement in order to work on my own research projects. Leaving Bloomington, Indiana to live near family on east coast also cause a delay in my project.

This book intends to introduce students to a systematic study of Chinese dialectology. It covers a brief history, concepts and methods of the Chinese dialect studies, and describes the major phonological characteristics and distributions of the major dialects. Due to the space limitation of this book, and the dialect data/resources that are available to the author during the writing, it is not intended or possible to do an exhaustive work on the subject. Discussions on the dialects focus mainly on the phonological features, only limited lexical features are mentioned. There are fourteen sketch dialect maps and many tables included for easier reading and comparisons. Exercises are also included to aid comparison. Students of Chinese dialects must do constant comparisons among the major dialects in order to really understand the similarities and differences among them, and to figure out the evolutionary theories of their developments.

Now that the book has finally been completed and my dream fulfilled, I hope that it will provide future students with an easier entry into the field of Chinese dialectology.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to three teachers: First, the late Professor Tung T'ung-ho (董同龢 1911-1963), who first led me into the "great hall" of linguistics, took me along with four graduate students to conduct linguistics fieldwork while I was a junior at National Taiwan University, brought me to work with him as his research assistant at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica after I graduated from the university in 1962, and pushed me to publish two articles while he was terribly ill and lying on his deathbed in the hospital in 1963. Second, Professor William S.-Y. Wang (王士元), who has introduced me to generative phonology while I was working as his teaching assistant at National Taiwan University in 1967, served as the off-campus advisor for my doctoral dissertation at Stanford University in 1973, and has constantly encouraged and supported me no matter whether I work on phonology or anthropological linguistics ever since I have known him. Third, I was very fortunate to take the last courses that the late Professor Yuen Ren Chao (趙元任 1892-1982) offered at Cornell University while he was a Visiting Professor in 1968-69. His Chinese dialect field studies have inspired me enormously.

I would like to thank Dr. Ruth Meserve, my editor and good friend, who has extended great professional assistance, valuable comments and suggestions on the manuscript. My sincere thanks also go to John Michael Hollingsworth for the clear sketch dialect maps to help readers of this book to capture the picture of Chinese dialects.

Being a professor, a wife and a mother, I would never have been able to conduct my linguistic fieldwork in the Mainland China, Taiwan and Japan, and to concentrate on the research that I love so much without the strong support and understanding of my husband Lung-sheng Sung and my son Chih-kwang Sung, during my career years. To them, I owe deep gratitude.

Last, but not least is that I would like to thank the scholars whose works I have cited in the book and to my informants in the field. Without their precious data and kind assistance, it would have been impossible for me to write this book.

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1 Background of Chinese Dialectology**1.1 Language, Dialect, and Subdialect**

China, a country with an area of 9.6 million square kilometers and a population of over 1.3 billion (as of September, 2005),¹ has fifty-six ethnic groups living within its borders. Each ethnic group has its own unique language and culture. Languages spoken within China can be ascribed to five different language families, namely:

I. Sino-Tibetan family (or Sino-Indian/Indo-Chinese family) 漢藏語族 Hānzàng yǔzú

1. Chinese (or 漢語 Hànyǔ): Throughout China²
2. Kam-Tai: Guangxi and Guizhou
3. Miao-Yao: Hunan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guangdong
4. Tibeto-Burman: Xizang (Tibet), Qinghai, and Sichuan

II. Austro-Asiatic family 南亞語族 Nányà yǔzú:
Mon-Khmer: Yunnan and Burma border

III. Altaic family 阿爾泰語族 A'ěrtài yǔzú:

1. Turkish: Xinjiang
2. Mongolian: Inner Mongolia
3. Tunguz: Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning

IV. Indo-European family 印歐語族 Yīn'ōu yǔzú:
Tocharian (extinct): Formerly in Xinjiang

V. Austronesian family 南島語族 Nándǎo yǔzú:

1. Polynesian: East Pacific islands
2. Micronesian: West Pacific islands
3. Melanesian: South Pacific islands
4. Indonesian: Malaysia, Cham (Vietnam), Philippines, and Taiwan

Among the fifty-six ethnic groups, Han-Chinese (or Hànrén 漢人, Han-people), the native speakers of Hànyǔ (漢語 Chinese language), consists of about 92% of the total population. The remainder populations are native speakers of non-Chinese languages.³

¹ The source of the most up-to-date total population of China is available at China Population Information Network (CHINA POPIN) at the following URL:
<http://www.cpirc.org.cn/eindex.htm>

² The terms following the colons are the distribution areas.

In the field of dialectology, the criteria on which the difference between the terms of "language" and "dialect" can be distinguished has been very controversial. Many linguists have used the criterion of mutual intelligibility to distinguish "language" from "dialect." As Chambers and Trudgill (1980:3-4) have rightly pointed out, if we use the definition of "a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects," we will have the benefit of characterizing dialects as subparts of a language and of providing a criterion for distinguishing between one language and another. But in the mean time, we will have to face some difficulties when we apply this definition to classify some languages in a general sense. By using the same definition of language in the study of the languages in China, we will certainly face such difficulties. The definition works fine to distinguish the above mentioned major language families, but when we apply it to Chinese (漢語 Hànyǔ), the major branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, the truth of the language definition will not hold.

Currently, within the Chinese language family, according to the general consensus of Chinese linguists, there are seven major dialects (*fāngyán/dàfāngyán* 方言/大方言 'language of a region/big region language'), namely:

1. Mandarin (*běifāng guānhuà* 北方官話 'Northern Mandarin', *běifāng fāngyán* 北方方言 'Northern dialect', *guānhuà fāngyán* 官話方言 'Mandarin dialect, or *běifānghuà* 北方話 'Northern language'),
2. Wú yǔ/Wú fāngyán 吳語/吳方言 'Wu language/Wu dialect'),
3. Yuè yǔ/Yuè fāngyán (粵語/粵方言 'Cantonese/Cantonese dialect'),
4. Gàn yǔ/Gàn fāngyán (贛語/贛方言 'Gan language/Gan dialect '),
5. Kè yǔ/Kèjiā fāngyán / Kèjiā huà (客語/客家方言/客家話 'Hakka language/Hakka dialect'),
6. Mǐn yǔ/Mǐn fāngyán (閩語/閩方言 'Min language/Min dialect'), and
7. Xiāng yǔ/Xiāng fāngyán (湘語/湘方言 'Xiang language/Xiang dialect').

These dialects differ greatly in certain aspects of phonology, lexicon, and syntax and are mutually unintelligible. The differences among these dialects are as great as any two languages within the Indo-European language family. They fit the above mentioned definition of language in terms of mutual intelligibility and may be regarded as different 'languages'. But in this book, however, we agree with Petyt (1980) that when one would like to distinguish 'language' from 'dialect,' besides using linguistic criterion, one should take into account the non-linguistic criterion as well. Because different varieties of Han-Chinese speech are spoken within China (including both Mainland China and Taiwan) and speakers of all these speech varieties shared the same written form and historical-cultural heritage, therefore, we will refer to the Han-Chinese languages as 'Chinese dialects.' We will adopt Carver's (1989:1) definition of 'dialect' as "a variety of language

³ According to *Lianhebao* 聯合報, Taipei, Taiwan, January 6, 1992, as of 1992, the population of Peoples' Republic of China was 1,133,680,000. Of this number, 1,042,480,00 (92%) were Han-Chinese, only 91,200,000 (8%) were non-Han Chinese.

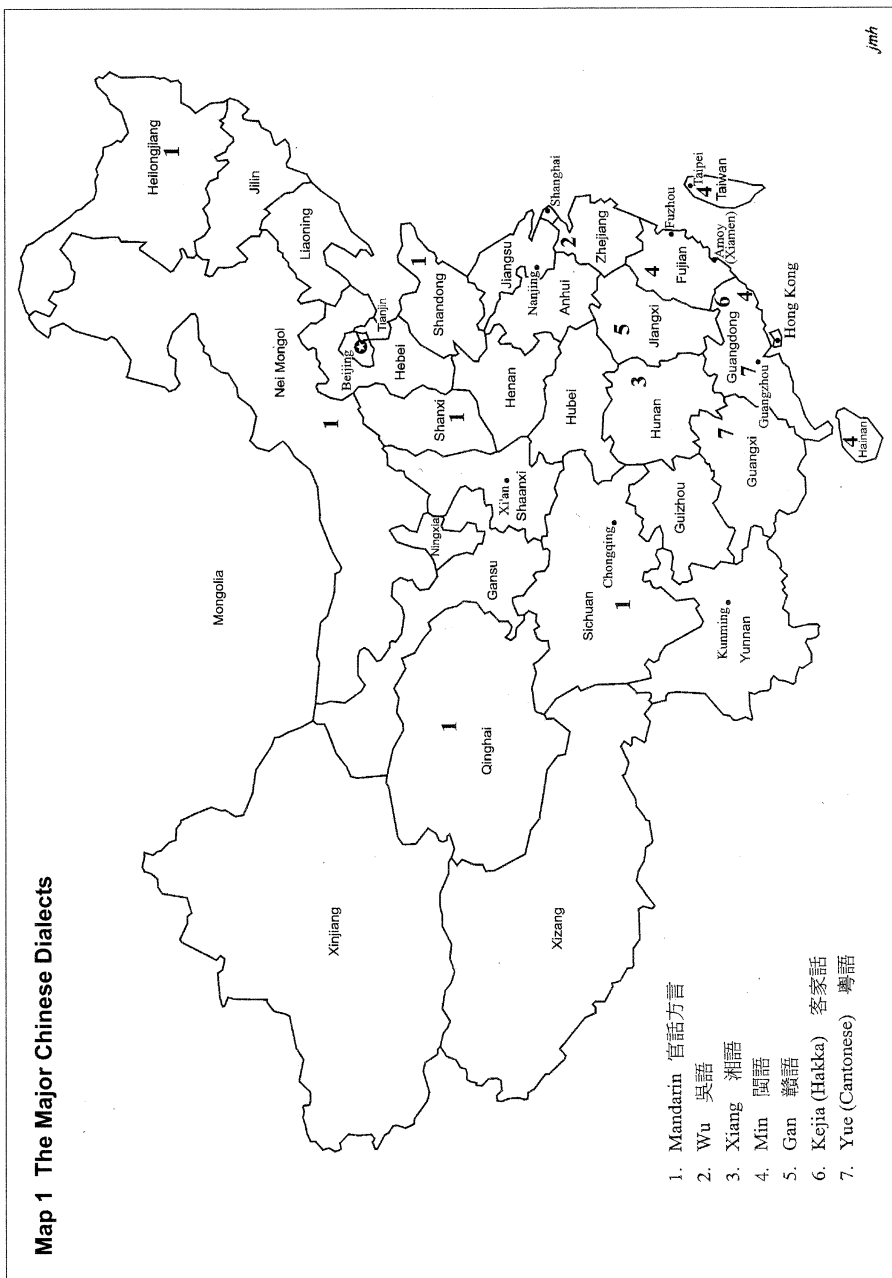
distinguished from other varieties by a set of grammatical, phonetic, and lexical features."⁴

In fact, even within a major Chinese dialect group, the differences among some of the subdialects (*cì fāngyán/xiǎo fāngyán* 次方言/小方言 'secondary dialect/small dialect') are still so great that they are mutually unintelligible. Take the Min dialect group, for example, where the difference between the Southern Min and Eastern Min in phonological features is so great that speakers of these two subdialect groups can not understand each other. However, as they have shared some significant linguistic characteristics that are found only within the Min dialect group, they have been referred to as subdialects of Min.

With its long history of civilization, many waves of migration, and various types of typography, China has evolved into a multitude of subdialects of Chinese, especially in the southern part of the country where the geographical conditions have contributed to the isolation of numerous settlements and, hence, the independent development of dialects. In this book, the term 'dialect' will be used to refer to any variety of Chinese dialect, whether it is a major dialect or a subdialect, for our discussions. The term 'dialectology' will be referred to as the study of dialects by any approach.⁵ Discussion of the modern Chinese dialect classification will be presented in Section 1.3.

⁴Trudgill (1974:17) asserts that: "The term *dialect* refers, strictly speaking, to differences between kinds of language which are differences of vocabulary and grammar as well as pronunciation." Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 5) use 'variety' as "a neutral term to apply to any particular kind of language", and refer to 'dialect' as "varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties."

⁵ Chambers and Trudgill have defined 'dialectology' as "the study of language variety by any methodology." (1980:17)



1.2 Pre-Modern Period of Dialectology

In Chinese literature, the pioneering study of Chinese Dialects can be traced back to the work *Yóuxuān Shīzhě Juédài Yǔshì Biéguó Fāngyán* (*Study of the Old Lexicon and the Dialects Words from Different States*) 輶軒使者絕代語釋別國方言 compiled by Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (58 BC-AD 18). Yáng Xióng, an erudite scholar (native of Chéngdū, Sìchuān) of the Western Hàn dynasty, had spent 27 years in eliciting lexical items from the speeches of his informants, the officials and soldiers who came from different states to the capital Chángān 長安, and compiling his field data into this work. A well-known abbreviation *Fāngyán* 方言 'dialect (regional speech)' has been used by Chinese linguists to refer to this eminent work. It is from this very first Chinese dialect study that the modern term *fāngyán* 方言 'dialect' is taken. In his work *Fāngyán*, Yáng had compared the lexical readings of different dialects with the *tōngyǔ* 通語 'common language, koine---the Chángān dialect'; he used the names of mountains, rivers, and passes on the border as referent points for dialect districts. The format of a typical lexical entry is as follows: "娥, 女媧, 好也. 秦曰娥, ...秦晉之間凡好而輕者謂之娥...好, 其通語也" "é, yíng, hǎo yě. Qín yuè é, ...Qín Jìn zhī jiān fán hǎo ér qīng zhě wèi zhī é. ...hǎo, qí tōngyǔ yě" (é, yíng, means good. In Qín area, it is called é, ...between Qín and Jìn area, things that are good and light are called é. ...hǎo is its counterpart in the common language). Although Yáng did not give us a clear geographical map of the dialects of the Western Hàn dynasty, by using only the place names mentioned in his work, modern scholars have claimed that at least thirteen dialect districts existed during that period, namely: (1) Qín-Jìn 秦晉, (2) Zhèng-Hán-Zhōu 鄭韓周, (3) Liáng-Xī Chǔ 梁西楚, (4) Qí-Lǔ 齊魯, (5) Northwestern Zhào Wèi 趙魏之西北, (6) Wèi-Wèi-Sòng 魏衛宋, (7) Eastern part of Chén-Zhèng and Central Chǔ 陳鄭之東郊, 楚之中部, (8) Eastern Qí and Xú 東齊, 徐, (9) Wú Yáng Yuè 吳楊越, (10) Chǔ (Jīng Chǔ) 楚 (荆楚), (11) Southern Chǔ 南楚, (12) Western Qín 西秦, and (13) Yàn Dài 燕代. (Yuán Jiāhuá 1960: 18)¹ Since the dialect data were all written in Chinese characters, there is no way that linguists can find out the exact pronunciations for the words involved. The data included in Yáng's work has been considered to represent the dialect data of the period of late Zhōu to Western Hàn (c. eighth - second century BC). Nevertheless, his work is so far the earliest dialect study in the history of the world dialectology,² almost 1800 years earlier than the work by Johann Andreas Schmeller (1921).

For over thirteen centuries thereafter, there were no dialect fieldwork studies done in China. Prior to the Míng Dynasty (1367-1661), basically the linguistic works were

¹ See Lín Yǔ-t'áng 林語堂 (1927), Paul L-M. Serruys (1959) and Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨 (1959) for more on the geographical distribution of the Chinese dialects of the Han period based on Yáng Xióng's *Fāngyán*. Extensive studies on Yáng Xióng's *Fāngyán* can be found in Liú Jūnhuī et al 劉君惠等 (1992) and Huá Xuéchéng 華學誠 (2001).

² The earliest dialect study in Europe, *Die Mundarien Bayerns, grammatisch dargestellt*, was published in 1821 by Johann Andreas Schmeller. Munich: Thienemann.

philological in nature, emphasizing the study of the written language (textual research) rather than the spoken language, with most centered on etymological studies, searching for the original characters for their dialect counterparts.³ During the Jin dynasty 晉代 (265-420), in the annotation works of the *Fāngyán Zhù* (方言注) and the *Eryǎ Zhù* (爾雅注) by Guō Pǔ (郭璞), one can find some dialect vocabulary of the Jin dynasty, as well as lexical changes from Hàn dynasty to the Jin period.

The most renowned work, *Qièyùn* (切韻), compiled by Lù Fǎyán (陸法言) in 601 during the Suí period 隋代 (581-617), has been regarded as the most important Chinese rhyme dictionary in the field of Chinese historical phonology. In this dictionary, Chinese characters were arranged by tones and rhymes; the phonological system of *Qièyùn*, according to the Chinese linguist Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨 (1963, 1966), represents a compromise between the literary pronunciation of north and south in the late Nánběicháo period 南北朝 (sixth century).⁴ A redaction of this dictionary, *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 was compiled in 1101 during the Sòng dynasty 宋朝, based on what Chinese historical phonologists have attempted in their reconstruction of the phonological system of the Middle Chinese (hereafter MC), the Chinese language of the seventh century. Chinese dialectologists have been using the phonological system of the MC as a reference for discussing the similarities and differences of the phonological systems of (sub)dialects. In the Section 3, we will discuss the MC phonological system in greater detail in terms of dialect classifications.

During the Yuán Dynasty 元朝 (1279-1367), *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* 中原音韻 (Rhymes of the Central Plain), a rhyme book compiled by Zhōu Déqīng 周德清 in 1324 as a reference for writers of *Yuán Qǔ* 元曲 (Yuan songs), was the first attempt to use the vernacular pronunciation of contemporary Mandarin to group homophonous characters into different rhyme groups. Based on this rhyme book and the comparison of it to the modern Mandarin sub-dialects, linguists were able to reconstruct the phonological system of the Yuán period as the "Old Mandarin" and to trace the evolution of Mandarin sub-dialects.⁵

Since the Míng Dynasty and with the arrival of the Christian religion, many dictionaries of a European language-Chinese dialect were compiled by the missionaries for facilitating their preaching.⁶ During the Qīng Dynasty, Zhāng Bǐnglín 章炳麟 (also known as Zhāng Tàiyán 章太炎, 1868-1936) was the first scholar who engaged in the classification of Chinese dialects. In his work *Xīnfāngyán* 新方言 (New Dialect), he

³ See Dǒng Dáwǔ 董達武 (1992:2) for the philological studies on the lexicon during that period.

⁴ See Pulleyblank (1984: 133-143), Ramsey (1987: 116-124), and Norman (1988: 24-28) for more information about *Qièyùn*'s phonological system.

⁵ See Norman (1988: 48-52) for more information on *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn*.

⁶ See Paul Fu-mien Yang's *Chinese Dialectology: A Selected and Classified Bibliography* (1981) for the references of dialect dictionaries published by the missionaries.

roughly classified the Chinese dialects into nine groups in terms of geographical descriptions. No specific criteria for the classification were mentioned.⁷

⁷ See the *Jiǎnlùn* 簡論 part of Zhāng's *Xīn Fāngyán* 新方言. Also in *Zhāng Tàiyán Quánjí* 章太炎全集 (The Collection of Zhang Taiyan's Works) (3), pp. 486-487.

1.3 The Classification of Modern Chinese Dialects

1.31 Earlier Classifications

No one really knows how many Chinese dialects there are in China even up to this moment, because the answer depends on the criteria one uses to do the classification. The quote from Lǚ Shūxiāng (1980: 85) shows what the situation is:

“大家都知道漢語的方言很多，可究竟有多少呢？如果只要口音有些不同就算兩種方言那就多得數不清...要是非要語音系統有出入才算不同的方言。大概會有好幾百或者一、二千。要是只抓住幾個重要特點的異同。不管其他差別，那就可能只有十種八種。”

“Every one knows that Chinese has many dialects. But exactly how many dialects are there? If we count as distinct dialects whenever the speech is slightly different, then such dialects are too numerous to count. ... If our criterion is difference in the phonological system, then such dialects number in the hundreds, perhaps even a thousand or two. If the criterion is based on a handful of important characters, disregarding other differences, then there are possibly only eight of ten of such dialects.” (Translated by William S.Y. Wang 1996: 236)

Prior to 1930's, no scientific linguistic criteria had been proposed to classify the groupings of Chinese dialects. Based on the geographical criteria, such as rivers and lakes for boundaries, Lǐ Jīnxī 黎錦熙 has classified Chinese dialects into twelve groupings (cf. Wáng Lǐ p. 487, and Hé Jiǔyíng 1995: 414-415):

1. 河北系 *Héběi xì* (Hebei group)
2. 河南系 *Hénán xì* (Henan group)
3. 河西系 *Héxī xì* (Hexi group)
4. 江淮系 *Jiānghuái xì* (Jianghuai group)
5. 江漢系 *Jiānghàn xì* (Jianghan group)
6. 江湖系 *Jiānghú xì* (Jianghu group)
7. 金沙系 *Jīnshā xì* (Jinsha group)
8. 太湖系 *Tàihú xì* (Taihu group)
9. 浙源系 *Zhèyuán xì* (Zheyuan group)
10. 甌海系 *Ōuhǎi xì* (Ouhai group)
11. 閩海系 *Mínhǎi xì* (Minhai group)
12. 粵海系 *Yuèhǎi xì* (Yuehai group)

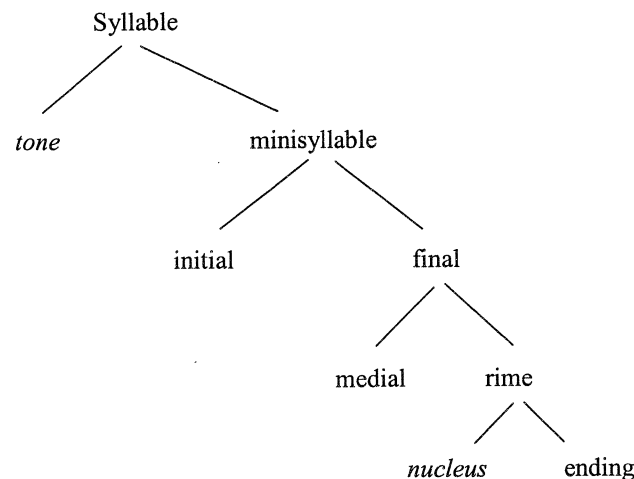
In 1939, ChaoYuen Ren 趙元任 had classified the Han (Chinese) dialects into nine groups, but in 1948, he had reclassified them into eleven dialects:¹

1. 北方官話區 *Běifāng guānhuà qū* (Northern Mandarin Region)
2. 上江官話區 *Shàngjiāng guānhuà qū* (Upper Yangtzi River Mandarin Region)
3. 下江官話區 *Xiàjiāng guānhuà qū* (Lower Yangtzi River Region)
4. 吳方言 *Wú fāngyán* (Wu dialect)
5. 皖方言 *Wǎn fāngyán* (Wan dialect)
6. 閩方言 *Mǐn fāngyán* (Min dialect)
7. 潮仙方言 *Cháo xiān fāngyán* (Chaoxian dialect)
8. 客家方言 *Kèjiā fāngyán* (Kejia dialect)
9. 粵方言 *Yuè fāngyán* (Yue dialect)
10. 湘語區 *Xiāng yǔ qū* (Xiang dialect)
11. 贛語區 *Gàn yǔ qū* (Gan dialect)

1.32 Classifications Based on Historical Sound Changes

From the 1930s, some linguists have begun to use linguistic characteristics, phonological features in particular, as criteria for dialect classification. The criteria, on which the dialect groupings and dialect identifications were based, always involve the reconstructed sounds or tonal categories of Middle Chinese as referent point. Thus, before we go any further to our discussions on Chinese dialects, a brief explanation of the syllable structure that is shared by the Chinese dialects and a description of Middle Chinese is in order. Generally, the syllable structure of *Hànyǔ* 漢語 consists of a tone and a minisyllable, which is made up of an initial and a final, a final is made up of a medial and a rime, and a rime is built on a nucleus. The syllable can be analyzed as four layers of binary constituents (after Wang 1996: 246), as shown in the following diagram:

¹Chao's dialect classification was used in the 中國分省地圖 *Zhōngguó Fēnshěng Dìtú* (The Maps of China's Provinces), in 1934, with no texts. Its second edition with texts was published in 1939. The reclassification was found in *Mandarin Primer* (1948).



Of these constituents, only a *tone* and a *nucleus* are obligatory for forming a syllable; the other constituents are optional. The Chinese syllable structure is a very important concept in dialect classification in terms of phonological evolution. Since the pioneering reconstruction of the Middle Chinese (MC) made by Bernhard Karlgren (1915-26, 1954),² several Chinese historical linguists have made revisions of Karlgren's MC phonological system, namely, Lù Zhǐwéi 陸志韋 (1947), Chow Fakao 周法高 (Zhōu Fāgāo, 1948, 1954, 1968), Lǐ Róng 李榮 (1952), Samuel Martin (1953), Tung T'ung-ho 董同龢 (Dǒng Tónghé 1954, 1968), Wáng Lǐ 王力 (1957), Pulleyblank 蒲立本 (1962, 1971-72, 1984), Hasimoto Mantaro 橋本萬太郎 (1965) and Matthew Y. Chen 陳淵泉 (1976). For the sake of facilitating our discussion and future reference for the reader, we will adopt Wáng Lǐ's revised reconstruction of MC, which was included in the *Hànzì Gǔyīn Shǒucè* 漢字古音手冊 (Handbook of the Old and Middle Chinese Pronunciations of Chinese Characters) compiled by Guō Xīliǎng 郭錫良 (1986). In this handbook, Wang's reconstructed MC phonological system includes: 4 tones (hereafter Tone 1, Tone 2, Tone 3, and Tone 4), 35 initials, and 141 distinct finals. Traditionally, historical phonologists have used one Chinese character to represent each tonal category, initial and final of the MC system for easier reference and identification. These are found in the following tables:

Table 1. Middle Chinese Tonal Categories

Tone 1 (T1)	Tone 2 (T2)	Tone (T3)	Tone 4 (T4)
Píng 平 'Even'	Shǎng 上 'Ascending'	Qù 去 'Departing'	Rù 入 'Entering'

² Karlgren used 'Archaic Chinese' for Old Chinese (OC) and 'Ancient Chinese' for Middle Chinese (MC) instead. In the field of Chinese historical phonology, some scholars adopt Karlgren's terms, while others use the new terms.

Table 2. Middle Chinese Initials

唇音 Labial	幫 p	滂 p'	並 b'	明 m		
舌音 Dental (non-fricated)	端 t	透 t'	定 d'	泥 n	來 l	
	知	徹	澄			
齒音 Dental (fricated)	精 ts	清 ts'	從 dz'	心 s	邪 z	
	莊 tʃ	初 tʃ'	崇 dz'	山 ʃ		
	章 tʃ	昌 tʃ'	船 dz'	書 ʃ	禪 z	日 t
牙音 Velar	見 k	溪 k'	群 g'	疑 ŋ		
喉音 Glottal	影 0	餘 j	曉 x	匣 ɣ		

Table 3. MC Finals

	舒聲韻 <i>Yinsheng yun</i>	促聲韻 <i>Yangsheng yun</i>
1. 東董送	uŋ, ʔuŋ	屋 uk, ʔuk
2. 冬 0 宋	uoŋ	沃 uok
3. 鍾腫用	ʔwoŋ	濁 ʔwok
4. 江講絳	ɔŋ	覺 ok
5. 支紙寘	ʔe, ʔwe	
6. 脂旨至	i, wi	
7. 之止志	ʔə	
8. 微尾未	ʔəi, ʔwəi	
9. 魚語御	ʔo	
10. 虞遇麌	ʔu	
11. 模姥暮	u	
12. 齊霽霽	iei, iwei	
13. 0 0 祭	ʔei, ʔwei	
14. 0 0 泰	ai, uai	
15. 佳蟹卦	ai, wai	
16. 皆駭怪	ei, wei	
17. 0 0 夬	æi, wæi	
18. 灰賄隊	uoi	
19. 哈海代	oi	
20. 0 0 廢	ʔei, ʔwei	
21. 真軫震	ʔěŋ, ʔwěŋ	質 ʔět, ʔwět
22. 諄準稕	ʔuěŋ	術 ʔuět
23. 臻 0 0	ien	櫛 ʔet

24. 文吻問	ĩuən	物	ĩuət
25. 欣隱焮	ĩən	迄	ĩət
26. 元阮願	ĩen	月	ĩət, ỹwet
27. 魂混慁	uən	沒	uət
28. 痕很恨	ən	0	
29. 寒旱翰	an	曷	at
30. 桓緩換	uan	末	uat
31. 刪潸諫	an, wan	轄	at, wat
32. 山產澗	æn, wæn	黠	æt, wæt
33. 先銑霰	ien, iwen	屑	iet, iwet
34. 仙獮線	ĩen, ỹwen	薛	ĩet, ỹwet
35. 蕭篠嘯	ieu		
36. 宵小笑	ĩeu		
37. 肴巧效	au		
38. 豪皓號	au		
39. 歌哿箇	a		
40. 戈果過	ua, ỹa, ỹua		
41. 麻馬禡	a, ỹa, wa		
42. 陽養漾	ĩaŋ, ỹwaŋ	藥	ĩak, ỹwak
43. 唐蕩宕	aŋ, uaŋ	鐸	ak, uak
44. 庚梗映	eŋ, ỹeŋ, wəŋ, ỹwəŋ	陌	ək, ỹek, wək
45. 耕耿靜	æŋ, wæŋ	麥	æk, wæk
46. 清靜勁	ĩeŋ, ỹweŋ	昔	ĩek, ỹwek
47. 青迥徑	ieŋ, iweŋ	錫	iek, iwek
48. 蒸拯證	ĩəŋ	職	ĩək, ỹwək
49. 登等嶝	əŋ, uəŋ	德	ək, ỹwək
50. 尤有宥	ĩəu		
51. 侯厚候	əu		
52. 幽黝幼	iəu		
53. 侵寢沁	ĩěm	緝	ĩěp
54. 覃感勘	əm	合	əp
55. 談敢闕	am	盍	ap
56. 鹽琰豔	ĩem	葉	ĩep
57. 添忝忝	iem	帖	iep
58. 咸賺陷	əm	洽	əp
59. 銜檻鑑	am	狎	ap
60. 嚴儼釅	ĩem	業	ĩep
61. 凡范梵	ĩwem	乏	ĩwep

Throughout the history of Chinese phonology, the evolution of the MC tones into modern dialects involves the split or merger of the tones conditioned by the manner of articulation of the initial consonants. Some phonetic features, such as the so-called 全清 *quánqīng* (unvoiced unaspirated), 次清 *cìqīng* (unvoiced, aspirated), 全濁 *quánzhuó* (voiced obstruent), and 次濁 *cìzhuó* (voiced, sonorant), that are used in the grouping of the initial consonants, are very important factors in linguistic changes and dialect identification as will become evident in the later chapters.³ The notation of MC Tone 1 (T1), *píngshēng* 平聲 (even tone) as opposed to *zèshēng* 仄聲 (oblique tone), which includes MC Tone 2 (T2), Tone 3 (T3) and Tone 4 (T4), involves the interaction and phonetic changes of MC tones and initial consonants.

Traditionally, the MC finals have been divided into 16 攝 *shè* (big rime group), in which each 攝 *shè* has been further divided into several 韻 *yùn* (rime). Each *yùn* was again divided into two sub-groups, 開口韻 *kāikǒu yùn* (open rimes-- finals contain a non-labial onglide/medial) and 合口韻 *hékǒu yùn* (closed rimes--finals contain a labial onglide/medial), and four 等 *děng* (grades—denote various degrees of vowel sharpening). These traditional terms have been used very often in the discussions of dialect similarities or differences.

In 1930s, Wang Li 王力, was the first linguist to use the major phonetic characteristics for classifying the Chinese dialects into five groups, namely,

1. *Guānhuà yīnxì* 官話音系 (Mandarin Phonetic Group, including Xiang dialect):
This group's major phonetic characteristics are:
(a) It does not have voiced initials [b], [d], [g], [v], [z];
(b) It does not have consonant endings [-m], [-p], [-t], [-k];
(c) It has up to 6 tonal categories;
2. *Wú yīnxì* 吳音系 (Wu Phonetic Group):
This group's major phonetic characteristics are:
(a) It has voiced initials [b'], [d'], [g'], [v], [z] which correspond to their MC counterparts;
(b) It does not have consonant endings [-m], [-p], [-t], [-k];
(c) It has more than 6 tonal categories; Tone III (*qùshēng*) splits into two sub-categories;
3. *Mǐn yīnxì* 閩音系 (Min Phonetic Group):
This group's major phonetic characteristics are:
(a) Most of the MC voiced initials in Tone I became voiceless aspirated;
(b) Some *zhī, chē, chéng* (知徹澄) initials preserve OC (Old Chinese) readings [t], [t'];
(c) It does not have labio-dentals [f], [v];

³ See William S.-Y. Wang (1996: 249) for the distribution of the MC tones in Chinese dialects in terms of these features.

- (d) It has consonant endings [-m], [-p], [-t], [-k];
 (e) It has up to 7 tonal categories; not all correspond to their MC counterparts.
4. *Yuè yīnxì* 粵音系 (Yue Phonetic Group):
 This group's major phonetic characteristics are:
 (a) It does not have voiced initials [b], [d], [g], [v], [z];
 (b) It has consonant endings [-m], [-p], [-t], [-k];
 (c) It has up to 7 tonal categories; they correspond to their MC counterparts.
5. *Kèjiāhuà* 客家話 (Hakka):
 This group's major phonetic characteristics are:
 (a) It does not have voiced initials [b], [d], [g], [v], [z];
 (b) MC voiced initials, regardless of whether they are even tone or oblique tone, all become voiceless aspirated;
 (c) Besides the following (d, e) features, their finals are very close to that of the Mandarin group;
 (d) It has consonant endings [-m], [-p], [-t], [-k];
 (e) It does not have *cuòkǒu* 撮口 finals ("puckered" final—final with a rounded front vowel [y] as a medial);
 (f) Tone I (*píngshēng*) and Tone IV (*rùshēng*) split into two sub-categories; Tone II (*shǎngshēng*) and Tone III (*qùshēng*) do not split.

In 1937, Fang-kuei Li (李方桂) proposed some phonological features such as the criteria to classify Chinese dialects into eight major groups.⁴ His dialect classification has been widely accepted or modeled upon for future dialect studies. Later, scholars such as R. A. D. Forrest (1948), Tung T'ung-ho 董同龢 (1953), Yuán Jiāhuá 袁家驊 (1960), Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧 (1981, 1991), Ting Pang-hsin (Dīng Bāngxīn) 丁邦新 (1982), Huáng Jǐnghú 黃景湖 (1987), S. Robert Ramsey (1987), Jerry Norman (1988), and Lau Chunfat (Liú Zhèn fā) 劉鎮發 (1999), have also proposed different features for dialect classification or dialect identification, and differing numbers of groupings. Most of these scholars have used only phonological features as criteria for the classification. In Ting's article (1982), he has discussed the issues involved in the criteria proposed by his predecessors. He has listed the most commonly used phonological criteria as follows: (1982:257-258)

For initials:

1. The development of the Middle Chinese *quánzhuó sèyīn shēngmǔ* 全濁塞音聲母 (voiced stop initials) into the modern dialects;
2. Readings of the bilabial stops in front of the third grade closed syllables;

3. The contrast or merge of /f-/ and /xu/;
4. The modern dialect's readings of the Middle Chinese *zhī* 知, *chè* 徹 and *chéng* 澄 initials;
5. The contrast or merge of /n-/ and /l-/;
6. The readings of the Middle Chinese *chào* 照, *chuān* 穿, *chuáng* 床, *shěn* 審 and *chán* 禪 initials;
7. Palatalization of the Middle Chinese velars;
8. Denasalization of the nasal initials;
9. Whether the modern dialect has voiced affricates and voiced fricatives;

For finals:

10. The contrast or merging of the medials;
11. Monothongization or diphthongization of the vowels;
12. Long vs. short vowels;
13. The development of the Middle Chinese stop endings;
14. The development of the Middle Chinese nasal endings;

For tones:

15. The split or merging of the Middle Chinese tonal categories;
16. The development of the Middle Chinese *rùshēng* 入聲 (entering tone).

Ting argues that the features and the numbers of the features that the previous scholars used are not the same. Some of those features are of historical nature, while others are of synchronic ones. There is no weight assigned for each of the features. Thus he has proposed the following principle to the dialect classification in terms of historical sound changes:

“以漢語語音史為根據用早期歷史性的條件區別大方言，用晚期歷史性的條件區別次方言，用現在平面性的條件區別小方言。早期晚期是相對的名詞，不一定能確指其時間，條件之輕重以相對之先後為序，最早期的條件最重要，最晚的條件也就是平面性的語言差異了。” (Ting 1982: 258)

“We base the approach on the history of rules in Chinese phonology. Larger dialect groups are determined by early rules. Secondary dialects are determined by late rules. Small dialect groups are determined by synchronic differences. “Early” and “late” are relative terms; they do not necessarily indicate absolute times. The weight of rules is determined by their relative ordering. The earliest rules are the most important. The latest rules are those which reflect synchronic variation.” (Translated by William S.-Y. Wang 1996: 256.)

By using two universal conditions: (1) the development of the Middle Chinese *quánzhuó sèyīn shēngmǔ* 全濁塞音聲母 (voiced stop initials) into the modern dialects, and (2) the development of the Middle Chinese stop endings; followed by two unique conditions: (3) the modern dialect's readings of the Middle Chinese *zhī* 知, *chè* 徹 and *chéng* 澄 initials and (4) the tonal change of the *cizhuó Shǎngshēng* (次濁上聲)

⁴ Li's article on the “Languages and Dialects” in the Chinese Yearbook (1937) was reprinted and re-titled as “Languages and Dialects of China” in the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1.1: 1-13.

characters (馬買理領晚) to *yīnpíng* (平聲); plus two supplementary conditions: (5) the evolution of the Middle Chinese velars in front of high front vowel, and (6) the evolution of the MC tonal categories, Ting (1982) has classified Chinese dialects into seven major groups:

1. *Guānhuà* 官話 (Mandarin)
2. *Wúyǔ* 吳語 (Wu dialect)
3. *Xiāngyǔ* 湘語 (Xiang dialect)
4. *Gànyǔ* 贛語 (Gan dialect)
5. *Kèjiāyǔ* 客家語 (Kejia dialect)
6. *Mǐnyǔ* 閩語 (Min dialect)
7. *Yuèyǔ* 粵語 (Yue dialect)

Norman (1988:182) is the first linguist who has proposed ten criteria (or diagnostic features) of phonological, grammatical and lexical features for the dialect classification. His features are as follow:

1. The third-person pronoun is *tā* 他 or cognate to it.
2. The subordinative particle is *de* (的) 的 or cognate to it.
3. The ordinary negative is *bù* 不 or cognate to it
4. The gender marker for animals is prefixed, as in the word for 'hen' *mǔjī* 母雞.
5. There is a register distinction only in the *ping* 平 tonal category.
6. Velars are palatalized before *i*.
7. *Zhàn* 站 or words cognate to it are used for 'to stand'.
8. *Zǒu* 走 or words cognate to it are used for 'to walk'.
9. *Erzi* 兒子 or words cognate to it are used for 'son'.
10. *Fángzi* 房子 or words cognate to it are used for 'house'.

Based on these ten features, Norman has classified Chinese dialects into:

1. Northern Group (Běifāng/Mandarin)—includes Northern Mandarin, Northwest Mandarin, Southern Mandarin, and Southwest Mandarin.
2. Central Group—includes Wú, Gàn, and Xiāng.
3. Southern Group—includes Kèjiā, Yuè and Mǐn.

In his 1999 article on "Vocalism in Chinese dialect classification," Norman has also made the first attempt to use vocalism as a basis for dialect classification. In this article, he examines the vocalism of syllables ending in "-n" and "-ng" of the dialects of the Mandarin, Wú, Gàn, and Xiāng groups, and suggests that from the view point of vocalism, the status of Xiāng as a separate dialect group needs to be reevaluated.

In 1988, with a joint effort of the scholars of China and Australia, a set of *Language Atlas of China* 中國語言地圖集 (Volume I & II), chief edited by S. A. Wurm et al, were published. Chinese dialect texts were edited by Lǐ Róng (李榮), Xióng

Zhènghuī (熊正輝), Zhāng Zhènxīng (張振興), and Hè Wēi (賀巍), et al. In the *Atlas*, the Chinese dialects have been mainly divided into ten major *fāngyánqún* 方言群 (dialect supergroups/groups), namely Mandarin Supergroup (*Guānhuà* 官話), Jin Group (*Jīnyǔ* 晉語), Wú Group (*Wúyǔ* 吳語), Huí Group (*Huīyǔ* 徽語), Xiāng Group (*Xiāngyǔ* 湘語), Gàn Group (*Gànyǔ* 贛語), Mǐn Supergroup (*Mǐnyǔ* 閩語), Yuè Group (*Yuèyǔ* 粵語), Hakka Group (*Kèjiāhuà* 客家話), and Píng huà Group (*Píng huà* 平話). These Chinese dialects are divided into smaller subgroupings according to the following descending hierarchy: supergroup, group, subgrouping, cluster and local dialects. (Wurm et al 1988: 1)

In Lau's (2002) article, he has discussed the issues involving Chinese dialect classification in general, including problems relating to "Kèjiā (Hakka) 客家話" as an independent dialect group, in particular. Based on historical sound changes mentioned by Ting (1982), plus an additional phonological feature—the evolution of the *zhuóshàng* 濁上 and *zhuóqù* 濁去 tonal categories of modern Chinese dialects—and the information of the migration history of the Hakka people, Lau argues that Kèjiā (Hakka) is a subdialect of *Gàn-Yuè* group and has proposed a new dialect classification, namely:

1. Běifānghuà qū 北方話區 (Northern dialect group)
2. Wúyǔ qū 吳語區 (Wu dialect group)
3. Mǐnyǔ qū 閩語區 (Min dialect group)
4. Gàn-Yuè yǔ qū 贛粵語區 (Gan-Yue dialect group):
 - a. Yuèyǔ 粵語 (Yue dialect)
 - b. Gàndōng Gànyǔ 贛東贛語 (Eastern Gan dialect)
 - c. Mǐnxī Kèhuà 閩西客話 (Western Min Kejia dialect)
 - d. Huìzhōu Běndìhuà 惠州本地話 (Huizhou local dialect)
 - e. Kèjiāhuà 客家話 (Kejia dialect).

As we can see from the above-mentioned studies, there is a general consensus among most Chinese dialectologists that there are seven major dialect groups, but the detailed subgroupings under these major groups need further study, especially as more dialect data become available, enabling dialectologists to form a general consensus on the criteria for the dialect sub-classification system. We will present a brief summary of the major Chinese dialect classifications proposed by the dialectologists (aside from the *Atlas*) in Table 4. Further discussions on the major dialect groups will be presented in Chapter 4.

Table 4. Dialect Groupings

Groups Scholar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chao, Y. R. 1939	1. Northern Mandarin 2. Shangjiang Mandarin 3. Xiajiang	Wu			Kejia	Yue	Min	Chao-xian	Wan

	Mandarin								
Chao, Y. R. 1948	1. Northern Mandarin 2. Shangjiang Mandarin 3. Xiajiang Mandarin	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min	Chao-xian	Wan
Wang, L. 1930's	Mandarin	Wu			Kejia	Yue	Min		
Li, F. K. 1937	1. Northern Mandarin 2. SW Mandarin 3. Xiajiang Mandarin	Wu		Gan-Ke		Yue	Min		Other
Yuan, J. H. 1960	Mandarin/ Beifanghua	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min: N. Min S. Min		
Zhan, B. H. 1981 1991	Mandarin (Northern Dialect): Huabei Xibei Xinan Jianghuai	Wu	Xiang : New Xiang Old Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min: N. Min E. Min S. Min		
Ting, P. H. 1982	Mandarin	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min		
Huang, J. H. 1987	Mandarin: Northern Beijing Zhongyuan Southwestern Lanyin Jianghuai	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min: E. Min S. Min Puxian C. Min N. Min		
Ramsey, S. R. 1987	Mandarin	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min		
Norman, J. 1988	Mandarin	Wu	Xiang	Gan	Kejia	Yue	Min		
Lau, C. F. 1999	Northern Dialect	Wu		Gan-Yue			Min		

Further Readings:

- Branner, David Prager. 1999. *Problems in Comparative Dialectology: The Classification of Min and Hakka*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
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Exercises

1. Linguists have found it very difficult to maintain the definitions for "language" and "dialect" when applied to the study of Chinese dialects. Can you explain the reasons why?
2. Why do Chinese dialectologists use the so-called "rhyme books" that were compiled prior to Modern Period, as references for dialectal comparisons? Is this a good approach? Why?
3. For Chinese dialect groupings, what kind of features or characteristics should be used as criteria for the classification? Should diachronic features (historical sound changes) or synchronic ones (modern dialectal variation) be taken into consideration? Or both?
4. Which one do you think is more important in dialect classification: phonological features, lexical features, or syntactic features?

2 Modern Period of Dialectology I

2.0 Modern Dialectology

The May 4th Movement in 1919 has been not only a landmark of Chinese language reform from using classical literary Chinese to the vernacular literary Chinese in daily life writing, but also a reference point for Chinese dialectology. Due to the rising awareness of the existence and importance of vernacular language just prior to that time, scholars at Beijing University founded the *Gēyáo Yánjiūhuì* 歌謠研究會 (Folksongs Research Society) in 1918. Chinese linguist Shěn Jiānshì 沈兼士 (1922) had maintained that "Folksongs are a kind of dialect literature, ... the study of dialects is the first fundamental step of folksong study." At nearly the same time, Lín Yútáng 林語堂 had advocated that "Dialectology should have its own status and purpose, it should not be ascribed under the study of folksongs." He made some significant proposals for dialect studies:

1. For studying a given dialect, one must study it with its neighboring areas' speech,
2. Dialect fieldworkers must be well trained in phonetic transcriptions and with profound knowledge in phonetics,
3. Dialect fieldworkers must use *Qièyùn's* rhyme categories to examine the dialect readings of these rhymes and to find out the phonological rules of dialect evolutions from the *Qièyùn* period,
4. Linguists must not only study the phonology of a dialect, syntax should also be included in a dialect study, etc.¹

But unfortunately, there were neither institute support nor funding available for dialect study at that time. Countering this and in order to meet the need of folksong studies, *Fāngyán Diàocháhuì* 方言調查會 (The Dialect Survey Society) was founded at Beijing University in 1924. Thus Shen and Lin's advocacy of the importance of dialect studies became "empty talk."

Bernhard Karlgren, a Swiss linguist, was the first scholar to use western linguistic methods to collect Chinese dialect data. During 1910-1912, when he lived in northern China, he had gathered phonetic data of over three thousand lexical items from twenty-four Chinese dialects. In his book *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915-1926), he had provided a dialect lexicon, which includes 1200 lexical items of twenty-six dialects, namely, *Sino-Korean, *Go-on and *Kan-on of Sino-Japanese, *Sino-Vietnamese, *Guǎngzhōu 廣州, *Kèjiā 客家 (Hakka), *Shàntóu 汕頭 (Swatow), *Fúzhōu 福州, Wēnzhōu 溫州, *Shànghǎi 上海, Běijīng 北京, Kāifēng 開封, Huáiqǐng 懷慶, Guīhuà 歸化, Dàtóng 大同, Tàiyuán 太原, Xīngxiàn 興縣, Tàigǔ 太谷, Wénshuǐ 文水, Fèngtái 鳳台, Lánzhōu 蘭州, Píngliáng 平涼, Xī'ān 西安, Sānshuǐ 三水, *Sīchuān 四川, and

¹ Cf. He Jiuying (1995: 408-409) for Lin Yutang's detailed proposal.

*Nánjīng 南京. Among those dialect data, the asterisked data came from other scholars' works, while the remaining data came from Karlgren's field notes. Although the main purpose of his study was to use those data to reconstruct Ancient Chinese (Middle Chinese), the list of the dialect data provide us with a convenient and useful reference for the differences and similarities of given dialects.

2.1 Dialect Surveys in 1920s-1949

Chao Yuen Ren (趙元任 Zhào Yuánrèn 1892-1982),² the most renowned contemporary Chinese linguist, was the first scholar who offered Chinese dialect courses at Qīnghuá Guóxuéyuàn 清華國學院 (Qinghua Chinese Institute) in 1925-28. During that time he sent students to conduct dialect surveys in the Wu-speaking areas. Based on this dialect data, he published a book on *Xiandai Wuyu de Yanjiu* 現代吳語的研究 (Studies in the Modern Wu Dialects) in 1928, which has become the milestone for descriptive linguistic study of a Chinese dialect. In this study, besides giving the definition of the Wu dialect, Chao included detailed descriptions of the phonological systems (the initials, finals and tones) of 33 localities in Wu area, provided the shared characteristics of the Wu dialects, a list of 75 lexical items of 30 localities, a list of 56 particles of 22 localities, dialect specific words, a phonetic transcription of "North Wind and the Sun" in Suzhou 蘇州 dialect, and a linguistic map.

In 1930, Chao had designed a 5-letter tone value system, a numerical convention, to transcribe the tone values (or pitches) of Chinese dialects. In his system, tone values are represented by numerals according to the range of a speaker's pitch, from the lowest point 1 to the highest point 5. For example, a high level tone is transcribed as 55 or with a graph, and a rising tone will be transcribed as 15, or a graph. Ever since this tone value convention has been widely adopted by the Chinese descriptive linguists to record the dialect tones. The *fāngyán diàochá Biāogé* 方言調查表格 (The Dialect Survey Form), that Chao had designed in the same year included over 3000 characters. The *fāngyán diàochá zìbiāo* 方言調查字表 (The Dialect Survey Character List) that was used by contemporary fieldworkers, was basically a revision of Chao's *biāogé*. Chao's leadership in both Chinese dialect surveys and the training of linguistic students was of profound importance in the field of Chinese dialectology, as can be seen from the dialect surveys listed below.

In 1930, Lo Ch'ang P'ei (羅常培 Luó Chángpéi) of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, published an important monograph on *Xiàmén Yīnxì* 廈門音系 (Phonetics and Phonology of the Amoy dialect), using the descriptive linguistic approach. The data of this study were collected from a native Xiamen speaker. Besides the discussion of the phonological system of Xiamen, it also provided comparative

² For proper names in this work, we will adopt the principle of 名從主人 (following the authors' original spelling if they have already had their own ways of spelling their name in English) and provide Pinyin within the parenthesis at the first occurrence.

studies of the Xiamen dialect with the sounds included in *Shí Wǔ Yīn* 十五音 (Fifteen Initials),³ in Middle Chinese (Ancient system in *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻), and in folksong texts.

To date, there are still no national dialect surveys for the whole of China, but dialect surveys for certain provinces were conducted by the scholars in the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica during 1920s-30s.

In 1928-1936, under Chao's directorship and with the participation of Ding Shēngshù (丁聲樹), Wú Zōngjǐ (吳宗濟), and Yang Shih-feng (楊時逢 Yáng Shíféng), six dialect surveys were conducted in Guǎngdōng 廣東 and Guǎngxī 廣西 provinces in 1928-29, Southern Shǎnxī 陝西 province in 1933, Huízōu 徽州 in 1934, Jiāngxī 江西 province in 1935, Húnán 湖南 province in 1935, and in Húběi 湖北 province in 1936.

Among these surveys, the *Húběi fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 湖北方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Hubei) was written by Chao Yuen Ren, Ding Shengshu, Yang Shih-feng, Wu Zongji and Tung T'ung-ho (董同龢) and published in 1948. Due to the civil war, however, the data of the other surveys were moved to Taiwan with the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica in 1949. Based on these surveys, Yang Shih-feng, the only fieldworker of the group who worked at the Institute, edited and published *Húnán fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 湖南方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Hunan) the data only in 1974.

The *Guānzhōng fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 關中方音調查報告 (A Report on the Phonological Survey of Guangzhong Area), done by Bái Dízhōu, (白滌洲) and Yù Shícháng (喻世長), was published in 1954. This report includes the phonetic data of fifty localities in the southern Shǎnxī province and twenty-two linguistic maps.

During Sino-Japanese war, when the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica and Beijing University temporarily moved to Kūnmíng 昆明 in Yúnnán 雲南 province and with the participation of Ding Shengshu (丁聲樹), Tung T'ung-ho (董同龢), and Yang Shih-feng (楊時逢), the seventh dialect survey was conducted in the Yunnan province in 1930, which included 123 localities in 98 counties. The survey data of Yunnan were also moved with the Institute of History and Philology to Taiwan in 1949. Most of the phonetic transcriptions of these data were done by Ding and Tung. Because Ding lived on the Mainland and Tung died in Taipei in 1963, Yang Shih-feng alone edited, wrote and published two works based on the survey data, "Yúnnán fāngyán tèdiǎn jí fēnqū gàishuō" 雲南方言特點及分區概說 (General remarks on the special features and the divisions of dialects of Yunnan) in 1964, and *Yúnnán fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 雲南方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Yunnan) in 1969.

³ The *Shí Wǔ Yīn* 十五音 (Fifteen Initials) that Lo used to compare the Xiàmén sounds was a Zhāngzhōu (漳州, a subdialect of Southern Min) rhyme book published more than one hundred seventy years ago.

In 1930, the eighth dialect survey was carried out in the Sichuān 四川 province. Fieldworkers included Ding Shengshu, Tung T'ung-ho, Yang Shih-feng, Chou Fa-kao (Zhōu Fāgāo) (周法高), and Liú Niànhé (劉念和). But again, most of the phonetic transcriptions were done by Ding and Tung, while Yang Shih-feng was the one who had edited and written the *Sichuān fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 四川方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Sichuan), which was published in 1984.

In 1935, Chao Yuen Ren, Li Fang-kuei and Yang Shih-feng, conducted a dialect survey of forty two localities in the Jiāngxī 江西 province. Two significant works, based on the data of this survey, were published: *Línchuān Yīnxī* 臨川音系 (The Phonetic System of Linchuan Dialect) by Luo Changpei in 1940, and *Nánchāng Yīnxī* 南昌音系 (The Phonetic System of Nanchang Dialect) by Yang Shih-feng in 1969.

The above mentioned reports of the dialect surveys mainly emphasized the phonetic and phonological studies. They all used the structure and format of *Húběi fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 湖北方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Dialects of Hubei) as the model for their reports. Basically, each Report included:

1. A description of the phonological system of each locality, including the background of the informant(s), tables for the initials, finals, and tones, descriptions of the initials, finals, and tones, the comparisons of the dialect's phonological features with the Middle Chinese (Ancient Chinese), tables of homonyms, specific characteristics of the given locality, and the reading of a short story.
2. A general report of the dialects spoken in the province which includes the dialect text corpus, general characteristics of the dialects, and linguistic maps.

Morphological and syntactic studies of the dialects, however, were basically neglected in all of the reports.

2.2 Dialect Surveys and Dialect Studies in Mainland China during 1950s-60s

2.2.1 Dialect Surveys

At the *Dìyīcì quánguó wénzì gǎigé gōngzuò huìyì* 第一次全國文字改革工作會議 (The First National Script Reform Meeting) held in Beijing in 1955, a resolution was passed to promote the official national language *Pūtōnghuà* (普通話) throughout the whole country. Thereafter, the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Education issued "A Joint Directive of Han Dialect Surveys" to make "dialect surveys a political mission." Hence leading institutes at both the central and provincial levels started to lay down plans and procedures to undertake such dialect surveys. The Ministry of Education and the Linguistic Institute of Social Science Academy jointly offered classes for *Pūtōnghuà* learning and training for dialect survey cadres (Cf. Hé Gēngyōng 1984: 108-109). A handbook entitled *Fāngyán Diàochá Zìbiǎo* 方言調查字表 (List of

Chinese Characters for Dialect Survey) compiled by the scholars at the Zhōngguó Kēxuéyuàn Yǔyán Yánjiūsuǒ 中國社會科學院語言研究所 (Linguistic Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) was published in 1955. Used by fieldworker trained in Mainland China, it has been employed ever since for the gathering of dialect data; a second revised edition appeared in 1981. The handbook provides an informant's background information sheet, characters for eliciting the tones, initials, and finals and tables of the combination distributions of the initials and finals. The arrangements of the characters and tables are based on the tones, initials and finals of the Middle Chinese system found in *Qièyùn* (切韻, 601 AD). Its purpose is to facilitate investigators' work comparing the dialect data with the Middle Chinese when they do the analyses. From 1956 to 1966, among the planned 2298 Han-Chinese dialect localities (*hànyǔ fāngyándiǎn* 漢語方言點)--using a county or a city as a basic dialect locality)--surveys were carried out in 1849 localities. Consequently, 1200 survey reports were compiled, 320 handbooks of learning *Pǔtōnghuà* were compiled and some 70 of them were published. Because the goal of these dialect surveys was to facilitate the teaching and promoting of the national language *Pǔtōnghuà*, the contents of these publications were concentrated primarily upon on the descriptions of phonological variations of the dialects and the contrastive studies of the given dialect as opposed to *Pǔtōnghuà*. There were general survey reports on the dialects of 14 provinces completed, namely: Héběi, Shāndōng, Hénán, Shānxī, Gānsù, Jiāngsū, Zhèjiāng, Húběi, Húnán, Fújiàn, Sìchuān, Guǎngxī, Guǐzhōu, and Guǎngdōng. So far only a few of them have been published. For example:

Jiāngsūshěng hé Shànghǎishì Fāngyán Gàikuàng 江蘇省和上海市方言概況 (General Survey of the Dialects of Jiangsu province and Shanghai City) by Jiāngsūshěng hé Shànghǎishì Fāngyán Diàocháo Zhǐdǎozǔ et al. (ed.) in 1960.

Héběi Fāngyán Gàikuàng 河北方言概況 (General Survey of Hebei Dialects) in 1961.

Sìchuān Fāngyán Yīnxì 四川方言音系 (Phonetic system of the Sichuan dialects) by Sichuan University in 1960.

From 1956-1960, the Chinese Department of Hunan Normal College conducted a dialect survey in 87 localities in Hunan province. Based on this survey Péng Xiùmó 彭秀模 and Zēng Shàodá 曾少達 wrote a paper on *Húnánshěng Hànyǔ fāngyán pǔchá Zōngjié Bàoào* 湖南省漢語方言普查總結報告 (Final Report of the Han dialect survey in the Hunan province) in 1960, which was available only for internal circulation. (Cf. "Hunansheng Hanyu fangyan ditu san fu" in *Fangyan* 1985:273.)

During 1957-59, a dialect survey of 66 localities in Fujian province was conducted by a group of linguists. A preliminary report, *Fújiànshěng Hànyǔ Fāngyán Gàikuàng* 福建省方言概況 (General Survey of the Dialects of Fujian Province) was published by the Dialect Survey Group of the Fujian province in 1962-63. Based on this report, Pan Maoding and others (潘茂鼎等) published an important article on *Fújiànshěng hànyǔ fāngyán fēngqū lüèshuō* 福建漢語方言分區略說 (A brief discussion on the grouping of the Chinese dialects in Fujian) in 1963. Unlike the previous dialect

surveys which used character lists to collect the readings of the dialects, in this article the authors used dialect specific or popular words as the basis for their analysis. In this they proposed that the Chinese dialects in the province be divided into five groupings. The article also included 21 linguistic maps.

In late 1950s, Sichuan University (四川大學) conducted a dialect survey of 150 dialect localities in Sichuan province; the survey results *Sìchuān Fāngyán Yīnxì* 四川方言音系 (Phonetic system of the Sichuan dialect) were published in 1960.

In 1960, *Chānglí Fāngyánzhì* (昌黎方言志) (The Dialect of Changli), a dialect survey report of the Changli county, was published jointly by the Dialect Survey Group of Hebei Province and the Institute of Linguistics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The survey covered a much more detailed analysis of five localities and a brief survey of 193 localities. This report not only provides detailed descriptions of the phonology, the characteristics of the Changli dialect, brief phonological comparisons of the Changli and Beijing dialects, some grammatical features, corpus, and lexicon, but also included 12 linguistic maps. It was intended to serve as a model for future dialect surveys. The revised edition of this study was published in 1984.

In 1963, Qián Zēngyí (錢曾怡) of Shandong University undertook dialect fieldwork with four students at Yāntái (煙台) in Shāndōng (山東) province. The preliminary manuscript of their research result was not published. Sixteen years later, in 1979, Qián went back to Yāntái to recheck the dialect data that they had gathered previously, revised the work by adding a section on the linguistic changes of the speech among the younger speakers, and published the work as a monograph *Yāntái Fāngyán Bàoào* 煙台方言報告 (Report of the Yantai Dialect) in 1982. It covers a brief description of the phonology, grammatical structures, a lexicon and several short texts.

2.22 Other Dialect Studies

In order to meet the need for a national Chinese dialect survey, the Chinese Department of Beijing University initiated a course on "Hànyǔ Fāngyánxué" 漢語方言學 (Han-Chinese Dialectology) which has produced many modern Chinese dialectologists. Yuán Jiāhuá (袁家驊), the professor who was in charge of the course at that time, with the assistance of his colleagues and students, compiled the *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Gàiyào* 漢語方言概要 (An Outline of the Chinese Dialects) in 1960.⁴ Their publication has become one of the most important works in the modern dialectology field. Besides discussing the concept of 'dialect' and 'dialectology', this work also provides a brief history of dialectology, dialect classification, the development of the dialects, as well as the phonetic system, dialect lexicon, and dialect specific grammatical features of seven major dialect groups.

⁴ The second edition was published in 1989.

Following this work, Beijing University published *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (henceforth *Zìhuì*) 漢語方音字匯 (Chinese Dialect Character Pronunciation List) in 1962, and *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Cíhuì* (henceforth *Cíhuì*) 漢語方言詞彙 (Chinese Dialect Word List) in 1964. New editions of both works appeared in 1989 and 1995 respectively. In *Zìhuì*, the data included 17 localities and readings of 2,722 character entries of seven major dialects. For each character entry, information of the Middle Chinese phonological categories (initial, final and tone) and dialect pronunciation were provided. When Beijing University dialectologists were collecting the data for *Zìhuì* and *Cíhuì*, they sent out forms to the teachers of the Chinese Department at the local universities and asked them to fill out the information. Because each teacher's phonetic transcription skill varied, errors in the transcriptions were inevitable; thus dialectologists must check the data very carefully before they can actually use this material. Since the basic unit of the entry in *Zìhuì* is a single character, in Chinese dialect, a character may have two readings, literary and colloquial, but in *Zìhuì* researchers may find that one of the readings has been left out in some dialects.

In *Cíhuì*, the data included 18 localities and readings of 905 lexical (word) entries of seven major dialects. The readings of the entries were basically in colloquial form, thus no literary readings were registered. Both *Zìhuì* and *Cíhuì* have become two important resources for the dialectology outside of China since 1960's.

Zhōngguó Yǔwén 中國語文, one of the most important journals in which short articles on individual dialects appear, was issued in 1952-1966 in Beijing. During the Cultural Revolution in 1966-76, this publication, as with others in academic fields, *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* was suspended and did not resume publication until 1978.

2.3 Dialect Studies in Taiwan during 1950s-1960s

Besides the dialect works mentioned in the previous sections, Yang Shih-feng also did a Hakka dialect survey in Yángméi (楊梅), Táoyuán county (桃園), in Taiwan in 1953; the research results, *Táiwān Táoyuán Kèjiā Fāngyán* 台灣桃園客家方言 (The Hakka Dialect of Taoyuan, Taiwan) were published in 1957. This study included the phonological analyses of two Hakka dialects spoken in Taiwan: one variety of Hǎilù Hakka (海陸話, from Guǎngdōng province) and the other Sixiàn Hakka (四縣話, also of Guǎngdōng province), comparative studies of these dialects with Middle Chinese, folk stories, and a lexicon of both dialects.

In the 1950s, Tung T'ung-ho (董同龢) also resumed his dialect studies in Taiwan. By interviewing informants who had moved from Mainland China to Taiwan around 1949, he published an article on *Xiàmén fāngyán de yīnyùn* 廈門方言的音韻 (Phonology of the Amoy dialect) in 1957, and a monograph on *Sige Mǐnnán fāngyán* 四個閩南方言 (Four South Min Dialects) in 1959. This monograph was based on the data gathered from the interviews and tape-recordings of the native speakers of Xiàmén (Amoy 廈門), Jinjiāng (晉江), Lóngxī (龍溪) of Fújiàn (福建) province and Jiéyáng (揭陽) of

Guǎngdōng (廣東) province. It included a description of the phonology, story corpus, and lexicon of each dialect. In 1952, Tung and his students, Chao Yung-lang (趙榮琅 Zhào Róngláng), and Lan Ya-shiu (藍亞秀 Lán Yǎxiù), together had collected dialect data from a native speaker of the Taiwanese Southern Mǐn dialect in Taipei. No prepared word list was used for the recording. Their findings were compiled in a monograph entitled *Ji yíge Táiwān de yìzhǒng Mǐnnán huà* 記台灣的一種閩南話 (A South Min Dialect of Taiwan). The monograph included a description of the phonology, a dialect corpus including natural speech for eight stories, one play, fifty-two proverbs, thirty-seven riddles, twenty folksongs, and a lexicon. However, it was not published until 1967.⁵

Under Tung T'ung-ho's supervision, Lan Ya-shiu (藍亞秀) published a work on *Fúzhōu Yīnxì* 福州音系 (Phonological system of Fúzhōu dialect) in 1953.

From 1958 until his untimely death in 1963 at the age of 51, Tung turned his research direction and linguistic fieldwork to the study of Taiwan aboriginal languages (of Austronesian family), thus his Chinese dialect study in Taiwan came to a halt. Fortunately, some of his students had received good training in linguistic fieldwork techniques under his directorship. They all went to the United States to further their linguistics training during 1960s and have been engaged in Chinese dialectology and historical phonology studies ever since early 1970s.⁶

2.4 Dialect Surveys and Dialect Studies in 1970s to the Present

2.4.1 Dialect Studies on Mainland China

Chinese dialect studies had suffered setbacks for over a decade due to the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China, where significant Chinese dialect studies did not resume until late 1970s. Then, with the founding of the journal, *Fāngyán* 方言 (Dialect) in Beijing in 1979, dialectologists once again were provided space to publish their studies. This journal has become the most important source for the articles on Chinese dialectology ever since. *Yǔyán Yánjiū* 語言研究 (Language Study), founded by the Institute of Chinese Linguistics of Huázhōng University of Science and Technology 華中工學院 中國語言研究所 (aka Huázhōng Institute of Technology) in Wúhan, China in

⁵ Since Tung T'ung-ho's death in 1963, Chao Yung-lang went abroad to study in Germany, and Lan Ya-shiu went to the United States when the monograph was in press in 1967. The monograph was proofread by Margaret M. Yan 嚴棉 (of the Department of Archeology and Anthropology, National Taiwan University) and Chang Yi-ren 張以仁 (of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica).

⁶ Five of Tung's students in this later period: Tsai-fa Cheng (鄭再發), Chin-chuan Cheng (鄭錦全), Pang-hsin Ting (丁邦新), Kwang Mei (梅廣), and Margaret Mian Yan (嚴棉), have actively continued in the field of Chinese dialectology and historical phonology.

1981 is also an important linguistic journal from which studies on individual dialects can be found.

Choy Chun-ming (Cài Jùn míng 蔡俊明), a civil engineer and self-trained dialectologist in Hong Kong, based on his own idiolect, has published two monographs on Cháozhōu dialects, *Cháoyǔ Cídiǎn* 潮語詞典 (A Dictionary of the Chaozhou Dialect) in 1976 and *Cháoyǔ Cídiǎn Bǔbiān GuōCháo Yǔhuì* 潮語詞典補編, 國潮語彙 (A Supplement to A Dictionary of the Cháozhōu Dialect and A Mandarin-Cháozhōu Glossary) in 1979. The former is a very significant work, which not only provides the tone sandhi of each word, but also provides example Cháozhōu sentences with Mandarin translations for most of the lexical items. The *Supplement* provides contrastive readings of Cháozhōu and Mandarin compounds and idiomatic expressions.

The development of Chinese dialectology progressed tremendously during 1980s. From Beijing in the north to Xiàmén in the south, dialect surveys or study projects re-emerged at big universities. In depth studies on individual dialects increased. The scopes of the dialect studies were extended to include all aspects of linguistic study: phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax. Detailed studies on tone sandhi of compounds, phrases or even sentences were also found. Scholars started to engage in the discussions on the issues on dialect classifications (e.g. Li Róng's "Hànyǔ fāngyán fēnqū de jǐge wèntí 漢語方言分區的幾個問題 Remarks on the grouping of Chinese dialects I & II, 1985); universities and normal colleges started to offer "Chinese dialectology" courses and to train graduate students to engage in dialect research.

In 1981, Yè Xiánglíng (葉祥苓) published *Sūzhōu Fāngyán Dìtújí* 蘇州方言地圖集 (Linguistic Atlas of Sūzhōu Dialect), which was the first dialect mapping project compiled by a Chinese scholar. The founding of Hànyǔ Fāngyán Xuéhuì 漢語方言學會 (Chinese Dialectology Association) in Xiamen University in November 1981 marked another milestone of Chinese dialectology. Modern dialect dictionaries started to appear.⁷ *Guǎngdōnghuà Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 廣東話方言詞典 (Cantonese Dialect Dictionary) compiled by Ráo Bǐngcái (饒秉才), Óuyáng Juéfēi (歐陽覺亞), and Zhōu Wújì (周無忌) was published in 1981. *Pǔtōnghuà Mǐnnán Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 普通話閩南方言詞典 (Dictionary of Putonghua and Southern Min Dialect) was published by the Chinese Department of Xiamen University (廈門大學中文系) in 1982. It is a collective work of a group of linguists and includes over 120,000 entries arranged according to the Hànyǔ Pīnyīn spelling order; it is one of the most valuable Southern Min dialect dictionaries compiled by Chinese scholars in modern times.

As interest in Chinese dialectology increased during the 1980s, three dialectology textbooks were published to meet the demand:

1. *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fāngyán* 現代漢語方言 (Modern Chinese Dialects) by Zhān Bóhuì (詹伯慧) was published in 1981. Its revised edition which included a brief report on the Southern Min and the Hakka dialects spoken in Taiwan, supplemented by Dǒng Zhōngsī (董忠司), was published in 1991 in Taiwan. This book provided brief descriptions of the phonological systems of the seven major dialects and their geographical distribution. There was only one chapter that dealt sketchily with lexical and syntactic features of Chinese dialects in general.
2. *Hànyǔ Fāngyánxué* 漢語方言學 (Chinese Dialectology) by Huáng Jǐnghú (黃景湖) was published in 1987.
3. *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Yánjiū Xiǎoshǐ* 漢語方言研究小史 (A Brief History of Chinese Dialectology) by Hé Gēngyōng (何耿鏞) was published in 1984.

In the 1980s, a series of Shānxī (山西) Dialect Survey was conducted by a group of linguists at the Shānxīshěng Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn 山西省社會科學院 (College of Social Sciences of Shānxī province). The preliminary reports included the data of the following localities: Píngyáo (平遙), Huáirén (懷仁), Tàigǔ (太谷), Jīnchéng (晉城), Língchuān (陵川), Hóngdòng (洪洞), Shòuyáng (壽陽), Qíxiàn (祁縣), Xiāngyuán (襄垣), Wénshuǐ (文水), and Wànróng (萬榮). Starting in 1985, the revised reports were published as a series of *Shānxīshěng Fāngyánzhì Cōngshū* 山西省方言志叢書 (The Dialects of Shanxi Province). At the same time, a dialect survey was also conducted in the Shandong province in 1980s. The research results of this survey were also published as a series of *Shāndōngshěng Fāngyánzhì Cōngshū* 山東省方言志叢書 (The Dialects of Shandong Province). In both the Shānxī and Shāndōng dialect series, each single dialect report was a mini-comprehensive study, which included phonology, lexicon, grammar, and some texts of folktales, and folksongs.

In 1980, China launched a ten-year project for publishing the first modern encyclopedia of China. Each volume of the encyclopedia covered a different subject, such as philosophy, physics, and chemistry, etc. In 1988, *Zhōngguó Dàbǎikē Quánshū: Yǔyán, Wénzì* 中國大百科全書: 語言, 文字 (Encyclopedia of China: Language and Writing System) was published. In this encyclopedia, a brief description of seven major Chinese dialects (Mandarin, Wú, Xiāng, Kèjiā, Gàn, Mǐn, and Yue), their evolution and distribution were included.

Since the 1980s, Lǐ Yǒngmíng (李永明) has done a good deal of work on the comprehensive studies of the phonology, lexicon, grammar and folktales corpus texts of several Xiāng dialects (湘語) and has published the following works:

1. *Héngyáng Fāngyán Cíhuì* 衡陽方言詞彙 (A Lexicon of the Hengyang Dialect) in 1984.
2. *Héngyáng Fāngyán* 衡陽方言 (The Hengyang Dialect) in 1986.
3. *Línwǔ Fāngyán* 臨武方言 (The Linwu Dialect) in 1988.
4. *Chángdé Fāngyán zhì* 常德方言志 (The Changde Dialect) in 1989.
5. *Chángshā Fāngyán* 長沙方言 (The Changsha Dialect) in 1991.

⁷ There were many dialect dictionaries compiled by western missionaries during 1800s-1970s. Readers may refer to Paul fu-mien Yang's (1981) *Chinese Dialectology: A Selected and Classified Bibliography*.

Since the 1990s, Li Yǒngmíng and other scholars have also published two series on Húnán: *Húnán Fāngyán Yǔfǎ Yánjiù Cōngshū* 湖南方言語法研究叢書 (Studies on the Grammar of the Hunan Dialects) and *Húnán Fāngyán Yánjiù Cōngshū* 湖南方言研究叢書 (Studies on the Hunan Dialects). (cf. Zhān 2000:323)⁸

During 1987-90, under the directorship of Li Rúlóng (李如龍), a group of Chinese linguists conducted a survey of Kèjiā (Hakka) and Gàn dialects in seven provinces (Fújiàn, Jiānxī, Guǎngdōng, Guǎngxī, Húnán, Húběi and Ānhuī) plus Hong Kong. The research results of the survey were published as *Kè-Gàn Fāngyán Diàochá Bào gào* 客贛方言調查報告 (A Report on a Survey of the Kejia and Gan Dialects) in 1992, which included a brief description of the initials, finals, and tones, and the data of the readings of 1345 characters and 1120 compounds/phrases of 34 dialect localities.

In the 1980's, Chén Zhāngtài (陳章太) and Li Rúlóng (李如龍) conducted several short-term surveys of the Mǐn dialects spoken in the Fújiàn province; these were published a collection on *Mǐnyǔ Yánjiù* 閩語研究 (Studies on the Mǐn Dialects) in 1991, which included 12 papers written by the authors during the 1980s. Some of them have been published before and were revised for inclusion in the volume. In this collection, the research results were based on the data of 50 localities, including readings of approximately 3000 characters and some 2000 compounds/phrases.

Hóu Jīngyī (侯精一) also published his work *Jīnyǔ Yánjiù* 晉語研究 (Studies of the Jīn Dialects) in 1989, which collected thirty-five of his previously published and new articles on the Jīn dialects.

In 1986-1987, a dialect survey of the Pearl River Delta was conducted jointly by the scholars of Jinán University (in Guǎngzhōu) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The survey covers 31 localities. The research results of this survey were published in the following three volumes:

Zhūjiāng Sānjiǎozhōu Fāngyán Zīyīn Duìzhào 珠江三角洲方言字音對照 (A Survey of Dialects in the Pearl River Delta, Vol. 1—Comparative Morpheme-Syllabary), with editors-in-chief by Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧, and Cheung Yat Shing 張日昇 (Zhāng Rìshēng) in 1987.

Zhūjiāng Sānjiǎozhōu Fāngyán Cíhuì Duìzhào 珠江三角洲方言詞匯對照 (A Survey of Dialects in the Pearl River Delta, Vol. 2—Comparative Lexicon), with editors-in-chief Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧 and Cheung Yat Shing 張日昇 (Zhāng Rìshēng) in 1988.

Zhūjiāng Sānjiǎozhōu Fāngyán Zōngshù 珠江三角洲方言綜述 (A Survey of Dialects in the Pearl River Delta, Vol. 3—A Synthetic Review), with editors-in-chief Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧 and Cheung Yat Shing 張日昇 (Zhāng Rìshēng) in 1990.

⁸ Most of the works included in these two series are not available to the author at the time of this writing.

In 1992-93, as a sequel to the survey in the Pearl River Delta, a dialect survey was conducted in 10 localities in the North and West of Guangdong, under the joint auspices of the Jinan University and Hong Kong Polytechnic (renamed as Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1995). The first results of the survey, *Yuèběi Shí Xiànshì Yuè Fāngyán Diàocháo Bào gào* 粵北十縣市粵方言調查報告 (A Survey of Yue Dialects in North Guangdong), were published in 1994, with editors-in-chief Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧 and Cheung Yat Shing 張日昇 (Zhāng Rìshēng). The report covered the descriptions of phonology, comparison of the dialects with Cantonese, a lexicon of the dialect readings of 3810 characters, with additional entries for Middle Chinese and Modern Beijing dialect, readings of 1248 words/phrases, a very brief discussion of grammatical features and 46 linguistic maps. At the same time, Cheung Yat Shing and Gān Yúēn (甘于恩) compiled and published a *Yuè Fāngyán Yánjiù Shūmù* 粵方言研究書目 (A Bibliography of Yue Dialect Studies) in 1993.

Since the 1980s, increased interest in dialect studies in general also led to new studies of the grammar of dialects. In 1996, an enormous volume of *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Yǔfǎ Lèibiān* 漢語方言語法類編 (A Classified Dictionary of Chinese Dialect Grammar), with editor-in-chief Huáng Bóróng (黃伯榮) was published, which has over 2500 entries of grammatical terms/units that are found in Chinese dialects. In the appendix, there is a very useful bibliography consisting 505 entries of dialect works cited in the dictionary. In 1997, Lǐ, Guózhèng (李國正) published *Sìchuān Lúzhōu Fāngyán Yánjiù* 四川瀘州方言研究 (A Study of the Luzhou Dialect in Sichuan), which included phonology, comparative study of the phonological characteristics of the Lúzhōu dialect with Mandarin and Middle Chinese, comparison of the Lúzhōu's lexical and syntactic characteristics with Mandarin, lexicon and a couple of corpus texts.

With the increase of studies on Chinese dialects in general, national or international conferences of individual major Chinese dialects started to be held, beginning in the early 1980s. On 12-14 December, 1988, the first International Conference of the Wú Dialects was held at the Chinese Hong Kong University. Proceedings of this conference, *Wúyǔ Yánjiù* 吳語研究 (Studies of the Wu Dialects) edited by Eric Zee (徐雲揚), was published in 1995 in Hong Kong; it included papers concerning the history of Wú dialect studies, the district groupings of the Wu dialects, phonetics, tones, comparative studies on the historical phonology and the Wú dialects, and grammar. As the field data on Chinese dialects increased from early 1980s, so did more and more Chinese linguists, especially those with theoretical training in the United States, engage in investigations to bridge linguistic fact with theory. Unlike the reports of individual dialects mentioned above, these proceedings also tackled theoretical issues, using the Wu dialects evidence.

Since the 1980's, other conferences followed. The First National Conference of Chinese Dialects was held in Xiàmén, Fújiàn in 1981, and several individual major dialect conferences were also launched in China, including:

The First International Conference of Yuè Dialects was held in Hong Kong in

1987.

The First International Conference of Min Dialects was held in Fúzhōu, Fújiàn in 1988.

The First International Conference of Kèjiā Dialects was held in Lóngyán, Fújiàn in 1993.

The First International Conference of Jin Dialects was held in Tàiyuán, Shānxī in 1995.

The First International Conference of Mandarin Dialects was held in Qíngdǎo, Shāndōng in 1997.

In depth studies on individual dialects started to emerge in the late 1980s. For the Beijing dialect, the following three dictionaries were published:

1. *Beijīng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 北京方言詞典 (Beijing Dialect Dictionary) by Chén Gāng (陳剛) in 1985.
2. *Beijīng Tǔyǔ Cídiǎn* 北京土語詞典 (Beijing Local Dialect Dictionary) by Xú Shìróng (徐世榮), in 1990.
3. *Beijīng Erhuà Cídiǎn* 北京話兒化詞典 (Beijing Dialect's Retroflexed Vocabulary Dictionary) by Jiǎ Cǎizhū (賈采珠), in 1990.

During 1986-1990, a dialect survey project, "*Hànyǔ fāngyán zhòngdiǎn diàochá* 漢語方言重點調查" (A survey of the major localities of the Chinese dialects), was conducted under the directorship of Hè Wéi (賀巍) and Zhāng Zhènxīng (張振興). More than ten linguists joined the project to study the phonology, lexicon and grammar of each locality. So far, the following works have been completed: (cf. Zhān 2000:322)

- Zhāngpíng Fāngyán Yánjiù* 漳平方言研究, by Zhāng Zhènxīng (張振興)
Luòyáng Fāngyán Yánjiù 洛陽方言研究, by Hè Wéi (賀巍)
Bóshān Fāngyán Yánjiù 博山方言研究, by Qián Zēngyí (錢曾怡)
Jiāngyǒng Fāngyán Yánjiù 江永方言研究, by Huáng Xuězhēn (黃雪貞)
Jiādìng Fāngyán Yánjiù 嘉定方言研究, by Tāng Zhēnzhū (湯珍珠) and Chén Zhōngmǐn (陳忠敏)
Fúqīng Fāngyán Yánjiù 福清方言研究, by Féng Aizhēn (馮愛珍)
Wúhàn Fāngyán Yánjiù 武漢方言研究, by Zhū Jiànsòng (朱建頌)
Zhōushān Fāngyán Yánjiù 舟山方言研究, by Fāng Sōng Xī (方松熹)
Líchūān Fāngyán Yánjiù 黎川方言研究, by Yán Sēn (顏森)

2.42 The Publications of Dialect Dictionaries in 1990s

During the 1990s, the following voluminous dialect dictionaries and bibliographies have been published:

1. *Guǎngzhōuhuà Yánjiù Lùnzhù Sūyǐn* 廣州話研究論著索引 (The Bibliography of the Studies on the Guangzhou Dialect), by Zhèng Dìng'ōu (鄭定歐), in 1993.

2. *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Yánjiù Wénxiàn Sūyǐn* 漢語方言研究文獻索引 (The Bibliography of Chinese Dialectology) by Niè Jiànmin (聶建民) and Lǐ Qí (李琦), in 1994.
3. *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Yánjiù Lùnzhù Suōyǐn (1900-1999)* 漢語方言研究論著索引 (1900-1999) (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Chinese Dialectology (1900-1999), by Zhèng Dìng'ōu (鄭定歐), Niè Jiànmin (聶建民), and Lǐ Qí (李琦), in 1999.
4. *Zhōngguó Mínhjiān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 中國民間方言詞典 (Dictionary of Chinese Folk Dialects), compiled by Duàn Kāilián (段開璉), in 1994.
5. *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fāngyán Dàcídiǎn* 現代漢語方言大詞典 (Modern Chinese Dialect Dictionary), in 5 volumes, with editors-in-chief Xǔ Bǎohuá (許寶華) and Miyada Ichiro (宮田一郎) in 1999.
6. *Pǔtōnghuà Jīchǔ Fāngyán Jīběn Cíhuìjí* 普通話基礎方言基本詞匯集 (General Lexical Glossary of Basic Mandarin Dialects), edited by Chén Zhāngtài (陳章太) and Lǐ Xíngjiàn (李行健), in 1999.

One of the most important activities of Chinese dialectology from the mid-1980s to 1990s was a survey project of individual dialects, prepared for the compilation of individual dialect dictionaries. The project, under the auspices of *Zhōngguó Kēxuéyuàn Yǔyán Yánjiùsuǒ* 中國社會科學院語言研究所 (Linguistic Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and the directorships of Lǐ Róng (李榮), Xióng Zhèngguī (熊正輝) and Zhāng Zhènxīng (張振興), involved over sixty linguists, who were either native speakers of the local dialects or who had lived/done research in the survey localities for a long period of time. For the sake of future dialect comparison, the *Biānjī Wēiyuánhuì* 編輯委員會 (Committee of the Dialect Dictionary Compilation) had designed a *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Cíhuì Diàochábiǎo* 漢語方言詞匯調查表 (Chinese Dialect Lexicon Survey List) for the fieldworker to use to collect at least the lexical items included on the List, which itself included about 2000 entries. The individual fieldworker was allowed to collect additional local dialect specific lexical items to be included in the dictionary. The entries were divided into twenty-nine categories: (Zhāng Zhènxīng 2000: 97-113) 1. *Tiānwén* 天文 (astronomy). 2. *Dìlǐ* 地理 (geography). 3. *Shíling, shíjiān* 時令, 時間 (season, time). 4. *Nóngshì* 農事 (agriculture). 5. *Zhíwù* 植物 (botany). 6. *Dòngwù* 動物 (animals). 7. *Fángshè* 房舍 (house). 8. *Qìjù yòngpǐn* 器具用品 (utensils). 9. *Chēngwèi* 稱謂 (address). 10. *Qīnshù* 親屬 (kinship). 11. *Shēntǐ* 身體 (body). 12. *Jībìng, yīliáo* 疾病, 醫療 (diseases, medical treatment). 13. *Yīfú chuāndài* 衣服穿戴 (clothing). 14. *Yǐnshí* 飲食 (drinking and eating). 15. *Hóngbái dàshì* 紅白大事 (wedding and funeral). 16. *Rìcháng shēnghuó* 日常生活 (daily life). 17. *Sòngshì* 訟事 (lawsuit). 18. *Jiāojì* 交際 (communication). 19. *Shāngyè, jiāotōng* 商業, 交通 (business, transportation). 20. *Wénhuà jiàoyù* 文化教育 (education). 21. *Wéntǐ huódòng* 文體活動 (culture activities) 22. *Dòngzuò* 動作 (actions). 23. *Wèizhì* 位置 (positions). 24. *Dàicí Dēng* 代詞等 (pronouns, etc). 25. *Xíngróngcí* 形容詞 (adjectives). 26. *Fùcí, Jiècí Dēng*, 副詞, 介詞等 (adverbs, prepositions, etc.). 27. *Liàngcí* 量詞 (classifiers). 28. *Fùjiā chéngfèn* 附加成分 (affixes), and 29. *Shùzì dēng* 數字等 (numerals, etc.).

The research results of the surveys were published in the following dictionaries:

1. *Chóngmíng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 崇明方言詞典 (Chongming Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhāng Huǐyīng (張惠英) in 1998.
2. *Tàiyuán Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 太原方言詞典 (Taiyuna Dialect Dictionary), edited by Shěn Míng (沈明) in 1998.
3. *Sūzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 蘇州方言詞典 (Suzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Yè Xiánghóng (葉祥榕) in 1998.
4. *Jīnhuá Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 金華方言詞典 (Jinhua Dialect Dictionary), edited by Cáo Zhìyún (曹志耘) in 1998.
5. *Xiàmén Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 廈門方言詞典 (Xiamen Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhōu Chángjī (周長楫) in 1998.
6. *Chángshā Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 長沙方言詞典 (Changsha Dialect Dictionary), edited by Bào Hòuxīng, Cui Zhènghuá, Shěn Ruòyún, and Wǔ Yúnjī (鮑厚星, 崔振華, 沈若雲, 伍雲姬) in 1998.
7. *Lóudǐ Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 婁底方言詞典 (Loudi Dialect Dictionary), edited by Yán Qīnghuī, Liú Lìhua (顏清徽, 劉麗華) in 1998.
8. *Nánchāng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 南昌方言詞典 (Nanchang Dialect Dictionary), edited by Xióng Zhèngguāng (熊正輝) in 1995.
9. *Xīníng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 西寧方言詞典 (Xining Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhāng Chéngcái (張成材) in 1994.
10. *Guìyáng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 貴陽方言詞典 (Guiyang Dialect Dictionary), by Wāng Píng (汪平) in 1994.
11. *Wūlǔmùqí Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 烏魯木齊方言詞典 (Urumchi Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhōu Lěi (周磊) in 1995.
12. *Méixiàn Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 梅縣方言詞典 (Meixian Dialect Dictionary), Huáng Xuězhēn (黃雪貞) in 1998.
13. *Nánjīng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 南京方言詞典 (Nanjing Dialect Dictionary), edited by Liú Dānqīng (劉丹青) in 1995.
15. *Dōngguān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 東莞方言詞典 (Dongguan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhān Bóhuǐ (詹伯慧) and Chén Xiǎojīn (陳曉錦) in 1997.
16. *Wúhàn Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 武漢方言詞典 (Wuhan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhū Jiànsòng (朱建頌) in 1995.
17. *Dānyáng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 丹陽方言詞典 (Danyang Dialect Dictionary), edited by Cài Guólù (蔡國璐) in 1995.
18. *Xīnzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 忻州方言詞典 (Xinzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wēn Duānzhèng and Zhāng Guāngmíng (溫端政, 張光明) in 1995.
19. *Liúzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 柳州方言詞典 (Liuzhou Dialect Dictionary), Liú Cūnhàn (劉村漢) in 1995.
20. *Líchuān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 黎川方言詞典 (Lichuan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Yán Sēn (顏森) in 1995.
21. *Xī'ān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 西安方言詞典 (Xi'an Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wáng Jūnhǔ (王軍虎) in 1996.
22. *Yángzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 揚州方言詞典 (Yangzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wáng Shìhuá (王世華) and Huáng Jìlín (黃繼林) in 1996.
23. *Xúzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 徐州方言詞典 (Xuzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Sū Xiǎoqīng (蘇曉青) and Lǚ Yǒngwèi (呂永衛) in 1996.
24. *Hǎikǒu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 海口方言詞典 (Haikou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Chén Hóngmài (陳鴻邁) in 1996.
25. *Yínchuān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 銀川方言詞典 (Yinchuan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Lǐ Shùyǎn (李樹儼) and Zhāng Ānshēng (張安生) in 1996.
26. *Luòyáng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 洛陽方言詞典 (Luoyang Dialect Dictionary), edited by Hé Wēi (賀巍) in 1996.
27. *Hàrbīn Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 哈爾濱方言詞典 (Harbin Dialect Dictionary), edited by Yīn Shìchāo (尹世超) in 1998.
28. *Jīnán Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 濟南方言詞典 (Jinan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Qián Zēngyí (錢曾怡) in 1997.
29. *Móupíng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 牟平方言詞典 (Mouping Dialect Dictionary), edited by Luó Fúténg (羅福騰) in 1997.
30. *Shànghǎi Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 上海方言詞典 (Shanghai Dialect Dictionary), edited by Xǔ Bǎohuá and Táo Huán (許寶華, 陶寰) in 1997.
31. *Níngbō Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 寧波方言詞典 (Ningbo Dialect Dictionary), edited by Tāng Zhēnzhū (湯珍珠) and Wú Xīnxián (吳新賢) in 1997.
32. *Wànróng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 萬榮方言詞典 (Wanrong Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wú Jiànshēng (吳建生) in 1997.
33. *Nánning Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 南寧方言詞典 (Nanning Dialect Dictionary), edited by Tán Yuánxióng (覃遠雄), Wéi Shùguān (韋樹關), and Biàn Chénglín (卞成林) in 1997.
34. *Píngxiāng Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 萍鄉方言詞典 (Pingxiang Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wèi Gāngqiáng (魏綱強) in 1998.
35. *Léizhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 雷州方言詞典 (Leizhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Zhāng Zhènxīng (張振興) and Cài Yèqīng (蔡葉青) in 1998.
36. *Fúzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 福州方言詞典 (Fuzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Féng Àizhēn (馮愛珍) in 1998.
37. *Wēnzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 溫州方言詞典 (Wenzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Yóu Rǚjié (游汝杰) in 1998.
38. *Hángzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 杭州方言詞典 (Hangzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited Bào Shìjié (鮑士杰) in 1998.
39. *Guǎngzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 廣州方言詞典 (Guangzhou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Bái Wǎnrú (白宛如) in 1998.
40. *Chéngdū Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 成都方言詞典 (Chengdu Dialect Dictionary), edited Liáng Démàn (梁德曼) and Huáng Shàngjūn (黃尚軍) in 1998.

41. *Yúdu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 于都方言詞典 (Yudu Dialect Dictionary), in Xiè Liúwén (謝留文) in 1998.
42. *Jiàn'ōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 建甌方言詞典 (Jian'ou Dialect Dictionary), edited by Lǐ Rúlóng (李如龍) in 1998.
43. *Sìchuān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* 四川方言詞典 (Sichuan Dialect Dictionary), edited by Wáng Wénhǔ (王文虎), Zhāng Yīzhōu (張一舟), and Zhōu Jiāyún (周家鈞) in 1987.

The contents of the above dictionaries were presented in a uniform format, including these major features: (1) Introduction: a brief history of the dialect locality, a brief description of the phonological system and special characteristics of the local dialect; (2) main text: the entries of the lexicon; (3) indexes; (4) References. The number of the lexical items included in each dictionary ranges from 7,000 to over 10,000. These rich dialect data are very valuable not only for future dialectal studies, but for anthropological studies as well.

2.43 Dialect Works in the Gazetteers

In addition to the above dialect studies, we can also find a general description of the dialect of a locality, *Fāngyánzhì* 方言志 (linguistic account), included in the traditional Chinese gazetteers, *fāngyǎzhì* 方志 (geographic account) of a certain county, or province. Traditionally, the Chinese local government sponsored the compilation of a gazetteer, which usually included a description of the geography, the people, the customs, and the language of that place. Since the early 1980s, several provinces have engaged in the revision of their gazetteers, hence many new *Fāngyánzhì* 方言志 (linguistic account) were published in 1980s-90s. Both Shangdong province and Shanxi province have launched the publication of a series of *Shāngdōng Fāngyánzhì Cōngshū* (山東方言志叢書) and *Shānxī Fāngyánzhì Cōngshū* (山西方言志叢書), respectively, in early 1980s and 1990s. Other places have followed suit. Below are some examples of the *Fāngyánzhì* 方言志:

- Hóu, Jīngyī (侯精一). 1982. *Píngyáo Fāngyánzhì* 平遙方言志 [The Pingyao Dialect].
- Shěn, Huǐyún (沈慧雲). 1983. *Jīnchéng Fāngyánzhì* 晉城方言志 [The Jincheng Dialect].
- Jīn, Mèngyīn (金夢茵). 1983. *Língchuān Fāngyánzhì* 陵川方言志 [The Lingchuan Dialect].
- Wēn, Duānzhèng (溫端政). 1983. *Huáirén Fāngyánzhì* 懷仁方言志 [The Huairan Dialect].
- Chén, Rùnlán (陳潤蘭) and Li Weishi (李唯實). 1984. *Xiāngyuán Fāngyánzhì* 襄垣方言志 [The Xiangyuan Dialect].
- Zhào, Bǐngxuán (趙秉璇). 1984. *Shòuyáng Fāngyánzhì* 壽陽方言志 [The Shouyang Dialect].
- Hóu, Jīngyī (侯精一). 1985. *Chángyè Fāngyánzhì* 長治方言志 [The Changye Dialect].

- Lǐ, Shēn (李申). 1985. *Xúzhōu Fāngyánzhì* 徐州方言志 [The Xuzhou Dialect].
- Wēn, Duānzhèng (溫端政). 1985. *Xīnzhōu Fāngyánzhì* 忻州方言志 [The Xinzhou Dialect].
- Mǎ, Wénzhōng (馬文忠). 1986. *Dàtóng Fāngyánzhì* 大同方言志 [The Datong Dialect].
- Tián, Xīchéng (田希誠). 1987. *Héshùn Fāngyánzhì* 和順方言志 [The Heshun Dialect].
- Luó, Kāngníng (羅康寧) (葉國泉審訂). 1987. *Xīnyí Fāngyánzhì* 信宜方言志 [The Xinyi Dialect].
- Zhāng, Chéngcái (張成材) and Zhū Shìkú (朱世奎). 1987. *Xīníng Fāngyánzhì* 西寧方言志 [The Xining Dialect].
- Liú, Líng (劉伶). 1988. *Dùnhuáng Fāngyánzhì* 敦煌方言志 [The Dunhuang Dialect].
- Hú, Shuāngbǎo (胡雙寶). 1988. *Wénshuǐ Fāngyánzhì* 文水方言志 [The Wenshui Dialect].
- Pān, Jiāyǐ (潘家懿). 1988. *Línfēn Fāngyánzhì* 臨汾方言志 [The Linfen Dialect].
- Xǔ, Bǎohuá and Tāng Zhēnzū eds. (許寶華, 湯珍珠主編). 1988. *Shànghǎi Shìqū Fāngyánzhì* 上海市區方言志 [The Shanghai City Dialect].
- Yè, Xiánglíng (葉祥苓). 1988. *Sūzhōu Fāngyánzhì* 江蘇方言志 [The Suzhou Dialect].
- Lǐ, Yǒngmíng (李永明). 1989. *Chángdé Fāngyánzhì* 常德方言志 [The Changde Dialect].
- Cài, Quán (蔡權). 1990. *Jíxiàn Fāngyánzhì* 吉縣方言志 [The Jixian Dialect].
- Zhāng, Zhènduó (張振鐸). 1990. *Qīnxiàn Fāngyánzhì* 沁縣方言志 [The Qinxian Dialect].
- Zhū, Yàolóng (朱耀龍). 1990. *Xīnjiàng Fāngyánzhì* 新絳方言志 [The Xinjiang Dialect].
- Shǐ, Sùfēn (史素芬). 1990. *Wǔxiāng Fāngyán Zhì* 武鄉方言志 [The Wuxiang Dialect].
- Pān, Yàowǔ (潘耀武). 1990. *Qīngxú Fāngyánzhì* 山陰方言志 [The Qingxu Dialect].
- Tián, Xīchéng (田希誠). 1990. *Héshùn Fāngyánzhì* 和順方言志 [The Heshun Dialect].
- Qiáo, Quánshēng (喬全生). 1990. *Fēnxī Fāngyánzhì* 汾西方言志 [The Fenxi Dialect].
- Wú, Jiànshēng (吳建生) and Lǐ Gǎiyàng (李改樣). 1990. *Yǒngjì Fāngyánzhì* 永濟方言志 [The Fenxi Dialect].
- Xiè, Zìlì (謝自立). *Tiānzhèn Fāngyánzhì* 永濟方言志 [The Tianzhen Dialect].
- Cáo, Yánjié (曹延杰). 1991. *Dézhōu Fāngyánzhì* 德州方言志 [The Dezhou Dialect].
- Lǐ, Xiǎopíng (李小平). 1991. *Línxiàn Fāngyánzhì* 臨縣方言志 [The Linxian Dialect].
- Mèng, Qīnghǎi (孟慶海). 1991. *Yángqū Fāngyánzhì* 陽曲方言志 [The Yangqu Dialect].

2.44 Chinese Dialect Sound Database

During the 1990s, besides the publication of the above mentioned dialect dictionaries and *Yángqǔ Fāngyánzhì*, one new endeavor of the Chinese dialectology has been the compilation of a *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fāngyán Yīnkù* 現代漢語方言音庫 (Sound Database of Modern Chinese Dialects), under the direction of and chief-editor Hóu Jīngyī (侯精一) of *Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Yǔyán Yánjiùsuǒ* 中國社會科學院語言研究所 (Linguistic Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). So far, forty sound files have been completed and some have been published beginning 1998.

2.45 Dialect Studies on Taiwan

In Taiwan, the death of Tung T'ung-ho in 1963 had a great impact on Chinese dialectology for almost one decade during which significant dialect studies were rare. A few that did appear should be mentioned. In 1969, Yang Shih-feng published an article on *Nánchāng Yīnxī* 南昌音系 (The Phonetic system of the Nanchang dialect). In 1960s, Yang Shih-feng did a Hakka dialect survey in *Měinóng* (美濃) in Taiwan, resulting in *Táiwān Měinóng Kèjiā Fāngyán* 台灣美濃客家方言 (The Hakka Dialect of Meinong, Taiwan), which was published in 1971. Meinong Hakka is a variety of *Sìxiàn* (四縣)⁹ Hakka of Guangdong province. This study included a phonological analyses,

In fact, prior to moving of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica from Mainland China to Taiwan, there were numerous studies on Taiwanese dialects by local scholars. In 1963, Wú Shǒulǐ (吳守禮) had published *Táiwān Fāngyán Yánjiù Wénxiàn Mùlù* 台灣方言研究文獻目錄 (Bibliography of the Studies on the Taiwanese Dialects). Xǔ Chéngzhāng (許成章) had also published a *Táiwān Mǐnnányǔ Cídiǎn* 台灣閩南語辭典 (A Taiwan Southern Min Dialect Dictionary) in 1970-71. These works are basically of a textual research nature.

Since the 1970s, with the tide of students who had studied abroad (mostly in the United States) returning to Taiwan, linguistics as a science developed dramatically and received considerable attention in the academic field. Thus, here too, the studies of Chinese dialects increased tremendously. On Ting Pang-hsin's (丁邦新) return to Taiwan from the United States to work at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, and teaching at National Taiwan University, he launched, with his students, Ho Dah-an (何大安 Hé Dà'ān), Yang Hsiu-fang (楊秀芳 Yáng Xiùfāng), and Chang Hsien-bao 張賢豹 (Zhāng Xiánbào, aka Chang Kung-yu 張光宇), a dialect study project of Hainan Island (海南島) in 1974. From 1949 to 1980s, scholars in Taiwan could not go to Mainland China to conduct fieldwork, thus Ting and his students had

interviewed native speakers from Hainan Island, who were living in Taiwan since 1949. They all produced works based on the findings of the project. Ho has done works on Lehui dialect 樂會方言 and Chengmai dialect 澄邁方言 (1976, 1981), Yang on Wanning dialect 萬寧方言 (1987) and Chang on Haikou dialect 海口方言 (1976). Ting's own monograph on *Dānzhōu Cūnhuà* 儋州村話 (The Danzhou Cunhua Dialect—Report on Hainan Dialects) was published in 1986; it is a comprehensive description of the Cūnhuà, a dialect which possesses phonological characteristics of both the Gàn and the Hakka dialects. In this work, besides adhering to the traditional description of the phonological system of the dialect and comparing the dialect with the Middle Chinese, Ting also used the conventions of distinctive features and phonological rules of generative phonology in his analysis. No discussions on the grammar of the dialect were included in the monograph, but the thirteen story texts included in the volume are valuable for future studies on the grammatical structures of this dialect.

One of Ting's students, Cornelius C. Kubler, conducted a dialect survey in *Péng hú Qúndǎo* 澎湖群島 (Pescadores Islands) in 1977. Based on the findings of the survey, Kubler wrote a Master Thesis on *Péng hú Qúndǎo Fāngyán Diàochá* 澎湖群島方言調查 (A Dialect Survey of the Pescadores Islands); a revised version of the thesis was published in 1986.

Based on the Chinese dialect data available in the field, Ho Dah-an (何大安) has published a momentous work, *Guīlǚ yǔ Fāngxiàng: Biànyān zhōng de Yīnyùn Jiégòu* 規律與方向: 變遷中的音韻結構 (Rules and Directions: The Changing Structure of Phonology) in 1988. This is the very first theory-oriented work of Chinese historical phonology in Chinese, which shall receive much attention in Chinese linguistic change in the future.

Yu Chih-fu (余直夫 Yú Zhífū), a native of the *Fèngxīn* subdialect (奉新話) of Gàn dialect (贛語) in *Jiāngxī* province (江西省), moved to Taiwan in 1949. Based on his own idiolect, he had published a work on *Fèngxīn Yīnxī* 奉新音系 (The Phonetic System of Feng-hsin), which includes a description of the phonological system of the dialect, a comparison of the dialect with the Middle Chinese, a short list of dialect vocabulary and three short texts.

Not until early 1980s, with the rise of *běntǔ yìshì* 本土意識 (ethnic consciousness) in Taiwan, did numerous modern studies on the Taiwan Southern Min and Hakka dialects start to emerge. After Japanese occupation of Taiwan for 50 years, Taiwan was returned to China in 1945. In order to promote Mandarin as the national language, the Chinese government implemented a Mandarin education policy in 1946. In 1956, the Department of Education of Taiwan Province mandated that students were not allowed to speak dialects at school. The Radio and TV Broadcast Bill, which controlled the use of dialects

⁹ *Sìxiàn* (四縣) includes these four counties: Xīngníng 興寧, Wǔhuá 五華, Píngyuǎn 平遠, and Jiāolíng 蕉嶺.

in the broadcasting was passed in 1976, but was abolished in 1993 due to the people's opposition to the policy.¹⁰ Some important ones are listed below.

In 1975-76, Luó Zhào'jīn (羅肇錦) recorded the speech of a native Hakka speaker, who moved from Mainland China to Taiwan in 1949 which would serve as the basis for Luó's MA thesis, *Ruìjīn Fāngyán* 瑞金方言 (The Ruijin Hakka dialect of Jiangxi) at National Taiwan University in 1977. Later, after the Hakka dialect movement and interests in dialect studies surged, this work was published in 1989. Luó Zhào'jīn (羅肇錦), a native speaker of Taiwan Hakka dialect, has also published two important works on the Hakka dialects on Taiwan:

- (1) *Sixiàn Kèyǔ yǔfǎ* 四縣客語語法 (The Grammar of the Sixian Hakka Dialect) in 1985. Later the title of its revised edition became *Keyu yufa* 客語語法 (The Grammar of Hakka Dialect), which was published in 1988. This study discussed the morphology and syntax of Sixiàn Hakka, spoken in Taiwan, from the approach of structural linguistics, as influenced by Chao Yuen Ren's (1968) *Spoken Chinese Grammar*.
- (2) *Táiwān de Kèjiāhuà* 台灣的客家話 (The Hakka Dialects in Taiwan) was published in 1990. It described the distribution of Hakka dialects on Taiwan and included the description of the phonological systems of the Hakka subdialects, contrastive studies of Hakka, Mandarin and Middle Chinese, and morphology.

In 1988, A collection of the studies on the Taiwanese dialects entitled *Xiàndài Táiwānhuà Yánjiù Lùnwénjí* 現代台灣話研究論文集 (The Structure of Taiwanese: A Modern Synthesis), edited by Robert L. Cheng 鄭良偉 of the University of Hawaii and Huang Shuanfan 黃宣範 (Huáng Xuānfān) of National Taiwan University, was published. Papers in this volume concerned different aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax, sociolinguistics, language policy, and etymological studies of Taiwanese words.

With the increasing demand for learning Taiwanese since the late 1980s, several Taiwanese dialect textbooks have been published, a few of which may be mentioned here:

1. *Qīnzǐ Táiyǔ* 親子台語, by Robert L. Cheng (鄭良偉), Chào Shùn-wén (趙順文 Zhào Shùnwén), Fang Nan-chiang (方南強 Fāng Nánqiáng), and Wu Hsiu-li (吳秀麗 Wú Xiùlǐ) in 1990.
2. *Shēnghuó Táiyǔ* 生活台語, by Robert L. Cheng (鄭良偉), Chao Shun-wen (趙順文), and Fang Nan-chiang (方南強) in 1990.

Based on the data of four Southern Min dialects (Xiàmén 廈門, Quánzhōu 泉州, Zhāngzhōu 漳州 and Cháozhōu 潮州) from previous works, Yang Hsiu-fang (楊秀芳)

¹⁰ For the ethnic consciousness and the dialect/language movements, such as *Huán guō kèyǔ yùndòng* 還我客語運動 (Return Me My Hakka Dialect Movement) in Taiwan in 1988, readers are referred to Shuanfan Huang's (黃宣範) *Yǔyán, Shèhuì yǔ Zúqún yìshì* 語言, 社會與族群意識 (Language, Society and Ethnic Consciousness), 1993.

completed a doctoral dissertation on *Mǐnnányǔ Wénbái Xìtǒng de Yánjiù* 閩南語文白系統的研究 (A Study of the Literary and Colloquial System of the Southern Min Dialects) in 1982. So far, her work is the most extensive analysis of the linguistic strata in the Southern Min dialects in terms of descriptive phonological approach. Her work on *Táiwān Mǐnnányǔ Yǔfǎ Gǎo* 台灣閩南語語法稿 (A Draft of the Grammar of Taiwan Southern Min Dialects) published in 1991, is a significant study of the Southern Min syntax.

During the 1990s in Taiwan, linguistic field become extremely active. Five universities established *Yǔyán Yánjiùsuǒ* 語言研究所 (Graduate Institute of Linguistics). Several important linguistic/dialect conferences were launched since 1990:

The First International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics (第一屆中國境內語言暨語言學國際研討會) was launched in Taipei in 1990.

The First International Symposium on the Taiwan Language (第一屆台灣語言國際研討會) was launched in Taipei in 1993.

The First Symposium on the Hakka Dialect (客家語研討會) was launched at Tsing Hua University in 1993. The Proceedings, *Táiwān Kèjiāyǔ Lùnwénjí* 台灣客家語論文集 (Papers from the 1994 Conference on Language Teaching and Linguistics in Taiwan, Vol. II: Hakka), edited by Ts'ao Fengfu (曹逢甫 Cáo Fēngfǔ) and Chai Maihui (蔡美慧 Cài Měihuǐ) was published in 1995.

Numerous papers on the Taiwanese and Hakka dialects were published in the conference proceedings, which include studies on phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and dialect teachings. Most of the articles can be found in the *Fú Kè Yǔ Mùlù Fēnlèi Zīliàokù* 福客語目錄分類資料庫 (Bibliography Database of the Min and Hakka Dialects), compiled by Robert Cheng (鄭良偉), Ts'ao Fengfu (曹逢甫) and Susie S. Cheng (謝淑娟) in 1995.

Such dialect conferences plus the implementation of the curriculum policy of *běntǔ yǔyán jiāoxué* 本土語言教學 (teaching of the local dialect/language) at the elementary schools, decreed by the Ministry of Education in 1995,¹¹ have dramatically enhanced dialect studies.

In 1997 Academia Sinica also founded the *Yǔyán Yánjiùsuǒ Chóubèichù* 語言研究所籌備處 (Preparatory Committee of the Institute of Linguistics), to engage in the research on linguistic theories; to construct computer linguistic databases; to study the Han Chinese dialects, minority languages, aboriginal language and related Austronesian languages; and to launch an international journal *Yǔyán Jì Yǔyánxué* 語言暨語言學 (Languages and Linguistics), the first issue of which was published in 2000.¹² In 1999, *Táiwān Yǔyán Xuéhuì* 台灣語言學會 (Taiwan Linguistic Society) has been formally

¹¹ This curriculum language policy also applies to the teaching of the Taiwan aboriginal languages at the elementary schools.

¹² Readers may visit their website: <http://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw/> for information about the institute.

formed. All these above mentioned activities will certainly make great contributions to the future study of Chinese dialectology.

Exercises

1. As early as the 1920s, Lín Yútáng (see section 2) had proposed that "For studying a given dialect, one must study it with its neighboring areas' speech." Do you think this a good approach? Give the reasons for your answer.
2. Compare the dialect field methods employed by dialect workers in Mainland China and Taiwan, including a short statement explaining the differences and similarities in their dialect data collection and the presentation of their reports.
3. Briefly explain the development of the Chinese dialect studies in Mainland China and Taiwan in terms of the linguistic nature of the studies (etymology, phonology, lexicon, or syntax), and provide a possible reason for the switch of nature.
4. Do domestic political movements and western culture influences have any impact on modern Chinese dialectology? Why?

3 Modern Period of Dialectology II

3.1 Dialect Studies in the United States

Prior to the early 1980s, Chinese linguists from Taiwan or areas outside of China were unable to conduct dialect research or surveys on Mainland China. Thus many researchers either worked only on Mandarin, used their own idiolects, found certain dialect speakers who had migrated to Taiwan, Hong Kong, or abroad, or used the dialect data or reports from China that were available in the published materials for their studies. Then, beginning in the 1980s, some linguists started to conduct their own dialect fieldwork in China. In the following sections, we can see that Chinese dialectology has advanced from the descriptive approach to the application of modern linguistic theories to Chinese dialect studies.

3.2 The Chinese Linguistics Project at Princeton University

In the spring of 1966, under the initial funding of the Ford Foundation and later also partially supported by the US Office of Education and Princeton University, a Chinese Linguistics Project was launched at Princeton University. The Project was conceived as a national center, designed to serve national and international needs in the general field of Chinese linguistics. The Project's Advisory Board was headed by Dr. Yuen Ren Chao (趙元任), Agassiz Professor Emeritus of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of California, Berkeley. One of its missions was devoted to the descriptive-comparative studies of Modern Chinese dialects and Sino-Xenic dialects.¹ The Project has many publication programs, including preprint series UNICORN (*Chi-Lin* 麒麟), and the Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese dialectology. Two dialect books written by the Project members are by far the most systematic and detailed linguistic analyses of the two major Chinese dialects, Yuè (粵方言) and Hakka (客方言).

1. *Studies in Yuè Dialects, I: Phonology of Cantonese*, by Oi-kan Anne Yue-Hashimoto (余藹芹) in 1972. In this book, Yue-Hashimoto had used her own idiolect and fieldwork, Yuen Ren Chao's field notes of 1928-29, and other sources for her work.² The survey of the phonology of the Yue dialects was very extensive already at the time of her publication. The concepts of distinctive features and phonological rules of generative linguistics have been used in her interpretations of the Cantonese phonology. She also provided exhaustive lists of the correspondence of the Cantonese sounds to the Ancient Chinese (Middle Chinese) initials and finals. There are five maps included at the end of the book, two of which show the distribution of Yue speakers in Guangdong and Guangxi, plus other for Southeast Asia.

¹ See UNICORN (麒麟 Chi-Lin) No. 8, pp. i-iii, July 1971 for more information about the Project.

² See Yue-Hashimoto 1972, pp. 56-58 Source Material, and pp. 676-693 Appendix A: Selected Bibliography of Cantonese for the sources.

2. *The Hakka Dialect: A Linguistic Study of Its Phonology, Syntax, and Lexicon*, by Mantaro Hashimoto 橋本萬太郎 in 1973. Based on the data that he had gathered from a native speaker of Meixian (梅縣), Guangdong province who went to Tokyo, Japan in 1958, M. Hashimoto presented: (1) a comprehensive synchronic study of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Hakka dialect (Moi-yan dialect 梅縣方言); (2) a systematic comparison of the Hakka dialect with the initials, and finals of Ancient Chinese (Middle Chinese); and a proposed tonal system of Proto Hakka from which tones of the modern Hakka dialects have evolved. In his work, he has also employed the concepts of phonetic features, phonological and syntactic rules of the generative-transformational approach in his description.

Another research linguist of the Chinese Linguistic Project, Jerry Norman, has done work on the Min dialects based on the dialect data that he elicited from native Min speakers who lived in Taiwan. His article on "Tonal development in Min" (Norman 1973) was one of the products from the Project. After Norman left the Project to teach at the University of Washington, he has published many articles on the Min dialects e.g. "The initials of Proto-Min" (1974), "The Shaowu Dialect" (1974), "The Proto-Min finals" (1981), "The classification of the Shaowu dialect" (1982), "Some ancient Chinese words in the Min dialect" (1983), and "The Min dialects in historical perspective" (1991). Besides, in the Chapters 8 and 9 of his book, *Chinese* (1988:181-244), Norman has proposed a set of features for the dialect classification (see Chapter 3) and has presented a very lucid description of the dialectal variation in North, Central and Southeast China.

3.3 The DOC Project at the University of California, Berkeley

As we have seen from the previous chapter, the Chinese dialect materials that have been available since the 1960s are enormous. Professor William S.-Y. Wang (王士元) of the University of California at Berkeley, the first Chinese linguist who introduced the transformational linguistics to the field of Chinese linguistics in the late 1960s,³ has correctly pointed out that in terms of modern Chinese linguistic studies, "there is a severe imbalance of being data-rich and theory-poor." (W. S.-Y. Wang 1996: 245) As early as the late 1960s, Wang and his research associate, Cheng Chin-chuan (鄭錦全), felt that modern linguistic theories had been developed basically based on European languages (non-tonal languages). They suggested that Chinese--a language with distinct tonal characteristics, wide geographical distributions, rich dialect data and long historical linguistic records--should be able to make great contributions to the study of human languages. (Chin-Chuan Cheng 1997: 41). Thus in 1966, with the collaboration of Cheng

Chin-chuan (鄭錦全) and others, Wang directed and launched a computer dialect database project called "DOC" (Dictionary on Computer), which computerized the sounds of over 2,700 words in 17 dialects in the *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* 漢語方音字匯 (Chinese Dialect Character Pronunciation List, Beijing University 1962). Later they added the sounds of Shanghai, the *Zhōngyuán Yīnyùn* (中原音韻) of the 14th century, Kan-on and Go-on Sino-Japanese, and Sino-Korean to the data pool.⁴ With the convenient reference tool "DOC", they and other of Wang's students, Matthew Y. Chen (陳淵泉) and Hsieh Hsin-I (謝信一), etc. have been able to employ the Chinese dialect data in DOC to do the analyses and to test different linguistic change theories. DOC is now being used on a dozen or so campuses for research in historical linguistics. It has helped the studies of Chinese dialects advance into this new era of using the computer as a research tool.

In the dialect surveys in general, linguists always found that a variety of forms exists in transition areas or co-existed in a given area while a sound change is in progress. In traditional linguistic theories, structural or generative, variety has had no place in their theoretical frameworks. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 174-176) How to account for the variety is a major concern of dialectology. In order to address the variety issue, Wang has investigated Chinese dialect data and has proposed the hypothesis of lexical diffusion, which maintains that "Phonological change may be implemented in a manner that is phonetically abrupt but lexically gradual. As the change diffuses across the lexicon, it may not reach all the morphemes to which it is applicable. If there is another change competing for part of the lexicon, residue may result." (W. S.-Y. Wang 1969: 9). He also claims that the exceptions found in a historical sound change might occur at the onset of a change or might be created by an incomplete sound change. His lexical diffusion theory--the gradual spread of phonological change from morpheme to morpheme, has a great impact on the fields of Chinese dialectology and historical phonology. Many articles that grew out of DOC and those support Wang's lexical diffusion theory based on other languages have been published in the anthology, *The Lexicon in Phonological Change* (Wang 1977).⁵ In the later years, many more Chinese dialect studies attest to the lexical diffusion theory.

Wang has contributed a great deal to the field of Chinese dialectology by bringing allied disciplines together with the dialect studies and encouraging dialect data gathering with linguistic theory development. In January 1986, he had organized a Conference on Languages and Dialects of China, held in Oakland, California. The Conference was supported by the Wang Institute of Graduate Studies.⁶ The invited contributors and

⁴ For the information about the "DOC", see Cheng, Chin-chuan. 1994. "DOC": its birth and life." In Matthew Y. Chen and Ovid J. L. Tzeng, (eds), *In Honor of William S.-Y. Wang: Interdisciplinary Studies on Language and Language Change*, pp. 71-86.

⁵ Cf. C. C. Cheng (1994, 1997) for more information about the works dealt with lexical diffusion by using DOC.

⁶ The Institute's President was Wang An (王安), founder of the Wang Computer Corporation.

³ Wang taught linguistics at the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology of National Taiwan University as a visiting professor in 1966, during which he had introduced transformational approach to the field in Taiwan. He and John H.-T. Lu (陸孝棟) translated Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) into Chinese *Biànhuànlǚ Yǔfǎ Lǐlùn* 變換律語法理論 in 1966.

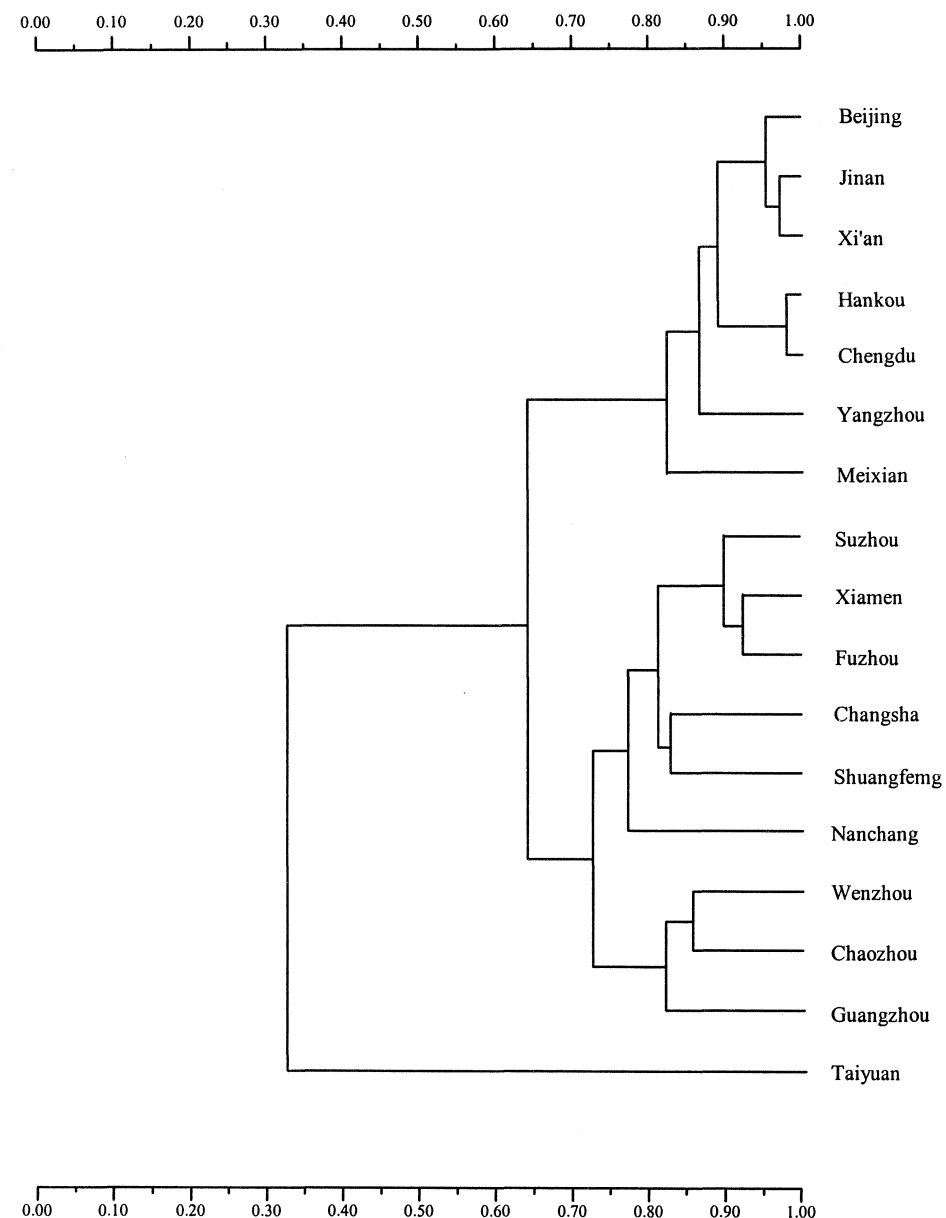
participants were well-known scholars in the fields of Chinese history, genetics, geography, psychology, anthropology, and linguistics from all over the world. The proceedings, *Languages and Dialects of China*, edited by Wang, was not published until 1991.⁷ The articles included in the proceedings are important works in modern Chinese dialect studies. Wang has also published several papers concerning Chinese dialects, among them: "Theoretical issues in studying Chinese dialects" (1990) and "Linguistic diversity and language relationships" (1996). Both are very interesting and enlightening. By using Chinese dialect data and computer data processing, Wang has proposed three approaches to linguistic systematics: distance methods, character state trees, and rule diffusion, by which one can quantify linguistic diversity and affinity.

Another important contribution of Wang's was the founding of the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* (*JCL*, 中國語言學報) in 1973, for which he has served as its chief editor ever since. The *Journal* has become the most important Chinese linguistics source in the world in which many dialect studies can be found.

3.4 Quantitative Approach of Dialect Study

Like Wang, Cheng Chin-chuan (鄭錦全) has been using Chinese dialect data from DOC to conduct linguistic analyses. He is the pioneer who has been engaged in providing a rigorous quantitative approach in calculating the mutual intelligibility and the relative affinity of Chinese dialects with variable measurements since the early 1980s. He has published many articles concerning the quantitative study of Chinese dialects (C. C. Cheng 1982, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1999). In his articles, he has shown us how linguistic inquiries can be conducted in an objective way, just as other scientific investigations have. By using the unique feature of the Chinese syllable-words as the base to search for the correspondence patterns of the initials, medials, vowels, endings and tones of the cognates, Cheng has obtained quantitative figures to show the dialect affinity. Using his article on "Measuring relationship among dialects: DOC and related resources" (1997), we have taken some of his research results to show the readers the closeness among the related dialects in the following Figures 1-3:

Figure 1. Dialect Affinity Based on Genetic Relations of Initials, Finals, and Tones
(Cheng 1997 Appendix 2)



⁷ See W. S.-Y. Wang ed. (1991: 3-10) about the conference. The article written by the late Professor Mantaro Hashimoto was published separately in *JCL* 20.1: 1-49, 1992.

Figure 2. Dialect Affinity Based on Lexicon
(Cheng 1997 Appendix 4)

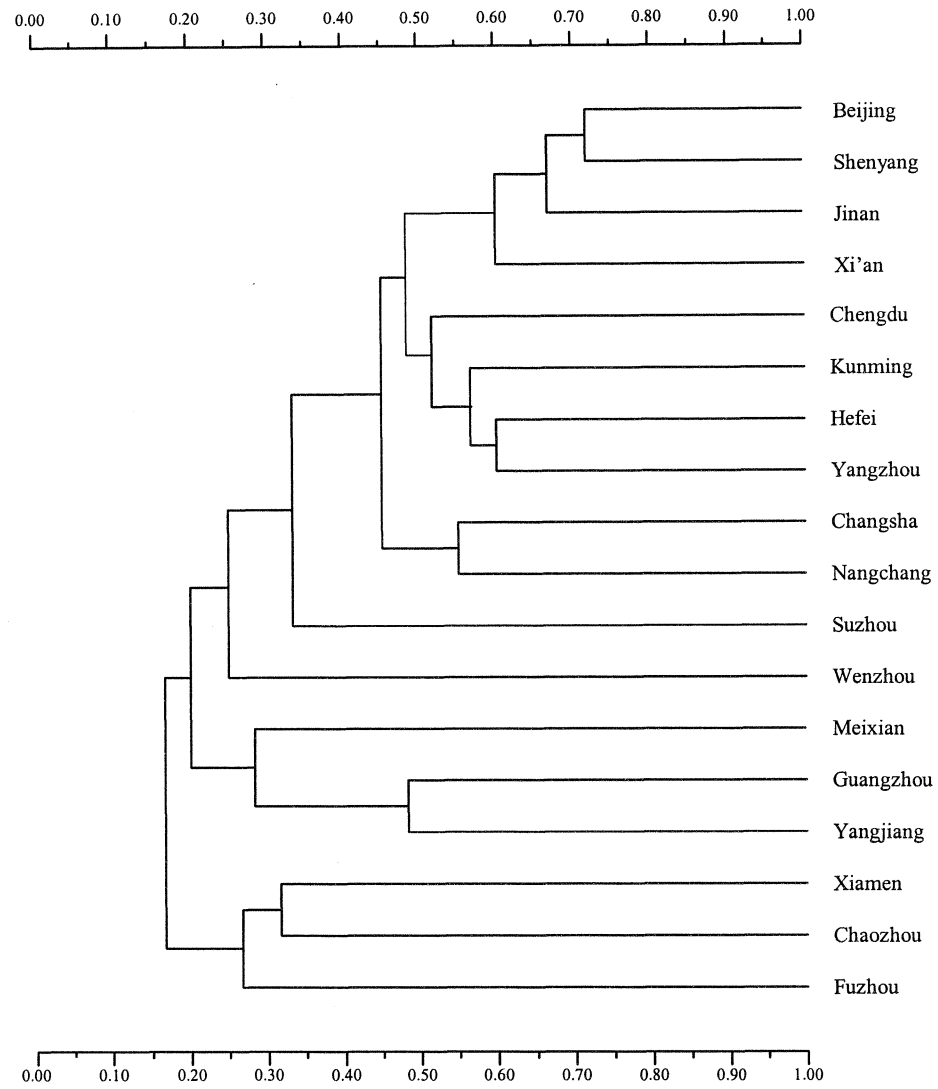
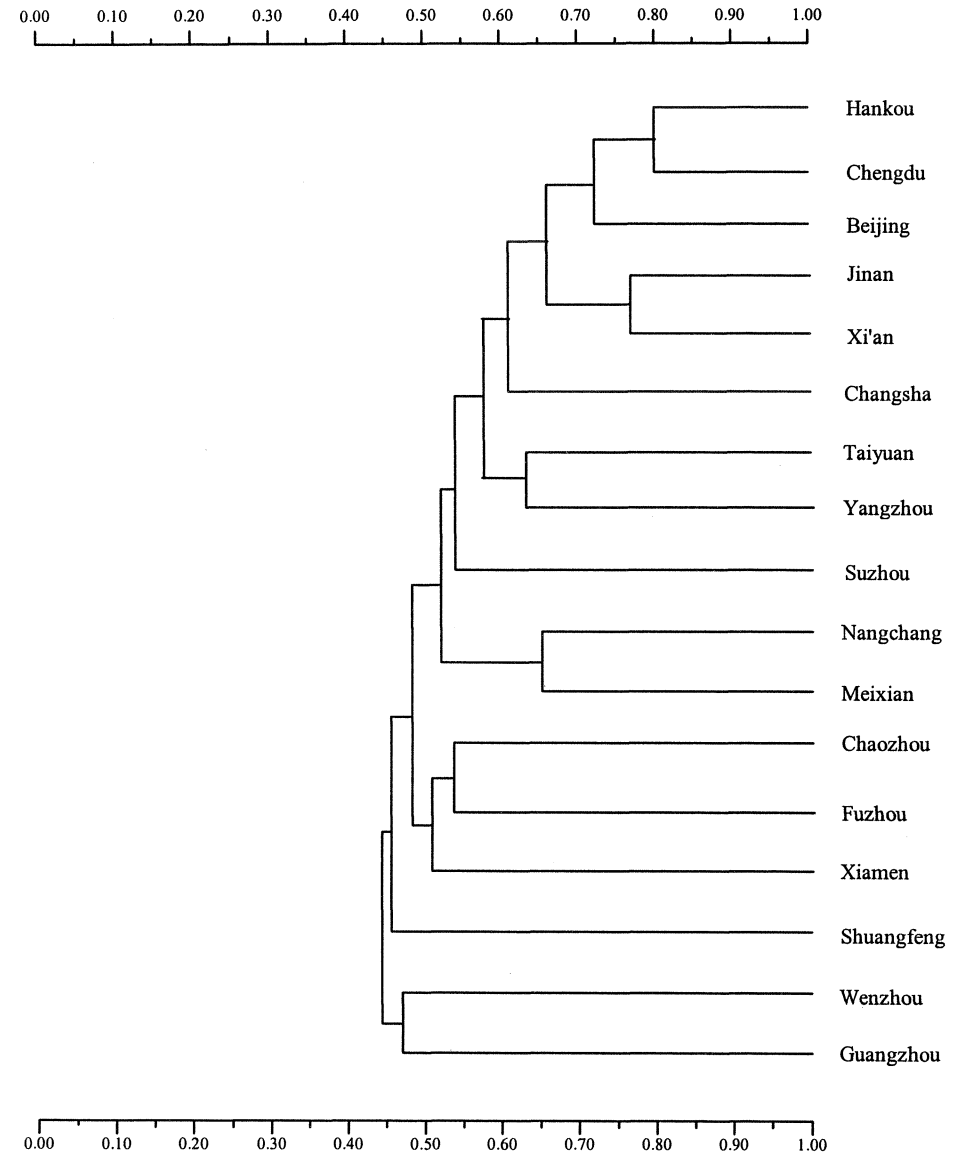
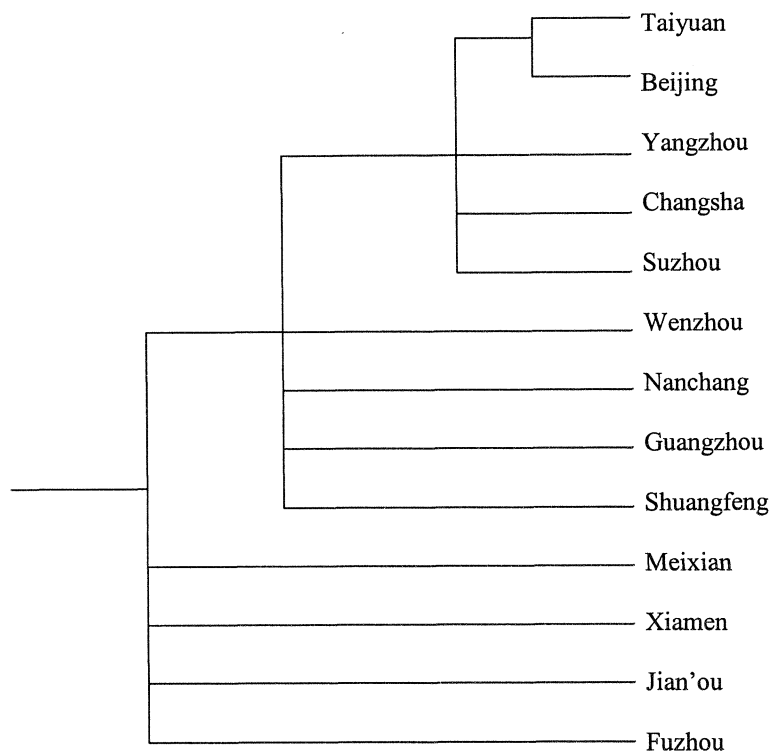


Figure 3. Dialect Affinity Based on Mutual Intelligibility
(Cheng 1997 Appendix 6)



In 2005, Feng Wang (汪鋒) and William S.-Y. Wang (王士元) have published an article on “Semantic Innovations as a Criterion for Linguistic Subgrouping,” which is another new quantitative study on the genetic relationships of the Chinese dialects. They have employed a parsimonious algorithm, PENNY, a computer program to do the analysis. Their research results have raised some questions about the genetic relationships of the Chinese dialects as proposed by previous studies.⁸ A new genetic relationship tree presented in their study is recaptured below:

Figure 4. Dialect Affinity Based on Semantic Innovations
(Wang and Wang 2005: 163 Figure 2)



3.5 Dialect Surveys in Taiwan, Fujian and Shangdong

3.51 Dialect Survey in Shulin: A Micro-Dialect Area Study

In the summer of 1970, I conducted a preliminary dialect survey in the Shùlín township (樹林鎮) of Taipei county (台北縣) in Taiwan and gathered related ethnological data.⁹ Further field research in the same area was conducted in 1981-82 when I was a Fulbright-Hays Research scholar.¹⁰ During both fieldwork trips, I had interviewed over eighty informants in all the twenty-one *lǐ* (里) (administrative districts) in Shùlín. Most of the informants were sixty years old or older, and had lived in the area for their entire lives. In order to compare the Shùlín dialect data with other dialect data that were recorded in DOC in the future, I collected readings (both the literary and colloquial) for the same lexical items that are included in DOC from three senior informants.¹¹ The dialect data were both tape-recorded and transcribed by hand. Besides, other dialect specific lexical data from the spontaneous speech of other informants were also collected; these included anthropological topics such as the religious practices, festivals, farming, kinship terms, family, and weddings, etc. The findings of my research in Shùlín have shown that native residents are descendants of the native speakers of three subdialect groups from the Southern Min (閩南話) of Fújiàn (福建) province, namely,¹² Quánzhōu subdialect (泉州次方言), Tóng'ān subdialect (同安次方言), and Zhāngzhōu subdialect (漳州次方言). The subdialects of the Southern Min spoken in Shùlín are close enough to one another to allow mutual intelligibility. The characteristic divergences of the subdialects are mainly reflected in their phonological systems, as well as in the pronunciation of some lexical items, and in the usage of some dialect specific words. The rapid industrialization and the increasing social contacts among the people in

⁹ The preliminary survey of Shùlín in 1970 was a part of the Taipei Basin Project, directed by Professor Arthur P. Wolf of Anthropology Department and funded by the Fellowship of the Program on East Asian Local Systems, Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University. My husband Lung-sheng Sung, a graduate student from Anthropology Department, was my team fieldworker of the survey. The area of Shùlín township is 33.12 sq. kilometers.

¹⁰ The detailed survey of Shùlín in 1981 was funded by the Fulbright-Hayes Research Abroad Fellowship, Department of Education of USA. The population of Shùlín in 1981 was 75,710.

¹¹ Because Taiwan had been occupied by Japanese for fifty years (1895-1945) during which Chinese people in Taiwan were educated in Japanese, in 1981 only people over seventy or older who had privately been tutored in Chinese could read Chinese texts in their native dialects. In order to preserve the literary readings of Taiwanese Southern Min dialects, I decided to collect both the literary and colloquial readings of the local dialects from senior informants.

¹² The findings of my investigation of Shùlín was presented in an unpublished paper entitled “A South Min Dialect Survey in Shùlín chen, Taipei Basin, Taiwan” for Program on East Asian Local Systems, Stanford University, 1971, and in the final report of Fulbright-Hayes Research Abroad Fellowship, Department of Education of USA, 1982.

⁸ See their discussions in *Fangyan* 2005: 157-167.

this area readily point to the difficulties in maintaining their ethnic identity and dialect boundary intact.

From their earlier marriage patterns and current religious organization and activities, however, their subdialect origins can be traced.¹³ This study has shown that the linguistic variations of the Shùlín residents are socially conditioned. They are closely correlated with religious groups. During the early frontier period, for peace of mind, safety, and success in their voyage, immigrants from Fújiàn province to Shùlín had brought their local gods with them from their native towns. As a result, in most cases, each speech group has its own religious cult and organization. People of Zhāngzhōu origin exclusively worshiped *Kāi-zhāng-shèngwáng* 開漳聖王 (the Founding God of Zhāngzhōu prefecture); speakers of Tóng'ān origin worshiped *Bǎo-shēng-dàdì* 保生大帝 (the Great God who Protects People's life—A God of Medicine); Ānxī people worshiped *Qīngshuǐ-zǔshīgōng* 清水祖師公 (the Progenitor of Qīngshuǐ, Ānxī); and other speakers of Quánzhōu subdialects worshiped *Guānshì-yīn-púsā* 觀世音菩薩 (or *Guānyīnmā* 觀音媽, the Goddess of Mercy).¹⁴

The findings of my investigation have shown that Shùlín can be divided into three speech areas, namely,

- (I) The Northern Area, which includes 13 districts,
- (II) The Central Area, which includes three districts and
- (III) The Southern Area, which includes five districts.

The Northern Area is a mixed speech area where original Quánzhōu 泉州 speakers of Tóng'ān 同安 (who are also referred to as *Xiàjiāo rén* 下郊人 "lower suburb people") as well as Nán'ān and Zhāngzhōu speakers live side by side. The Central Area is also a mixed area, but one in which speakers of Jīnjiāng 晉江, Nán'ān 南安 and Huì'ān 惠安 (these three groups of people together are also referred to as *Sānyì rén* 三邑人 "three-counties people" or *Nèixiàn rén* 內縣人 "Inner counties people", or *Dǐngjiāo rén* 頂郊人 "upper suburb people") and Ānxī people live mixed in the southern part of this area, while Zhāngzhōu people live in the northern part of this area, adjacent to Táoyuán county 桃園縣 where most of its inhabitants are speakers of Zhāngzhōu origin. The Southern Area is basically inhabited by the speakers of Ānxī origin who worship their God *Qīngshuǐ-zǔshīgōng* (清水祖師公), enshrined in the *Chángfúyán Miào* temple (長福岩廟)

¹³ From my fieldwork investigation, in the first half of the 20th century in some areas in northern Taiwan, Zhāngzhōu and Quánzhōu people still had ethnic clashes. People from different ethnic groups did not intermarry during that time.

¹⁴ In this study, by "worshipping", it means that a native speaker's family participates in the religious organization as a member and joins in the rotation with other fellow members to contribute to the offerings and expenses for celebrating the birthday of their god/goddess.

in the adjacent Sānxiá (三峽) county where almost all the people are of Ānxī origin. In the following table, we will list some lexical items that show the variants in these dialects:

Example	豬	鞋	汝	肺	縣	血	日
Dialect	pig	shoes	you (sg.)	lung	county	blood	sun, day
Of Anxi origin	tu ¹	uei ²	lu ³	hui ⁵	kuí ⁶	hui ⁷	lit ⁸
Of Jinjiang, Nan'an, Hui'an origin	tu ¹	uei ²	lu ³	hui ⁵	kuí ⁶	hui ⁷	lit ⁸
Of Tong'an origin	tu ¹	uei ²	lu ³	hi ⁵	kuí ⁶	hui ⁷	dzit ⁸
Of Zhangzhou origin	ti ¹	e ²	li ³	hi ⁵	kuan ⁶	hue ⁷	dzit ⁸

This micro dialect area study has shown us that in order to better understand the dialect situation in modern Chinese society, dialectologists also need to incorporate socio-anthropological factors into their studies.

While I was conducting my fieldwork in Taiwan, I had an unplanned opportunity to meet an old native speaker (aged 80 at the time of interview) of Zhāngpǔ dialect (漳浦), a variant of Southern Min in Fújiàn province. At that time, it was impossible to conduct fieldwork in Mainland China and I took the research opportunity to collect his dialect data. The finding of this research was published in an article entitled "Phonology of the Zhāngpǔ dialect" in 1986.¹⁵ In this article, the dialect was examined in terms of synchronic linguistic study, as well as from comparative and historical perspectives. Basically, Zhāngpǔ dialect's phonological system (both the literary and colloquial readings) is very close to the Zhāngzhōu (漳州) dialect, but the counterpart of the aspirated affricate initial /ts'-/ in Zhāngzhōu and most of the other Southern Min dialects is a voiceless fricative /s-/ in Zhāngpǔ. This phenomenon has been found in Chóngwǔ 崇武 dialect (a subdialect of Southern Min in Huì'ān county 惠安縣, Fujian province) (Yan 1994:278-279) and in Sino-Japanese 日本漢字音 (Sung 1992:573-574) as well.

3.52 Shandong Dialect Survey

In the summer of 1983, I conducted two and half months of fieldwork on eight Shāndōng 山東 dialects in Shāndōng province, namely, Jīnán 濟南, Yǎnzhōu 兗州, Qūfū 曲阜, Yāntái 煙台, Móupíng 牟平, Róngchéng 榮城, Qīngdǎo 青島 and Jiāonán 膠

¹⁵ The article appeared in the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 14.1: 71-89 under my married name Margaret M. Y. Sung.

南.¹⁶ The findings of this research was reported in a paper entitled “Phonology of Eight Shandong Dialects.”¹⁷ This study has shown that although Shāndōng dialects belong to the Northern Mandarin group, some dialects in the northeastern part of Shāndōng, such as Yāntái (煙台) and Móupíng (牟平) dialects, still preserve the MC velar stop initials /k-/ and /k’-/ before high front vowel /i/, which have become palatalized affricates in Beijing and most other Mandarin dialects. (See Chapter 6 on Mandarin dialects) Dialect variations of the Shāndōng dialects were investigated from both the synchronic and diachronic perspectives in terms of generative phonology.

3.53 Dialect Survey in Fujian and Taiwan

In the field of Chinese dialectology, traditionally, reports on the difference between the literary and colloquial readings of some Chinese characters within a dialect were always presented by corresponding columns. No explanations were given to account for their differences. Departing from this traditional treatment, I made the first attempt to address the issue of linguistic strata in the Amoy (Xiamen) dialect in 1973. In my article on “A study of literary and colloquial Amoy Chinese”,¹⁸ instead of just listing the literary and colloquial forms of the dialect, I proposed a set of historical sound change rules to account for the difference between the two reading systems, and also demonstrated that the differences between literary and colloquial systems of this dialect were due to the variation in the rates of sound changes.

In 1989, Professor Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford University) received a three-year research grant (1989-92) from the Henry Luce Foundation to conduct a research project entitled “Taiwan and Fujian: A Comparative Ethnographic Survey of Two Provinces,” (hereafter Taiwan-Fujian Project). The Taiwan-Fujian Project was directed by Professor Wolf and undertaken jointly by scholars from Stanford University, Indiana University, the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica in Taiwan, and Xiamen (Amoy) University in Fujian. All of the scholars were either anthropologists or historians; as the only linguist in this project, I was in charge of the linguistic survey of the two provinces. Because the Henry Luce Foundation only provided my fieldwork expenses in Fujian province, a three-year research grant (1990-93) from the Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (USA), supplemented fieldwork expenses in Taiwan.

¹⁶ I was awarded an Indiana University-Shandong University Exchange Professorship to conduct the dialect survey project in the summer of 1983.

¹⁷ The paper was presented at the 19th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, at Ohio State University in 1986, under my married name Margaret M. Y. Sung.

¹⁸ This article was published in the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1.3: 414-436 under my married name Margaret M. Y. Sung, which was a condensed version of my doctoral dissertation at Stanford University. The data of this work was based on my idiolect.

My linguistic survey of Fujian province was conducted from August 15 - October 14, 1990. The linguistic sites included the following locations: Xiàmén (廈門), Zhāngzhōu (漳州), Nánjīng (南靖), Píng hé (平和), Zhāngpǔ (漳浦), Tóng’ān (同安), Quánzhōu (泉州), Ānxī (安溪), Huì’ān (惠安), Huá’ān (華安), Shàngháng (上杭), Lóngyán (龍巖), Pútián (莆田) and Chóng’ān (崇安).¹⁹ The Taiwan portion of the survey was conducted in March 28 - June 6, 1991 and in the winter of 1992. The linguistic sites included the following locations: Shùlín (樹林), Dàjiǎ (大甲), Shéngāng (神岡), Lùgǎng (鹿港), Zhúshān (竹山), Dànài (大內), Ānpíng (安平), Měinóng (美濃), Mǎgōng (馬公) and Húxī (湖西). In order to computerize and analyze the data, and to compare them with Middle Chinese and other dialects of Southern Min, I collected readings for the same lexical items that are included in DOC. Due to the compulsory Mandarin education in both Taiwan and Mainland China, the literary readings of the modern dialects are disappearing. Thus whenever possible I collected both the literary and colloquial readings before it was too late to gather such material.²⁰ Besides, I had also collected readings of colloquial kinship terms, dialects specific words, classifiers, and folksongs.

Four papers have so far resulted from my participation in the Taiwan-Fujian Project. Three of them are concerned with dialect evolution and classification. They will be introduced briefly as follows.²¹

1. “Historical Sound Changes as Criteria for the Classification of the Fujian Dialects” (1994).²²

On the basis of the dialect data gathered in the field, I have compared the data with Old Chinese (c 1000 BC) and Middle Chinese (c 7th Century AD). Three primary historical sound change rules and thirteen secondary historical sound change rules have been used

¹⁹ In fact, the informants of Shàngháng (上杭), Lóngyán (龍巖), Pútián (莆田) dialects were faculty and students from Xiamen University. The University was unable to arrange the fieldtrip for an unexplained reason, and instead assigned the informants to me.

²⁰ In 1990 while I was in Fujian, I obtained a copy of the revised *Hanyu fangyin zihui* (published in 1989), which includes data of two more locations, with a total of 3,060 lexical items. Thus I employed the revised list of these lexical items for my data collection when I was in Taiwan.

²¹ The paper which is not included here is entitled *Yǔyánxué yú Mínsú Wénxué – Cóng Yǔyánxué Guāndiǎn Tàntǎo Ānxī Cǎicǎgē de Yùnlǜ* 語言學與民俗文學—從語言學觀點探討安溪採茶歌的韻律 (Linguistics and Folk Literature: A Study on the Rhyming of the Anxi Tea-picking Folksongs from Linguistic Perspective). It appears in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Chinese Studies in East Asia*, edited by Kyung-kyu Lee, 1999. Korea.

²² This article appears in *Táiwān yú Fújiàn Shèhuì Wénhuà Yánjiù Lùnwenjí* 台灣與福建社會文化研究論文集 (Monograph on the Studies on the Societies and Cultures of Taiwan and Fujian), edited by Ying-chang Chuang (莊英章) and Ying-hai Pan (潘英海), pp. 257-284, 1994.

as the preliminary criteria to show the affinity of the dialects in Fujian province. The linguistic affinity of the Fujian dialects and the Min subgroups based on historical sound changes is proposed. Emphasis is placed on the affinity of the Southern Min dialects in particular, laying the foundation for future comparison to the dialects in Taiwan.

2. Fújiàn Táiwān dìqū Mǐnnán fāngyán kǒuyǔ qīnshǔ chēngwèi de bǐjiào yánjiù 福建台灣地區閩南方言口語親屬稱謂的比較研究 (Colloquial kinship terms of the Southern Min in Fujian and Taiwan) (1995).²³

It is a well-known fact that most of the Han Chinese who immigrated to Taiwan during the Míng and Qīng dynasty were mostly from different ethnic groups of Southern Fújiàn province. Since 1949 and especially during the last twenty years, cultural contacts and interaction between different ethnic groups in Taiwan have dramatically increased due to the rapid development of transportation and economic upsurge in general, along with the implementation of compulsory Mandarin education. Therefore, the unique characteristics of different dialects have become very difficult to retain. Today it is difficult to identify which city or county in Taiwan belongs to which Southern dialect. The comparison of the phonological systems of the dialects in Fújiàn and Taiwan can only provide a rough idea whether any given location in Taiwan is dominated by Quánzhōu or by Zhāngzhōu. Since colloquial kinship terms are basically dialect-specific and are much more stable in terms of culture change, they can also be used as criteria to show the genetic relationships among dialects. I have therefore conducted an extensive study on the colloquial kinship terms of twenty Southern Min dialects in Fujian and Taiwan.

My study has shown that Southern Min has preserved quite a few Old Chinese kinship terms that are not found in Mandarin; there are significant differences in colloquial kinship systems among Chinese dialects. Previous studies on Chinese kinship terms are primarily based on literary forms (or written forms) which show the congruity of the Chinese kinship system as a whole. I have found, however, that criteria such as lineal or collateral relationship, sex, consanguine or affinal relationships, are neither distinctive nor crucial in the colloquial kinship terms of two generations above or below ego. In literary Chinese, these criteria are distinctive and crucial in the kinship terms of all generations. The diversity of kinship terms found in this study suggests that despite the remarkable degree of homogeneity shown in the literary Chinese kinship system, many differences exist in colloquial dialects. A set of phrase structure rules was set up to govern the use of appellations among blood relatives and to show their similarities and differences in the Southern Min dialects.²⁴

²³ This article appears in *Táiwān yú Fújiàn Shèhuì Wénhuà Yánjiù Lùnwénjí* 台灣與福建社會文化研究論文集 (二) (Monograph on the Studies on the Societies and Cultures of Taiwan and Fujian), Vol. II, edited by Ying-chang Chuang (莊英章) and Ying-hai Pan (潘英海), pp. 71-152, 1995.

²⁴ Besides the above mentioned colloquial kinship terms of Southern Min dialects, the colloquial kinship terms of the other dialects that I collected in the field have already been computerized in my database, for publication in the near future.

3. "The Evolutionary Development of the MC *ri Initial in the Dialects of Fujian and Taiwan" (1999).²⁵

This paper investigates the evolution of the Middle Chinese *ri initial (日母) in the dialects spoken in Fujian and Taiwan and discusses the problems that are involved in the reconstruction of MC *ri initial by scholars, such as Karlgren (1915-26), Lu Zhiwei (1971), Li Fang-kuei (1971), Wang Li (1985), Tung T'ung-ho (1968), etc. On the basis of my own field data and other available sources, I have proposed a multi-directional evolution theory of the *ri initial of Old Chinese and Middle Chinese to account for its reflexes in modern Chinese dialects in general, and dialects in Fujian and Taiwan in particular.

3.6 Computer Database of Chinese Dialects

Robert L. Cheng of the University of Hawaii has done numerous studies on his native tongue, the Taiwanese (Southern Min) dialect. His earlier works (R. Cheng 1968, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978) were concerned mostly on the Taiwanese syntax and later works mostly on contrastive studies of Mandarin and the Taiwanese dialect and the teaching of the Taiwanese dialect. (Cf. Cheng, Ts'ao and Cheng 1995, Cheng 1997 for other works of R. Cheng).

In 1995, Robert L. Cheng (鄭良偉), Ts'ao Feng-fu (曹逢甫), and Susie S. Cheng (鄭謝淑娟) compiled a computer database, *Fú-Kèyǔ Mùlù Fēnglèi Zìliàokù* 福客語目錄分類資料庫 (Bibliography of the Min and Hakka for Taiwan Studies), which covers over 1500 entries and was published in 1997. This database includes almost all the aspects of linguistic studies (including lexicon, phonetics, phonology, syntax, and semantics) and works related to the Min and Hakka dialects, from descriptive to formal linguistic perspectives.

3.7 Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar Project

As we can see from the Chinese dialectological works noted above, phonological and lexical studies have dominated the field. This phenomenon is due to the misconception that the main differences among the Chinese dialects lie only in their phonology or lexicon, and that their syntax is more or less the same. In 1990, Anne Yue-Hashimoto (余藹芹) of University of Washington, launched a long term research project on Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar, which was sponsored by the grants from National Endowment for the Humanities and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for

²⁵ This article appears in *Proceedings of NACCL 10*, Vol. 1, pp. 74-89. Edited by Chaofen Sun, Stanford University.

International Scholarly Exchange. This is the largest scale project of systematic research on Chinese dialectal grammars ever conducted in the field. So far, the project has computerized data on certain syntactic constructions of the over one hundred dialects that have been collected.²⁶ Based on the published materials and her own fieldwork in the past years, Yue has contributed several significant works to the Chinese dialectology. Her article on "Stratification in comparative dialectal grammar: a case in Southern Min" (1991), and her monograph on *Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar: Handbook for Investigators* (1993) are just two examples.

3.8 Tone Sandhi Patterns of Chinese Dialects

Chinese dialects, the languages spoken by the largest population in the world, are rich with different patterns of tones and tone sandhi. Since the late 1970s, numerous descriptive reports on the tones of individual dialects have been published. Unfortunately the raw data on tones do not provide insight into the nature of the tones and tone sandhi across Chinese dialects. Since the 1980s, works on tone sandhi such as A. Hashimoto's "Tone sandhi across Chinese dialects" (1980/1987), Chen's "An overview of tone sandhi phenomena across Chinese dialects" (1985/1991), and W. Ballard's "The History and Development of Tonal Systems and Tone Alternations in South China" have presented an overall picture of Chinese tone systems and tone sandhi. To date, the most systematic and comprehensive study on the Chinese tones and tone sandhi is Matthew Y. Chen's (陳淵泉) landmark work, *Tone Sandhi: Patterns across Chinese Dialects* (2000). In this work, he provides detailed analysis of the tone sandhi processes of various dialects in terms of the prosodic domains and tone sandhi rules, and demonstrates how syntax and phonology interface. Chen's work presents a wealth of empirical data from Chinese dialects (from literatures and his own fieldwork) to the discussion of theoretical issues and has made tremendous contribution to integrate the tonology of Chinese dialects into the modern linguistic theory.

3.9 The Yuen Ren Society

In 1990, in order to encourage and to promote the dialect data collecting from the fieldwork, the Yuen Ren Society for the Promotion of Chinese Dialect Fieldwork was founded at the Department of Asian Languages and Literature of the University of Washington, with David Prager Branner serving as the Director. The Society has published an occasional linguistic journal called *Treasury*, which serves as a vehicle for linguists to share their descriptive dialect data. The Society has been very active in organizing panels to present dialect studies at international conferences.

²⁶ Cf. Yue-Hashimoto 1993:ii.

Exercises

1. Compare the dialect studies in this chapter to those of the previous one; state the major differences between their approaches.
2. Explain how different linguistic theories influence Chinese dialectology.
3. Compare the non-quantitative approach of dialect study to the quantitative approach in terms of dialect genetic relationship. Explain which approach is better for Chinese dialect classification.
4. Do you think that social factors, such as age, sex, education, occupation, status, etc. should be included in Chinese dialect studies? Why?

4 Major Dialect Groups

4.1 The Mandarin and Jin Dialects

Mandarin dialects, the largest dialect group spoken within China proper, are spoken by over 70% of Han population living in the following provinces: Héběi 河北 (including the cities of Běijīng 北京 and Tiānjīn 天津), Hénán 河南, Hēilóngjiān 黑龍江, Jílín 吉林, Liáoníng 遼寧, Shaǎnxī 陝西, part of Shānxī 山西, Shāndōng 山東, Gānsù 甘肅, Qīnghǎi 青海, Níngxià 寧夏, Northern Ānhuī 安徽, Northern Jiāngsū 江蘇, Sīchuān 四川, Guǐzhōu 貴州, Yúnnán 雲南, Húnán 湖南, and parts of Inner Mongolia 內蒙古. Several "Mandarin islands" are also found in other provinces. The major area where Mandarin originated was Zhōngyuán 中原 (Central Plains), which includes Beijing city, the political and cultural center of China for centuries. Beijing has been the capital of China ever since the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), except during the early Republican period (1911-49), when the capital of China was in Nánjīng 南京. Among the Mandarin dialects, the *Guóyǔ* 國語 (National Language), or *Guānhuà* 官話 (official language), or *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通話 (ordinary language), which was based on the phonological system of the Beijing Mandarin or Pekingese, has been adopted as the national "standard language" of China (both Mainland and Taiwan) since the 1930's (See Lin Tao 1991: 363-366; Norman 1988: 133-138 for the history of the standard language).

4.11 Subgrouping of the Mandarin Dialects

Due to the huge area where Mandarin dialects are spoken, the problem of sub-classifying this main dialect group has been an issue. Prior to the mid-1980s, linguists have divided this group into four sub-dialect groupings: namely, Běifāng Guānhuà 北方官話 (Northern Mandarin), or Běifāng Fāngyán 北方方言 (Northern Dialect), Xībèi Guānhuà 西北官話 (Northwestern Mandarin), Xīnán Guānhuà 西南官話 (Southwestern Mandarin), and Jiānghuái Guānhuà 江淮官話 (Jianghuai Mandarin/Eastern Mandarin), or Xiàjiāng Guānhuà 下江官話 (Lower Yangtzi or Eastern Mandarin) (Yuan Jiahua 1960; Zhan Bohui 1981; Norman 1988).

Previously, within the Northern Mandarin subgroup, the *Jīn yǔ* (晉語), the Jin dialects which are spoken in the Shānxī 山西 province and adjacent regions, were also included. However, as more and more fieldwork have been conducted in the early 1980s and dialect data have become much richer, new sub-classifications of the Mandarin dialects have been proposed. In 1985 Lǐ Róng (李榮) suggested that the Jin dialects should be branched off from the Mandarin group because the Jin dialects have retained the MC entering tone (入聲 *rùshēng* or Tone IV). The place of the Jin dialects is still

debated,¹ because among the Mandarin dialects, Jiānghuái Mandarins (江淮官話) have also preserved the MC Tone IV. Based on the reflexes of the MC entering tone, Lǐ has also proposed to divide the Mandarin dialects into the following seven subdialect groupings: (see also S. A. Wurm et al. 1988)

Table 4 Tonal Reflexes of the MC *Ru* Tone 入聲 (Tone 4) in Modern Mandarin Dialects (After Li 1985: 3)

MC Initial cons	西南官話 SW Mandarin	中原官話 Zhōngyuán Mandarin	北方官話 Northern Mandarin	蘭銀官話 Lányín Mandarin	北京官話 Běijīng Mandarin	膠遼官話 Jiāoliáo Mandarin	江淮官話 Jiānghuái Mandarin
古清音 vl		陰平 Tone 1a		去聲 Tone 3	陰陽上去 Tone 2/3	上聲 Tone 2	
古次濁 vs	陽平 Tone 1b	陰平 Tone 1a		去聲 Tone 3			入聲 Tone 4
古全濁 vd				陽平 Tone 1b			

(cons = consonant; vl = voiceless; vd = voiced; vs = voiced sonorant)

According to Lǐ Róng, Jin dialects are those dialects that retain the MC Tone IV (*rù* or entering tone) and are spoken in the western/southern/eastern part of Shānxī (山西), northern part of Shaǎnxī (陝西), part of Hénán (河南), border area between Héběi (河北), and western part of Inner Mongolia (內蒙古) (See Lǐ 1985: 3 for Jin dialect sites).

In this book, we will use the subgrouping of Mandarin Dialects as listed in the *Language Atlas of China* (Wurm et al. 1988), but will include the Jin dialects in this chapter as follows:²

1. Běijīng Mandarin Group 北京官話

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 18.02 million;³ it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Jingshi Subgroup
- (2) Huaicheng Subgroup
- (3) Chaofeng Subgroup
- (4) Shike Subgroup

¹See additional discussions on the place of the Jin dialects by Hou Jingyi (2000).

²For all the detail of the further dialect subgroupings (clusters), names of the dialect sites, and characteristics of the local dialects, readers are referred to the texts in Wurm et al (1988).

³The estimated number of native speakers of the Chinese dialects presented in this book is from *Language Atlas of China* (1988).

2. Dōngběi Mandarin 東北官話

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 82 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Jishen Subgroup
- (2) Hafu Subgroup
- (3) Heisong Subgroup

3. Běifāng Mandarin Group 北方官話 (Northeastern Mandarin)⁴

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 83.63 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Baotang Subgroup
- (2) Shiji Subgroup
- (3) Canghui Subgroup

4. Jiāoliáo Mandarin Group 膠遼官話

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 28.83 million; it is divided into the following subgroups: ;

- (1) Qingzhou subgroup
- (2) Denglian subgroup
- (3) Gaihuan Subgroup

5. Zhōngyuán Mandarin Group 中原官話 (Central Plains Mandarin):

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 169.41 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Zhengcao Subgroup
- (2) Cailu Subgroup
- (3) Luoxu Subgroup
- (4) Xinbeng Subgroup
- (5) Fenhe Subgroup
- (6) Guanzhong Subgroup
- (7) Qinlong Subgroup
- (8) Longzhong Subgroup
- (9) Nanjiang Subgroup

6. Lányín Mandarin Group 蘭銀官話

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 11.73 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Jincheng Subgroup
- (2) Yinwu Subgroup
- (3) Hexi Subgroup
- (4) Tami Subgroup

7. Xī'nán Mandarin Group 西南官話 (Southwestern Mandarin)

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 200 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Chengyu Subgroup
- (2) Dianxi Subgroup
- (3) Qianbei Subgroup
- (4) Kungui Subgroup
- (5) Guanchi Subgroup
- (6) Ebei Subgroup
- (7) Wutian Subgroup
- (8) Cenjiang Subgroup
- (9) Qiannan Subgroup
- (10) Xiangnan Subgroup
- (11) Guiliu Subgroup
- (12) Changhe Subgroup

8. Jiānghuái Mandarin Group 江淮官話 (or Xiàjiāng Mandarin 下江官話)

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 67.25 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Hongchao Subgroup
- (2) Tairu Subgroup
- (3) Huangxiao Subgroup

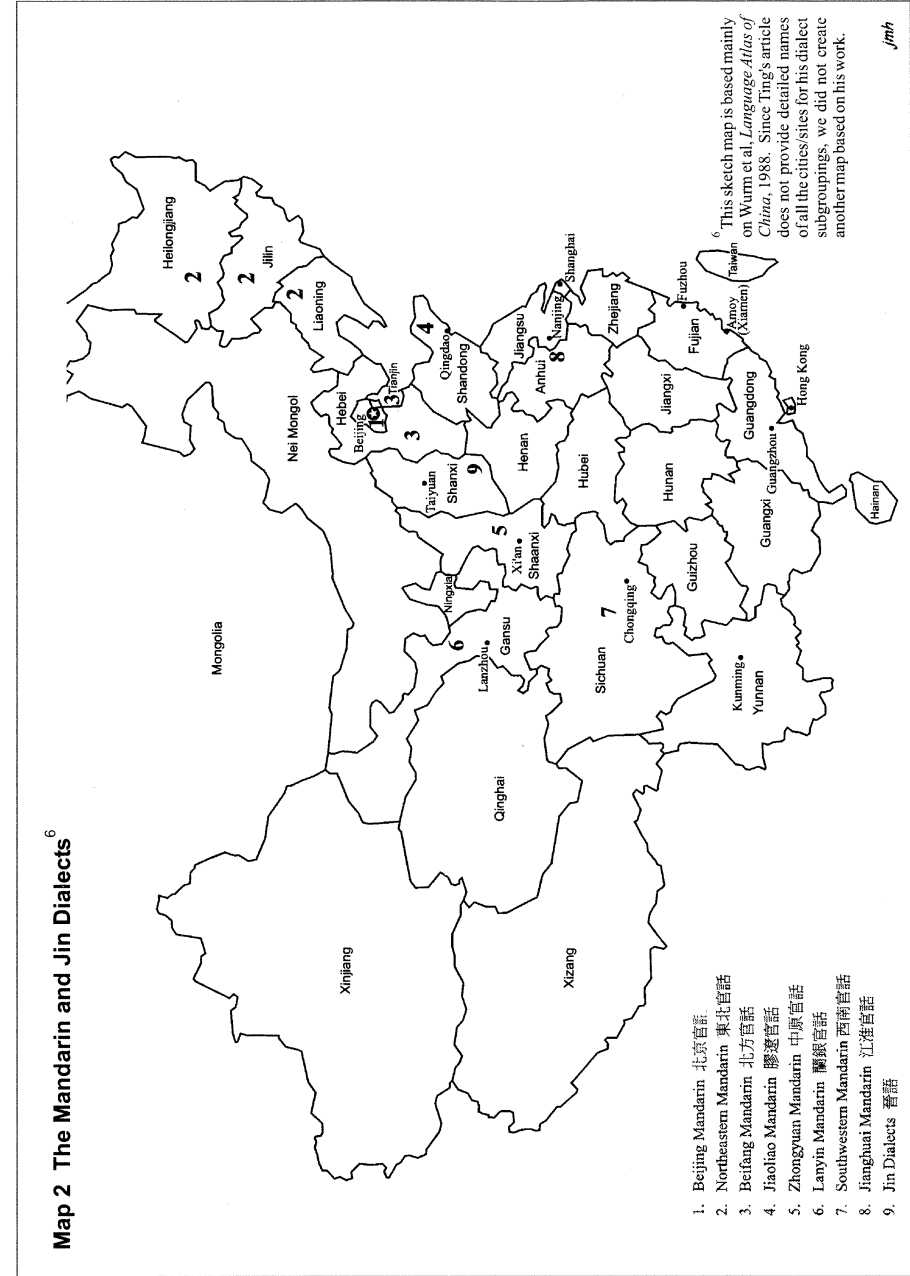
⁴ Beifang Mandarin has been renamed as Jilu Mandarin at the time of the publication of the maps, but the editors decided to keep the term Beifang Mandarin in the texts in order to be consistent with the maps. (Cf. Translator's Notes, in B-1, Wurn et al 1988).

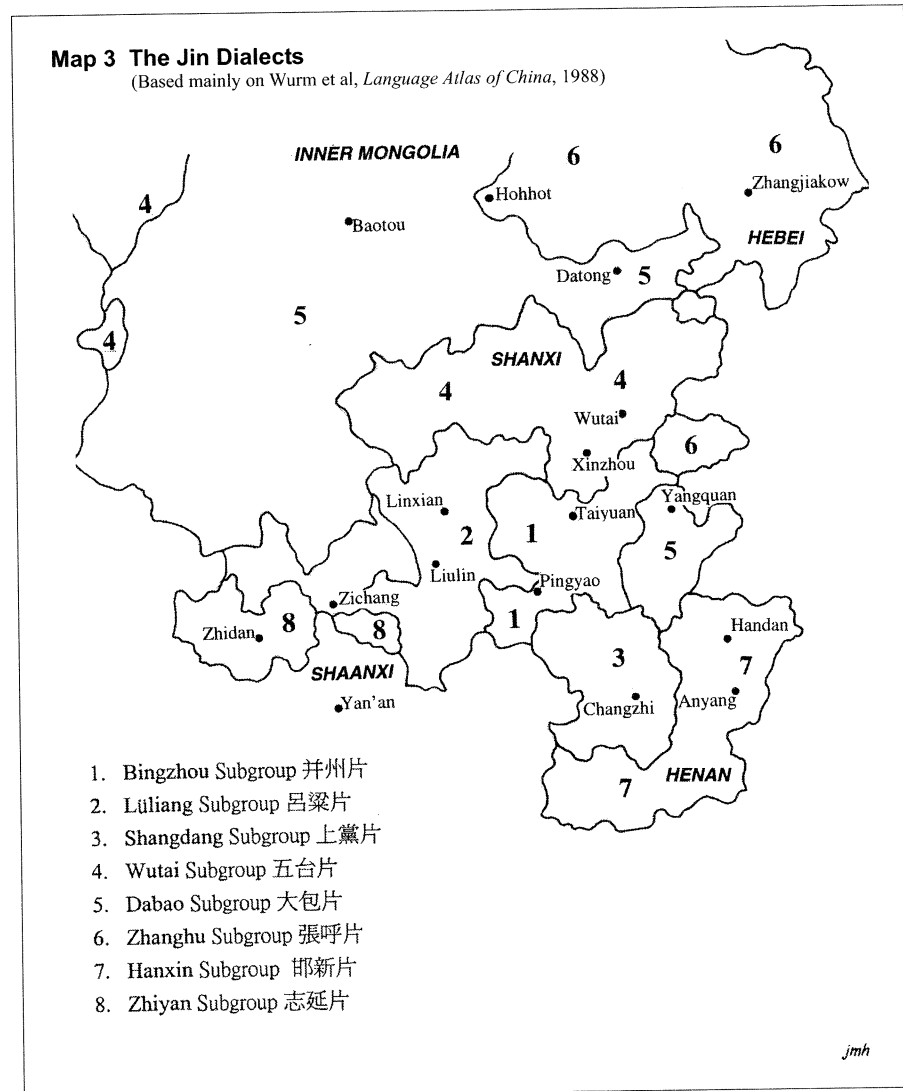
9. Jin Dialects 晉語⁵

The estimated number of native speakers of this group is 45.70 million; it is divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Bǐngzhōu Subgroup 并州片
- (2) Lǚliáng Subgroup 呂梁片
- (3) Shàngdǎng Subgroup 上黨片
- (4) Wūtái Subgroup 五台片
- (5) Dàbāo Subgroup 大包片
- (6) Zhānghū Subgroup 張呼片
- (7) Hánxīn Subgroup 邯新片
- (8) Zhìyán Subgroup 志延片

⁵ In 1986, based on the development of the four MC tones, Hóu Jīngyī 侯精一 et al, have divided the dialects spoken within the Shānxī 山西省 province into the following seven subgroups: (1) Bǐngzhōu Subgroup 并州片; (2) Lǚliáng Subgroup 呂梁片; (3) Shàngdǎng Subgroup 上黨片; (4) Wūtái Subgroup 五台片; (5) Yúnzhōng Subgroup 雲中片; (6) Fēnhé Subgroup 汾河片; (7) Guǎnglíng Subgroup 廣靈片.





In 1991, Ting Pāng-hsīn (丁邦新) argued against Lǐ Róng's proposal of branching the Jin dialects from the Mandarin dialect group. Instead, he has proposed to use the following phonological criteria to determine the subgroups of the Mandarin dialects: (Ting 1991: 191)

Table 6 Subgrouping of the Mandarin Dialects Proposed by Ting (1991)

Normal Criteria	Northern 北方官話	Jin 晉語	Eastern 江淮官話	Southwestern 西南官話	Chu 楚語
Development of Tone IV	Tone IV merged to 3 or 2 tones	Tone IV or -ʔ Kept	Tone IV and -ʔ kept	Tone IV merged to tone 1b or 3	Tone IV kept, but no stop ending
Distinction or merger of *n- & *l-	Mostly distinct		Mostly merged		Merged in syllables with no medial vowel or with medial -u-; distinct in syllables with -i- or -y- as the medial or main vowel
Unique criteria					
Weakening of nasal endings	-	+	-	-	-
The final <i>y</i> in reflexes of MC rime <i>yu</i> 魚 and <i>yu</i> 虞 with MC initials <i>zhi/zhang/jian</i>	-	-	-	-	+

Apart from the Jin and Chǔ dialects, Ting has further divided the Northern, Eastern and Southwestern Mandarins into the following subgroups by using the following phonological criteria:

Table 7 Six Varieties of Northern Mandarin (after Ting 1991:193)⁷

Criteria	Guóyǔ 國語	Dōngběi 東北	Guānzhōng 關中	Xīběi 西北	Pǔběi 普北	Lǔdōng 魯東
Distinction between M 精 <i>jing</i> and 見 <i>jian</i> series initials when followed by <i>-i/-y-</i>	Not distinct				distinct	
Distinction between /ts/ & /tʂ/	ts: tʂ	ts	ts: tʂ: t (pf)		ts: tʂ	ts: tʂ :tʃ
Distinction between /an/ & /ŋ/	-ən: əŋ		- ə ⁿ : əŋ	Merged; read as -ən or -ə ⁿ	ən: əŋ	ẽ:əŋ (en:en)

Table 8 Four Subvarieties of Eastern Mandarin (after Ting 1991:194)⁸

Criteria	京話 Jīnghuà	蘇中 Sūzhōng	濱海 Bīnhǎi	皖南 Wǎnnán
Distinction between ts & tʂ	distinct	nondistinct		
Distinction between z: & l	z: l	l	z: l	
Categories of Tone IV	1		2	1
Subtonal distinction of Tone III	nondistinct		distinct	

⁷ Ting has proposed ten criteria for subgrouping the Northern Mandarin, see Ting 1991: 193-94.

⁸ Ting has proposed eight criteria to account for the subvarieties of Eastern Mandarin dialects. See Ting 1991: 194.

Table 9 Four Subvarieties of Southwestern Mandarin (after Ting 1991:195)⁹

Criteria	普通西南 Pǔtōng Xīnán	兩湖 Liǎnghú	上江 Shàngjiāng	滇語 Diānyǔ
Distinction & merger of tsu & tʂu	tsu	tʂy	tsu	tsu:tʂu
Realization of finals du 杜 & zhu 助	-u	-ou	-u	
Preservation of Tone IV	yes		yes	no

4.12 General Characteristics of the Mandarin Dialects

Among the above mentioned Mandarin dialects, there are different degrees of mutual intelligibility. As a whole, however, Mandarin dialects share some common characteristics in phonological, lexical and grammatical features, even though each subdialect also has some of its own characteristics, particularly in phonology and lexicon.

In the phonological system of modern Beijing dialect,¹⁰ there are twenty-two *shēngmǔ* 聲母 (consonant initials)¹¹; forty *yùnmǔ* 韻母 (finals), which include three *jièyīn* 介音 (medials): *i, u, y*; two *bíyīn yùnwěi* 鼻音韻尾 (nasal endings): *-n, ŋ*,¹² and four tones (*yīn-píng* 陰平, *yáng-píng* 陽平, *shǎng* 上 and *qù* 去).

Beijing initials:

Labials	p p' m f v
Dental-Alveolars	t t' n l
	ts ts' s
Retroflexes	tʂ tʂ' ʂ z
Alveolo-Palatals	tʃ tʃ' ʃ
Velars	k k' x

Beijing finals:

⁹ Ting has proposed eleven criteria for the subgrouping of Southwestern Mandarin.

¹⁰ Based on *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989: 7).

¹¹ Including a zero initial \emptyset (零聲母).

¹² Readers are referred to Chin-chuan Cheng's work, *A Synchronic Phonology of Mandarin Chinese* (1973) for the phonological system of Mandarin in terms of generative approach.

i	i	u	y
ɿ	ə		
a	ia	ua	
	ie		ye
ɤ			
o	uo		
ai	iai	uai	
ei		uei	
au	iau		
ou	iou		
an	ien	uan	yan
ən	in	uən	yn
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	
əŋ	iŋ	uəŋ	
	iuŋ	uŋ	
ɱ			

In the following discussion, we will provide examples from some representative Mandarin dialects for easier comparison.

4.121 Initials of the Mandarin Dialects

The major differences in the consonant initials of the Chinese dialects are due to the different paths and pace of historical sound changes, which may involve the syllable as a whole, or any one component or combination of two components of the syllable (which includes initial, medial, main vowel, consonant ending, or tone). Historically, Chinese dialects in the northern China have undergone the most dramatic sound changes. Among the Mandarin and Jin dialects, the MC voiced obstruents (stops, affricates and fricatives) have been devoiced and become aspirated in *píng* tone (平聲 T1) syllables, and unaspirated in *zè* tone (仄聲 'oblique tone', T2-T4) syllables. We will set up the following phonological rule to capture this sound change:

Rule 1. Devoicing of MC Voiced Obstruents (濁音清化)

- 1a. *C- -----> [+ aspirated] / # ____ (T1 syllables)
[- sonorant, +voiced]
- 1b. *C- -----> [- aspirated] / # ____ (T2-T4 syllables)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Table 10 Reflexes of some MC voiced obstruents in Mandarin and Jin dialects¹³

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*b'- (T1) 旁	*d'-(T2) 地	*g'- (T2) 跪	*dz'- (T3) 賤	*z- (T4) 夕
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	p'	t	k	tʃ	ʃ
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	p'	t	k'	tʃ	ʃ

As we can see from the above table, almost all of the Mandarin dialects realized the MC voiced obstruents as their voiceless counterparts by observing Rule 1a and 1b, with the exception of the Tàiyuán dialect, in which the MC *g- is not realized as an unaspirated [k], but rather as an aspirated [k'], a feature that is in fact a typical of Kèjīā (Hakka) and Gà dialect. (This will be discussed in Section 4.63 below). For easier comparison of the dialects, the consonant initials, vowels, consonant endings, and tonal categories are listed in the following tables:

Table 11 Consonant Initials of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p-	*p'-	*m-	*f-	*t-	*t'-	*n-	*l-	*k-	*k'-	*x-	*x-
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x

¹³In the discussions of the following sections, dialect data of Shandong, Fujian, and Taiwan provinces are from my own field notes (1983, 1991-94). Unless specifically cited, the other data are from Yuan et al 1960, and *Hanyu Fanyin Zihui* (1989).

Yántái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	l	l	k	k'	x	x
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	n	k	k'	x	f
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	p	p'	m	f	t	t'	n	l	k	k'	x	x

From Table 6.8, it is apparent that among the Mandarin dialects, Nánjīng dialect follows Rule 2, merging MC *n- (泥母) with *l- (來母), and realized both as [l-]:

Rule 2. Denasalization (非鼻音化)

*n- -----> l- / # ____

The Chengdu dialect follows Rule 3, merging MC *n- with *l- and realized both as [n-].

Rule 3. Nasalization (鼻音化)

*l- -----> n- / # ____

Rule 4. Labiodentalization (唇齒音化)

*x- -----> f- / # ____ u

In Southwestern Mandarin dialects, such as Chéngdū and Chóngqīng (重慶), Rule 4 applies: a process of fronting and labiodentalization, which makes MC *x- (曉母) being realized as [f] before [-u] medial/vowel, thus making words such as 夫 'husband' and 呼 'to call' to be pronounced as /fu/. In Beijing and Northern Mandarins, [f] and [x] are distinct phonemes, and 夫 'husband' and 呼 'to call' are pronounced as [fu] and [xu] respectively.

Table 12 Consonant Initials of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*ts-	*k-	*ts'-	*k'-	*ts-	*k-	*ts'-	*k'-
子 醋 思 精 經 清 輕 酒 九 趣 去	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'

Jīnán 濟南 (北方方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Yántái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	k	tɕ'	k'	tɕ	k	tɕ'	k'
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'

Another significant sound change, which has affected the development of not only the Mandarin dialects but other major dialects as well, is the process of palatalization (顎化 *éhuà*), which has merged two set of syllables with different MC origins before high vowels, [-i] and [-y], namely, the 精系字 *jīng* series (alveolars or 尖音 *jiānyīn* 'sharp sounds') and 見系字 *jiàn* series (velars, or 團音 *tuányīn* 'round sounds'). The process may be stated in the following two sub-rules:

Rule 5. Palatalization (顎化)

5a. *ts-, *ts'-, *s- -----> tɕ-, tɕ'-, ɕ- / # ____ -i, -y
(of *jīng* series origin 精系字)

5b. *k-, *k'-, *g'-, -----> tɕ-, tɕ'-, tɕ- or tɕ'- / # ____ i, y
(of *jiàn* series origin 見系字)

As can be seen from Table 6.9, most of the Mandarin dialects have undergone the above palatalization process by merging these two series and have created homonyms, such as 精 = 經, 清 = 輕, 酒 = 九, 趣 = 去, etc. But the Mandarin dialects in northeastern part of Shāndōng, such as Yántái (煙台) and Mópíng (牟平), have not undergone Rule 5, thus keeping these two series of syllables distinct.

Among the Mandarin dialects in Shānxī 山西, Shaǎnxī 陝西, Gānsù 甘肅 provinces, scholars have found an interesting and unusual sound change of affrication (塞擦音化)—an MC stop has become an affricate, which is a combination of a bilabial stop plus a labiodental fricative. The sound change rule is:

Rule 6. Labiodental Affrication (唇齒塞擦音化)

6a. *p-, *p'- -----> pf-, pf'- / # ____ -u, -o (*pāng* series 幫系)

6b. *t-, *t', d'-, *s- -----> pf-, pf', f- / # ___ -u (zhī series 知系)

6c. *tʃ-/tʃ-, *tʃ'-/tʃ'-, *dʒ-/dʒ'-, *ç-/ç- -----> pf-, pf', f- / # ___ -u
(Zhuāng and Zhāng series 莊系, 章系)

In the dialects spoken in Bǎoji 寶雞 (Shaǎnxī), and Línyóu 麟游 (Shaǎnxī), etc., they have undergone Rule 6a, in which the MC bilabial stop initials [*p-] and [*p'-] before [-u] or [-o] vowels are realized as [pf] and [pf'] respectively.¹⁴ Other Mandarin dialects did not undergo Rule 6a; they still retain bilabial stops. In Xī'ān 西安 (Shānxī), Tóngguān 潼關 (Shānxī), Yǒngjǐ 永濟 (Shānxī), Yuncheng 運城 (Shānxī),¹⁵ and Lánzhōu 蘭州 (Gānsù), the dialects have undergone Rule 6b and 6c, thus the initials of the syllables with Grade II in zhī, zhuāng, zhāng series (知系, 莊系, 章系) are realized as [pf-], [pf'-] and [f] before [-u] vowel, but these consonant initials are realized as retroflex in Beijing Mandarin. Some example words are given in the following table.

Table 13 Consonant Initials of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p- 布	*p'- 跛	*p' 坡	*p' 樸	*t- 猪	*t'- 初	*ç- 書	*ç- 熟
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	p	p	p'	p'	tʂ	tʂ'	ʂ	ʂ
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	p	p	p'	p'	pf	ts'/pf'	f	f
Tóngguān 潼 關 (中原方言)	p	p	p'	p'	pf	pf'	f	f
Bǎoji 寶雞 (中 原方言)	pf	pf	pf'	pf'	pf	pf'	f	f
Línyóu 麟游 (中原方言)	pf	pf	pf'	pf'	pf	pf'	f	f
Jīnán 濟南 (北方方言)	p	p	p'	p'	tʂ'	tʂ'	ʂ	ʂ
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	p	p	p'	p'	tʃ	ts'	ç	s
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	p	p	p'	p'	tʂ	tʂ'	ʂ	ʂ
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	p	p	p'	p'	pf	pf'	f	f

¹⁴This sound change was found in Bǎoji 寶雞 (Shaǎnxī), and Línyóu 麟游 (Shaǎnxī) as reported in Bái Dízhōu and Yù Shìchāng (1954).

¹⁵According to the report in B. Karlgren (1915-26), Yǒngjǐ 永濟 (Shānxī) and Yùchéng 運城 (Shānxī) also have [pf] and [pf'] initials.

Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	p	p	p'	p'	ts	ts	s	s
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	p	p	p'	p'	ts	ts'	s	s

The realization of initials of MC zhī, zhuāng, zhāng series (知系, 莊系, 章系) as retroflexes is a significant feature in the Mandarin dialects. In Běijīng Mandarin, these initials have undergone Rule 7a, 7b, and 7c, and have been merged into one series of retroflexes. While in other Mandarin dialects, besides the Zhōngyuán and Lányín Mandarin mentioned above, the reflexes of these three series of initials may vary from place to place. Some Mandarin dialects may have only undergone one of the Rule 7a, 7b, or 7c and realize part of the syllables as retroflexes. Some may have undergone Rule 8a, Rule 8b, Rule 9a, and/or Rule 9b and realize part of the syllables as alveolar or postalveolar affricates/fricatives instead. For example, dialects such as Yāntái 煙台, Chéngdū 成都 and Tàiyuán 太原 dialects, etc., did not undergo Rule 7 (Retroflexation), thus they do not have retroflex sounds.¹⁶ Among Jiāoliáo Mandarin dialects, such as Jiāonán 膠南 and Qīngdǎo 青島 have undergone a very interesting sound change Rule 8c, namely, that the jīng series 精系 initials have changed to interdental affricates or fricatives, /tθ, tθ', θ/, which are rarely found in other Chinese dialects. Some examples in the following table show the correspondences among the Mandarin dialects.

Rule 7. Retroflexation (捲舌音化)

7a. *t-, *t', *d'- -----> tʂ-, tʂ' / # ___ (zhī series 知系)

7b. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ç-, *ç'- -----> tʂ-, tʂ'-, ʂ- / # ___
(zhuāng series 莊系)¹⁷

7c. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ç- -----> tʂ-, tʂ'-, ʂ- / # ___ (zhāng series 章系)

Rule 8. Fronting

8a. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ç- -----> ts-, ts'-, s- / # ___ (zhuāng series 莊系)

8b. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ç- -----> ts-, ts'-, s- / # ___ (zhāng series 章系)

8c. *ts-, ts'-, s- -----> tθ-, tθ'-, θ- / # ___ (jīng series 精系)

¹⁶In Taiwan Mandarin, there are no retroflex sounds either.

¹⁷Some Chinese historical linguists have reconstructed the MC Zhuāng series initials as retroflexes. I have argued against their reconstruction based on internal evidences from Chinese dialects (Yan 1999).

Rule 9. Alveolar/Postalveolar Affrication

9a. *t-, *t'-, *d'- -----> ts-, ts'- / # ____ (zhī series 知系)

9b. *t-, *t'-, *d'- -----> tç-/tʃ-, tç'/tʃ'- / # ____ -i, -y (zhī series 知系)

Table 14 Consonant Initials of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*t-	*t'-	*d'-	*tç-	*tç'-	*ç-	*tʃ-	*tʃ'
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	tʃ'
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	s	ts	ts'/pf'
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	tʃ'
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	ts	ts'	s	tç	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts
Jiāonán 膠南 (膠遼方言)	tθ	tθ'	θ	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	tʃ'
Qīngdǎo 青島 (膠遼方言)	tθ	tθ'	θ	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	tʃ'
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	tʃ'
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ	pf'
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'

Most of the Mandarin dialects, such as Běijīng, Yāntái, Nánjīng, Lánzhōu, etc. have undergone Rule 10: the MC *ʃ- (疑母 velar nasal initial) has been lost and become zero initial. Xī'ān dialect has undergone Rule 10 and Rule 11: the MC *ʃ- has become zero or alveolar nasal /n/. Jínán dialect is in the process of undergoing Rule 10, some words still retain the MC *ʃ-, while others have become zero initial. In Chéngdū dialect, the MC *ʃ- has been retained. Tàiyuán dialect has undergone Rule 10 and Rule 12: MC *ʃ- has become zero or velar fricative /ɣ/. The Modern reflexes of the MC *ʃ- in the Mandarin dialects are listed in Table 15.

Rule 10. Velar Nasal Vocalization Rule

*ʃ- -----> ʃ / # ____

Rule 11. Velar Nasal Fronting Rule

*ʃ- -----> n- / # ____

Rule 12. Velar Nasal Frication Rule

*ʃ- -----> ɣ- / # ____

Some Mandarin dialects, such as Xī'ān, Jínán, Chéngdū, and Tàiyuán, have undergone Rule 13: the MC *ʃ- (影母 zero initial) has become a velar nasal /ŋ-/. This process and Rule 10 have caused the merging of MC *ʃ- and MC *ʃ- words in the given dialects.

Rule 13. Velar Nasal Replacement Rule

*ʃ- -----> ŋ- / # ____

Table 15 Consonant Initials of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ʃ-	*ʃ-	*ʃ-	*ʃ-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	z	z	z	z
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	ʃ/n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ʃ/z	ʃ/z	v	v
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	ʃ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	z	z	l	l
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	z	z	z	z
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	z	z	z	v
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	z	z	z	z
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	ʃ	ɣ	ʃ/ŋ	ʃ/ŋ	z	z	z	z

In the history of Chinese phonology, the evolution of the MC **r-* (日母) initial is the most complicated. So far, in my study on the evolution of the MC **r-* (日母) initial, I have found that there are nineteen different reflexes of the MC **r-* (日母) in Chinese dialects, namely, /n, l, d, t, ts, dz, z, ʒ, z, n̥, z̥, j, ŋ, g, h, ʏ, fi, Ø, and v/. In my opinion it is more plausible to reconstruct ***/n-/* for the OC (上古音) and **/n̥-/* for the MC (中古音) for the *ri*-initial (日母); thus I have proposed a multi-directional evolution theory to account for all the modern reflexes of this initial (Yan 1999a). For easier comparison of the dialects, I will recapture my theory in the following table.

Table 16 The Multi-directional Evolution of the OC & MC *ri* Initial (日母) in the Chinese Dialects (Yan 1999b)

Change	Period	上古 OC	中古 MC			
	(a) [-B] → [+B]		<i>**n(j)</i>	→ <i>*n̥(j)</i>	→ <i>ŋ(j)</i>	
(b) Vocalization (<i>ŋ</i> → Ø / #_V)				Ø		
(c) Denasalization		<i>d/l(j)</i>	<i>ɖ(j)</i>	<i>g(j)</i>		
(d) Devoicing		<i>t(j)</i>				
(e) Affrication		<i>ts(j), dz(j)</i>	→ <i>dz(j)</i>			
(f) Frication		<i>s, ʃ</i>	<i>z(j)</i>	→ <i>ʒ(j), z(j)</i>	<i>ʏ, x, fi, h(j)</i>	<i>v / _u</i>
(g) Retroflexion (-j- → Ø)			<i>ʒ</i>			

It is apparent from the examples listed in Table 16, that most of the Mandarin dialects, such as Běijīng, Nánjīng, Lánzhōu, and Jínán, etc., have undergone the diachronic sound change via the MC's branching, have gone through Rule 14 (the Stage (c), (e), (f), (g) listed in Table 16), and have a retroflex /ʒ/ as the reflex of the given initial. Evidence from the rhyme tables of Song dynasty have shown that all the characters with the MC **r-* (日母) initial belong to the Grade III category (三等字), which always have a prevocalic glide /-j-/ as a medial. Therefore, before the the MC **r-* (日母) initial could be changed into a retroflex /ʒ/, the medial glide /-j-/ must be dropped; that is Rule 15 must be implemented before Rule 16. In dialects such as Xī'ān, Yāntái, and Lánzhōu, if

the syllable with MC **r-* (日母) initial had a /u/ glide or main vowel, then they may undergo Rule 17 loss of the initial and change the /u/ to /v/ (in some cases, phonetically it is a bilabial fricative [β] rather than a labiodental fricative), as in Xī'ān and Lánzhōu. While in Yāntái, after undergoing Rule 17, they have undergone Rule 19: /-j-/ changed into a rounded front vowel /y/.

Rule 14. **n̥- ---→ d- ---→ dz- ---→ z- / #_ jV*

Rule 15. Medial /-j-/ Deletion Rule

**-j- ----→ Ø / # C_*

Rule 16. **r-* (日母) Initial Retroflexation Rule

**z- ----→ z̥- / #_*

Rule 17. ***n- ----→ *n̥- ----→ ŋ- ----→ Ø / #_ u, w*

Rule 18. **u ----→ v- / #_*

Rule 19. Medial /-j-/ Rounding Rule

**-j- ----→ -y- / #_ o, u, w*

4.122 Finals of the Mandarin Dialects

The major differences among the Mandarin dialects in the finals are due to the sound changes in MC medials, nasalization of the vowels, the merging of MC nasal endings, and the disappearing of MC stop endings. We will give some examples and rules that can account for the different reflexes in the finals below:

Table 17 Finals of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (I)¹⁸

MC 中古音 Example 例字	<i>*ta</i> 多	<i>*t'a</i> 拖	<i>*tsa</i> 左	<i>*ŋa</i> 我	<i>*kua</i> 果	<i>*kua</i> 鍋	<i>*xua</i> 火	<i>*la</i> 羅
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	tuo	t'uo	tsuo	uo	kuo	kuo	xuo	luo
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	tuo	t'uo	tsuo	ŋɤ	kuo	kuo	xuo	luo
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	tux	t'ux	tsuy	ux	kux	kux	xux	lux
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	tuo	t'uo	tsuo	uo	kuo	kuo	xuo	luo

¹⁸Since our focus is on the medials/finals, tone marks are omitted.

Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	to	t'ò	tso	ŋo	ko	ko	xo	lo
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	tuo	t'uo	tsuo	ŋɤ	kuo	kuo	xuo	luo
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	to	t'ò	tso	ŋo	ko	ko	xo	no
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	tuɤ tɤ	t'uɤ t'ɤ	tsuɤ tsɤ	ɣɤ	kuɤ	kuɤ	xuɤ	luɤ

Rule 20. Medial /-u-/ Insertion

* \emptyset - --- \rightarrow u / # (C) ___ V

In the above table, we can see that Beijing and other Mandarin dialects in the north, have undergone Rule 20 to insert a medial /-u-/ to the final, thus having changed MC "open final" (*kāikǒu yùn* 開口韻, a final contains no labial medial onglide) to "closed final" (*hékǒu yùn* 合口韻, a final contains a labial medial onglide), while the Jiānghuái and Southwestern Mandarins, such as Nánjīng and Chéngdū, did not undergo Rule 20 and have retained MC "open final".

Rule 21. Medial /-u-/ Deletion

*-u- --- \rightarrow \emptyset / # (C) ___ V

Table 18 Finals of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*tuan 斷	*nuan 暖	*luan 亂	*kiěm 金	*kiěŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	tuan	nuan nan	luan lan	tciŋ	tciŋ	yan
Xi'ān 西安 (中原方言)	tuǎ	nuǎ	luǎ	tciě	tciŋ	yǎ
Jinán 濟南 (北方方言)	tuǎ	nuǎ	luǎ	tciě	tciě	yǎ
Yántái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	tan	nan	lan	kin	kin	yan
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	tuā	luā	luā	tciŋ	tciŋ	iě
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	tuan	nuan	luan	tciŋ	tciŋ	yen
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	tuan	nuan	luan	tciŋ	tciŋ	yan

Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	tuǎ	nuǎ nǎ	luǎ	tciŋ	tciŋ	ye
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Rule 22. *-m ---- \rightarrow -n / ___ #

Mandarin dialects and other northern dialects share a significant sound change expressed in Rule 22: the MC bilabial nasal ending */-m/ merges with alveolar nasal ending */-n/.

Some Mandarin dialects, such as Yántái, Nánjīng, Lánzhōu, Chéngdū and Tàiyuán have undergone Rule 23: the MC alveolar nasal ending /-n/ changes to a velar nasal ending /-ŋ/ or /-ŋ/ to /-n/, thus making characters such as 金 (*tciŋ* in Beijing) and 京 (*tciŋ* in Beijing) homophonous.

Rule 23. 23a. *-n ---- \rightarrow -ŋ / ---- #23b. *-ŋ --- \rightarrow -n / ___ #

Some of the Mandarin dialects, such as Xi'ān, Jinán, Nánjīng and Tàiyuán, have undergone Rule 24a: if an MC final consists of a vowel/diphthong plus an alveolar nasal ending /-n/, then the preceding vowel(s) may be nasalized. Some dialects, such as Xi'ān, Jinán, and Nánjīng, have undergone Rule 24b and dropped the nasal ending after the vowel(s) have been nasalized; or in a dialect such as Tàiyuán which has undergone Rule 24c to become vocalized vowels.

Rule 24. Vowel Nasalization Rule

24a. *-VN --- \rightarrow -ṽN / # (C) ___ #24b. -ṽN ---- \rightarrow -ṽ / # (C) ___ #24c. -ṽ --- \rightarrow -V / # (C) ___ #

Among the Mandarin dialects, there is a shared sound change of the medial for the closed syllables of Grade III (合口三等字), namely, Rule 25; */-j-/ changes into a rounded front high vowel /-y/ before /-u, w/. The example word *yuè* 月 listed in Table 19 is a case in point.

Rule 25. Medial Rounding Rule (cf. Rule 19)

*-j- --- \rightarrow -y- / # ___ u, w

Table 19 Finals of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*jiep 葉	*nop 納	*pæt 八	*ɲiwət 月	*kuək 國	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	ie	na	pa	ye	kuo	li
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	ie	na	pa	ye	kuei	li
Jínán 濟南 (北方方言)	ie	na	pa	ye	kuɤ	li
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	ie	na	pa	ye	kuo	li
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	ie	la	pa	ye	kuo	li
Héféi 合肥 (江淮方言)	ie?	le?	pe?	ye?	kuə?	lie?
Lánzhōu 蘭州 (蘭銀方言)	ie	na	pa	yo	kuei	li
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	ie	na	pa	ye	kue	ni
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	ie?	na?	pa?	ye?	kuə?	lie?

One of the major features shared among the Mandarin dialects is the evolution of the MC entering tone syllables. Most of the Mandarin dialects have undergone Rule 26, which denotes that the consonant endings are in the process of becoming a glottal stop (Rule 26a), and the glottal stop is in the process of becoming zero (Rule 26b). From the above table, we can see that Jiānghuái Mandarin dialects such as Héféi, and Jin dialects such as Tàiyuán, have undergone only Rule 26a, while the other Mandarin dialects have undergone both Rule 26a and 26b and have lost the consonant ending completely.

Rule 26. Stop Ending Neutralization Rule

26a. *-p, *-t, *-k ---> -ʔ / ___#

26b. *-ʔ ---> 0 / ___#

Table 20 Consonant Endings of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects

Dialect	Subdialect	MC *-m, *-n, *-ŋ	Nasalized V	MC *-p, *-t, *-k
Běijīng 北京	北京方言	-n, -ŋ		0
Xī'ān 西安	中原方言	-ŋ	ĩ	0
Tàiyuán 太原	晉語	-ŋ	ĩ	-ʔ

Jínán 濟南	北方方言	-n, -ŋ	ĩ	0
Yāntái 煙台	膠遼方言	-n, -ŋ	ĩ <td>0</td>	0
Nánjīng 南京	江淮方言	-n, -ŋ	ĩ <td>0</td>	0
Héféi 合肥	江淮方言	-n, -ŋ	ĩ	-ʔ
Yángzhōu 揚州	江淮方言	-n, -ŋ	ĩ	-ʔ
Wūhàn 武漢	西南方言	-ŋ		0
Chéngdū 成都	西南方言	-n, -ŋ		0

4.123 Tones of the Mandarin Dialects

The development of the MC four tonal categories in the Mandarin and Jin dialects mainly lie in the split of MC *píng* tone (T1) into *yīn píng* (T1a) and *yáng píng* (T1b), and the merging of MC entering tone (T4) into the other tones (see Table 4 for the entering tone reflexes in modern Mandarin dialects). Some subdialects may not have undergone the tonal split of any tones. Most Mandarin dialects have four tones, while others may have from three to seven. In general, the tonal split is conditioned by the voicing of the consonant initial. The Beijing dialect, for example, has undergone Rule 27, Rule 28 and Rule 29, the T4 (entering tone) has been merged into the other tones.¹⁹

Rule 27. T1 Split Rule

$$*T1 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{cases} T1a / \text{voiceless initial syllable} \\ T1b / \text{voiced initial syllable} \end{cases}$$

Rule 28. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去)

$$28a. *T2 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{cases} T2a / \text{voiceless obstruent initial} \\ T2b / \text{voiced obstruent initial} \end{cases}$$

$$28b. T2b \text{ ----} \rightarrow T3b / \text{voiced obstruent initial}$$

Rule 29. T4 Tripart Rule

$$*T4 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \begin{cases} T1a, T2, T3 / \text{voiceless initial} \\ T1b / \text{voiced obstruent} \\ T3 / \text{sonorant initial (including zero initial)} \end{cases}$$

¹⁹ These tone rules are basically after Matthew Y. Chen (1976). Readers are also referred to Chen's work for the most profound analysis of the evolution of Beijing dialect from the Middle Chinese in terms of generative phonology.

Even though some dialects may have the same number of tones, the tone values may vary from dialect to dialect. We will provide the tone values for some dialects in the following table:²⁰

Table 21 Tone values of the Mandarin and Jin Dialects

MC 中古音	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2 上	T3 去	T4a 陰入	T4b 陽入
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	55	35	214	51		
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	21	24	53	55		
Jīnán 濟南 (北方方言)	213	42	55	21		
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	31		214	55		
Nánjīng 南京(江 淮方言)	31	24	11	44	5	
Héféi 合肥 (江淮方言)	212	55	24	53	4	
Yīnchuān 銀川 (蘭銀方言)	44	53	(53) ²¹	13		
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	44	31	53	13		
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	11		53	45	2	<u>54</u>

4.124 Lexical Differences in the Mandarin Dialects

In Mandarin dialects, the majority of their lexical items are shared, but there are still dialect specific items that signify a localism. Due to the scope of this book, only a few lexical items are given to show their differences. For other lexical differences among major Chinese dialects, readers are referred to *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Cíhuì* 漢語方言詞滙 (Chinese Dialect Word List, Beijing Daxue 1964, 1995).

²⁰ For any tone category, if there is no tonal split, the only tone value is listed under the first column. For an entering tone, if the tone value consists of two numbers, the numbers are underlined for their short pitch range. There are tone sandhi phenomenon in Mandarin dialects, but due to the scope of this book, they will not be included.

²¹ In Yinchuan, the tone values of T1b and T2 tones are the same when they occur in isolation, but when in combination with other syllables, T1b will not undergo tone sandhi, while T2 will be changed into mid-rising /35/.

Table 22 Lexical Differences in Mandarin and Jin Dialects

	太陽	月亮	馬鈴薯	爺爺 ²²	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	太陽, 老爺兒	月亮	土豆兒	爺爺	奶奶	爸(爸), 爹	媽媽, 娘
Xī'ān 西安 (中原方言)	日頭(爺) 太陽(爺)	月亮(爺)	洋芋	爺	奶	爸, 達	媽
Jīnán 濟南 (北方方言)	太陽, 老爺爺	月亮	地蛋	爺爺	奶奶	爸爸, 爹	娘, 媽
Yāntái 煙台 (膠遼方言)	日頭	月亮	地蛋	爺爺	奶奶	爸	媽 (媽)
Nánjīng 南京 (江淮方言)	太陽, 日頭	月亮	洋山 芋, 土豆兒	爺爺	奶奶	爹, 伯伯, 爸爸	媽, 姆媽
Héféi 合肥 (江淮方言)	太陽, 熱 頭	月亮	馬鈴薯	爹爹	奶奶	伯伯, 大大	媽爺, 媽
Chéngdū 成都 (西南方言)	太陽	月亮	洋芋	爺爺	婆婆, 奶奶	爸(爸)	媽 (媽)
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)	陽婆爺	月迷爺	山藥蛋	爺爺	奶奶	爸爸, 爹, 大 (大)	媽 (媽)

Further Readings:

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²² The kinship terms listed in this table are colloquial direct address terms.

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4.2 The Wu Dialects

4.21 Subgrouping of the Wu dialects

Modern *Wú yǔ* 吳語 (Wu dialect), the second largest major dialect group in China, is spoken mainly in the municipality of Shànghǎi 上海市, the southern part of Jiāngsū 江蘇 province, most of Zhèjiāng 浙江 province, the southern part of Ānhuī 安徽 province, and small areas in Jiāngxī 江西 and Fújiàn 福建 provinces. According to Zhōu Zhehè's 周振鶴 study on Chinese migration history, Wú dialect speakers were the earliest group from the Wei River 渭水 drainage area in Shaanxi 陝西 to settle in the Taihu Lake 太湖 (Jiāngsū province) area during the Zhou 周 period. (1991:30)

Prior to the mid-1980s, the Wú dialects had been divided into two major groups: the "northern type group" and the "southern type group" (Chao 1967, Fù et al 1985). The former referred to the dialects spoken in the southern part of Jiāngsū province, while the latter to the dialects spoken in the Zhèjiāng province. The classification of the Wú dialects received considerable attention and discussion at the Wu dialects conferences held in the early 1980s (Yan Yiming 1995:21). In 1984, at the Wu dialects conference held in Wúxí 無錫 (Jiāngsū 江蘇) and after lengthy discussions, the participants decided to divide the Wu dialects in Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng provinces into five subgroups. Besides these five subgroups finalized at this conference, one more subgroup from the Wú dialect spoken in the Ānhuī province, the Xuānzhōu Subgroup 宣州片 was added to the list in 1986; this classification has been adopted in *Language Atlas of China* (Wurm et al, 1988).

In their Wu dialect studies, both Yuan Ren Chao 趙元任 (1967) and Yán Yímíng 顏逸明 (1994) have identified several common features for identifying a Wu dialect. Among them, the tripartite division of initial obstruents, for example, p: p': b; t: t': d; k: k': g, etc., has been considered as the most salient characteristic. In late 1990's, both Yú Zhìqiáng 俞志强 (1996, 1999) and Richard VanNess Simmons 史皓元 (1999) have criticized the earlier approaches to defining Wú dialects and have proposed both new sets of criteria and new approaches for identifying Wú dialects. On the one hand, using the dialect data from literature review, Yu has proposed a set of eleven value weighted features (five lexical and six phonological) to evaluate a dialect's possible affiliation with Wú (See Simmons 1999: 34-38 for criticism of Yú's criteria and approach). Simmons, on the other hand, drawing on his own fieldwork on the Wú and Mandarin dialects in border areas between the Zhèjiāng and Jiāngsū province, has argued that Chao's major criteria---the tripartite contrast of the initial obstruents as a necessary and sufficient criteria for classifying a Wú dialect---is "disputable" and "misleading" as in the case of identifying Hángzhōu (杭州) as a Wú dialect in the previous studies (Simmons 1999: 34). He has examined the phonology and lexicon of the dialect of Hángzhōu and the dialect of Old Jintan county 金壇縣 (Jiangsu), compared them with

other Wú and Mandarin dialects, discussed the issues concerning the definitions and classifications of the Wú dialects, and proposed a *Common Wú* system. He has claimed "that the best way to characterize and identify Wu dialects is by measuring the correspondence of individual dialects against a common set of distinctive categories seen in the collective Wú phonological systems---what we can call *Common Wú*." (Simmoms 1999:38) By using his own system of 17 criteria (15 phonological, and 2 lexical) to check the affiliation of the examined dialects to see whether they belong to either Wu dialects or Mandarin dialects, he has concluded that Hángzhōu is a Mandarin dialect, not a Wú dialect as previously claimed by other scholars. To date no other new subgrouping of the Wú dialects has been proposed. Thus we will present below the subgroupings of the Wú dialects as proposed in the *Language Atlas of China* (Wurm et al, 1988: B-9). According to the *Atlas*, the total number of Wú speakers is 70.1 million, and the dialects can be divided into the following subgroups:

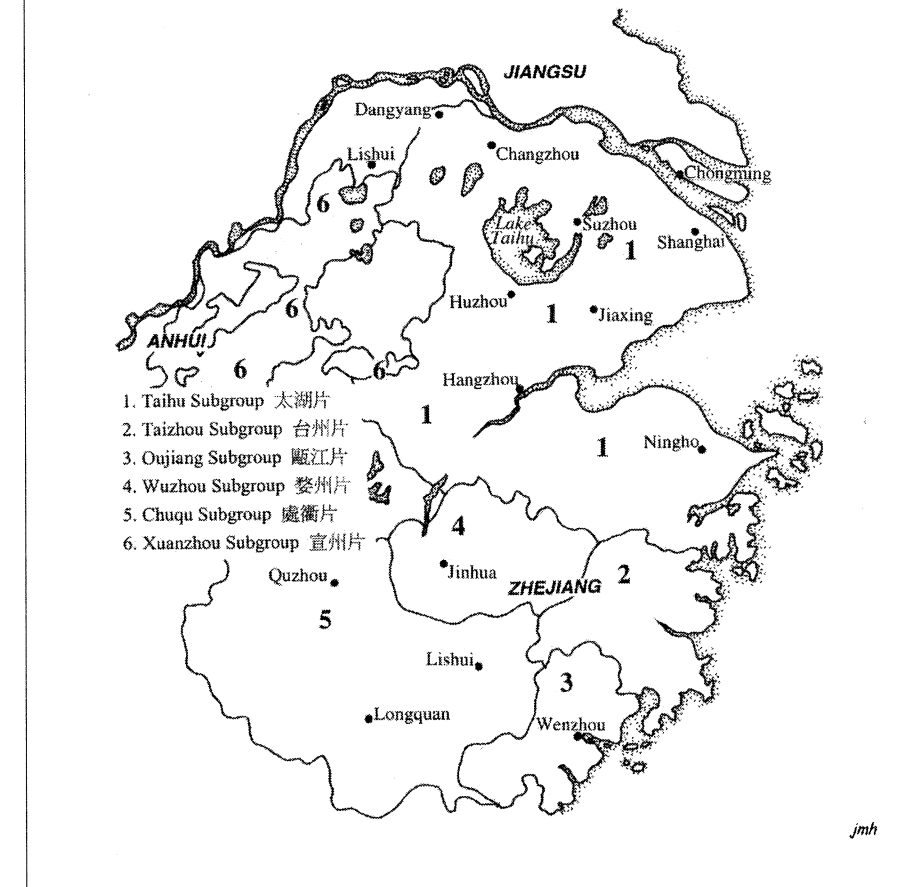
1. Tàihú Subgroup 太湖片

- (1) Pílíng cluster 毗陵小片
- (2) Sūhùjiā cluster 蘇滬嘉小片
- (3) Tiáoxī cluster 苕溪小片
- (4) Hángzhōu cluster 杭州小片
- (5) Línshào cluster 臨紹小片
- (6) Yǒngjiāng cluster 甬江小片

2. Táizhōu Subgroup 台州片
3. Ōujiāng Subgroup 甌江片
4. Wùzhōu Subgroup 婺州片
5. Chǔqú Subgroup 處衢片
6. Xuānzhōu Subgroup 宣州片

Map 4 The Wu Dialects

(Based on Fù Guótōng et al, 1986, and Zhèng-Zhāng 1986)



4.22 Sounds of Suzhou Dialect

Among the Wú dialects, the municipality of Shànghǎi (上海 aks *hù* 滬) and Sūzhōu (蘇州) city in Jiāngsū province are both included in the Sūhùjiā cluster (蘇滬嘉小片). We will use Sūzhōu dialect as a representative here for discussion instead of the Shànghǎi dialect, because the latter has more language contacts that have been influenced due to its metropolitan status. Sūzhōu has the following 28 initials (including \emptyset initial) and 49 finals: which include three *jièyīn* 介音 (medials): *i, u, y*; ten vowel phonemes: *i, I, u, y, E, æ, a, v, ø, o*; two *bíyīn yùnwěi* 鼻音韻尾 (nasal endings): *-n, ŋ*; one stop ending: *-ʔ*; and four syllabic sonorants: *l m n ŋ*. (Zihui 1989: 18-19)

Sūzhōu initials:

Labials	p p' b m f v
Dental-Alveolars	t t' d n l
	ts ts' s z
Alveolo-Palatals	tʃ tʃ' dz ɲ ʃ j
Velars	k k' g ŋ h fi

Sūzhōu finals:

i	ɥ	i	u	y
ɒ	id	uo		
æ	ia			
ɛ	ie			
o	io			
∅	i∅	u∅		
ɣ	iy			
əu				
ən	in	uən	yn	
oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ		
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ		
oŋ	ioŋ			
ɒʔ	idʔ			
aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	yaʔ	
ɣʔ	iyʔ	uyʔ	yɣʔ	
oʔ	ioʔ			
l	m	n	ŋ	

Sūzhōu tones: (7 tones)

Suzhou	T1a	T1b	T2	T3a	T3b	T4a	T4b
蘇州	陰平	陽平	上聲	陰去	陽去	陰入	陽入
	44	24	52	412	31	4	23

4.23 Initials of the Wú Dialects

The two most significant common phonological features of the Wú dialects are preserving the three-way contrast of MC initial stops and affricates (e.g., *p, p', b; t, t', d; k, k', g; ts, ts', dz/z; tʃ, tʃ', dʒ*, etc.) and the retaining of MC voiced initials (e.g., *b, d, g, z, dz*, etc.).¹ These characteristics have been found in most of the Wú dialects in Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng provinces. Rule 30 will account for the retaining of MC voiced obstruents.

Rule 30. Voiced Obstruent Retaining Rule

*C- -----> [+ voiced] / # ____
[-sonorant, +voiced]

In most of the Wu dialects in Jiangsu province, the voiced obstruent series has lenis onset followed by breathy voice or murmur [b̥fi, d̥fi, g̥fi, etc.] when they occur phrasal initially, are retained fully voiced when they occur after another syllable in a phrase. This indicates that the voiced obstruents are in the process of becoming devoiced.

In most of the Wú dialects, the MC voiced velar stops and palatal stops have undergone the process of affrication/frication, while in some Wú dialects in Anhui province, for example, Jìngxiàn 涇縣 and Fánchāng 繁昌 (the Xuānzhōu Subgroup 宣州片) as reported by Yán Yímíng (1995: 23), even the MC voiced bilabial and alveolar stops are also undergoing the process of frication. The following rule accounts for the process of frication:

Rule 31. Voiced Obstruent Frication Rule

*C- -----> [+ voiced], [+ fricated] / # ____
[-sonorant, +voiced]

Another significant feature of the Wu dialects is the reflexes of the MC **mj-* (**mj-* 微母). There is a difference between the literary reading and colloquial reading.² The colloquial reading has retained the Old Chinese ***m-*, while the literary reading has changed into /v-/, which indicates that it has undergone the process of labiodentalization (Rule 32a) as did the Mandarin dialects. In the Wú dialects, however, the MC **mj-* has

¹ As a matter of fact, these two characteristics are also found in Old Xiāng dialects (老湘語) as we will see later this chapter under 6.3.

² The phenomenon of literary and colloquial readings of characters is found in all Chinese dialects. In the Southern Mǐn dialects, the differences are so great that they can be treated as two parallel phonological system of one language. See Sung 1973 for detail discussions.

further denasalized and changed to /v-/ (Rule 32b), while most of the Mandarin dialects have lost the MC **mj-* and became zero initial (Rule 32c).³

Rule 32. Labiodentalization of the Labial Initial

32a. ***p-*, ***p'-*, ***b-*, ***m-* -----> **f-*, **f-*, **v-*, **mj-* / # ___ j
(Grade III characters 三等字)

32b. **mj-* -----> *v-* / # ___ j

32c. **mj-* -----> -∅ / # ___ j

The modern reflexes of the MC consonant initials of the Wú dialects are listed below:

Table 23 Consonant Initials of the Wú Dialects (I)⁴

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p- 幫	*p'- 胖	*b- 盤	*m- 明	*f- 飛	*mj- (*mj-) 味	*t- 打	*t'- 梯	*d- 大	*n- 腦	*l- 老
Běijīng 北京	p	p'	p'	m	f	∅	t	t'	t'	n	l
Sūzhōu 蘇州	p	p'	b	m	f	v (L) m (C)	t	t'	d	n	l
Shànghǎi 上海	p	p'	b	m	f	f̃i (L) m (C)	t	t'	d	n	l
Chóngmíng 崇明	p	p'	b	m	f	f̃m	t	t'	d	?n	?l
Dānyáng 丹陽	p	p'	p'(L) p(C)	m	f	m, v	t	t'	t'(L) t(C)	n	l
Níngbō 寧波	p	p'	b	m	f	v (L) m (C)	t	t'	d	n	l
Hángzhōu 杭州	p	p'	b	m	f	v (L) m (C)	t	t'	d	n	l
Jīnhuá 金華	p	p'	b	m	f	v (L) m (C)	t	t'	d	n	l
Wēnzhōu 溫州	p	p'	b	m	f	m	t	t'	d	n	L

³ In fact Xī'ān and Tàiyuán dialects also have reflex /v-/ for the MC ***mj-* (**mj-* 微母).

⁴ Hereafter, whenever we provide examples for the given dialect groups, we will also provide their counterparts in Beijing in the table for easier comparison. The dialect data for the Wú dialects are taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989), Yán Yímíng (1995) and the Dialect Dictionary of Suzhou (1994), Shanghai (1997), Chongming (1998), Danyang (1996), Ningpo (1997), Hangzhou (1998), Jinhua (1998) and Wenzhou (1998).

Jīngxiàn 涇縣	p	p'	hv	m	f	m	t	t'	hl	n	L
Fánchāng 繁昌	p	p'	hβ	m	f	m	t	t'	hl	n	L

(Note: L = literary reading, C = colloquial reading)

As can be seen from the sample of lexical items in the following table, in most of the Wu dialects, the velar initials (the *jian* 見 series) have also undergone the process of palatalization (Rule 5b) as Mandarin dialects did, but the *jing* 精 series have not been palatalized. Thus in most of the Wu dialects, 精 and 經 remain in contrast, 酒 ≠ 九 (In Wenzhou dialect, 酒 tɕiəu ≠ 九 tɕiau, but the difference lies in the final), while in most of the Mandarins, they are homophones, i.e. 精 = 經, 酒 = 九.

Table 24 Consonant Initials of the Wu Dialects (II)

M 中古音 Example 例字	*ts- 子	*ts'- 醋	*s- 思	*z- 謝	*ts- 精	*ts'- 清	*x- 休	*k- 經	*k'- 輕	*g- 棋	*g- 具	*ts- 酒	*k- 九
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ
Sūzhōu 蘇州	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts	tɕ
Shànghǎi 上海	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	ts(O) tɕ(N)	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts(O) tɕ(N)	tɕ
Chóngmíng 崇明	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts	tɕ
Dānyáng 丹陽	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	ts'(L) ts(C)	ts'(L) ts(C)	ts	tɕ
Níngbō 寧波	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	tɕ	tɕ
Hángzhōu 杭州	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts	tɕ
Jīnhuá 金華	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts	tɕ
Wēnzhōu 溫州	ts	ts'	s	z	ts	ts'	ç	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	tɕ	tɕ

Note: (O) = older generation speaker, (N) = younger generation speaker.

In Mandarin dialects, the process of retroflexation is very common, while in the typical modern Wú dialects (even in the Hángzhōu dialect), there are no retroflex initials. In most of the Wú dialects, the modern reflexes of MC *zhī* series 知系, *zhuāng* series 莊系 and *zhāng* series 章系 have merged into *jīng* series 精系. This characteristic is shared by other non-Mandarin dialects as we will see in the later discussions. The following rule accounts for the merging of these three series:

Rule 33. Affrication and Fronting

33a. *t-, *t', *d- -----> ts, ts', z / # ____ (zhī series 知系)

33b. *tʃ-, *tʃ', *f-, *ʒ- -----> ts, ts', s, z / # ____ (zhuāng series 莊系)

33c. *tɕ-, *tɕ', *ç-, *dz- -----> ts, ts', s, z or dz / # ____ (zhāng series 章系)

In some Wú dialects in the southern part of Zhèjiāng 浙江 province, such as Lìshuǐ 麗水, Wēnzhōu 溫州, Táizhōu 台州, Jīnhuá 金華, Lóngquán 龍泉 (Zhèngzhāng 1985, Xiè 1988), part of Mánhuà of Píngyáng 平陽蠻話 (Fu 1984), and the Wú dialects in Jiāngxī province, such as Shàngráo xiàn 上饒縣, Yùshān xiàn 玉山縣 and Guǎngfēng xiàn 廣豐縣, some reflexes of the words in the MC zhī series 知系 (superdentals: *t- series) are pronounced as dentals (t-, t', d-) in colloquial readings and are not distinct from the reflexes of the MC duān series 端系 (dentals: *t- series), for example,

豬 張 蛛
 Lìshuǐ 麗水 tɿ³⁵ tiaŋ³⁵ ty³⁵

The lack of distinction between MC dentals and superdentals is an Old Chinese (上古音) feature which is basically only found in the Min dialects. (See further discussion of this in Section 4.3.) Based on studies of the Wú dialects as well as historical literary documents such as: *Nánshǐ* (南史) and *Wú gē* (吳歌), Ting Pang-hsin (丁邦新 1995:18) has proposed a theory that "This is a Mǐn substratum in the Wú dialects. This substratum represents a residue of the "Wú Yǔ 吳語" of the Southern Dynasties, which is probably the ancestor language of the modern Mǐn dialects."

Table 25 Consonant Initials of the Wú Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts'- 趣	*k'- 去	*k- 高	*k'- 考	*t- 豬	*tʃ'- 初	*ç- 書	*z- 熟
Běijīng 北京	tɕ'	tɕ'	k	k'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	ʃ
Sūzhōu 蘇州	ts'	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z
Shànghǎi 上海	ts' (O) tɕ' (N)	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z
Chóngmíng 崇明	ts'	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z
Dānyáng 丹陽	ts'	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z
Níngbō 寧波	ts'	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z

Hángzhōu 杭州	ts'	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	z
Jīnhuá 金華	tɕ'	tɕ'	k	k'	tɕ	tɕ'	ç	z
Wēnzhōu 溫州	ts'	tɕ'/k'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	j

Table 26 Consonant Initials of the Wú Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts- 資	*ts'- 猜	*s- 思	*t- 知	*t'- 拆	*d- 直	*d'- 茶	*tɕ- 紙	*tɕ'- 齒	*ç- 師	*tʃ'- 債
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ
Sūzhōu 蘇州	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Shànghǎi 上海	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Chóngmíng 崇明	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Dānyáng 丹陽	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Níngbō 寧波	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Hángzhōu 杭州	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	z	ts	ts'	s	ts
Jīnhuá 金華	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	z	dz	ts	ts'	s	ts
Wēnzhōu 溫州	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	dz	dz	dz	tʃ	ts'	s	ts
Jīngxiàn 涇縣	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	dz	hz	hz	tʃ	ts'	s	ts
Fánchāng 繁昌	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	dz	hz	hz	ts	ts'	s	ts

The realization of the MC *x- (曉母) and *ɣ- (匣母) as labiodentals [f-, v-] in the closed syllables (合口字) are found in Wēnzhōu dialect.

Table 27 Consonant Initials of the Wú Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*x-	*x-	*x-	*ɣ-	*ɣ-
喜					
好					
虎					
回					
紅					
Běijīng 北京	ç	x	x	x	x
Sūzhōu 蘇州	ç	h	h	fi	fi
Shànghǎi 上海	ç	h	h	fi	fi
Chóngmíng 崇明	ç	h	h	fi	hfi
Dānyáng 丹陽	ç	h	h	fi	fi
Níngbō 寧波	ç	h	h	fi	fi
Hángzhōu 杭州	ç	h	h	fi	fi
Jīnhuá 金華	ç	h	h	∅	fi
Wēnzhōu 溫州	s	h	f	v	fi

The reflexes of the MC velar nasal initial *ŋ- in the Wú dialects are either *n-*, *∅-* or *ɣ-*. The following rule expresses this characteristic:

Rule 34. Velar Nasal Development Rule

34a. *ŋ- -----> n- / # ___ i, y

34b. *ŋ- -----> ∅- / # ___ (elsewhere in literary reading)

34c. *ŋ- -----> ɣ- / # ___ (elsewhere in colloquial reading)

In the Wú dialects, the reflexes of the MC *ŋ- (日) are either changed to /z-/ (Rule 14 **n ---> d ---> dz---> z / # ___ jV) or retain the MC */n-/ or changed to /ɣ-/ (Rule 17 **n- -----> *n- -----> ɣ- -----> ∅ / # ___ u).

Table 28 Consonant Initials of the Wu Dialects (VI)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*∅-	*∅-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-
嚴								
五								
愛								
矮								
日								
人								
軟								
絨								
Běijīng 北京	∅	∅	∅	∅	z _l	z _l	z _l	z _l

Sūzhōu 蘇州	n-	∅ (L) ŋ (C)	∅	∅	z (L) n (C)	z (L) n (C)	ŋ	z (L) n (C)
Shànghǎi 上海	n-	fiŋ	∅	∅	n-	z (O) l (N)	n-	n-
Chóngmíng 崇明	n-	fiŋ	?	?	?n-	?n-	fiŋ	?n-
Dānyáng 丹陽	n-	ŋ	∅	∅	∅	∅	n	n-
Níngbō 寧波	n-	ŋ	∅	∅	n-	n-	n-	n-
Hángzhōu 杭州	?	?	?	?	z	z	n-	n-
Jīnhuá 金華	n-	ŋ	∅	∅	n-	n-	n-	z
Wēnzhōu 溫州	n-	ŋ	∅	∅	z (L) n (C)	z (L) n (C)	n-	n-

Note: O for older generation speakers; N for new (younger) generation speakers

4.24 Finals of the Wú Dialects

One of the most significant features in the finals of the Wu dialects is that for some MC finals, such as the words of *am (咸), *em (深), *an (山), *uan (山合), *ən (臻), *uən (臻合) rime groups, the nasal ending of the [vowel + nasal ending] final has been dropped resulting in an open syllable. This phenomenon, in fact, reflects that most of the Wu dialects have undergone the complete stages of Rule 24 Vowel Nasalization Rule (Rule 24a, 24b, and 24c), which have already been discussed on the finals of the Xi'an, Jinan, Nanjing and Taiyuan of the Mandarin dialects. However, a simpler Rule 35 can account for the nasal final deletion phenomenon in the Wu dialects:

Rule 35. Nasal Ending Deletion Rule

$$*VN \text{ ----} > \check{V}N \text{ ----} > \check{V} \text{ ----} > V / \#(C) \text{ ___} \#$$

(*am, *em, *an, *uan, *ən, *uən)

From the example words provided in the table below, it is evident that Shàoxīng (紹興) shares the same characteristic with Xī'ān, Jīnán, Nánjīng and Tàiyuán in that it is midway in the process of nasal ending deletion. It is with the combination of the initial and final changes in most of the Wú dialects, that homophones such as 山 = 三 are found.

Table 29 Finals of the Wú Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*jæn 山	*sam 三	*suan 酸	*puən 本	*an 安	*nuan 暖	*luan 亂
Běijīng 北京	ʂan	san	suan	pən	an	nuan nan (C)	luan lan (C)
Sūzhōu 蘇州	se	se	sø	pən	ø	nø	lø
Shànghǎi 上海	se	se	sø	pəŋ	ø	nø	lø
Shàoxīng 紹興	sæ	sæ	sø	pē	æ	nø	lø
Chóngmíng 崇明	sæ	sæ	sø	pən	ʔø	fin	filø
Dānyáng 丹陽	sæ	sæ	soŋ	pəŋ	ŋ	noŋ	loŋ
Níngbō 寧波	se	se	sy	pəŋ	ø	nø	lø
Hángzhōu 杭州	sē	sē	sʊ̯	pen	ʔē	nuō	luō
Jīnhuá 金華	sā	sā	suā	pəŋ	ā	nuā	luā
Wēnzhōu 溫州	sa	sa	sø	paŋ	y	nø (L) naŋ (C)	lø (L) laŋ (C)

When comparing the number of vowels of the Wú dialects with those of the Mandarin dialects, we can see that the former has more monothongs, and one of the Wú vowels, the rounded mid front vowel /ø/, is not found in the later. This vowel is the reflex of some of the MC **an* (山), **uan* (山合), **am* (咸), and **uam* (咸合) rimes, which first changed to /E/ (medial /-u/ was deleted if it is a closed syllable--Rule 21) and then changed to rounded /ø/. The following rule illustrates the process of this sound change:

Rule 36. Vowel Rounding Rule

*a -----> E -----> ø / #(C) ____ n, m
 (*an (山), *uan (山合), *am (咸), and *uam (咸合))

Two additional characteristics of the finals of the Wú dialects are the merging of bilabial nasal ending /-m/ into /-n/ (Rule 22), and the merging of velar nasal ending /-ŋ/ into /-n/ (Rule 23b), which make 金 = 京 in the Wú dialects. The phenomena of these mergings are also found in some Mandarin dialects.

Table 30 Finals of the Wú Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm 金	*kiēŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元	*piuŋ 風	*kəŋ 講	*ŋiŋ 絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin	tɕiŋ	yan	fəŋ	tɕiaŋ	ʒuŋ
Sūzhōu 蘇州	tɕin	tɕin	ŋiø jiø	foŋ	tɕiaŋ koŋ	ŋioŋ
Shànghǎi 上海	tɕiŋ	tɕiŋ	ŋyø	foŋ	kō	ŋyoŋ
Chóngmíng 崇明	tɕin	tɕin	fiŋyø	foŋ	tɕiā	ʔŋyoŋ
Dānyáng 丹陽	tɕiŋ	tɕiŋ	Y	fəŋ	kaŋ	ŋioŋ
Níngbō 寧波	tɕiŋ	tɕiŋ	fiy	foŋ	kō	ŋioŋ
Hángzhōu 杭州	tɕin	tɕin	ŋyō	foŋ	tɕiaŋ	ŋioŋ
Jīnhuá 金華	tɕiŋ	tɕiŋ	yɿ	foŋ	tɕiaŋ	ziŋ
Wēnzhōu 溫州	tɕiaŋ	tɕiaŋ	ŋy jy	hoŋ	kuo	zoŋ

As we have mentioned in the previous discussions, the dropping of the MC stop endings, /*-p, *-t, *-k/ --> ø (Rule 26a, 26b) is very common among the Mandarin dialects. Only Jiānghuái Mandarin and the Jīn dialects have changed /*-p, *-t, *-k/ to /-ʔ/ (Rule 26a). Among the Wú dialects, most have undergone only Rule 26a sharing this sound change with Tàiyuán and Jiānghuái Mandarin; the Wēnzhōu dialect drops the stop endings completely sharing this feature with most of the other Mandarin dialects.

Table 31 Finals of the Wú Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*nɔp 納	*ɣɔp 合	*mǐwət 物	*ŋwət 月	*kuək 國	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京	na	xɿ	u	ye	kuo	li
Sūzhōu 蘇州	nɿ? na? (NR) ⁵	fiɿ?	vɿ? (L) mɿ? (C)	jiɿ? (L) ŋɿ? (C)	kuɿ?	lii?
Shànghǎi 上海	na?	fiə?	βə? (L) mə? (C)	ŋyø?	ko?	lie?
Chóngmíng 崇明	fiə?	fiə?	və?	fiyø?	kuə?	liə?

⁵"NR" stands for "new reading" influenced by the Mandarin dialect.

Dānyáng 丹陽	nɑ?	xæ?	væ?	ɲyæ?	kuæ?	li?
Níngbō 寧波	nɛ?	fiɛ?	vɛ?	fiyɛ? (C)	kuɛ?	li?
Hángzhōu 杭州	nɛ?	fiɛ?	vɛ?	fiyɛ?	kuo?	liɔ?
Jīnhuá 金華	nə?	fiə?	və?	ɲyə?	kuə?	liə?
Wēnzhōu 溫州	nø (L) na (C)	fiθ ky	vai (L) mai (C)	ɲy	kai	lei

4.25 Tones of the Wú Dialects

In general, the Wú dialects have retained four MC tone categories: *Píng*, *Shǎng*, *Qù* and *Rù*, but *Rù* tones usually occur only with glottal stop /-ʔ/. In most of the Wú dialects, *Píng* (T1), *Qù* (T3) and *Rù* (T4) tones have been split into two (a, b) under the condition of the voicing of the initials (Rule 37). In some dialects, the *Shǎng* (T2) tone has been split into two (T2a, T2b), but the T2b has been merged into T3b (Rule 38).

Rule 37. Tri-Tone Split Rule

$$*T1, *T3, *T4 \rightarrow \begin{cases} T1a, T3a, T4a / \text{voiceless initial} \\ T1b, T3b, T4b / \text{voiced obstruent} \end{cases}$$

Rule 38. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (=Rule 28)

$$38a. *T2 \rightarrow \begin{cases} T2a / \text{voiceless obstruent initial} \\ T2b / \text{voiced obstruent initial} \end{cases}$$

$$38b. T2b \rightarrow T3b / \text{voiced obstruent initial}$$

Like Mandarin dialects, in the Yǒngkāng dialect (永康話), the *Rù* tones have already disappeared and merged into other tones. The number of tones in the the Wú dialects ranges from five tones (Shànghǎi 上海) to ten or more tones (such as the subdialects in Wújiāng 吳江).⁶ The Wú dialects have very elaborate tone sandhi systems.⁷ Below are presented the citation tone values for some Wú dialects:

⁶ A new survey on the Wújiāng's tones are reported in Yè Xiánglíng (1983:32-35)

Table 32 Tone values of the Wú Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1 平		T2 上			T3 去		T4 入		
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214			T3 去 51				
Sūzhōu 蘇州	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 52			T3a 陰去 412	T3b 陽去 31	T4a 陰入 4	T4b 陽入 23	
Shànghǎi 上海	T1a 陰平 53	T1b 陽舒 13	T2a 陰上 55			T3a 陰去 35		T4a 陰入 55	T4b 陽入 13	
Chóngmíng 崇明	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 24	T2a 陰上 424	T2b 陽上 242	T3a 陰去 33		T3b 陽去 313	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 2	
Dānyáng 丹陽	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 55			T3 去聲 11		T4a 陰入 3	T4b 陽入 5	
Níngbō 寧波	T1a 陰平 53	T1b 陽平 24	T2a 陰上 35			T3a 陰去 44	T3b 陽去 213	T4a 陰入 55	T4b 陽入 22	
Hángzhōu 杭州	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 213	T2a 陰上 53			T3a 陰去 55	T3b 陽去 13	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 2	
Jīnhuá 金華	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 313	T2a 陰上 535			T3a 陰去 55	T3b 陽去 24	T4a 陰入 4	T4b 陽入 12	
Wēnzhōu 溫州	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 11	T2a 陰上 35	T2b 陽上 24	T3a 陰去 42	T3b 陽去 31	T4a 陰入 313	T4b 陽入 212		
Yǒngkāng 永康	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 22	T2a 陰上 35	T2b 陽上 13	T3a 陰去 52	T3b 陽去 241/ 24				

(cons = consonant; vl = voiceless; vd = voiced; vs = voiced sonorant)

⁷ Readers who are interested in the tone sandhi patterns of the Chinese dialects should refer to Matthew Y. Chen (2000).

4.26 Lexical Differences in the Wú Dialects

The Wú dialects have some dialect specific lexical items and grammatical features that are different from the Mandarin dialects. From the examples listed in the following tables, it can be seen that some lexical differences lie in the use of different terms, e.g. 太陽 is used for "sun" in Mandarin, while 日頭 is used for "sun" in some of the Wú dialects. Some differences also lie in the use of reversed word order. For example, in some Wú dialects such as Sūzhōu and Wēnzhōu, for animal terms with gender markers, the word order is: head noun + gender modifier, e.g. 牛牯 [cow-male] for "ox", 牛娘 [cow-female] for "cow", i.e. the reverse of the Mandarin dialects.

Table 33 Lexical Differences in the Wú Dialects (I)

	太陽	月亮	爺爺 ⁸	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	你	他
Běijīng 北京	太陽, 老 爺 兒	月亮	爺爺	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	你	他
Sūzhōu 蘇州	太陽, 日頭	月亮	阿爹	好婆	爹爹, 爺	姆媽, 娘	儂	俚
Shànghǎi 上海	太陽, 日頭	月亮	老爹, 爺爺	η na, 阿奶, 奶奶	爹爹, 阿爸, 阿伯	姆媽, 媽媽	儂	伊
Chóngmíng 崇明	日頭	月亮	裏公	裏婆	爹爹	姆媽, 娘	你	夷
Dānyáng 丹陽	太陽	月亮	爺爺	嫚嫚	爹爹, 爸爸	娘, 媽	你 (爾)	他
Níngbō 寧波	太陽, 日頭	月亮	阿爺	阿娘	阿爹, 阿伯	阿娘	儂, 倂	渠
Hángzhōu 杭州	太陽	月亮	爹爹	奶奶	爹	姆媽	你	他
Jīnhuá 金華	太陽	月亮	爺爺	阿奶	爹爹, 爺, 伯 伯	娘, 姆媽	儂	渠
Wēnzhōu 溫州	太 陽 (佛)	月 光 (佛)	阿爺, 祖公爺	娘 娘, 內 婆, 祖 婆/ 娘	阿爸, 阿大, 阿伯	阿媽, 奶, 阿奶	儂	渠, 其

Table 34 Lexical Differences in the Wú Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	拖鞋	熱鬧	骯髒	誰
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	拖鞋	熱鬧	髒	誰
Sūzhōu 蘇州	雄牛, 牛牯	雌牛, 牛娘	雄狗	雌狗	鞋拖	熱鬧, 鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Shànghǎi 上海	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Chóngmíng 崇明	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Dānyáng 丹陽	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	劃格
Níngbō 寧波	牛牯	牛娘	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Hángzhōu 杭州	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Jīnhuá 金華	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	拖鞋	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人
Wēnzhōu 溫州	雄牛, 牛牯	草牛, 牛娘	雄狗	草狗, 狗娘	鞋拖	鬧熱	矯糟	ga ³¹ ŋ ¹³¹ naŋ ³¹
Yōngkāng 永康	雄牛	雌牛	雄狗	雌狗	鞋拖	鬧熱	齷齪	啥人

Further Readings on the Wu Dialects:

- Bāo, Míngwēi (鮑明燁), editor-in-chief. 1999. *Jiāngsū Shěngzhì: Fāngyánzhì* 江蘇省志方言志 [Jiangsu Provincial Gazetteer: The Dialect]. Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe.
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4.3 The Xiang Dialects

4.31 Subgrouping of the Xiāng Dialects

Xiāng 湘 is the alternative name for Húnán province 湖南省 and the name of a river *Xiāngjiāng* 湘江 (Xiāng river) flowing through Hunan province. *Xiāngyǔ* 湘語 (Xiāng language) has also been used by linguists to refer to the dialects mainly spoken along the *Xiāngjiāng* 湘江, *Yuánshuǐ* 沅水 and *Zīshuǐ* 資水 rivers in Húnán province and some cities, such as Quánzhōu 全州, Zīyuán 資源, Guànyáng 灌陽 and Xīng'ān 興安 in the northeastern part of Guǎngxī province 廣西省.

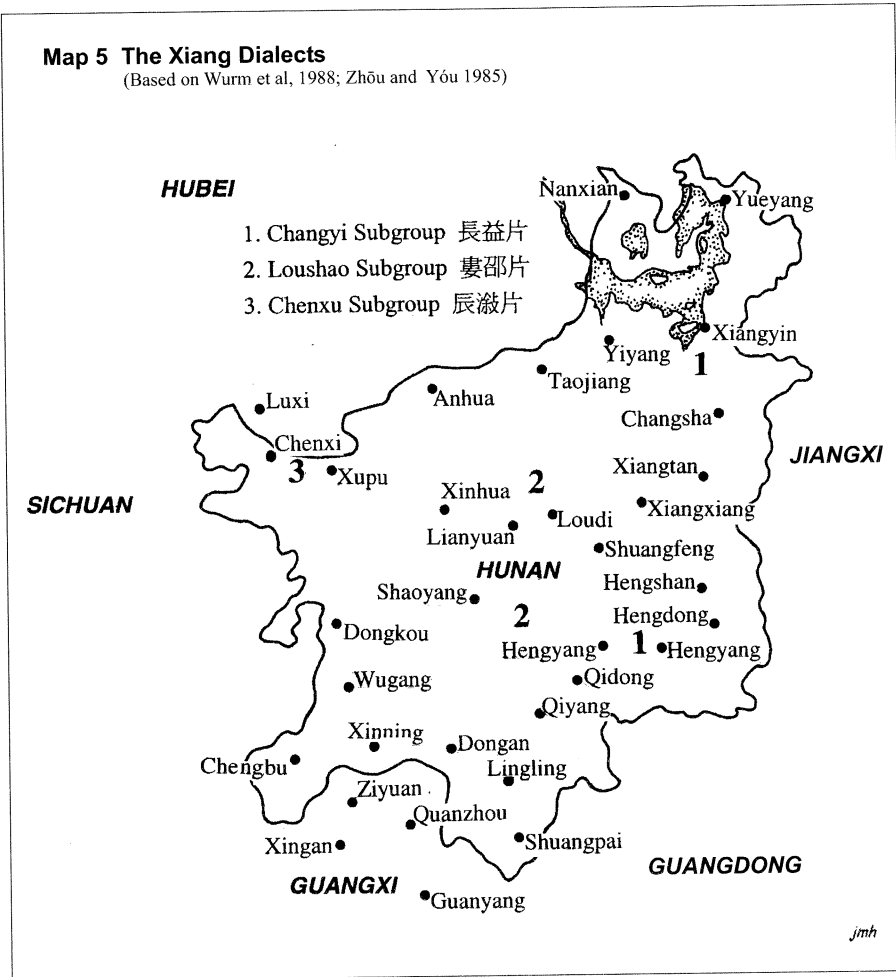
According to migration history, the first huge migration wave from the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River 黃河 took place between the Yǒngjiā Rebellion 永嘉之亂 years (307-312) in West Jīn 西晉 (265-317) and Sòng Tàishǐ 宋太始 in the Southern dynasty 南朝 (420-479) (Zhōu 1991:30-33), when the ancestors of the "Old Xiāng 老湘語" dialects arrived in the areas of Húběi and Húnán provinces. Later, the second large south-bound migration by people from the Central Plains 中原, during the rebellion of Ān-Shǐ 安史之亂 (755-763) in Táng dynasty, had brought northern dialect speakers to Jiāng-Xiāng 江湘 areas. As a consequence, the new northern dialects greatly influenced the then "Old Xiāng" dialects, and formed the so-called "New Xiāng 新湘語" dialects that are found in Húběi and northern Húnán. This is also the reason that the "New Xiāng" dialects have some shared characteristics with the Mandarin dialects. In the southern part of Húnán, some conservative dialects remain and are referred to as the "Old Xiāng" dialects.

According to the *Atlas* (Wurm et al, 1988: B-11), the Xiāng dialects have been divided into the following three subgroups with a total of 30.85 million speakers:

1. Chángyǐ subgroup 長益片
2. Lóushào subgroup 婁邵片
3. Jíxù subgroup 吉潑片

Map 5 The Xiang Dialects

(Based on Wurm et al, 1988; Zhōu and Yóu 1985)



In the Chángyǐ subgroup, the dialect of Chángshā 長沙 (the capital) has always been referred to as the representative of "New Xiang" dialects 新湘語. In the Lóushào subgroup, Shuāngfēng 雙峰 has always been referred to as the representative of "Old Xiāng" dialects 老湘語 (Yuán 1960). Previously, the subgroupings of the Xiāng dialects was based on the evolution of MC initials. Not until 1999, did Norman first use vocalism as a basis for dialect classification, claiming that "New Xiāng dialects like Chángshā 長沙 and Héngyáng 衡陽 show the Mandarin pattern. Old Xiāng dialects which preserve voiced obstruent initials to some degree are not consistent; some like Shàoyáng 邵陽 and Wúgāng 武岡 show the Mandarin pattern while some others like Lóudǐ 婁底 show a Gàn-like pattern. This suggests that the status of Xiāng as a separate dialect group should be reevaluated." (Norman 1999: 202)

4.32 Sounds of the Chángshā and Shuāngfēng Dialects

Chángshā dialect has twenty initials (including zero initial):¹

Labials	p p'	m f	
Dental-Alveolars	t t'		l
	ts ts'		s z
Alveolo-Palatals	tɕ tɕ'		ɲ ɕ
Velars	k k'		ŋ x
Glottal	∅		

Chángshā has thirty-eight finals:

- ɿ i u y
- a ia ua ya
- ie ye
- ɤ uy
- o io
- ai uai yai
- ei uei yei
- au iau
- əu iəu
- iē yē
- ĩ
- õ
- an ian uan yan
- ən in uən yn
- ɱ ɱ

¹The data of the Xiāng dialects used in this chapter are from the *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Zìhuì* (1989), Lǐ Yǒngmíng (1986), *Chángshā Fāngyán Cídiǎn* (1998), and *Lóudǐ Fāngyán Cídiǎn* (1998)

Chángshā has six tones:

Changsha 長沙	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 13	T2 上聲 41	T3a 陰去 55	T3b 陽去 21	T4 入聲 24
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Shuāngfēng has twenty-eight initials:

Labials	p	p'	b	m	
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	d		l
	ts	ts'	dz		s
Retroflexes	tʂ	tʂ'	dʂ		ʂ
Alveolo-Palatals	tɕ	tɕ'	dʒ	ɲ	ç
Velars	k	k'	g	ŋ	x
Glottal	∅				

Shuāngfēng has thirty-three finals:

i	ia	ua	ya
ɨ	ie	ue	ye
	ui		
ɤ	iɤ	uɤ	
o	io		
u	iü		
əu			
æ			
i	ii	ui	
en	ien	uen	yen
oŋ	ioŋ		
m	ŋ		

Shuāngfēng has five tones:

Shuāngfēng 雙峰	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 23	T2 上聲 21	T3a 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 33
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4.33 Initials of the Xiāng Dialects

One of the significant differences between the "New Xiāng" dialects (e.g. Chángshā 長沙 and Héngyáng 衡陽) and "Old Xiāng" dialects (e.g. Shuāngfēng 雙峰

and Lóudǐ 婁底) is that the former has undergone the devoicing of the MC voiced obstruents (Rule 1 Voiced Obstruent Devoicing), e.g. MC *b'-, *d'-, *g'-, etc. become p-, t-, k-, etc. as in the Mandarin dialects, while the later group retains the MC *b'-, *d'-, *g'-, etc. This feature has been used as a characteristic to tie the Old Xiāng dialects with the Wu dialects. Even within the "New Xiāng" group, the reflexes of the MC voiced obstruents are inconsistent; in Chángshā they are all become voiceless unaspirated, but in Héngyáng some reflexes are realized as voiceless aspirated, some are voiceless unaspirated. (Lǐ Yǒngmíng 1986) Some examples are given in the tables below.

First, however, there is one significant feature found in Old Xiāng dialects that has not received due attention: namely, some of the late MC *fēi* series 非系 (labiodentals 輕唇音) are not realized as labiodentals, [f, v], as in Mandarin dialects, but rather they are realized as velar fricatives [x, ɣ], or retain the bilabials (especially in the colloquial forms). The later feature indicates that in the Xiāng dialects, the OC labial initials did not undergo the labiodentailation process (Rule 32), or the so-called "split of the labials (唇音) into labiodentals (輕唇音: *fēi* series 非系字) and bilabials (重唇音: *bāng* series 幫系字)". This is in fact a well-known characteristic of the Min dialects which reflect the preservation of Old Chinese traits. The following rule (Rule 39a) expresses this sound change in the Old Xiāng dialects:

Rule 39. Development of OC Labial Stops Rule

39a. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> x-, x-, ɣ- / # ___ ju (Old Xiāng)
(*fēi* series 非系, Grade III characters 三等字)

39b. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> p-, p'-, b- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)

39c. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> f-, f-, f- / # ___ j (New Xiāng)
(*fēi* series 非系, Grade III characters 三等字)

39d. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> p-, p'- / # ___ (New Xiāng)

In New Xiāng dialects, such as Chángshā and Héngyáng, due to the influence of the Mandarin dialects, some lexical items of the MC *fēi* series 非系 may be realized as /f-/ (Rule 39c).

Table 39 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p- 幫	*p'- 胖	*b'- 盤	*m- 明	*f- 飛	*ŋ- (*mj-) 味	*f- (*pj-) 夫	*f- (*pj-) 峰	*v- (*bj-) 浮	*v- (*bj-) 鳳
Běijīng 北京	p	p'	p'	m	f	∅	f	f	f	f
Chángshā 長沙	p	p'	p	m	f	∅	x	x	x (L) p (C)	x

Héngyáng 衡陽	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	x	f	x
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	p	p'	b	m	x	∅	x	x	y (L) b (C)	Y
Lóudǐ 婁底	p	p'	b	m	x	∅	x	x	x	x

(Note: L = literary reading, C = colloquial reading)

In most of the Xiāng dialects, the MC **n-* 泥母 has undergone the denasalization (Rule 2) and been realized as lateral [l]. The merging of the MC **n-* 泥母 and MC **l-* 來母 is very common among the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, but in Chéngdū dialects, they are all realized as [n], while in the Xiāng dialects, they are realized as [l].

Table 40 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*t-	*t'-	*d'-	*n-	*l-	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*z-
打 梯 大 腦 老 子 醋 思 謝	t	t'	t'	n	l	ts	ts'	s	ɕ
Běijīng 北京	t	t'	t	l	l	ts	ts'	s	z
Chángshā 長沙	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	s	tɕ
Héngyáng 衡陽	t	t'	d	l	l	ts	ts'	s	z
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	t	t'	d	l	l	ts	ts'	s	z
Lóudǐ 婁底	t	t'	d	l	l	ts	ts'	s	z

In the New Xiāng dialects, such as Chángshā and Héngyáng, the MC *jiàn* series 見系 (velar **k-*, **k'-*, **g-* series) have undergone palatalization (Rule 5b) and are realized as [tɕ, tɕ'], as in the Mandarin dialects, but in Héngyáng some MC **k-* still are retained as velar stops in the colloquial readings.

In the Old Xiāng dialects, the MC **k-*, **k'-*, **g-* would either be realized as [tɕ, tɕ'], [dz] before a front vowel, become [t-, t'-, d-], or retain as velar stops [k-, k'-, g-] in the colloquial readings. Examples are listed in the following tables. The following rule accounts for these sound changes:

Rule 40. Velar Stops Evolution Rule

40a. **k-*, **k'-*, **g'-* ----> tɕ-, tɕ'-, dz- / # ___ i, y
(of *jiàn* series origin 見系字)

40b. **k-*, **k'-*, **g'-* ----> t-, t'-, d- / # ___ iu, y

(of *jiàn* series origin 見系三等合口字 in Old Xiāng)

40c. **k-*, **k'-*, **g'-* ----> k-, k'-, g- / # ___ (elsewhere)

The realization of the MC **k-*, **k'-*, **g-* as [t-, t'-, d-] is only found in the Old Xiāng dialects like Shuāngfēng. This feature shows that Shuāngfēng has retained this series as stops but has undergone the fronting process from velars to alveolars (Rule 40b).

Table 41 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*x-	*k-	*k'-	*g'-	*g'-	*ts-	*k-	*ts'-	*k'-
精 清 休 經 輕 棋 具 酒 九 趣 去	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Běijīng 北京	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Chángshā 長沙	ts	ts'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	ts'	tɕ'
Héngyáng 衡陽	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'(L) k'(C)
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	ts	ts'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	d	dz	ts	tɕ	ts'	t'(L) k'(C)
Lóudǐ 婁底	ts	ts'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	tɕ	ts	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'

Table 42 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*k-	*g'-	*k-	*k'-	*t-	*tj'-	*ɕ-	*z-
句 橋 高 考 猪 初 書 熟	tɕ	tɕ	k	k'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	ɕ
Běijīng 北京	tɕ	tɕ	k	k'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	ɕ
Chángshā 長沙	tɕ	tɕ	k	k'	tɕ	ts'	ɕ	s
Héngyáng 衡陽	tɕ	tɕ	k	k'	tɕ	ts'	ɕ	s
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	t	dz	k	k'	t	ts'	ɕ	ɕ
Lóudǐ 婁底	tɕ	dz	k	k'	tɕ	ts'	ɕ	z

There is another significant feature found in the Old Xiāng dialects, demonstrating a genetic relationship with the Min dialects that deserves close attention. Among the lexical items of OC *zhī* series (知系 alveolar stops: ***t-*, ***t'-*, ***d'-*) some still retain as alveolar stops as in the Shuāngfēng dialect (Rule 41), e.g.: 猪 ty (<***t-*),

住 dy (<***d'-). Some of the reflexes of the OC *Zhāng* series (章系 alveolo-palatal stops: **t-, **t'-, **d'-) are alveolar stops (Rule 42), e.g.: 尺 t'o¹ (<***t'-), 車 t'o¹ (<***t'-), 吹 t'y¹ (<***t'-).

Rule 41. OC Alveolar Stops Retention Rule

**t-, **t'-, **d'- (知系, 端系) ----> t-, t'-, d- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)

Rule 42. OC Palatal Stops Fronting Rule

**t'-, **t'-, **d'- (章系) ----> *t-, *t'-, *d'- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)

Table 43 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Exempl 例字	*ts-	*ts'	*s-	*t-	*t'-	*d'-	*d'-	*tɕ-	*tɕ'-	*ɕ-	*tʃ'-
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ
Chángshā 長沙	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	tɕ	ts	ts	ts'	s	ts
Héngyáng 衡陽	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts	ts	ts'	s	ts
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	ts'	d	dz	tɕ	tɕ'(L) t'(C)	s	ts
Lóudǐ 婁底	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ'	dz	dz	ts	ts'	s	ts

The realization of the MC *x- (曉母) and *ɣ- (匣母) initials as labiodentals /f-, v-/ in a closed syllable (合口韻) are found in the New Xiāng dialects such as Chángshā and Héngyáng. This feature was also found in the Wēnzhōu dialect in the Wú group. The following rule presents this sound change:

Rule 43. Velar fricatives Labiodentalization Rule

*x-, *ɣ- ----> f-, v- / # ___ u (*o(遇), *ai(蟹), *i(止), *en(臻), *aŋ(宕))

Table 44 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (VI)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*x-	*x-	*x-	*ɣ-	*ɣ-
Běijīng 北京	ɕ	x	x	x	x

Chángshā 長沙	ɕ	x	f	f	x
Héngyáng 衡陽	ɕ	x	f	f	x
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	ɕ	x	x	ɣ	ɣ
Lóudǐ 婁底	ɕ	x	x	ɣ	ɣ

Like the Wú dialects, the reflexes of the MC *ŋ- (疑母) in the Xiāng dialects are either [θ-], [n-] or [ŋ-]. However, most of the reflexes of the MC *θ- (影母) are [ŋ-], which have merged with some of the reflexes of the MC *ŋ- (疑母). Examples are provided in the following table.

The reflexes of the MC *n- (日母) are somewhat more complicated. Some of the dialects, such as Shuāngfēng, retain MC palatal nasal [n-]; some dialects, such as Lóudǐ and Héngyáng, retain OC alveolar nasal [n-]; others, such as Chángshā become zero initials or [z-]; and still others become fricatives: [s-] or [ɕ-]. Examples are listed in the following table. (See Table 6.12 for the complete picture of the evolution of the OC and MC *ri* initial 日母)

Table 45 Consonant Initials of the Xiāng Dialects (VII)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*θ-	*θ-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-
Běijīng 北京	θ	θ	θ	θ	z _l	z _l	z _l	z _l	z _l
Chángshā 長沙	n _l (L) ŋ(C)	θ	ŋ	ŋ	z(L) n _l (C)	z	z	θ	θ
Héngyáng 衡陽	ŋ	θ	ŋ	ŋ	ɕ	s	ɕ	n	θ
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	n _l	θ	ŋ(L) θ(C)	ŋ	θ	n _l	θ(L) n _l (C)	θ(L) n _l (C)	θ
Lóudǐ 婁底	ŋ	θ	ŋ	ŋ	ɕ	n	n	n	n

4.34 Finals of the Xiāng Dialects

The Xiāng dialects, like the Wú dialects, are also undergoing the process of vowel nasalization (Rule 44), but most of the New Xiāng dialects have only reached the first two stages (Rule 44b, 44c) —i.e. become nasalized vowels. In Shuāngfēng and Lóudǐ dialects, some lexical items have become plain vowels (Rule 44c). See the examples in the following table.

Rule 44. Vowel Nasalization Rule (=Rule 24)

44a. *VN ----→ $\tilde{v}N / \# (C) _ \#$ 44b. $\tilde{v}N \text{ ----} \rightarrow \tilde{v} / \# (C) _ \#$ 44c. $\tilde{v} \text{ ----} \rightarrow V / \# (C) _ \#$

Table 46 Finals of the Xiāng Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*fæn 山	*sam 三	*suan 酸	*puən 本	*an 安	*nuən 暖	*luan 亂
Běijīng 北京	ʃan ¹	san ¹	suan ¹	pən ³	an ¹	nuan ³ nan ³ (C)	luan ⁴ lan ⁴ (C)
Chángshā 長沙	san ¹	san ¹	sō ¹	pən ³	ŋan ¹	lō ⁴	lō ⁶
Héngyáng 衡陽	san ¹	san ¹	suen ¹	pən ³	ŋan ¹	nuen ⁴	luen ⁶
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	sæ ¹	sæ ¹	sua ¹	pən ³	ŋæ ¹ (L) ua ¹ (C)	xua ⁴	lua ⁶
Lóudǐ 婁底	sā ¹	sā ¹	suē ¹	pin ³	uē ¹	nuē ⁴	nuē ⁶

Most of the Xiang dialects, like the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, have changed the MC *-m and *-ŋ to alveolar nasal [-n] (Rule 45, Rule 46b), thus making the characters 金=京 and read as [tɕin¹]. In Loudi dialect, the MC *-m has been changed to [-ŋ] (Rule 45b), thus make 金=京 and read as [tɕiŋ¹].

Rule 45 Bilabial Nasal Ending Merging Rule

45a. *-m ----→ -n / $_ \#$ (=Rule 22)45b. *-m ----→ -ŋ / $_ \#$

Rule 46 Alveolar and Velar Nasal Ending Merging Rule (=Rule 23)

46a. *-n ----→ -ŋ / $_ \#$ 46b. *-ŋ ----→ -n / $_ \#$

Table 47 Finals of the Xiāng Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm 金	*kiēŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元	*piuŋ 風	*kɔŋ 講	*ŋiɔŋ 絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yan ²	fəŋ ¹	tɕian ³	zɔŋ ²
Chángshā 長沙	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yē ²	xən ¹	tɕian ³ (L) kan ³ (C)	in ²
Héngyáng 衡陽	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yen ²	xəŋ ¹	tɕian ³ (L) kan ³ (C)	in ²
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	tɕin ¹	tɕien ¹	ui ²	xan ¹	tɕioŋ ³ (L) koŋ ³ (C)	ien ²
Lóudǐ 婁底	tɕiŋ ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	y ²	fɔŋ ¹	kaŋ ³	ŋioŋ ²

In the Xiāng dialects, the MC stop endings [*-p, *-t, *-k], which occur with entering tones, have been completely lost (Rule 47) and merged with other open syllables. This feature distinguishes the Xiāng from the Wú dialects, it shows their stop ending evolution with most of the Mandarin dialects. Some examples are provided in the table below.

Rule 47. Stop Ending Deletion Rule (Cf. Rule 26)

*-p, *-t, *-k ----→ $\emptyset / _ \#$

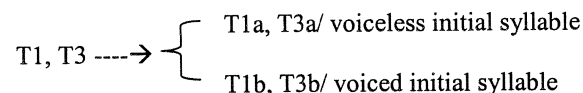
Table 48 Finals of the Xiāng Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*nop 納	*ɣop 合	*miwət 物	*ŋwət 月	*kuək 國	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京	na ⁴	xɣ ²	u ⁴	ye ⁴	kuo ²	li ⁴
Chángshā 長沙	la ⁷	xo ⁷ ko ⁷	u ⁷	ye ⁷	kuy ⁷	li ⁷
Héngyáng 衡陽	na ²	xa ⁷	fu ⁷	ye ⁷	kue ⁷	li ⁷
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	la ⁵	xue ⁷ (L) kua ¹ (C)	uə ⁵	ue ⁵ (L) ya ⁵ (C)	kue ¹ kua ¹	li ⁶
Lóudǐ 婁底	na ⁶	xue ²	u ⁶	ue ⁵	kue ²	li ⁵

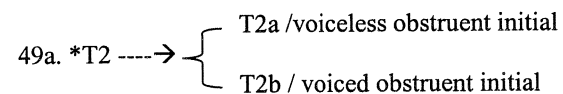
4.35 Tones of the Xiāng Dialects

In general, the Xiāng dialects have five or seven tones. In most of the Xiāng dialects, *píng* 平 (T1), *shǎng* 上 (T2), and *qù* 去 (T3) tones have undergone the following split rule (Rule 48a, Rule 49a) according the voicing of the syllable initials. But the merging of T2b with other tones varies in different dialects (Cf. Rule 49b, 49c) Some dialects such as Chángshā and Héngyáng retain the entering tone (T4) category (without stop endings), but they only show the differences in the tone values from other tone categories. While some Xiāng dialects have lost the entering tones (T4) completely and merged into other tones.

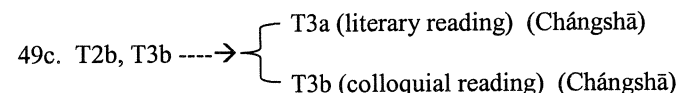
Rule 48. T1 and T3 Split Rule



Rule 49. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (Cf. Rule 28)



49b. T2b ----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial (Shuāngfēng)



Rule 50. T4 Split Rule

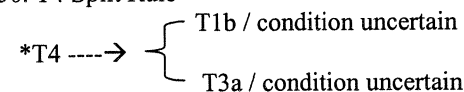


Table 49 Tone values of the Xiāng Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1	平	T2	上		T3	去		T4	入
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214			T3 去 51				
Chángshā 長沙	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 52			T3a 陰去 412	T3b 陽去 31	T4a 陰入 4	T4b 陽入 23	

Héngyáng 衡陽	T1a 陰平 45	T1b 陽 舒 11	T2 上聲 33		T3a 陰去 24	T3b 陽去 213	T4 入聲 22
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽 平 23	T2 上聲 21		T3a 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 33	
Lóudǐ 婁底	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽 平 13	T2 上聲 42		T3a 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 11	

(cons = consonant; vl = voiceless; vd = voiced; vs = voiced sonorant)

4.36 Lexical Differences in the Xiāng Dialects

In the lexicon of the Xiāng dialects, we can find some lexical items shared with Mandarin, Wú and Mǐn dialects. For animal terms with gender markers, the word order is: head noun + gender modifier, e.g. in Chángshā, "ox" is 牛公子 (cow-male), "cow" is 牛婆子 (cow-female), thus sharing similarities with some of the Wú and Mǐn dialects. In addition some lexical specific items, such as the use of the same verb "口契" for drinking tea, smoking a cigarette and eating rice, and the use of "鼎" "(tripod cooking vessel of the Shāng dynasty)" for the modern "wok", are also shared with the Mǐn dialects.

Table 50 Lexical Differences in the Xiāng Dialects (I)

	太陽	月亮	爺爺 ²	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	你	他
Běijīng 北京	太陽, 老爺兒	月亮	爺爺	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	你	他
Chángshā 長沙	太陽, 日頭	月亮	公公	娵馳	爹爹, 爺	媽媽	你	他
Héngyáng 衡陽	太陽, 日頭	月亮	爺爺	奶奶	爹爹, 爺 爸爸	姆媽, 娵馳	你	其
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	日頭	月光	公公	奶奶	爹爹, 爺	娘, 姆 嫲	你	他
Lóudǐ 婁底	日頭	月光	爺爺, 佳佳, 阿公	佳婆, 女能女能	爹爹, 爸爸	娘, 媽	你	他

²The kinship terms listed in this table are colloquial direct address terms.

Table 51 Lexical Differences in the Xiāng Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙 抽煙
Chángshā 長沙	牛公 子, 牯子	牛婆子	狗公 子, 狗 牯子	狗婆 子	鉄鍋	屋	吃茶	吃煙
Héngyáng 衡陽	牯牛	牛婆子	狗公 子	狗婆 子	鼎鍋	屋	吃茶	吃煙
Shuāngfēng 雙峰	牛牯	牛婆	狗公 子	狗婆 子	鉄鍋	屋	吃茶	吃煙
Lóudǐ 婁底	牛公子	牛婆子	狗公 子	狗婆 子	鉄鍋	屋	喫茶	喫煙

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4.4 The Min Dialects

4.41 Subgrouping of the Min Dialects

Mín 閩 is a geographic short term for the Fújiàn 福建 province in China. It has also been used to refer to the Min dialects 閩語 as a linguistic term by Chinese dialectologists. Currently, the Min dialects are found mainly within Fújiàn and Táiwán 台灣 provinces, but they are also found in southern Zhèjiāng 浙江, eastern Guǎngdōng 廣東, Hǎinán 海南,¹ and small part of Jiāngxī 江西, Guǎngxī 廣西, and Sìchuān 四川. Immigrants of the Min dialects (Southern Min in particular) are also found in the Philippines, Malay Peninsula, Vietnam, Burma, and Thailand. In recent years, immigrants of Northeastern Min (Fuzhou dialect in particular) are also found in the United States of America.

According to Chinese historical records, the Min area was originally inhabited by Min-Yuè 閩越 people, a branch ethnic group of the Yuè 越 who were one of the aboriginal tribes lived in current Zhèjiāng province during the Zhōu 周代 (1100-770 B.C.) period. The earliest Hàn-Chinese 漢人 who migrated from the Zhōngyuán 中原 (Central Plains) to the Min area were during the Qín-Hàn (秦漢, 221-207 B.C., 206B.C.-7 A.D.) periods. But massive Han-Chinese migration waves from the north also occurred due to the following major events:²

1. The *Wǔ Hú Luàn Huá* 五胡亂華 –the invasion of China by the five non-Han tribes from the north and the west during the East Jin 東晉 period (304-439).
2. The Yǒngjiā 永嘉 Rebellion 永嘉之亂 years (307-312) in West Jin 西晉 period (265-316).
3. The “zhēng Mán 征蠻” (the suppression of the insurrection of the Shē-Mán tribe 畚蠻) in 669 led by Chén Zhèng 陳政 and his son Chén Yuánguāng 陳元光 during the Táng 唐 dynasty.
4. When Wang Chao 王潮 and his son Wang Shenzhi 王審知 led several ten-thousand of troops from Henan to station in Min area during 893-945).
5. The so called “bǎo jià 保駕” (people protecting the Song emperor) event occurred when the Mongolians invaded China during the late Southern Song 南宋 dynasty (1127-1279), which resulted in numerous people fleeing to the south.

¹ Prior to 1988, Hainan Island 海南島 was under the jurisdiction of Guangdong province. Since 1988, it has become Hainan province 海南省.

² See Yuán Jiāhuá (1960), Zhōu Zhehè (1991) and Norman (1991) for more detailed migration history of Chinese and its relation with the formation of Min dialects.

Among the numerous Hàn-Chinese, who migrated from the North to the Min area, some were military troops and their families, while some were of the gentry and their families. Some of them took the route of migration via Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江 provinces, some took other routes by land. Due to the influence of these waves of migration from the North in different periods, and the contact of Han-Chinese and non-Han peoples, Min dialects are known for the peculiarities found in their phonology (e.g. some words have two to three readings)³ and lexicon (e.g. some lexical items are only found in Min dialects, but not in other dialects).

Prior to 1960's when dialect data was scant, the Min dialect group was divided roughly into two subgroups: Mǐnběi fāngyán 閩北方言 (Northern Min) and Mǐnnán fāngyán 閩南方言 (Southern Min) (Lǐ 1937, Yuán 1960). Fúzhōu was subsumed under the Mǐnběi subdialect group. In 1991, Jerry Norman has given a precise definition for a Min dialect as: "a Min dialect is a Chinese dialect which contains evidence for an earlier two-way distinction of voiced stops; this evidence may be in the consonant themselves, as in the case of the Eastern and Northwestern Min dialects, or it may be tonal, as in the case of Jingle and Shaowu. This is both a necessary and sufficient criterion for a Min dialect." (1991:348). He has proposed the following reclassification of the Min dialects spoken in Fújiàn:⁴

1. Eastern Min (or coastal group) which includes: NE Min (Fúzhōu 福州 and others), Xīnghuà, S Min (Xiàmén 廈門 and others),
2. Western Min (or inland group) which includes: NW group, Central group, and Far Western group.

Jerry Norman's student, David Prager Branner (1999: 43) has also proposed a similar subclassification of Min dialects as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. Inland: | A. Mǐnběi: | 1. Jiànyáng 建陽, Jiàn'ōu 建甌, etc.
2. Shàowǔ 邵武, etc. |
| | B. Mǐnzhōng: | Yǒngān 永安, etc |
| II. Coastal | A. Mǐndōng | 1. Fúzhōu 福州, etc.
2. Xīnghuà 興化 (Pútían 莆田, etc.) |
| | B. Mǐnnán | 1. Southern brand (Amoy 廈門, Teochew 潮州 (Cháozhōu), Taiwan 台灣, etc) |

³ For detailed discussions on the different lexical readings and the issue of stratification of the Min dialect, readers are referred to Chang Kuang-yu 張光宇 (1990:175-199; 1996a: 16-26)

⁴ Norman proposes Proto- Min *lh- (MC *l- 來母字) as the criteria for his classification. He has claimed that “The most obvious isogloss which separates two groups (Eastern Min and Western Min group) is drawn between two different developments of Proto- Min *lh- which becomes l- in the Eastern Min dialects, but s- (or S') in the Western Min dialects.” (1991: 349-350)

2. Northern branch (Lóngyán 龍岩, etc.)

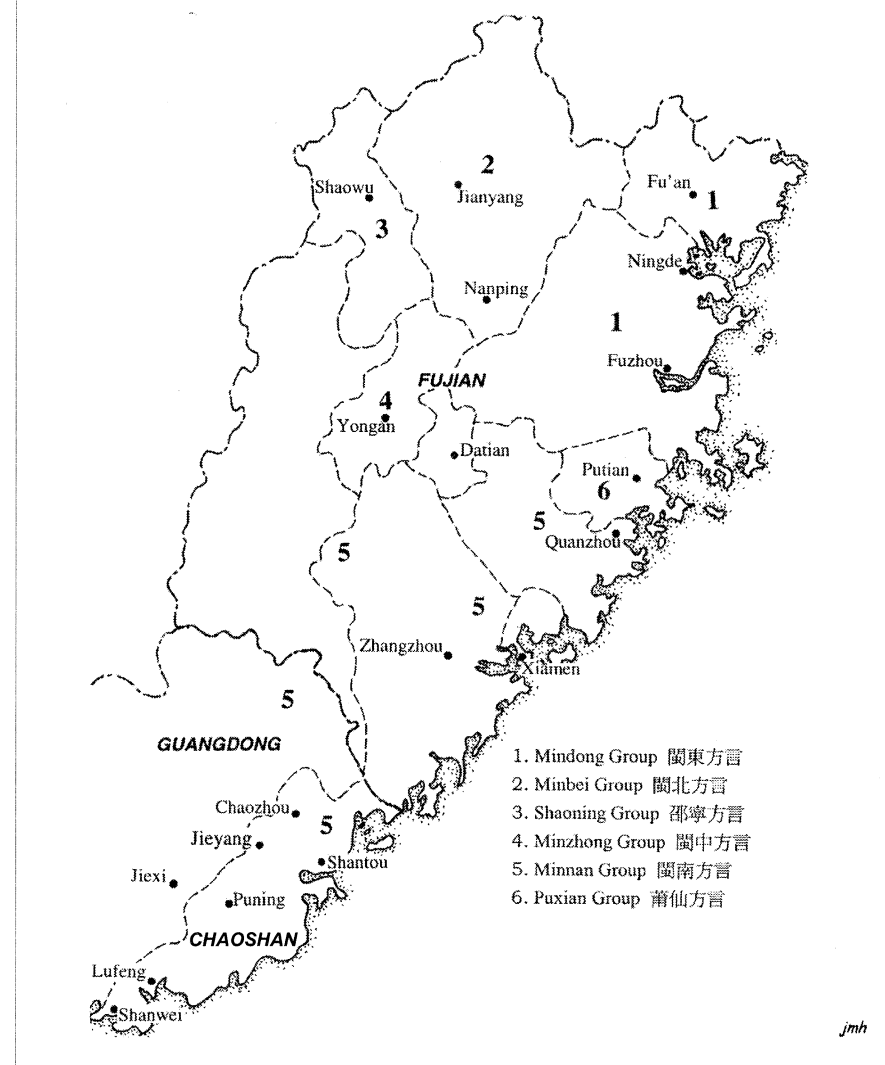
By using my own extensive field data collected in Fújiàn and Táiwān (1973, 1986, 1989-92 field notes), and data from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1962, 1989), Tǔng (1959), Huáng et al (1962, 1963), Pān et al (1967), Zhāng (1985, 1988, 1989), Chāng Kūn (1984), Norman (1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1981), and Chén and Lǐ (1991), and using the historical sound changes as criteria for the classification, we have divided the Mǐn dialects into the following subgroups:⁵

1. Mǐndōng fāngyán 閩東方言 (Eastern Min dialect)
2. Mǐnběi fāngyán 閩北方言 (Northern Min dialect)
3. Shàoníng fāngyán 邵寧方言 (Shaoning dialect = Shàojiàng dialect 邵將方言)
4. Mǐnzhōng fāngyán 閩中方言 (Central Min dialect)
5. Mǐnnán fāngyán 閩南方言 (Southern Min dialect):
6. Púxiān fāngyán 莆仙方言 (Puxian Dialect)

The differences among the major Mǐn dialect groups are so great that speakers from different groups are mutually unintelligible. Among these groups, Shàoníng is a complicated hybrid subdialect group which shares some sound changes with both Mǐn and Hakka.⁶ Its position remains to be determined when more lexical and grammatical data are available (Yan 1994).

Map 6 The Min Dialects in Fujian and Guangdong Provinces

(Based on Wurn et al 1988 and M. Yan 1994b)



⁵ Within Fújiàn province, besides Mǐn dialects, large sites of Hakka and Gàn are found in western areas. Mandarin islands are found in Nánpíng 南平 and Yángyǔ 洋嶼 (Chánglè 長樂) areas and a Wú island is found in southern Pūchéng 浦城.

⁶ Pan Maoding et al (1963) claimed that the Shàowǔ dialect is "half Mǐn half Hakka", Chen Zhan tai (1983) claimed that the Shàowǔ dialect belongs to Hakka-Gan dialect, while Norman (1974) claimed that the Shàowǔ belongs to Mǐn dialect group.

The Southern Min group is the most widespread of all. Within this group, speakers from different subdialects may have different degrees of intelligibility. The Southern Min group can be further divided into the following subgroups:

In Fujian and Taiwan provinces:⁷

- (a) Zhāngzhōu cǐfāngyán 漳州次方言 (Zhāngzhōu subdialect)
- (b) Quánzhōu cǐfāngyán 泉州次方言 (Quánzhōu subdialect)
- (c) Tóng'ān cǐfāngyán 同安次方言 (Tóng'ān subdialect)
- (d) Lóngyán cǐfāngyán 龍岩次方言 (Lóngyán subdialect)
- (e) Dàtián cǐfāngyán 大田次方言 (Dàtián subdialect)

In Guangdong province:

- (f) Cháoshàn cǐfāngyán 潮汕次方言 (Cháoshàn subdialect)⁸
- (g) Léizhōu cǐfāngyán 雷州次方言 (Léizhōu subdialect)

In Hainan province:

- (h) Qióngwén cǐfāngyán 瓊文次方言 (Qióngwén subdialect)⁹

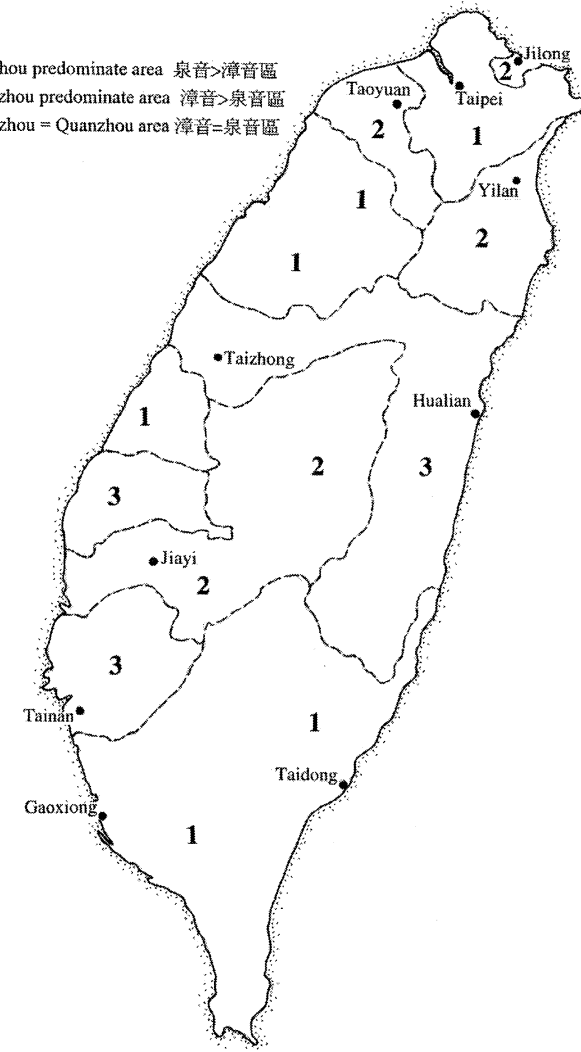
In Zhejiang province:

- (i) Píngyáng cǐfāngyán 平陽次方言 (Píngyáng subdialect)

Map 7 The Southern Ming Dialects in Taiwan

(Based on M. Yan 1990-93 Field Data)

- 1. Quanzhou predominate area 泉音>漳音區
- 2. Zhangzhou predominate area 漳音>泉音區
- 3. Zhongzhou = Quanzhou area 漳音=泉音區



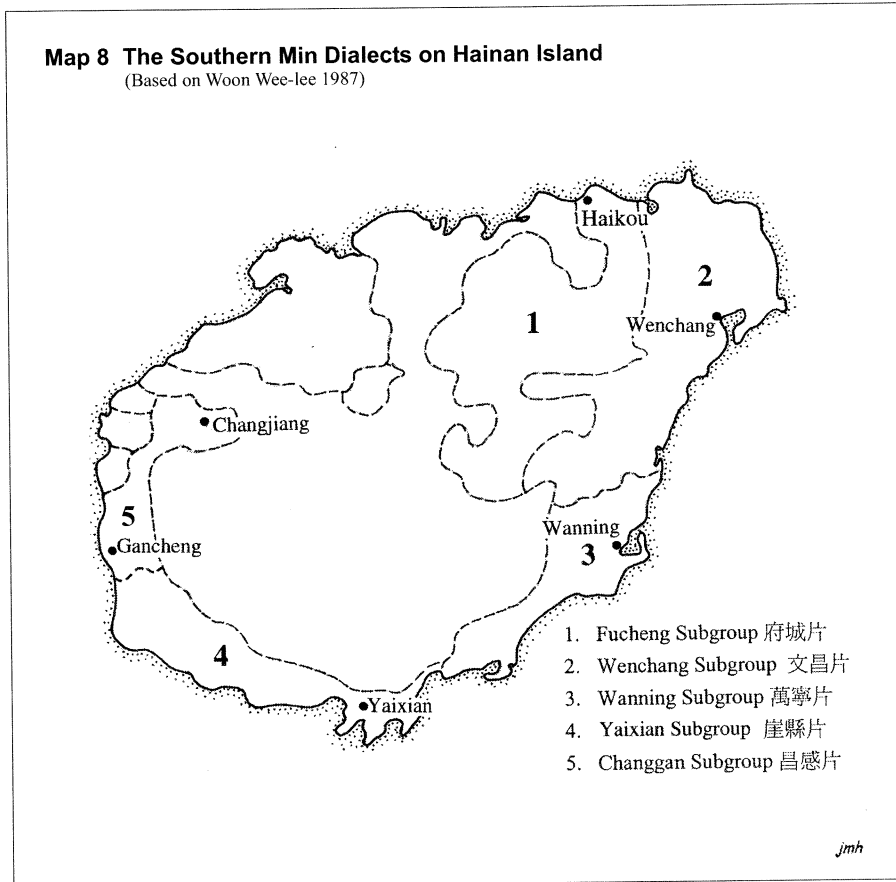
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⁷ See Wurn et al. (1988) and Yan (1994) for detail distributions of the Fujian dialects.

⁸ See Wurn et al (1988) and Cai (1976) for the distribution of Cháoshàn subdialect group.

⁹ According to Wee-lee Wonn 雲惟利 (1979) and Zhāng Zhènxīng 張振興 (1983), the Qióngwén subdialect can be divided into the following subgroups: Fūchéng Subgroup 府城片, Wénchāng Subgroup 文昌片, Wànníng Subgroup 萬寧片, Yá Xiàn Subgroup 崖縣片, Chānggǎn Subgroup 昌感片.

Map 8 The Southern Min Dialects on Hainan Island
(Based on Woon Wee-lee 1987)



The estimated number of native speakers of the Min dialects is as follows (Wurn et al. 1988):

Subdialect of Min	Linguistic sites	Population of Speakers
Mínnán group	53 cities/counties in Fújiàn, Táiwān, Guǎngdōng	34,700,000
Míndōng group	19 cities/counties	7,526,000
Púxiān group	2 city/county	2,253,000
Mínběi group	8 cities/counties	2,191,000
Shàojiàng group (Shàoníng)	4 cities/counties	745,000
Mínzhōng group	3 cities/counties	683,000
Qióngwén group (Hǎinán)	14 cities and counties	4,400,000

4.42 Sounds of the Fúzhōu and Xiàmén Dialects¹⁰

From the above discussion, we can see the complexity of the Min dialect group. For the sake of easier comparison, we will only present the sounds of Fúzhōu and Xiàmén dialects as representatives below:

A. Fúzhōu dialect:

Fúzhōu dialect has fifteen initials (including zero initial):

Labials	p	p'	m	
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	n	l
	ts(tc)	ts'(tc')		s(c)
Velars	k	k'	ŋ	x
Glottal	∅			

Fúzhōu has forty-eight finals:

	i(ei)	u(ou)	y
a	ia	ua	
ɛ	ie		
œ			∅y(œy)
ɔ		uɔ	yɔ

¹⁰ In this chapter, Fúzhōu and Jiàn'ōu dialect data are taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989), other Min dialect data in Fujian province are taken from my own fieldwork data base, and the Haikou dialect data are taken from *Háikǒu Fāngyán Cídiǎn* (1998).

ai		uai	
		uei	
au	iau		
eu	ieu		
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	
	ieŋ		
		uoŋ	yɔŋ
	iŋ	uŋ	ɸyŋ(œyŋ)
	eiŋ(aiŋ)	ouŋ(auŋ)	yŋ
aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ	
eʔ	ieʔ		
œʔ			
ɔʔ		uoʔ	yɔʔ
	iʔ(eiʔ)	uʔ(ouʔ)	yʔ(ɸyʔ)
	eiʔ(aiʔ)	ouʔ(auʔ)	ɸyʔ(œyʔ)
	ŋ		

Fúzhōu has seven tones:

Fúzhōu 福州	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2 上聲	T3a 陰去	T3b 陽去	T4a 陰入	T4b 陽入
	44	52	31	213	242	23	4

B. Xiàmén dialect:

Xiàmén dialect has seventeen initials (including zero initial):

Labials	p	p'	b	m	
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'		n	l
	ts	ts'			s
Velars	k	k'	g	ŋ	h
Glottal	∅				

Xiàmén has seventy-six finals:

	i	u
a	ia	ua
e		ue
ɔ		
o	io	
ai		uai
		ui
au	iau	
	iu	

ã	ṽã	ũã
ẽ		
õ		
	ĩ	
ãĩ		ũãĩ
		ũĩ
ãũ	ṽãũ	
	iũ	
am	iam	
	im	
an	ien	uan
	in	un
aŋ	iaŋ	
iŋ		
ɔŋ	ioŋ	
ap	iap	
	ip	
at	iet	uat
	it	ut
ak	iak	
ik		
ɔk	io̯k	
aʔ	iaʔ	uaʔ
eʔ		ueʔ
oʔ	ioʔ	
	iʔ	uʔ
		uiʔ
auʔ		
ãʔ		ũãʔ
ẽʔ		ũẽʔ
õʔ		
	ĩʔ	
ãũʔ		
m̩	ŋ	m̩ʔ
		ŋʔ

Xiàmén has seven tones:

Xiàmén 廈門	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2 上聲	T3a 陰去	T3b 陽去	T4a 陰入	T4b 陽入
	55	24	51	11	33	32	5

4.43 Initials of the Min Dialects

In the field of Chinese dialectology, the most significant phonological characteristics of the Min dialects are: the preservation of the labial and the alveolar initials of the Old Chinese, and the parallel system of the literary and colloquial readings. Based on the data from *Qiyùn* (601 A.D.), we have found that during the Middle Chinese period, initials of the OC bilabials and alveolar series had undergone big sound changes. Each of these series had been split into two. We will use the following primary rules (Rule 40a, 40b and Rule 43a, Rule 43b) to show these prominent OC split features.

Rule 51. The Split of the OC bilabials into labials and labiodentals

(51a) $**p-, **p', **b- \rightarrow *f-, *f-, *v- / _ j$ (Grade III characters 非系) (Cf. Rule 32)

(51b) $**p-, **p', **b-, **m- \rightarrow *p-, *p', *b-, *m- / \# _$

Rule 52. $*p-, *p' \rightarrow h-, h- / _ u$ (literary reading)

Rule 53. $*p-, *p', *b-, f-, *v- \rightarrow \beta- / \# _$

As we can see from the examples provided in Table 52, in most of the Min dialects, the *fēi* series (非系) characters did not undergo Rule (45a). They retain the OC bilabials in their colloquial readings (Rule 45b), and realized the OC bilabials as glottal fricative /h-/ in their literary readings (Rule 46). However, the Háikǒu dialect has shared the same sound change (Rule 45a) with Mandarin and other major dialects, and have changed part of the OC *fēi* series (非系) characters into labiodental fricative /f-/ or bilabial fricative /β-/. Some of the MC *pāng* series (幫系) and *fēi* series (非系) characters in the Háikǒu have changed to voiced implosive bilabial /β-/ (Rule 47). This feature and the change of MC alveolar stops into voiced implosive alveolar stop /d-/ are due to the influence of the contact with certain national minority people live on the Hainan Island. They are unique and shared by the variants of the Qióngwén. Another shared features of the Qióngwén is the change MC aspirated stops $*p', *b', *t', *d', *t', *d', *k', *g' /$ and MC aspirated affricates $*ts', *dz', *tɕ', *dz', *tʃ', *dʒ' /$ into fricatives.

Table 52 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p- 幫	*p' -胖	*b'- 盤	*m- 明	*f- 飛	*ɱ- (**mj-) 味	*f- (**pj-) 夫	*f- (**p'j-) 蜂	*v- (**bj-) 浮
Běijīng 北京	p	p'	p'	m	f	∅	f	f	f
Fúzhōu 福州	p	p'	p'	m	x (L) p (C)	∅ (L) m (C)	x (L) p (C)	x (L) p' (C)	p' (L) p' (C)
Jiàn'ōu	p	p'	p'	m	x (L)	m	x	p'	x (L)

建甌					∅ (C)				∅ (C)
Xiàmén 廈門	p	p'	b	m	h (L) p (C)	b	h (L) p (C)	h (L) p' (C)	h (L) p' (C)
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	p	p'	b	m	h (L) p (C)	b	h (L) p (C)	h (L) p' (C)	h (L) p' (C)
Quánzhōu 泉州	p	p'	b	m	h (L) p (C)	b	h (L)/ p (C)	h (L) p' (C)	h (L) p' (C)
Háikǒu 海口	β	β	β	m	β	v	f	f	β

(Note: L = literary reading, C = colloquial reading)

Parallel to the development of the OC bilabials, most of the Min dialects have retained the OC alveolar stops as and did not undergo Rule 48a. In the Háikǒu dialect, however, the MC unaspirated alveolar/palatal stops have undergone Rule 49, and realized as voiced alveolar implosive /d-/ and the MC aspirated alveolar stops $*t' /$ and voiced alveolar stop $*d' /$ (in Tone 1) have undergone Rule 50 and realized as fricative /h-/.

Rule 54. The Split of the OC Alveolar Stops into Alveolars and Palatals

(54a) $**t-, **t', **d' \rightarrow *t-, *t', *d' -$ (知系) / # $_$

(54b) $**t-, **t', **d' \rightarrow *t-, *t', *d' -$ (端系) / # $_$

Rule 55. $*t-, *d', *t', *d' \rightarrow d- / \# _$ (Háikǒu)

Rule 56. $*t', *d' -$ (T1) $\rightarrow h- / \# _$

In Shuāngfēng dialect (Old Xiāng) and Min dialects, initials of some characters with the OC *zhāng* series 章系 ($**t_2- \rightarrow$ MC $*t_2-$) have been realized as alveolar stop /t-, which is a feature that shows they have retained their OC stop nature. But in the the Qióngwén dialects (see Háikǒu dialect), besides the *zhāng* series 章系 ($**t_2- \rightarrow$ MC $*t_2-$), many characters with the initials of the MC *jīng* series 精系 ($*ts-$), *zhuāng* series 莊系 ($*tʃ-$) have also been realized as voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t-. We will use the following simplified rule to express this feature:

Rule 57. MC $*ts-$ series, $*tʃ-$ series, $*t_2-$ series ($**t_2-$) $\rightarrow t- / \# _$ (partial lexicon) (Qióngwén dialects)

Table 53 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (II)

MC中古音 Example 例字	**t-, *t-	**t'- *t'-	**d'- *d'-	*n- 腦	*l- 老	*ts- 做	*ts'- 粗	*dz'- 從	*s- 四	*z- 謝
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ʃ
Fúzhōu 福州	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	z
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	s (L) ts (C)
Xiàmén 廈門	t	t'	t	l (L) n (C)	l (L) l (C)	ts	ts'	ts	s	s (L) ts (C)
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	t	t'	t	n	l (L) l (C)	ts	ts'	ts	s	s (L) ts (C)
Zhāngpǔ 漳浦	t	t'	t	n	l (L) l (C)	ts	s	ts	s	s (L) ts (C)
Quánzhōu 泉州	t	t'	t	n	n (L) l (C)	ts	ts'	ts	s	s (L) ts (C)
Háikǒu 海口	d	h	d	n	l	t	s	s	t	t

Most of the Min dialects have retained MC aspirated stops and affricates, but the Qióngwén dialects have undergone Rule 58 and realized these initials as fricatives /s-/ or /ʃ-/ (Grade III characters).

Rule 58. Frication Rule

*t'-, *d'-, *ts'-, *dz'-, *tʂ'-, *dz'-, *tʂ'-, *dʒ'- ----> s-, ʃ- / # ___

In some other Southern Min dialects, such as Zhāngpǔ 漳浦 and Chóngwǔ 崇武 dialects, only aspirated affricates /*ts'-, *dz'-, *tʂ'-, *dz'-, *tʂ'-, *dʒ'- / have undergone the frication rule.

In most of the Min dialects, the MC velar stops /*k-, *k'-, *g'-/ have remained as stops and have been realized as /*k-, *k'-/, while in the Qióngwén dialects, only the MC unaspirated /*k-/ remain unchanged, but most of the MC aspirated velar /*k'-/ and voiced velar stop /*g'-/ (in Tone 1) have undergone Rule 48 and been realized as velar or glottal fricatives /x-, h-, fi-/.

Rule 59. *k'-, *g'- (T1) ----> x-, h-, fi- / # ___

Table 54 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (III)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*ts- 精	*ts'- 清	*x- 休	*k- 經	*k'- 輕	*g'- 棋	*g'- 具	*ts- 酒	*k- 九	*ts'- 趣	*k'- 去
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	ʃ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'	tʂ	tʂ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'
Fúzhōu 福州	ts	ts'	x	k	k'	k	k	ts	k	ts'	k'
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	ts	ts'	x	k	k'	k	k	ts	k	ts'	k'
Xiàmén 廈門	ts	ts'	h	k	k''	k	k	ts	k	ts'	k'
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k	k	ts	k	ts'	k'
Quánzhōu 泉州	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k	k	ts	k	ts'	k'
Háikǒu 海口	ts	s	h	k	h	k	k	ts	k	s	x

Table 55 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (IV)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*k- 句	*g'- 橋	*k- 高	*k'- 考	*tʃ- 莊	*tʃ'- 初	*ʃ- 書	*z- 熟
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	k	k'	tʂ'	tʂ'	ʃ	ʃ
Fúzhōu 福州	k	tʂ	k	k'	ts	ts'	ts	s
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	k	tʂ	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Xiàmén 廈門	k	k	k	k'	ts	ts'	s (L) ts (C)	s
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	k	k	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Quánzhōu 泉州	k	k	k	k	ts	ts'	s (L) ts (C)	s
Háikǒu 海口	k	k	k	x	t	s	t	t

Table 56 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (V)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*t-	*t'-	*d'-	*tɕ-	*tɕ'-	*ç-	*tʃ'-
資										
猜										
思										
知										
徹										
茶										
紙										
尺										
師										
債										
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ
Fúzhōu 福州	ts	ts'	s	t	t'	t	ts	ts'	s	ts
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	ts	ts'	s	t	ts'	t	ts	ts'	s	ts
Xiàmén 廈門	ts	ts'	s	t (L) ts (C)	t'	t	ts	tɕ' (L) t' (C)	s	ts
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	ts	ts'	s	t (L) ts (C)	t'	t	ts	ts'	s	ts
Quánzhōu 泉州	ts	ts'	s	t (L) ts (C)	t'	t	ts	ts	s	ts
Háikǒu 海口	ts	s	s	t (L) ts (C)	s	ʔd	t	s	t	ts

In the Min dialects, most initials of the MC velar fricatives (曉母, 匣母) /*x-, *ɣ-/ have been realized as fricatives /h-, x-/ or zero initials, but some reflexes of these initials are velar stops /k-, k'/ (particularly in Colloquial readings), which are the relics of the OC traits.¹¹

Table 57 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (VI)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*x-	*x-	*x-	*x-	*ɣ-	*ɣ-	*ɣ-
喜							
好							
虎							
呼							
回							
紅							
糊							
Běijīng 北京	ç	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fúzhōu 福州	x	x	x	x (L) k' (C)	x	x	x/k
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	x	x	k'	x	x	∅	x/k
Xiàmén 廈門	h	h	h	h (L) k' (C)	h	h (L) ∅ (C)	h (L) k (C)
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	h	h	h	h (L) k' (C)	h	h (L) ∅ (C)	h (L) k (C)
Quánzhōu 泉州	h	h	h	h (L) k' (C)	h	h (L) ∅ (C)	h (L) k (C)

¹¹See Ting Pang-hsin (1999:247-261) for the discussions on the reflexes of OC (Archaic Chinese) 曉母, 匣母 /*g-, *ɣ-/ in Min dialects.

Háikǒu 海口	h	h	h	h (L) k' (C)	h	∅	h (L) k (C)
--------------	---	---	---	-----------------	---	---	----------------

Northern and Eastern Min dialects also retain the MC */ŋ-/ (疑母), but Southern Min dialects retain the MC */ŋ-/ in literary readings and have undergone the denasalization rule (Rule 60) and realize it as /g-/ in colloquial readings:

Rule 60. Velar Nasal Denasalization Rule

*ŋ- ----> g- / # ____

Most of the Min dialects have retained the OC **/n-/ (日母) (→ MC *n-). But some have undergone either the denasalization process (Rule 55a) and realize it as /d-, l-/ or /dz-, z-/; or lost the nasal initial (Rule 55b) and realize it as zero initial:

Rule 61.

61a. **n- ---> d-/l- ---> dz- ---> z- / # __jV

61b. **n- --> (ŋ-) --> ∅- / # __jV

Table 58 Consonant Initials of the Min Dialects (VII)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*∅-	*∅-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-
嚴									
五									
愛									
矮									
日									
肉									
人									
軟									
絨									
Běijīng 北京	∅	∅	∅	∅	z	z	z	z	z
Fúzhōu 福州	ŋ	ŋ	∅	∅	n	n	∅ (L) n (C)	n	∅
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	ŋ	ŋ	∅	∅	n (L) m (C)	n	n	n	∅
Xiàmén 廈門	g	ŋ (L) g (C)	∅	∅	l	l (L) h (C)	l	l (L) n (C)	l
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	g	ŋ (L) g (C)	∅	∅	dz	l (L) h (C)	dz	l (L) n (C)	dz
Quánzhōu 泉州	G	ŋ (L) g (C)	∅	∅	l	l (L) h (C)	l	l (L) n (C)	l
Háikǒu 海口	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ/∅	∅	z	h	n	n	z

4.44 Finals of the Min Dialects

Among the Min dialects, Northern and Eastern Min do not have nasalized vowels, but they have undergone the process of changing all the MC nasal endings /*-m, *-n/ into /-ŋ/ (Rule 62a, Rule 62b), thus producing many more homonyms. For example, in Fuzhou

both 山 and 三 are pronounced as /saŋ¹/. While some of the Southern Min dialects, such as Zhāngzhōu (or Lóngxī 龍溪), have been undergoing the merging the MC /*-n/ with /*-ŋ/ (Rule 56b).

Rule 62. Nasal Ending Neutralization Rule

62a. *-m ---→ -n / ___#

62b. *-n ---→ -ŋ / ___#

For the MC finals consisting of vowel(s) plus a nasal ending /-VN/, most of the Southern Min dialects (in Fujian and Taiwan) are undergoing the vowel nasalization process (Rule 63 = Rule 24) and have been changing /-VN/ into nasalized vowel /-ṽ/ (Rule 63a, Rule 63b). But the Qióngwén dialects have undergone the process one more step further (Rule 63c) and have changed the nasalized vowels into plain vowels. Some examples are given in the following tables.

Rule 63. Vowel Nasalization Rule

63a. *-VN ---→ -ṽN / # (C) ___#

63b. -ṽN ----→ -ṽ / # (C) ___#

63c. -ṽ ---→ -V / # (C) ___#

Table 59 Finals of the Min Dialects (I)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*jæn 山	*sam 三	*suan 酸	*puən 本	*an 安	*nuan 暖	*luan 亂
Běijīng 北京	ʂan ¹	san ¹	suan ¹	pən ³	an ¹	nuan ³ nan ³ (C)	luan ⁴ lan ⁴ (C)
Fúzhōu 福州	saŋ ¹	saŋ ¹	souŋ ¹	pouŋ ³	aŋ ¹ eiŋ ¹	nuaŋ ⁴ (L) nouŋ ⁴ (C)	luaŋ ⁶ (L) lauŋ ⁶ (C)
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	suŋ ¹	saŋ ¹	səŋ ¹	pəŋ ³	uŋ ¹	nəŋ ⁴	luŋ ⁶
Xiàmén 廈門	san ¹ (L) sã ¹ (C)	sam ¹ (L) sã ¹ (C)	suan ¹ (L) sɿ ¹ (C)	pun ³	an ¹ (L) ũã ¹ (C)	luan ⁴	luan ⁶
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	san ¹ sã ¹ (C)	sam ¹ (L) sã ¹ (C)	suan ¹ (L) sũ ¹ (C)	pun ³	aŋ ¹ (L) ũã ¹ (C)	luan ⁴	luaŋ ⁶
Quánzhōu 泉州	san ¹ sã ¹ (C)	sam ¹ (L) sã ¹ (C)	suan ¹ (L) sɿ ¹ (C)	pun ³	an ¹ (L) ũã ¹ (C)	luan ⁴	luan ⁶
Háikǒu 海口	tua ¹	ta ¹	tui ¹	?b ³	aŋ ¹	nuaŋ ⁴	luaŋ ⁶

Table 60 Finals of the Min Dialects (II)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm 金	*kiēŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元	*p̃iŋ 風	*kəŋ 講	*ŋiŋ 絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yan ²	fəŋ ¹	tɕiaŋ ³	zɿŋ ²
Fúzhōu 福州	kiŋ ¹	kiŋ ¹	ŋuəŋ ²	xuŋ ¹	kouŋ ³	ɿŋ ²
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	keiŋ ¹	keiŋ ¹	ŋyŋ ² (L) yŋ ² (C)	xəŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	œyŋ ²
Xiàmén 廈門	kim ¹	kiŋ ¹ (L) kĩã ¹ (C)	guan ²	həŋ ¹	kaŋ ³ (L) kəŋ ³ (C)	liəŋ ²
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	kim ¹	kiŋ ¹ (L) kĩã ¹ (C)	guan ² / guan ²	həŋ ¹	kaŋ ³ (L) kəŋ ³ (C)	dziəŋ ²
Quánzhōu 泉州	kim ¹	kiŋ ¹ (L) kĩã ¹ (C)	guan ²	həŋ ¹	kaŋ ³ (L) kəŋ ³ (C)	liəŋ ²
Háikǒu 海口	kim ¹	keŋ ¹	zuan ²	huan ¹	kian ³ (L) kəŋ ³ (C)	ziəŋ ²

Table 61 Finals of the Min Dialects (III)

MC中古音 Example 例字	*nop 納	*ɣop 合	*miwət 物	*kiēt 吉	*kuək 國	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京	na ⁴	xɿ ²	u ⁴	tɕi ²	kuo ²	li ⁴
Fúzhōu 福州	na ⁷	xai ⁸ ka ⁸	u ⁸	kei ⁷	kuo ⁷	li ⁷
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	na ⁷	xo ⁸ ko ⁸	o ⁸	ki ⁷	ko ⁷	li ⁷
Xiàmén 廈門	lap ⁷ (L) la ⁷ (C)	hap ⁸ (L) kap ⁸ (C)	but ⁸ (L) mi ⁸ (C)	kiet ⁷	kək ⁷	lik ⁷ lat ⁷
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	lap ⁷ (L) la ⁷ (C)	hap ⁸ (L) kap ⁸ (C)	but ⁸ (L) mi ⁸ (C)	kiet ⁷	kək ⁷	lik ⁷ lak ⁷ lat ⁷
Quánzhōu 泉州	lap ⁷ (L) la ⁷ (C)	hap ⁸ (L) kap ⁸ (C)	but ⁸ (L) mi ⁸ (C)	kiet ⁷	kək ⁷	lik ⁷ lat ⁷
Háikǒu 海口	nap ⁷	hap ⁸	vut ⁸	kit ⁷	kok ⁷	lek ⁷

For the MC finals consisting of vowel(s) plus stop endings /*-p, *-t, *-k/, most of the Southern Min dialects (in Fujian and Taiwan) have retained them in the literary readings, but are in the process of changing them into glottal stop /-ʔ/ in the colloquial readings. Zhāngzhōu dialect is in the process of merging /*-t/ and /*-k/. In the Northern and

Eastern Min dialect group, some dialects (such as Fú'ān 福安 and Níngde 寧德) still preserve the MC consonant endings, some dialects (such as Fúzhōu 福州, Gǔtián 古田) have changed all the MC /**-p, *-t, *-k*/ into glottal stop /-ʔ/ (Rule 64a = Rule 26a),¹² while some dialects (such as Jiàn'ōu 建甌, Chóng'ān 崇安) have lost the stop endings completely (Rule 64b = Rule 26b) as in most of the Northern Mandarin dialects.

Rule 64. Stop Ending Neutralization Rule

64a. **-p, *-t, *-k* ---> **-k* ---> -ʔ / ___#

64b. **-ʔ* ---> ∅ / ___#

In general, the further south one goes, the more conservative the dialects become. For easier comparison, we will provide the follow table to show the development of the MC consonant endings in different Min dialects:

Table 62 Consonant Endings of the Min Dialects

Dialect	Dialect Group	MC <i>*-m, *-n, *-ŋ</i>	Nasalized V	MC <i>*-p, *-t, *-k</i>
Jiàn'ōu	Northern Min	-ŋ		-∅
Sōngxī	Northern Min	-ŋ		-∅
Chóng'ān	Northern Min	-ŋ		-∅
Jiànyáng	Northern Min	-ŋ		-∅
Fúǎng	Eastern Min	-ŋ		-ʔ
Gǔtián	Eastern Min	-ŋ		-ʔ
Fúzhōu	Eastern Min	-ŋ		-ʔ
Zhōuníng	Eastern Min	-n, -ŋ		-t, -k, -ʔ
Níngdé	Eastern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Yóuxī	Eastern Min	-ŋ	ĩ	-∅
Shāxiàn	Central Min	-ŋ	ĩ	-∅
Yǒng'ān	Central Min	-m, -ŋ	ĩ	-∅
Pútían	Puxian	-ŋ		-ʔ
Xiàmén	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Quánzhōu	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Yǒngchūn	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Ānxī	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Tóng'ān	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Zhāngzhōu	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Zhāngpǔ	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ

Dàitián	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Lóngyán	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Táipěi	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Táinán	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Táidōng	Southern Min	-m, -n, -ŋ	ĩ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ

4.45 Literary and Colloquial Readings in the Southern Min Dialects

Almost in every Chinese dialect, we can find some characters which have two readings, literary and colloquial. But in the Southern Min dialects, the difference between these two readings is so great that we can treat them as two parallel phonological systems of a dialect. Currently, the literary forms are only used in reading the written language, while colloquial forms are used in other daily oral communication. Prior to 1973, studies on the phonology of the Southern Min dialects either mixed the literary and colloquial system, or just listed the phonetic correspondences of two readings without providing explicit explanations of their relationship. As I mention in Section 3.53 that in 1973 I had made the first attempt to propose a set of sound change rules to account for the differences between the literary and colloquial readings in the Xiàmén (Amoy) dialect. From the Xiàmén examples provided in the following table, we can see that the differences between the literary and colloquial readings may be due to the changes of consonant initials, vowels, or consonant endings at different rates of historical sound changes.¹³ In general, the literary readings are closer to MC, and the colloquial readings preserved more OC traits in the initial consonants but have more changes in the vowels and consonant endings.

Table 63 Examples of the Literary and Colloquial Readings of Xiàmén Dialect

Example	OC	MC	Literary	Colloquial	Gloss
家	**kea	*ka	ka ¹	ke ¹	family
毛	**mau	*mau	mau ²	mŋ ²	hair
媒	**muə	*muoi	mui ²	hm ²	matchmaker
丈	**dian	*dian	tiəŋ ⁴	tü ⁴	husband

¹³For the literary and colloquial Amoy, readers are referred to my work (M. Sung 1973), and Yang Hsiu-fang's 楊秀芳 work (1982) on *Minnányǔ Wén Bái Xìtǒng de Yánjiū* 閩南語文白系統的研究 [A Study of the Literary and Colloquial System of the Southern Min Dialects].

¹² In Wáng Tiānchāng's (1961) Fúzhōu dialect, the entering tones end with /-k/. *Zihui* (1989:39) also notes that among older people, some may have both /-k/ and /-ʔ/ in their entering tones.

片	**p'ian	*p'ien	p'ien ⁵	p'ĩ ⁵	piece
畫	**ɣwək	*ɣwai	hua ⁶	ui ⁶	to paint, to draw
竹	**təuk	*tɿuk	tiok ⁷	tik ⁷	bamboo
物	**mɿwət	*mɿwət	but ⁸	mi ⁸	thing

4.46 Consonant Initial Sandhi in the Fúzhōu Dialect

Among the northern Min dialects, there is a prominent sound sandhi phenomenon (sandhi is a term used to describe changes in the sounds of adjacent words), which is rarely found in other Chinese dialects. In the Fúzhōu dialect for example, in compound words which consist of two syllables, not only the tone of the first syllable undergoes tone sandhi (tonal value change), but also the consonant initial of the second syllable undergoes an assimilation change according to the articulation of the coda (syllable ending) of the preceding syllable. We will use the following rules (where C₁ = first syllable's consonant initial, V₁ = first syllable's vowel, N₁ = first syllable's nasal ending, V₂ = second syllable's vowel) to account for these phenomena:

Rule 65. Consonant Initial Assimilation Rule

65a. p-, p'- ----> β- / C₁V₁ + ____ V₂

65b. t-, t'-, s- ----> l- / C₁V₁ + ____ V₂

65c. k-, k'-, x-, ç- ----> Ø- / C₁V₁ + ____ V₂

65d. ts-, ts'- ----> z- / C₁V₁ + ____ V₂

Rule 66. Consonant Initial Nasalization Rule

66a. p-, p'- ----> m- / C₁V₁N₁ + ____ V₂

66b. t-, t'-, l-, s- ----> n- / C₁V₁N₁ + ____ V₂

66c. k-, k'-, x-, Ø-, tç-, tç'- ----> ŋ- / C₁V₁N₁ + ____ V₂

Here are a few sandhi examples for the above rules:¹⁴

syllable 1 + syllable 2 -----> compound word
 “bandits” 土匪 t'u³ (local) + pi³ (bandits) -----> t'u³ pi³
 “thought” 思想 sy¹ (think) + suoŋ³ (think) -----> sy¹ luoŋ³
 “cotton pants” 布褲 puo³ (clothes) + k'ou³ (pants) -----> puo³ ou³
 “mustard green” 芥菜 kai³ (mustard) + ts'ai³ (vegetable) -----> kai³ zai³
 “to understand” 明白 miŋ² (bright) + pei⁸ (white) -----> miŋ² mei⁸
 “modern poem” 新詩 siŋ¹ (new) + si¹ (poem) -----> siŋ¹ ni¹
 “religion” 宗教 tsuŋ¹ (clan) + kau⁵ (religion) -----> tsuŋ¹ ŋau⁵

The phenomenon of consonant initial sandhi in Fuzhou is very complicated. Sometimes not only the consonants, but also the main vowels of the second syllables have undergone sound sandhi and become different vowels or diphthongs.

4.47 Tones of the Min Dialects

The number of tones in the Min dialects ranges from six (such as Jiàn'ōu) to eight (such as Cháozhōu and Háikǒu). Most of the Min dialects preserve the entering tone category and the stop endings; only Northern Dialects have preserved the entering tone category but lost the stop endings (see Table 62 above). The base tone (citation tone) values of some Min dialects are presented in the following table.

Table 64 Tone values of the Min Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1 平		T2 上			T3 去		T4 入		
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214		T3 去 51					
Fúzhōu 福州	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 52	T2 上聲 31		T3a 陰去 213	T3b 陽去 242	T4a 陰入 23	T4b 陽入 4		
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	T1 平聲 54		T2 上聲 21		T3a 陰去 22	T3b 陽去 44	T4a 入聲 24	T4b 陽入 43		
Xiàmén 廈門	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 51		T3a 陰去 11	T3b 陽去 33	T4a 陰入 32	T4b 陽入 5		
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 213	T2 上聲 53		T3a 陰去 21	T3b 陽去 33	T4a 陰入 31	T4b 陽入 213		

¹⁴ These examples are cited from Yuan Jiahua et al (1960:294-295).

Quánzhōu 泉州	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 55		T3a 陰去 51	T3b 陽去 21	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 34	
Cháozhōu 潮州	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 55	T2a 陰上 53	T2b 陽上 35	T3a 陰去 213	T3b 陽去 11	T4a 陰入 21	T4b 陽入 4	
Háikǒu 海口	T1a 陰平 24	T1b 陽平 21	T2 陰上 213		T3a 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 33	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 3	T4c 長入 55

(cons = consonant; vl = voiceless; vd = voiced; vs = voiced sonorant)

In most of the Min dialects, MC T2b (全濁上) and T3b (濁去) have been merged into T3b (Rule 68a, 68b). In the Southern Min in Fujian and Taiwan, the literary reading of the MC T2b syllables has been realized as T2 (Rule 68c). While in Háikǒu dialect, some MC T2b and T3b have been changed to entering tone T4 category (Rule 69) and ending with glottal stop /-ʔ/.

Rule 67. Tri-Tone Split Rule

$$*T1, *T3, *T4 \rightarrow \begin{cases} T1a, T3a, T4a / \text{voiceless initial} \\ T1b, T3b, T4b / \text{voiced obstruent} \end{cases}$$

Rule 68. Evolution of *Zhuóshàng* (濁上) Rule

$$68a. *T2 \rightarrow \begin{cases} T2a / \text{voiceless initial} \\ T2b / \text{voiced obstruent initial} \end{cases}$$

68b. T2b \rightarrow T3b / voiced obstruent initial (for colloquial reading in Fujian and Taiwan S. Min)

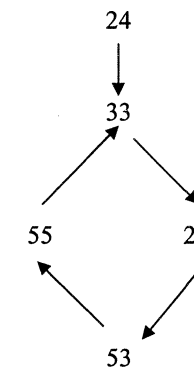
68c. T2b \rightarrow T2 / voiced obstruent initial (for literary reading in Fujian and Taiwan S. Min)

Rule 69. T2b, T3b \rightarrow T4 / voiced obstruent initial (Haikou)

Similar to the phenomena of literary and colloquial reading, tone sandhi (*biàn diào* 變調) is also found in almost every Chinese. Tone sandhi is referred to as phonetically conditioned morphotonic alternations at the juncture of words or morphemes (Chen M. 2000: xi). The scope of tone sandhi and the tone values of the tone alternation in Chinese dialects vary from dialect to dialect. In the Southern Min dialects, tone sandhi phenomena are very complicated and have drawn much attention from

linguists. Luó Chángpéi (1930) and Chiu Bianming 周辨明 (1931), working on the tone shift in Xiàmén, are considered as the true pioneers of Chinese tone sandhi. (Chen 2000:433) Generally speaking, in Xiàmén when a syllable (character 字) is spoken in isolation or in the final position of a compound or phrase, it is pronounced in *běn diào* 本調 (base tone or citation tone). But when a syllable occurs in the non-final position of a compound word or a phrase, it must undergo tone sandhi, except when it is followed by an atonic (or enclitic) word.¹⁵ For the tone sandhi in the *shūshēngzì* 舒聲字 (smooth or slack syllables—syllables ending with vowels or nasals), the tone sandhi pattern goes like a musical chair movement and is known as the “Southern Min tone circle” or “tone clock”. We will follow Chen’s (1987, 2000) tone sandhi rules as Rule 70¹⁶:

Rule 70. Smooth Syllable Tone Sandhi Rule¹⁷



For the *rùshēngzì* 入聲字 (checked syllables—syllables ending with stops /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/), the entering tone registers swap with each other’s high values, but syllables ending in glottal stop /-ʔ/ must drop the coda when they undergo tone sandhi. We will use the following rule to account for the entering tone sandhi:

Rule 71. Checked Syllable Tone Sandhi Rule

71a. 32 \rightarrow 5 / syllables ending in -p, -t, -k

71b. 5 \rightarrow 32 / syllables ending in -p, -t, -k

71c. 32 \rightarrow 53 / syllables ending in -ʔ

¹⁵ The domain of the tone sandhi of Xiàmén involves morphological and syntactic structures, readers are referred to M. Chen (1987, 2000) for more details.

¹⁶ The Xiàmén tone values are based on my own dialect. Chen’s tone values are slightly different from mine, but the tone contours are the same. See Sung (1973) for alternative tone sandhi rule representation.

71d. 5 ----> 21 /syllables ending in -ʔ

When a syllable ending in /-ʔ/ has undergone Rule 71c, 71d, the glottal stop will become zero (Rule 72).

Rule 72. Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (= Rule 26b)

-ʔ ----> ∅ /when a syllable ending in /-ʔ/ undergoes 72c or 72d

Some examples of the Xiàmén tone sandhi are given in following table:

Table 65 Examples of Tone Sandhi in Xiàmén Dialect

Tone 調類	Base tone 本調	Sandhi tone 變調
1a 陰平	<u>kau</u> (55) 溝 “ditch” tsui(55) <u>kau</u> (55) 水溝 “ditch” (water + ditch)	<u>kau</u> (33) <u>kau</u> (33) a(53) 溝仔 “ditch” (ditch + suffix)
1b 陽平	<u>kau</u> (24) 猴 “monkey” lau(21) <u>kau</u> (24) 老猴 “old monkey” (old + monkey)	<u>kau</u> (33) <u>kau</u> (33) a(53) 猴子 “monkey” (monkey + suffix)
2 上	<u>kau</u> (53) 狗 “dog” tua(21) <u>kau</u> (53) 大狗 “big dog” (big + dog)	<u>kau</u> (55) <u>kau</u> (55) bu(53) 狗母 “bitch” (dog + female)
3a 陰去	<u>kau</u> (21) 到 “to arrive” be(21) <u>kau</u> (21) 未到 “not arrive yet” (not yet + arrive)	<u>kau</u> (53) <u>kau</u> (53) si(24) 到時 “when the time comes” (arrive + time)
3b 陽去	<u>kūāi</u> (33) 縣 tai(33) pak(5) <u>kūāi</u> (33) 台北縣 “Taipei county”	<u>kūāi</u> (21) <u>kūāi</u> (21) tī(53) 縣長 “county mayor” (county + superior)
(*2b→ 3b)	<u>kau</u> (33) 厚 “thick” tsin(33) <u>kau</u> (33) 真厚 “very thick” (very + thick)	<u>kau</u> (21) <u>kau</u> (21) p'e(33) 厚被 “heavy quilt” (thick + quilt)
4a 陰入 (-p,-t,-k)	<u>kut</u> (32) 骨 “bone” k'a(33) <u>kut</u> (32) 骸骨 “leg” (leg + bone)	<u>kut</u> (5) <u>kut</u> (5) t'ao(24) 骨頭 “bone” (bone + suffix)
4b 陽入 (-p,-t,-k)	<u>kut</u> (5) 滑 “slippery” tsin(33) <u>kut</u> (5) 真滑 “very slippery” (very + slippery)	<u>kut</u> (32) <u>kut</u> (32) t'ui(55) 滑梯 “slide” (slippery + ladder)

¹⁷ The numbers cited in this and the following tone rules are tone values.

4a 陰入 (-ʔ)	<u>a</u> ʔ(32) 鴨 “duck” pui(33) <u>a</u> ʔ(32) 肥鴨 “fat duck” (fat + duck)	<u>a</u> (53) <u>a</u> (53) nŋ(33) 鴨卵 “duck egg” (duck + egg)
4b 陽入 (-ʔ)	<u>tsia</u> ʔ(5) 食 ho(55) <u>tsia</u> ʔ(5) 好食 “delicious” (good + eat)	<u>tsia</u> (32) <u>tsia</u> (21) pŋ(33) 食飯 “to eat rice” (eat + rice)

Note: underlined forms are the syllables under the tone sandhi

4.48 Lexical Differences in the Min Dialects

As we go further to south China, we find that certain lexical items are quite different from their counterparts in northern and central dialects. Min dialects are known for having some lexical items which are considered as unique Min features by some linguists. For example, words such as 囡 “son”, 骹 “foot”, 鼎 “tripod, wok”, and 塍 “rice field”, and 厝 “house”, are typical Min lexical items, which are shown in the following tables.¹⁸

Table 66 Lexical Differences in the Min Dialects (I)

	太陽	田	爺爺 ¹⁹	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	兒子	腳	他
Běijīng 北京	太陽, 老爺兒	田	爺爺	奶奶	爸爸	媽媽	兒子	腳	他
Fúzhōu 福州	日頭	塍	依公	依媽	依爹, 依爺, 郎罷	依媽, 依奶	囡	骹	伊
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	日頭	塍	爺爺	奶奶, 孃孃	爹, 爸爸	奶媽, 依拋	囡	骹	伊
Xiàmén 廈門	日頭	塍	阿公	阿媽, 安媽	阿爸, 爸爸	阿母, 媽媽, 阿姐	囡, 後生	骹	伊
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	日頭	塍	阿公	阿媽, 姆媽	阿爸, 爸爸	阿母, 媽媽, 阿姐, 影奶	囡, 後生	骹	伊
Quánzhōu 泉州	日頭	塍	阿公	阿媽	阿爸, 爸爸, 阿爹	阿母, 媽媽,	囡, 後生	骹	伊

¹⁸ For more Min lexical items see *Mǐnyǔ Yánjiù* by Chen Zhan tai and Li Rulong (1991).

¹⁹ The kinship terms for grandparents and parents listed in this table are colloquial direct address terms. Readers are referred to my article (Yan 1995) for an extensive study of the kinship terms of twenty Southern Min Dialects in Fujian and Taiwan.

Shùlín 樹林	日頭	脞	阿公	阿媽	阿爸, 爸爸	阿母, 媽媽	囡, 後生	骹	伊
Háikǒu 海口	日頭	脞	阿公	阿媽	阿爸, 爸爸	阿母, 媽媽	囡, 後生	骹	伊

In the Mǐn dialects, for animal terms with gender markers, the word order is: head noun + gender modifier, e.g. in Xiàmén, "ox" is 牛公 (cow-male), "cow" is 牛母 (cow-female). In Xiàmén, "male dog" is 狗公 (dog-male), "female dog" 狗母 is (dog-female), while in Fúzhōu and Jiàn'ōu, "male dog" is 犬雄 (dog-male), "female dog" is 犬母 (dog-female), but the word order is the same. This word order feature is shared with most of the southern Chinese dialects, such as the Xiāng, Gàn, Kèjiā, and Yuè dialects. For some lexical items----such as the use of the same verb "食" (to eat) for drinking tea, smoking and eating rice, and the use of "鼎" "(tripod cooking vessel of the Shāng dynasty)" for the modern "wok" ----share some features with the Xiāng dialects.

Table 67 Lexical Differences in the Min Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙	喝酒
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙 抽煙	喝酒
Fúzhōu 福州	牛公	牛母	犬雄	犬母	鼎	厝	啜茶	食薰	食酒
Jiàn'ōu 建甌	牛牯	牛婆	犬雄	犬母	鼎	厝	啜茶	食薰	食酒
Xiàmén 廈門	牛公	牛母	狗公	狗母	鼎	厝	啞茶	食薰	啞酒
Zhāngzhōu 漳州	牛公	牛母	狗公	狗母	鼎	厝	啞茶	食薰	啞酒
Quánzhōu 泉州	牛公	牛母	狗公	狗母	鼎	厝	啞茶	食薰	啞酒
Háikǒu 海口	牛公	牛母	狗公	狗母	鼎	厝	啞茶	食薰	啞酒
Cháozhōu 潮州	牛牯	牛母	狗公, 狗牯	狗母	鼎	厝	啞茶	食薰	啞酒

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4.5 The Gan Dialects

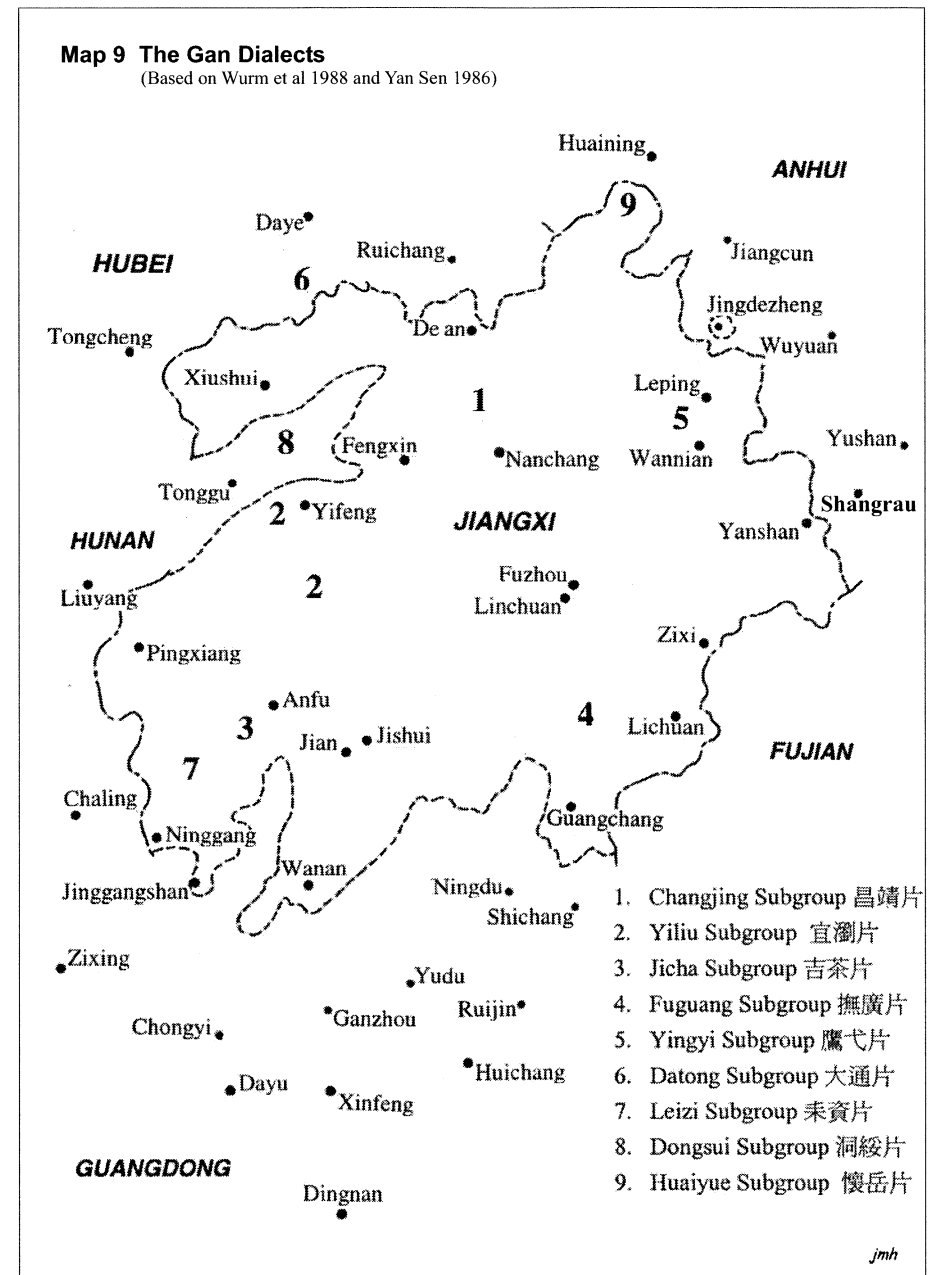
4.5.1 Subgrouping of the Gàn Dialects

Gàn 贛 is a geographic short form for Jiāngxī 江西 province. It has also been used as a linguistic term to refer to the Gàn dialects. Geographically, the Gàn dialects are found mainly within Jiāngxī province, but also in the southeastern part of Húběi 湖北 province, eastern and southwestern part of Húnán 湖南 province, and northwestern (small) part of Fújiàn 福建 province. Historically, because of the Gàn River 贛江, which connects to the Yangtze River and runs through the whole province, it has been the main migration route from the north to the south. Linguistically, Gàn dialects are surrounded by Wú and Mǐn dialects to the east, Xiāng dialects to the west, Yuè and Kèjiā dialects to the south, and Mandarin to the north. As a consequence, Gàn dialects have shared some characteristics with each of these dialects, Kèjiā dialects in particular. Some linguists have considered Gàn dialects as “mixture dialects”, or “dialects without characteristics.” (Ho 1987, 1988:93-107) Because of its close relationship with Kèjiā, the status of Gàn in Chinese dialect classification has been a controversial issue for a long time. Some linguists such as Luo Changpei (1950) and Fang-Kuei Li (1937, 1973) have grouped Gàn and Kèjiā together as a single group. Others like Chou Fa-gao (1955), Yuan Jiahua (1960), Zhan Bohui (1981), Ting Pang-hsin (1982), Li Rong (1985), Jerry Norman (1988), Ho (1987), *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), Hashimoto (1973, 1992), and Li Rulong and Chang Song-hing (1992) prefer to keep Gàn and Kèjiā as separate major dialect groups. Recently, Lau Chun-fat (2002) has proposed to group Gàn, Kèjiā and Yuè together as a major group “Gàn-Yuè 贛粵語區.”

According to the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), the estimate number of Gàn speakers is 31.27 million. In Yan Sen's 顏森 (1986: 1. 19-38) paper, she has divided the Gàn dialects spoken in Jiāngxī province into five subgroups: Chāngjǐng 昌靖片, Yìpíng 宜萍片, Jǐlián 吉蓮片, Fūguǎng 撫廣片, and Yīngyǐ 鷹弋片. However, in the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988, B-11),¹ the Gàn dialects have been divided into the following subgroups:

1. Changjing Subgroup 昌靖片
2. Yiliu Subgroup 宜瀏片
3. Jicha Subgroup 吉茶片
4. Fuguang Subgroup 撫廣片
5. Yingyi Subgroup 鷹弋片
6. Datong Subgroup 大通片
7. Leizi Subgroup 耒資片
8. Dongsui Subgroup 洞綏片
9. Huaiyue Subgroup 懷岳片

¹ This part of the *Atlas* was compiled by Bāo Hòuxíng and Yán Sēn.



4.52 Sounds of the Gàn Dialects

Prior to 1990, among the major Chinese dialect groups, studies on the Gàn dialects have been the sketchiest (see Yuan at al 1960: 128-145, Norman (1988:204-209). The field report, *Kè-Gàn Fāngyán Diàocháo Bào gào* (客贛方言調報告) by Li Ru-long 李如龍 and Chang Song-hing 張雙慶 (1992) is so far the most extensive data that are available for comparison. From their work and *Líchuān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* (黎川方言詞典) by Yan Sen 顏森 (1995), we do find some phonological features that the Gàn dialects share with other major dialects, as well as some features that are Gàn dialects specific. In the following sections, we will provide the basic sounds of the Nánchāng dialect, and discuss the characteristics of the other Gàn dialects.

Nánchāng has the following nineteen initials (including ∅ initial) and sixty five finals: which include three *jièyīn* 介音 (medials): *i, u, y*; eight vowel phonemes: *i, ɪ, u, y, a, ɔ, ə, ɛ*; two *bíyīn yùnwěi* 鼻音韻尾 (nasal endings): *-n, -ŋ*; two stop endings: *-t, -k* and four syllabic nasals: *ŋ ɲ*. (*Zihui* 1989: 25-126)

Nánchāng dialect has nineteen initials (including zero initial):²

Labials	p	p'	m	f(ɸ)	
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'			l(n)
	ts	ts'		s	
Palatal	tɕ	tɕ'	ɲ	ç	
Velars	k	k'	ŋ		
Glottal	∅			h	

Nánchāng has sixty five finals:

ɿ	i	u	y	
a	ia	ua		
ɛ	ie	ue	ye	
ə				
ɔ		uɔ		
ai		uai		
əi		ui		
au				
eu	iəu			
əu	iu			
an		uan		
ɛn	iɛn			
ɔn		uɔn	yɔn	
ən	in	un	yn	
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ		

² Nánchāng dialect data was taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zihui* (1989).

ɔŋ	iɔŋ	uɔŋ		
	iuŋ	uŋ		
at		uat		
et	iet	uet		
ɔt		uɔt	yɔt	
ət	it	ut	yt	
ak	iak	uak		
ɔk	iɔk	uɔk		
	luk	uk		
ɱ	ɲ	ŋ		

Nánchāng has seven tones:

Nánchāng	T1a	T1b	T2	T3a	T3b	T4a	T4b
南昌	陰平	陽平	上聲	陰去	陽去	陰入	陽入
	42	24	213	45	21	5	21

4.53 Initials of the Gàn Dialects³

Among the Gàn dialects, the reflexes of the MC bilabials and labiodentals are basically the same as that of the Běijīng Mandarin (see the following table for reference). Occasionally, one may find a few individual items that still retain the bilabial initials of OC; for example, in Nánchāng dialect, the colloquial reading of 浮 is /p'au/ (←**bjəu). There is a common feature shared by all the Gàn dialects—the MC voiced stops and affricates have been realized as voiceless aspirated initials (Rule 73).

Rule 73. Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruents

*C- -----> [+ aspirated, -voiced] / # ____ (in all tones)
 [- sonorant, +voiced]

One significant feature of some Gàn dialects, such as Xiūshuǐ 修水, Dūchāng 都昌, and Píngjiāng 平江, is the voicing of the MC voiceless aspirated initials, which may be realized as either unaspirated or aspirated initials. This is a reversed process of the devoicing of the MC voiced initials shared by most of the Chinese dialects. We will use the following rule (Rule 74) to account for this historical sound change:

³ In this chapter, Nánchāng dialect data are taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyán Zihui* (1989), and Líchuān dialect data are taken from *Líchuān Fāngyán Cídiǎn* by Yan Sen (1995). Data of other Gan dialects are from *Gàn Fāngyán Diàochá Bào gào* by Li and Chang (1992).

Rule 74. Voicing of the MC Voiceless Aspirated Initials

- 74a. *p'- (滂) ----> b'- / # ____ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)
- 74b. *ts'- (清) *tʃ'- (初) ----> dz'- / # ____ (Dūchāng)
- 74c. *ts'- (清), *t'- (徹), *tʃ'- (初), *tɕ'- (昌) ----> *dz', dʒ'- / # ____
(Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)
- 74d. *tɕ'- (昌), *t'- (徹) ---> * dz- / # ____ (Dūchāng)
- 74d. *t'- (透) ---> d'- / # ____ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)
- 74e. *k'- (溪) ---> g'- / # ____ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)

In the past, there was a consensus among Chinese dialectologists that only in the Wú and Xiāng dialects had the MC voiced initials not undergone the devoicing process as in the other Chinese dialects. From recent field reports from Li and Chang (1992), however, we have found that Xiūshuǐ 修水, Dūchāng 都昌, and Píngjiāng 平江 dialects have also retained the MC voiced initials as the Wú and Xiāng dialects had.

Table 68 Consonant Initials of the Gan Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p- 幫	*p'- 滂	*b'- 盤	*m- 明	*f- (**pj-) 夫	*f- (**p'j-) 蜂	*v- (**bj-) 浮	*m- (**mj-) 味
Běijīng 北京	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	∅
Nánchāng 南昌	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f (L) p' (C)	∅
Líchuān 黎川	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	∅
Jíshuǐ 吉水	p	p'	b	m	f	f	f	v
Yífēng 宜豐	p	p'	b	m	f	f	f	v
Xiūshuǐ 修水	p	p'	b	m	f	f	f	v
Dūchāng 都昌	p	p'	b	m	f	f	f	v
Yíyáng 弋陽	p	p'	b	m	f	f	f	∅

The reflexes of the MC alveolar affricates in the Gàn dialects are quite complicated. Besides the general devoicing process of the MC voiced affricates shared by most of the Gàn dialects (Rule 75a), and the voicing of the MC voiceless aspirated initials as mentioned above (Rule 74), some of the Gàn dialects, such as Nánchéng 南城, Jiànníng 建寧, and Shàowǔ 邵武, have undergone a unique process—changing MC affricates *ts'- (清), *dz'- (從), *tʃ'- (初), and *dʒ'- (崇) into an aspirated alveolar stop /t'/ (Rule 75d).

Rule 75. Development of Alveolar/Alveolar-palatal Affricates

- 75a. *dz'- (從), *dʒ'- (崇), *dz'- (船) ----> ts'-, ts'- (s-), s-(ç-) / # ____ (most of the Gàn dialects)
- 75b. *dz'- (從), *d'- (澄), *dʒ'- (崇) ----> dz- / # ____ (Dūchāng)
- 75c. *dz'- (從), *d'- (澄), *dʒ'- (崇) ---> dz'- / # ____ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)
- 75d. *ts'- (清), *dz'- (從), *tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇) ---> t'- / # ____ (Líchuān, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

There is one interesting feature in some Gàn dialects (see the dialect names after each rule) which has been neglected by Chinese dialectologists—the modern reflexes of the OC stops such as: **t- (知), **t'- (徹), **d'- (澄), **t- (章), **t'- (昌) still retained as alveolar stops /t-, t'-/ (Rule 76a-c), or realized as velar stop /k-, k'-/ (Rule 76d). This feature is well-known as unique to the Mǐn dialects, but as we have mentioned in the previous section (4.3 The Xiang Dialects) that the Old Xiang dialects also possess the same feature. Therefore, it shows us that the Mǐn, Old Xiang, and Gan dialects might have some connections in their evolution. We will provide a couple examples below:

Example	Xiàmén (S. Mǐn)	Fúzhōu (E. Mǐn)	Yífēng (Gàn)	Xiūshuǐ (Gàn)	Líling (Gàn)	Shuāngfēng (Old Xiāng)
猪 'pig'	ti ¹ , tu ¹	ty ¹	tu ¹	tu ¹	ky ¹	ty ¹
齒 'tooth'	k'i ³	k'i ³	t'œ ³	t'e ³	ts'i ³	t'o ³

Here are some rules to account for the processes that involve the realizations of the MC alveolar and alveolar-palatal stops in the Gàn dialects:

Rule 76. Development of Alveolar/alveolar-palatal Stops

- 76a. **t- (知) --> *t, **t'- (徹) --> *t' ----> t-, t'- / # ____ (Jíshuǐ, Líling, Xínyú, Yífēng, Anyì, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

- 76b. **t- (知--→ *t), **t'- (徹--→ *t') ----→ k-, k'- / # ___jV (Lǐlíng)
- 76c. **t- (章 --→ *tç) ----→ t- / # ___j (Jíshuǐ, Lǐlíng, Xīnyú, Yífēng, Ānyì, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)
- 76d. **t'- (昌 --→ tç'-), **d'- (澄) ----→ t'- / # ___jV (Jíshuǐ, Lǐlíng, Xīnyú, Yífēng, Ānyì, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)
- 76e. **d'- (澄)--→ *d')---→ d- / # ___ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)
- 76f. *t- (端), *t'- (透)---→ d'- / # ___ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)
- 76g. *d'- (定), ---→ t'- / # ___ (most of the Gàn dialects)
- 76h. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ---→ h- / # ___ (Líchuān, Jíshuǐ, Lǐlíng, Nánchéng, Jiànníng)
- 76i. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ---→ l- / # ___ (Dūchāng)

In some Gan dialects, such as Líchuān 黎川, Jíshuǐ, Lǐlíng, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, there is one specific feature: the realization of MC /*t'-/ (透), /*d'-/ (定) is /h-/. (Rule 60h). For example, 弟 and 地 are pronounced as /hi/, 土 and 吐 are pronounced as /hu/. But in Dūchāng, MC /*t'-/ (透), /*d'-/ (定) is realized as /l-/. (Rule 76i), thus 土 is pronounced as /lu/, and 弟 and 李 are pronounced as /li/.

In Líchuān 黎川, and Fūzhōu 撫州 dialects, the MC lateral initial *l- (來) has been realized as alveolar stop /t-/. (Rule 77). In Fūzhōu, for example, 李 and 底 are pronounced as /ti/.

Rule 77. *l- (來) ----→ t- (Líchuān, Fūzhōu)

In most of the Gàn dialects, the MC voiced initials *z- (邪), *z'- (禪) have been realized as /s-, ts'-/ in [-front] syllables (Rule 78a), and /ç-, tç'-/ in [+front] syllables (Rule 78b). But in Nánchéng 南城, Jiànníng 建寧, Shàowǔ 邵武, Yǒngxīn 永新, Lǐlíng 醴陵, Xīnyú 新余, and Ānyì 安義, some characters with MC *z- (邪), *z'- (禪) initials have been realized as aspirated alveolar stop /t'-/ (Rule 78c). While in Jíshuǐ 吉水 dialect, some characters with MC *z- (邪), *z'- (禪), and *dz'- (船) initials have been realized as fricative /f-/. (Rule 78d)

Rule 78. Development of Voiced Fricative

78a. *z- (邪), *z'- (禪)----→ s-, ts'- / # ___ (most of the Gàn dialects)

78b. *z- (邪), *z'- (禪) ----→ ç-, tç'- / # ___ i, y (most of the Gàn dialects)

78c. *z- (邪), *z'- (禪) ----→ t'- / # ___ j (Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ, Yǒngxīn, Lǐlíng, Xīnyú, Ānyì)

78d. *ç- (書), *z- (禪), *dz'- (船) ----→ f- / # ___ (Jíshuǐ)

Table 69 Consonant Initials of the Gan Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	**t-, *t- 猪	**t'- *t'- 徹	**d'- *d'- 丈	*n- 腦	*l- 老	*ts- 做	*ts'- 粗	*dz'- 從	*s- 四	*z- 謝
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ç
Nánchāng 南昌	tç	ts'	ts'	l	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	ç tç
Líchuān 黎川	tç	tç'	tç'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ç
Jíshuǐ 吉水	t	t'	t	l (L) n (C)	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	ç
Yífēng 宜豐	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	s
Xiūshuǐ 修水	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	dz'	dz'	s	h
Dūchāng 都昌	tʂ	dz	dz	n	l	ts	dz	dz	s	dz
Yíyáng 弋陽	tç	t'	t	n	n (L) l (C)	ts	ts'	ts'	s	tç'
Shàowǔ 邵武	t	t'	t'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	t'

In most of the Gàn dialects, the MC velar stops /*k-, *k'-, *g'-/ have been palatalized as / tç-, tç'-/ in Grade III words (Rule 78a), and have been realized as /k-, k'/ elsewhere. While in Píngjiāng, Xiūshuǐ, and Dūchāng, the MC aspirated velar stop /*k'-/ has been realized as voiced stop /g-/. (Rule 79b). While in Xiūshuǐ, /*g'-/ are realized as /gv'-, dz-/. (Rule 79d).

Rule 79. Development of the Velar Stops

79a. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----→ tç-, tç'- / # ___ i, y (Grade III words)

79b. *k'- (溪) ----→ g- / # ___ (Píngjiāng, Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng)

79c. *g'- (群) ----> k-, k'- / # ____ (Líchuān)

79d. *g'- (群) ----> gv'-, dz- / # ____ (Xiūshuǐ)

Table 70 Consonant Initials of the Gan Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*x-	*k-	*k'-	*g'-	*g'-	*ts-	*k-	*ts'-	*k'-
精											
清											
休											
經											
輕											
棋											
具											
酒											
九											
趣											
去											
Běijīng 北京	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Nánchāng 南昌	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Líchuān 黎川	tɕ	t'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	tɕ	k	tɕ'	k'
Jíshuǐ 吉水	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Yífēng 宜豐	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Xiūshuǐ 修水	ts	dz'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Dūchāng 都昌	ts	dz	ɕ	tɕ	∅	dz	dz	ts	tɕ	dz	dz
Yīyáng 弋陽	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Shàowǔ 邵武	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	k	k'	k'	k'	tɕ	k	tɕ'	k'

Table 71 Consonant Initials of the Gan Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*t'-	*d'-	*k-	*g-	*k-	*k'-	*tj-	*tj'-	*ɕ-	*z-
土										
弟										
句										
橋										
高										
考										
莊										
初										
書										
熟										
Běijīng 北京	t'	t	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	ɕ
Nánchāng 南昌	t'	t'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	ɕ	s
Líchuān 黎川	h	h	k	k'	k	k'	ts	t'	ɕ	s
Jíshuǐ 吉水	t'	t'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	ɕ	s
Yífēng 宜豐	t'	t'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	ɕ	s

Xiūshuǐ 修水	d'	d'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	dz'	s	d'
Dūchāng 都昌	l	l	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	dz	ɕ	dz
Yīyáng 弋陽	t'	t'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	ɕ	s

Table 72 Consonant Initials of the Gan Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*t-	*t'-	*d'-	*d'-	*tɕ-	*tɕ'-	*ɕ-	*tj'-
資											
猜											
思											
知											
徹											
住											
茶											
紙											
尺											
師											
債											
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ
Nánchāng 南昌	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	tɕ	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Líchuān 黎川	ts	t'	s	tɕ	t'	tɕ'	t'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Jíshuǐ 吉水	ts	dz'	s	ts	ts'	tɕ'	ts'	ts	t'	s	ts
Yífēng 宜豐	ts	tɕ'	s	t	ts'	tɕ'	ts'	t	t'	s	ts
Xiūshuǐ 修水	ts	dz	s	ts, t	dz'	tɕ'	dz'	ts	d'	s	ts
Dūchāng 都昌	ts	dz	s	tɕ	dz	tɕ'	dz	tɕ	dz	s	ts
Yīyáng 弋陽	ts	tɕ'	s	ts	ts'	tɕ'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts

The reflexes of the MC velar fricatives /*x-/ (曉) and /*ɣ-/ (匣) retain their fricative nature, but their positions vary depending on their following vowels.

Rule 80. Development of Velar Fricatives

80a. *x- (曉) ----> ɕ- / # ____ i, y

80b. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> f- / # ____ u (most of the Gàn dialects)

80c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> h- / # ____ elsewhere (most of the Gàn dialects)

80d. *ɣ- (匣) ----> φ- / # ____ u (Dūchāng)

Table 73 Consonant Initials of the Gàn Dialects (VI)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*x- 喜	*x- 好	*x- 虎	*x- 呼	*ɣ- 回	*ɣ- 紅	*ɣ- 糊
Běijīng 北京	ç	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nánchāng 南昌	ç	x	x	f (L) k' (C)	x	f	f
Líchuān 黎川	ç	h	f	f	f	f	f
Jíshuǐ 吉水	ç	h	f	f	f	f	f
Yífēng 宜豐	ç	h	f	f	f	f	f
Xiūshuǐ 修水	ç	h	f	f	f	f	f
Dūchāng 都昌	ç	h	f	f	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ
Yíyáng 弋陽	ç	h	f	f	h	h	h

The MC velar nasal initials /*ŋ-/ (疑) are realized as palatal nasal /ɲ-/ in front of high front vowel/medial, or retained as /*ŋ-/ or a few become zero:

Rule 81.

81a. *ŋ- (疑) ----> ɲ- / # ___ j

81b. *ŋ- (疑) ----> 0- / # ___

Most of the Gàn Dialects still retain the MC palatal nasal initial /*ɲ-/ (日) if followed by front of high front vowels. Some drop the initial and become zero /0-/ or are realized as a lateral /l-/ or /n-/ if followed by non-front vowels.

Rule 82. Development of Palatal Nasal Initial

82a. *ɲ- (日) ----> 0- / # ___ non-front vowel

82b. *ɲ- ----> l-, n- / # ___ non-front vowel
(Nánchāng, Jíshuǐ, Yífēng, Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Yíyáng)

Rule 83. *0- (影) ----> ŋ- / # ___

Table 74 Consonant Initials of the Gàn Dialects (VII)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ- 嚴	*ŋ- 五	*0- 愛	*0- 矮	*ɲ- 日	*ɲ- 肉	*ɲ- 人	*ɲ- 軟	*ɲ- 絨
Běijīng 北京	0	0	0	0	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Nánchāng 南昌	ŋ	0(L) ŋ(C)	ŋ	ŋ	l (L) ɲ (C)	ɲ	l (L) ɲ (C)	ɲ	l
Líchuān 黎川	ŋ	ŋ	0	0	ŋ	n	ŋ	0	0
Jíshuǐ 吉水	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	l	ɲ	l	ɲ	l
Yífēng 宜豐	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	l	ɲ	l	ɲ	l
Xiūshuǐ 修水	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	l	ɲ	l (L) ɲ (C)	ŋ	l
Dūchāng 都昌	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	l
Yíyáng 弋陽	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ɲ	ɲ	n	ɲ	l

4.54 Finals of the Gàn Dialects

Most of the Gàn dialects have realized MC bilabial nasal ending /*-m/ as /-n/ (Rule 84); only Líchuān 黎川 and Ānyì 安義 still retain the bilabial nasal ending /-m/. Most of the Gàn dialects retain the MC velar ending /*-ŋ/; only the Yífēng dialect has merged /*-ŋ/ to /-n/ (Rule 84).

Rule 84. *-m ----> -n / # ___

Rule 85. *-ŋ ----> -n / # ___ (Yífēng)

Most of the Gàn dialects have undergone the following monophthongization and have realized MC diphthong /*-ua/ as /-ɔ/ or /-o/ in front of nasal ending /-n/:

Rule 86 *-ua ----> -ɔ, -o / # (C) ___ n

Table 75 Finals of the Gan Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*fæn	*sam	*suan	*puən	*an	*nuan	*luan
山		三	酸	本	安	暖	亂
Běijīng 北京	ʃan ¹	san ¹	suan ¹	pən ³	an ¹	nuan ³ nan ³ (C)	luan ⁴ lan ⁴ (C)
Nánchāng 南昌	san ¹	san ¹	sən ¹	pən ³	ŋən ¹	lən ³	lən ⁶
Líchūān 黎川	san ¹	sam ¹	son ¹	pen ³	on ¹	non ³	lon ⁶
Jíshuǐ 吉水	san ¹	san ¹	suən ¹	pən ³	ŋən ¹	luən ³	luən ⁶
Yífēng 宜豐	san ¹	san ¹	sən ¹	pən ³	ŋən ¹	lən ³	lən ⁶
Xiūshuǐ 修水	san ¹	san ¹	sən ¹	pyn ³	ŋən ¹	lən ³	lən ⁶
Dūchāng 都昌	san ¹	san ¹	sən ¹	pən ³	ŋən ¹	lən ³	lən ⁶
Yíyáng 弋陽	san ¹	san ¹	son ¹	pen ³	ŋən ¹	non ³	lon ⁶

In some dialects, such as Nánchāng, Jíshuǐ and Yíyáng, Grade III syllables with medial /*-ju-/ (-iw-) have become high front round medial /-y-/ (Rule 87) as most of the Mandarin dialects did.

Rule 87. Medial Rounding Rule (=Rule 25)

*-j- ----> -y / # ___ u (w)

Table 76 Finals of the Gan Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm	*kiēŋ	*ŋiwen	*piuŋ	*kəŋ	*niuŋ
金		京	元	風	講	絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	yan ²	fəŋ ¹	tɕian ³	zuŋ ²
Nánchāng 南昌	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	nyən ²	fɨŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	luŋ ² iuŋ ²
Líchūān 黎川	kim ¹	kiŋ ¹	ŋian ²	fɨŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	niuŋ ²
Jíshuǐ 吉水	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	nyən ⁵	fəŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ləŋ ²
Yífēng 宜豐	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	niən ⁵	fən ¹	kən ³	lən ²

Xiūshuǐ 修水	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	ŋven ²	fɨŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	iŋ ²
Dūchāng 都昌	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	niən ²	φuŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	luŋ ²
Yíyáng 弋陽	tɕin ¹	tɕin ¹	nyən ²	fɨŋ ¹ fən ¹	kon ³	luŋ ²

Among the Gan dialects, the MC stop endings have undergone neutralization process. The MC /*-p, *-t/ have been realized as either /-t/, /-l/ or /-ʔ/. The MC /*-k/ has been realized as either /-t/ or /-ʔ/.

Rule 88. Stop Ending Neutralization (cf. Rule 26)

88a. *-p ----> -t / ___ # (Nánchāng)

88b. *-p, -t ----> -l / ___ # (Yíyáng)

88c. *-t, ----> -ʔ / ___ # (Líchūān)

88d. *-k ----> -t / ___ # (Nánchāng)

88e. *-k ----> -ʔ / ___ # (Líchūān, Jíshuǐ, Yífēng, Xiūshuǐ, Yíyáng)

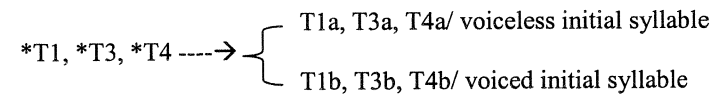
Table 77 Finals of the Gan Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*nɔp	*ɣɔp	*miwət	*kiēt	*kuək	*liək
納		合	物	吉	國	力
Běijīng 北京	na ⁴	hɤ ²	u ⁴	tɕi ²	kuo ²	
Nánchāng 南昌	lat ⁸	hət ⁸ kət ⁸	ut ⁸	tɕit ⁷	kuo ³	li ⁴
Líchūān 黎川	nap ⁷	hop ⁸	uʔ ⁸	kiʔ ⁷	kuoʔ ⁷	tiʔ ⁷
Jíshuǐ 吉水	lat ⁸	hət ⁸	vət ⁸	tɕit ⁷	kueʔ ⁷	tit ⁷
Yífēng 宜豐	lot ⁸	hət ⁸	vət ⁸	kit ⁷	kæʔ ⁷	lit ⁷
Xiūshuǐ 修水	lat ⁸ lət ⁸	hət ⁸	vɤt ⁸	tɕit ⁷	kveʔ ⁷	d'iʔ ⁴
Dūchāng 都昌	nol ⁷	həl ²	uəl ⁸	tɕil ⁷	kuek ⁷	lik ⁴
Yíyáng 弋陽	naʔ ⁸	heʔ ⁸	ueʔ ⁸	tɕeʔ ⁷	kueʔ ⁷	liʔ ⁷

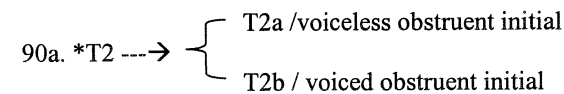
4.55 Tones of the Gàn Dialects

The number of the tones in the Gàn dialects varies greatly, ranging from five tones, such as Jíshuǐ 吉水, to ten tones, such as Dūchāng 都昌 (see the table below for the differences in the tone values). Generally, in the the Gàn dialects, MC *píng* 平 tones (T1), *shǎng* 上 tones (T2), and *rù* 入 tones (T4) have been split into two (a, b) tones (Rule 89), but in some Gàn dialects, the T4b tones may be merged into other tones and realized with only one entering tone. Some MC *T2 syllables with voiced initials (全濁上聲) have been realized as T2b, while some have been merged into T3b tones (Rule 89).

Rule 89. T1, T3 and T4 Split Rule



Rule 90. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (Cf. Rule 28)



90b. T2b ----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial (two third of T2b syllables)⁴

90c. T2b ----> T2b / voiced obstruent initial (one third of T2b syllables)

Table 78 Tone values of the Gàn Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1 平		T2 上			T3 去		T4 入		
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214			T3 去 51				
Nánchāng 南昌	T1a 陰平 42	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 213			T3a 陰去 45	T3b 陽去 21	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 21	
Líchuān 黎川	T1a 陰平 22	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上聲 44			T3a 陰去 53	T3b 陽去 13	T4a 陰入 3	T4b 陽入 5	

Jíshuǐ 吉水	T1a 陰平 35	T1b 陽平 33	T2 上聲 31	T3 去聲 11	T4 入聲 2		
Yífēng 宜豐	T1a 陰平 31	T1b 陽平 13	T2 上聲 112	T3 去聲 53	T4 入聲 5		
Xiūshuǐ 修水	T1a 陰平 24	T1b 陽平 213	T2 上聲 31	T3a 陰去 5, 45	T3b 陽去 22	T4 入聲 32	
Dūchāng 都昌	T1a 陰平 332	T1b 陽平 334, 113	T2 上聲 352	T3a 陰去 325	T3b 陽去 213	T4a 陰入 45, 24	T4b 陽入 3, 21
Yíyáng 弋陽	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 13	T2 上聲 51	T3a 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 21	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 3

4.56 Lexical Differences in the Gàn Dialects

Among the Gàn dialects, some lexical items differ from the other major dialects, but there are some are shared with the other major dialects. For example, the term for 太陽 “sun” in Mandarin, is 日頭 in all Gàn Dialects. This term is shared with some Wú and Xiāng dialects. Some kinship terms and the third person pronoun in the Gàn dialects are very different from that of the other major dialects. This aspect shows again the transitional nature of the Gàn dialects. Some examples are provided in the following tables:

Table 79 Lexical Differences in the Gàn Dialects (I)

	太陽	爺爺	奶奶	丈夫	媽媽	兒子	他
Běijīng 北京 (北京方言)	太陽 老爺兒	爺爺	奶奶	男人, 爺們	媽媽	兒子	他
Nánchāng 南昌方言	日頭	公公, 爺爺	奶奶, 婆婆	老公, 男客	娘(媽)	崽	佢(渠)
Líchuān 黎川	日頭	公公	婆婆	老公	娘	崽	渠
Jíshuǐ 吉水	日頭	爺爺	婆婆	老公	娘姥	崽	渠
Yífēng 宜豐	日頭	公	婆	老公	娘	崽	渠
Xiūshuǐ 修水	日頭	公	媽媽	老公	娘	崽	渠
Dūchāng 都昌	日頭	家家	媽媽	老公	娘, 姆媽	崽	渠

⁴ Based on Lau Chun-fat (2002: 87-88)

Yiyáng 弋陽	日頭	祖祖	媽媽	老公, 男客	姆媽	崽	渠
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For animal terms in the Gàn dialects, the word order is: head noun + gender modifier; the gender modifier 牯 is for the “male”, and 婆 for “female.” As for the term for the “wok”, some use 鑊, while others use 鍋 as in Mandarin. The majority of the Gàn dialects use 屋 for the “house”. We can see from the examples in the following table, that in terms of lexical items the Nánchāng dialect has more influence from Mandarin.

Table 80 Lexical Differences in the Gàn Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙	喝酒
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙 抽煙	喝酒
Nánchāng 南昌	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鑊	房子	喫茶	喫煙	喫酒
Líchuān 黎川	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鑊	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Jíshuǐ 吉水	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鑊	屋	食茶	食薰	食酒
Yífēng 宜豐	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鑊	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Xiūshuǐ 修水	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鍋	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Dūchāng 都昌	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鍋	屋	喝茶	吸煙	喝酒
Yiyáng 弋陽	牛牯	牛婆	狗公	狗嫲	鍋	屋	吃茶	吃煙	吃酒

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4.6 The Kejia Dialects

4.6.1 Subgrouping of the Kèjiā Dialects

Kèyǔ 客語 “guest language”, or *Kèjiāhuà* 客家話 “guest family language”, or *Kèjiā fāngyán* 客家方言 “guest family dialect,” is also known as the Hakka dialect 客家方言. *Kè* literally means “guest”, and *Kèjiā* means “guest family”. Among the seven major Chinese dialect groups, the name of *Kèjiā* dialect group is the only one which is not a geographic term. Currently, native speakers of this dialect group are found mainly in the eastern and northern parts of Guǎngdōng 廣東 province. They are also found in Fújiàn 福建, Jiāngxī 江西, Guǎngxī 廣西, Hǎinán 海南¹, Táiwān 台灣, Húnán 湖南, and Sìchuān 四川 province, as well as in Chinese communities in the Southeast Asia.

According to Luó Xiānglín 羅香林 (1933), ancestors of the Hakka people had originally migrated from the Central Plains to south China in five major waves during different periods for various reasons. The following table summarizes these migrations (Yuan et al 1962: 147; Hashimoto 1973: 3-4; Lan 1999: 1-9):

Order of migration	Period of migration	Reasons for the migration	Original places of migration	Settlements of migration
1 st wave	317-819 (E. Jin → Sui-Tang)	Avoid the invasion of the “Five N. Barbarians” 五胡亂華	Modern Shanxi, Shaanxi, Henan, etc.	S. Henan, Hebei, Yangtze Basin of Anhui, and Gan River Basin of Jiangxi, etc.
2 nd wave	800-1126 (end of Tang → early Ming)	Avoid Huangcao 黃巢 Uprising and “Barbarians’ rulers of Five Dynasties”	SW Henan, Central & North Jiangxi, S Anhui	Central & South Jiangxi, W Fujian, etc.
3 rd wave	1127-1644 (end of Song → early Ming)	Avoid the invasion of Mongolians	W Fujian, S Jiangxi	E & N Guangdong
4 th wave	1650-1850 (end of Ming → early Qing)	Manchurian invasion and population growth	E & N Guangdong, S Jiangxi	Central & W Guangdong, Part of Hunan and Guangxi, Taiwan, Sichuan

¹ Prior to 1988, Hǎinán 海南 was under jurisdiction of the Guǎngdōng 廣東 province.

5 th wave	After 1867 (Qian and Jia Emperors of Qing)	Avoid the clashes with “native Cantonese”	Central Guangdong	W Guangdong, Hainan
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As can be seen from the above table, the distribution of the “Kèjiā” speakers is widespread in southern China. Exactly when the term “Kèjiā” came into use as an ethnic and dialect term is not clear. Based on the studies of the history of Hakka speakers’ migration by Constable (1994) and Leong (1997), Lau Chun-fat 劉鎮發 (2002: 82-96) has pointed out that the term *Kèjiā* 客家 had never been used as an ethnic term until the Qīng 清 dynasty when the Jiāyīng 嘉應州 speakers (the descendants of the immigrants from the Central Plains to the Guangdong and Jiangxi areas during the Sòng 宋 dynasty) had clashes with the native Cantonese speakers. In order to fight against discrimination from the Cantonese speakers, Jiāyīng speakers in the Pearl River Delta invented the label “Kèjiā” to identify their own group. Ever since then “Kèjiāhuà 客家話” has been used as a term to refer to the dialect of the descendants of this ethnic group. The Kèjiā people are well-known for preserving their language and other cultural traditions. The famous “Kèjiā” family maxim: 寧賣祖宗田, 不賣祖宗言 *níng mài zǔzōng tián, bú mài zǔzōng yán* “(One would) rather sell one’s ancestor’s land than one’s ancestor’s language” shows their strong loyalty to their mother tongue.

As already noted in the discussion of the Gàn dialects, the classification of the Kèjiā and Gàn dialects remains controversial (See Section 4.51). In his article on “What is a Kèjiā Dialect?” Norman ([1986]1989: 340-341) has proposed a criterion for defining the Hakka dialect: “[Hakka] can be uniquely characterized by the tonal behavior of words with sonorant initials in the *shǎng* 上聲 tone. [...] To determine whether a dialect is [Hakka] or not, one should examine *shǎng* tone words having sonorant (nasal and lateral) initials. If the dialect is truly [Hakka], such words will fall into two groups, one in the *īnpíng* 陰平 (T1a) category, and the other in the *īnshǎng* 陰上 (T2a) category; the incidence of one tone or the other will be determined lexically; for example, *lǎn* 懶 “lazy”, *wěi* 尾 “tail” will be *īnpíng* 陰平, but *lǎo* 老 “old” and *wǎng* 網 “net” will be *īnshǎng* 陰上. [...] It should be stressed that [...] the lexical incidence of *īnpíng* 陰平 or *īnshǎng* 陰上 tone in this scheme is crucial. For a dialect to be truly [Hakka], it must not only show the split in the *shǎng* 上聲 tone, it must also exhibit essentially the same lexical pattern of incidence.”² Later Huang Xuezen (1988) has also made a similar claim about Hakka dialects. Norman’s criterion of Hakka has been challenged by Laurent Sagart (1998) and Chun-fat Lau (2002) who have claimed that some Gàn and Yuè dialects also share this common feature. Branner (2000:28-38; 53-55) has tested Norman’s diagnostic rule for the Hakka dialects and concluded that the rule “is not as sound” as claimed. (p. 173) Thus so far, there is still no criterion that can “uniquely and unambiguously” define a dialect as “true Hakka” (Sagart 1998:281). In this study, we will treat Kèjiā dialects as a separate group for easier discussion.

In his work on the Hakka dialect, Hashimoto (1973: 6-15) has provided a detailed list of 183 places in southern China where all-Hakka or partial-Hakka people live. He has also provided a critical survey on the Hakka dialect studies prior to 1970 (Hashimoto 1973: 15-34).

Based on phonological features, Paul F. M. Yang 楊福綿 (1967) has classified the Hakka dialects into the following subgroups: Méixiàn 梅縣區, Xīngníng 興寧區, Ràopíng 饒平區, Hǎilù 海陸區, Hong Kong 香港區, and Tīngzhōu 汀州區.

According to the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), the estimate number of Kèjiā speakers is 35 million; the Kèjiā dialects spoken in the more concentrated areas can be divided into the following subgroups:³

1. Yuètái Subgroup 粵台片
 - 1a. Jiāyǐng Cluster 嘉應小片
 - 1b. Xīnghuá Cluster 興華小片
 - 1c. Xīnhuǐ Cluster 新惠小片
 - 1d. Shàonán Cluster 韶南小片

2. Yuèzhōng Subgroup 粵中片
3. Yuèběi Subgroup 粵北片
4. Huǐzhōu Subgroup 惠州片
5. Tīngzhōu Subgroup 汀州片
6. Nínglóng Subgroup 寧龍片
7. Yúguǐ Subgroup 于桂片

Since the late 1980s, several important field research reports have been published. Three volumes of field survey reports on the Hakka dialects in the Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲 by Zhān Bóhuì 詹伯, and Cheung Yat Shing 張日昇 (editors-in-chief) (1988, 1989, 1990) include many Hakka speaking locales. The field report, *Kè-Gàn Fāngyán Diàocháo Bàoào* 客贛方言調查報告 by Li Rulong 李如龍 and Chang Song-hing 張雙慶 (1992) includes seventeen Hakka speaking locales in Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangx provinces and Hong Kong. *Táiwān de Kèjiāhuà* 台灣的客家話 [The Hakka Dialects in Taiwan] (1990), by Luó Zhàojīn 羅肇錦, includes ten Hakka speaking locales in Taiwan. *Miáolì Zhuólán Kèjiā Fāngyán Cǐhuì Duìzhào* 苗栗卓蘭客家方言詞彙對照 [Comparative Lexicon of the Hakka Dialects in Zhuolan, Miaoli] (1998) and *Táiwān Zhōngbù Dìqū Kèjiā Fāngyán Cǐhuì Duìzhào* 台灣中部地區客家方言詞彙對照 [Comparative Lexicon of the Hakka Dialects in Central Taiwan] (1998), by Tú Chūnjǐng 涂春景, include thirteen and seventeen Hakka speaking locales respectively in central Taiwan. These field data are very useful for comparative Hakka dialect studies.

According to Luó Zhàojīn 羅肇錦 (1990: 73-78), the Hakka dialects in Taiwan basically can be divided into the following major groups:

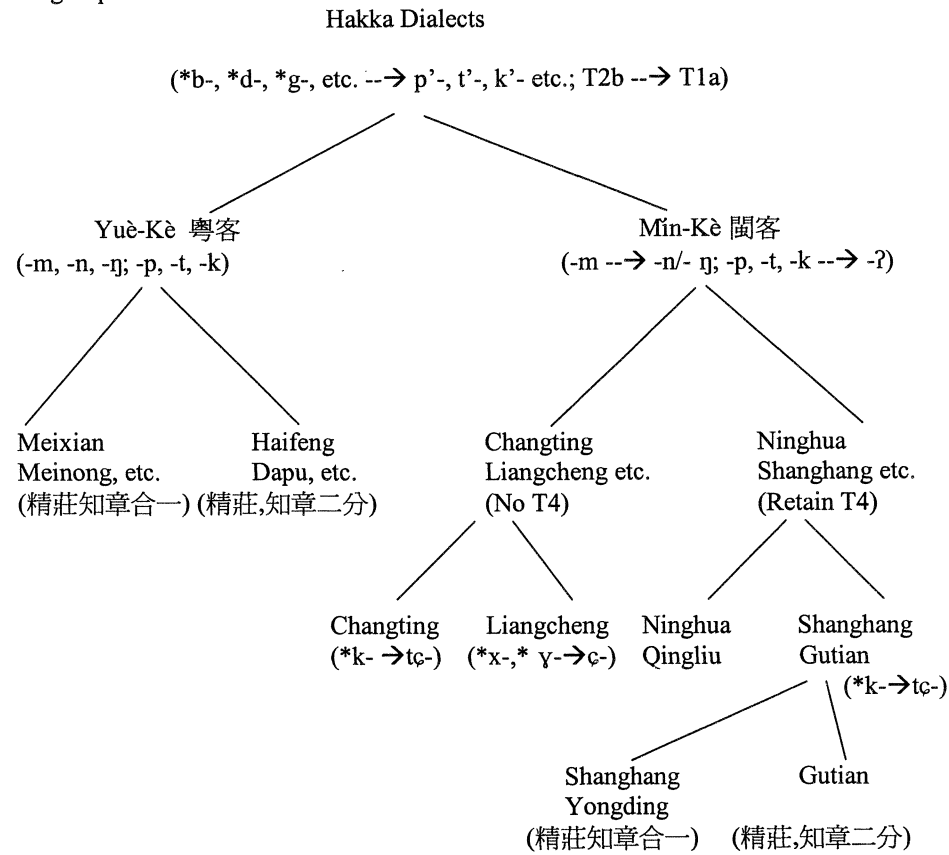
1. Sixiàn group 四縣話: Native speakers of this group are descendants of the people who migrated from four counties—Xīngníng 興寧, Wǔhuá 五華, Píngyuǎn 平遠, and Jiāolǐng 蕉嶺 of Guǎngdōng province—belonging to the Jiāyǐng cluster 嘉應小片 and Xīnghuá Cluster 興華小片 of the Yuètái 粵台片 subgroup. Sixiàn dialects are found in Táoyuán 桃園, Miáolì 苗栗, Xīnzhú 新竹, Gāoxióng 高雄, and Píngdōng 屏東, etc.
2. Hǎilù group 海陸話: Native speakers of this group are descendants of the people who originally migrated from Hǎifēng 海豐 and Lùfēng 陸豐 counties of Guǎngdōng province, which belongs to the Xīnhuǐ Cluster 新惠小片. Hǎilù dialects are found in Táoyuán 桃園, Xīnzhú 新竹, Huālián 花蓮, etc.
3. Ráopíng group 饒平話: Native speakers of this group are descendants of the people who migrated from Ráopíng county of Guǎngdōng province. They are found in Zhúběi 竹北, Dōngshǐ 東勢, Zhuólán 卓蘭, Xīkǒu 溪口, etc.

Mǐnxī Kèjiā Fāngyán 閩西客家方言, by Lán Xiǎolíng 藍小玲 (1999), includes seven all-Hakka speaking locales in the western part of Fújiàn. In this book, based on ten

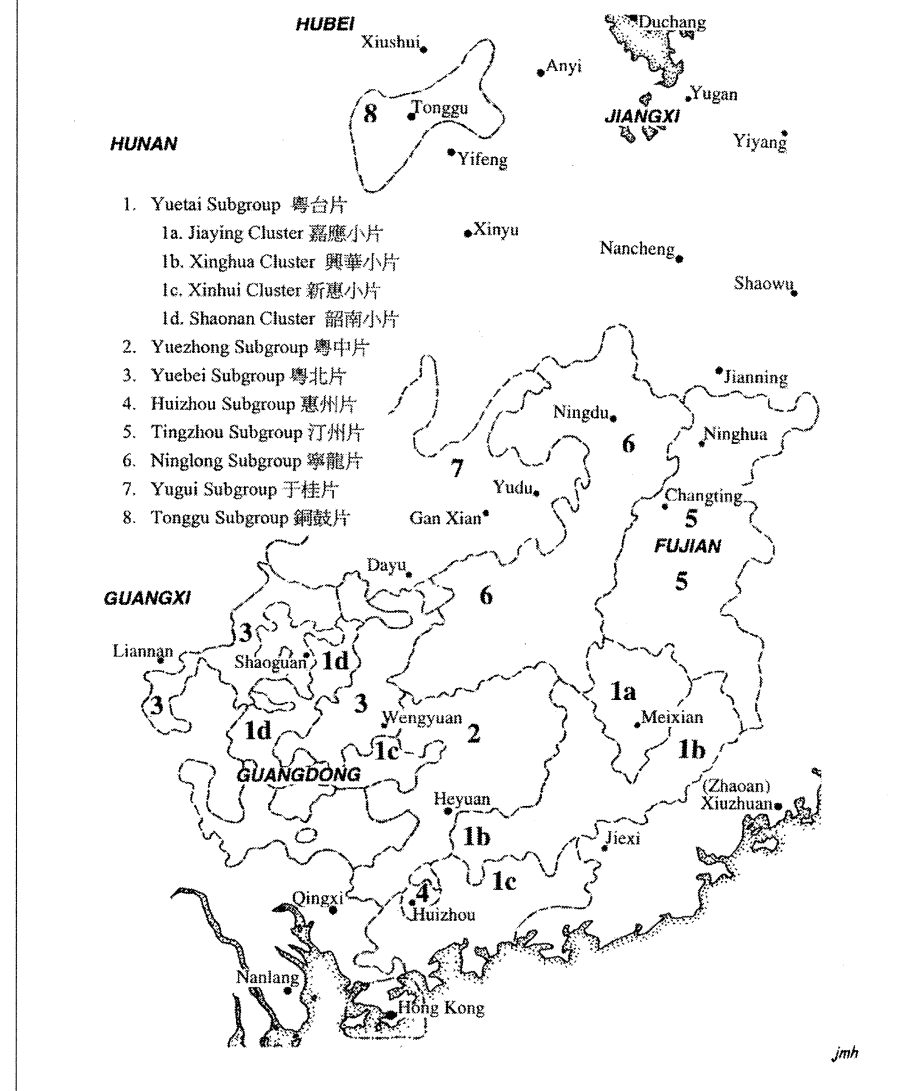
² Norman’s proposal was first presented in his paper in 1986.

³ *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988) has claimed that the Hakka speakers can be found in over 200 cities and counties in eight provinces and regions in China. See the detailed list of cities on p.B-15.

diagnostic features—historical sound changes from the MC phonological system to the Hakka dialects—Lán (1999: 101-104) has classified the Hakka dialects into the following subgroups:



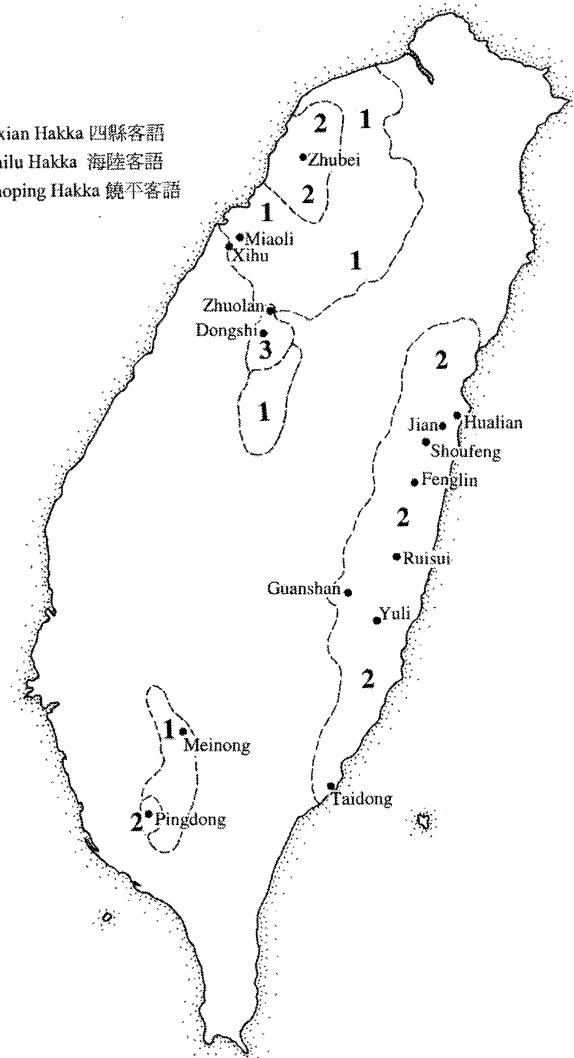
Map 10 The Hakka Dialects in Guangdong, Jiangxi, Fujian and Guangxi
(Based on Wurm et al 1988)



jmh

Map 11 The Hakka Dialects in Taiwan
(Based on Luó Zhàojīn 1990)

- 1. Sixian Hakka 四縣客語
- 2. Hailu Hakka 海陸客語
- 3. Raoping Hakka 饒平客語



jmh

4.62 Sounds of the Kèjiā Dialects

Among the Kèjiā dialects, Méixiàn dialect has always been regarded as the representative for the group. During the Qing Dynasty (1662-1911), Méixiàn belonged to Jiāyǐngzhōu 嘉應州 (Jiāyǐng Prefecture), which included four counties: Xīngníng 興寧, Wǔhuá 五華, Píngyuǎn 平遠, Jiāolíng 蕉嶺. Thus in Taiwan, the Méixiàn dialect is also called *sìxiàn huà* 四縣話 (the *Sìxiàn* speech). Méixiàn dialect has the following eighteen initials (including \emptyset initial) and seventy-six finals: which include two *jièyīn* 介音 (medials): *i, u* (as in the southern Min dialects, there is no high front rounded medial /y/ in Hakka); six vowel phonemes: *i, u, a, ɔ, ə, ɛ*; three *bíyīn yùnwěi* 鼻音韻尾 (nasal endings): *-m, -n, -ŋ*; three stop endings: *-p, -t, -k* and two syllabic nasals: *ŋ, ɲ*. (Zihui 1989: 25-28)⁴

Méixiàn dialect has eighteen initials (including zero initial):⁵

Labials	p	p'	m	f	v
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	n		l
	ts	ts'		s	
Palatal			ɲ		
Velars	k	k'	ŋ	h	
Glottal	∅				

Méixiàn has seventy-six finals:

ɿ	i	u
a	ia	ua
ɛ	ie	ue
ɔ	io	uo
ɔi	iai	uai
ai	iu	ui
au	iau	
eu		
	iu	
am		iam
em		
əm	im	
an	ian	uan
en	ien	uen
ɔn	ion	uɔn
ən	in	

⁴ Yuan et al 1960: 146-178, Norman (1988:221-228)

⁵ Méixiàn dialect data was taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zihui* (1989).

	iun	un
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ
oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ
	iuŋ	uŋ
ap	iap	
ɛp		
əp	ip	
at	iat	uat
et	iet	uet
ot	iot	uot
ət	it	
	iut	ut
ak	iak	uak
ok	ioŋ	uok
	iuk	uk
m̩	ŋ	

Méixiàn has six tones:

Méixiàn 梅縣	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2 上聲	T3 去聲	T4a 陰入	T4b 陽入
	44	11	31	52	1	5

4.63 Initial of the Kèjiā Dialects⁶

In all the Kèjiā Dialects, the MC voiced stops and affricates have been realized as voiceless aspirated initials in all tones (Rule 91), which is also a common feature shared by the Gàn dialects. For example, the reflexes of the MC **b'-* in 盤, 肥, 飯 are /p'-/ in all the Kèjiā Dialects.

Rule 91. Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruent (= Rule 73)

*C- -----→ [+ aspirated, -voiced] / # ____ (in all tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Among the Kèjiā Dialects in general, most of the reflexes of the MC bilabials and labiodentals are basically the same as that of the Gàn dialects, except some reflexes of the MC labiodental nasal **/ŋ-/* (<***mj-* 微母) are /m-/, which reflect the OC traits (Rule 92b). The MC voiced labiodental initial **/v-/* (奉母) has been realized as /f-/ (Rule 93a)

⁶ Data for the Kejia dialects are from the following sources: Méixiàn from *Zihui* (1989), Wēngyuán, Xihé, Gànxiàn from Li and Chang (1992), Chángfīng, Shàngháng from Li and Chang (1992), Lan (1999), and Yan's (1990) field notes. Miáoli from Tu (1998), Táoyuán from Yang (1957). Liángshuǐ-jǐng from Tung (1948/1974).

or /p'-/ (Rule 92a), the latter reflect the OC bilabial trait (<***b'-* 並母), which usually is a Mǐn characteristic, but is also found in the Old Xiāng dialects. For example, in the Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Chángfīng, Shàngháng dialects, the reflex of the colloquial reading of 浮 'to float' is /p'/ (<***b'-*).

Rule 92. Retention of OC Bilabial Initials

92a. ***b'-* (並) ----→ p'- / # ____ j (small number)

92b. ***m-* (微) ----→ m- / # ____ j (small number)

Rule 93. Labiodentalization and Denasalization of OC Bilabial Nasal

93a. ***b'-* (並) ----→ **v-* (奉) ----→ f- / # ____ j

93b. ***p-* (幫), ***p'-* (滂) ----→ **f-* (非), **f-* (敷) ----→ f- / # ____ j

93c. ***m-* (明) ----→ **ŋ-* (微) ----→ v- / # ____ j (=Rule 32a, 32b)

Table 81 Consonant Initials of the Kèjiā Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	<i>*p-</i> 幫	<i>*p'-</i> 胖	<i>*b'-</i> 盤	<i>*m-</i> 明	<i>*f-</i> (<i>**pj-</i>) 夫	<i>*f-</i> (<i>**p'j-</i>) 蜂	<i>*v-</i> (<i>**b'j-</i>) 浮	<i>*ŋ-</i> (<i>**mj-</i>) 味
Běijīng 北京	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	∅
Méixiàn 梅縣	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f p' (S)	v m (S)
Wēngyuán 翁源	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f p' (S)	v m (S)
Xihé 西河	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	v m (S)
Gànxiàn 贛縣	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	v m (S)
Chángfīng 長汀	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f p' (S)	v m (S)
Shàngháng 上杭	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f p' (S)	v m (S)
Miáoli 苗栗	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f p' (S)	v m (S)
Táoyuán 桃園	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	v

Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	v
							p' (S)	m (S)

Note: "S" within the parentheses stands for "small number of characters."

Among the Kèjiā dialects, the evolution of the MC *jīng* (精), *zhuāng* (莊), *zhī* (知), and *zhāng* (章) series are as complicated as these of the Gàn dialects. But some of their realizations are different. In some Kèjiā dialects (particularly in the places which are adjacent to the Mìn dialect areas), there are small number of characters retain the OC ***t-* (知) and ***t-* (章) as a stop, and realized as either alveolar /t-/ or velar /k-/. Most of the Kèjiā dialects have realized the unaspirated MC alveolar, alveolopalatal, and palatal affricates as /ts-, tʃ-, tɕ-/ and their aspirated counterparts are realized as /tsʰ-, tʃʰ-, tɕʰ-/. But in Sāndū 三都 (Jiāngxī 江西), like the northern Mandarin dialects, the MC palatal stops: **t-* (知), **tʰ-* (徹), **dʰ-* (澄) have been realized as retroflexes: /tʂ-, tʂʰ-, tʂʰʰ-/.

In most of the Kèjiā dialects, the realization of the MC affricates: **ts-* (精), **tsʰ-* (清), **dzʰ-* (從), **tʃ-* (莊), **tʃʰ-* (初), **dʒʰ-* (崇), **tɕ-* (章), and **tɕʰ-* (昌) are affricates /ts-, /tʃ-/ or /tɕ-/, with the exception in Xihé 西河, which has realized the MC aspirated affricates as aspirated alveolar stops /tʰ-/ or interdental fricatives /θ-/.

Rule 94. ***t-* (知) (**t-*) ----> t- /# ___ i (Chángfǐng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdǐng, Shàngháng, Liánchéng, Héyuán, Qǐngxī, Xiùzhuàn, Xihé, Hong Kong)

Rule 95. ***t-* (章) (>**tɕ-*) ----> k- /# ___ i (Jiéxī, Xiùzhuàn)

Rule 96. **t-* (知), **tɕ-* (章), **tʃ-* (莊), ----> ts-, tʃ- /# ___

Rule 97. **tʰ-* (徹), **dʰ-* (澄), **tɕʰ-* (昌), **dzʰ-* (從) ----> tsʰ-, tʃʰ- or tɕʰ-, tsʰʰ-, tsʰʰ- /# ___

Rule 98. **t-* (知), **tʰ-* (徹), **dʰ-* (澄) ----> tʂ-, tʂʰ-, tʂʰʰ- /# ___ (Sāndū)

The aspirated MC alveolar and alveolopalatal affricates and fricatives have been realized as aspirated stop /tʰ-/ in Xihé 西河 (Guǎngxī 廣西) and /tʰʰ-/ in Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井 (Sichuan 四川) respectively.

Rule 99. **ts-* (精), **tʃ-* (莊), **dʒʰ-* (崇) ----> θ- /# ___ (Xihé)

Rule 100. **ts-* (精) ----> t- /# ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)⁷

Rule 101. **tsʰ-* (清), **dzʰ-* (從), **tʃʰ-* (初), **dʒʰ-* (崇), **z-* (邪) ----> tʰ- /# ___ (Xihé)

Rule 102. **tsʰ-* (清), **dzʰ-* (從), **tʃʰ-* (初), **dʒʰ-* (崇), **kʰ-* (溪), **gʰ-* (群) ----> tʰʰ- /# ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)

The realization of MC affricates as alveolar stop /t-/ are also found in some Gàn dialects, the Shàowǔ 邵武 dialect in Fújiàn 福建 and in the Southern Mìn's Qióngwén dialects on Hainan Island (Cf. Rule 57).

In most of the Kèjiā dialects, the realization of the MC fricatives are voiceless fricatives: /s-, ʃ-, ɕ-/ or affricate /tsʰ-/, with the exception in Xihé 西河, which has realized the MC affricates as interdental fricative /θ-/. The sound change of MC fricatives into interdental fricatives /θ-/ is also found in Jiāonān and Qǐngdǎo Mandarin dialects (Cf. Rule 8c). In Wǔpíng 武平, MC **ɕ-* (書) has been realized as labiodental fricative /f-/, for example, 水 'water' is /fi³/, 書 'book' is /fu¹/.

Rule 103. **ʃ-* (生), **ɕ-* (書), **z-* (禪) ----> s-, ʃ- /# ___

Rule 104. **z-* (邪) ----> tsʰ-, s- /# ___

Rule 105. **ɕ-* (書) ----> f- /# ___ (Wǔpíng)

Rule 106. **t-* (知), **s-* (心), **ʃ-* (生) ----> θ- /# ___ (Xihé)

Rule 107. **tʃ-* (莊), **tʃʰ-* (初), **dʒʰ-* (崇) ----> ts-, tsʰ-, tsʰʰ- /# ___

Rule 108. **dzʰ-* (從), **dʒʰ-* (崇), **dzʰ-* (船) ----> tsʰ-, tsʰʰ-, s-(ʃ-) /# ___

Like other major dialects, the Hakka dialects retain the MC voiceless alveolar stops **t* (端)- and **tʰ* (透) as they are, but realized **dʰ-* (定) as /tʰ-/. In some Hakka dialects though, the MC **l-* has been realized as a voiceless alveolar stop /t-/ (Rule 109). For example, in Chángfǐng, 林 'a surname' is pronounced as /teng²/ (< *liēm), and 笠 'a bamboo hat' is pronounced as /ti²/ (< *liəp). A similar feature is also found in Jīshuǐ, Nánchéng, Píngjiāng and Xiūshuǐ (of the Gàn dialects), among which the former two dialects realize the MC **l-* as /t-/, and the later two as /dʰ-/.

Rule 109. **l-* ----> t- /# ___ Grade III (Chángfǐng, Wǔpíng, Liánchéng, Shàngháng)

⁷ According to Tung (1974: 157 footnote 1), the phonetically /t/ and /tʰ/ are similar to that of Mandarin's [tɕ] and [tɕʰ] respectively.

Table 82 Consonant Initials of the Kejia Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	**t-, *t'-	**t'- *t'-	**d'- *d'-	*n- 腦	*l- 老	*ts- 做	*ts'- 粗	*dz'- 從	*s- 四	*z- 謝
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ʂ
Méixiàn 梅縣	ts (L) t (C)	ts'	ts'	l	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	ts'
Wēngyuán 翁源	ts	ts'	ts'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts'
Xīhé 西河	tʃ	ts'	ts'	l (L) n (C)	l	θ	ts'	ts	s	t'
Gànxiàn 贛縣	tʂ	ts'	ts'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts	s	ts'
Chángfǐng 長汀	t	ts'	ts'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts'
Shàngháng 上杭	t	ts'	ts'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts'
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	t	ts'	ts'	n	n (L) l (C)	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts'
Táoyuán 桃園	t	ts'	ts'	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts'
Liángshuǐ- jǐng 涼水井 ⁸	ts	ts'	ts'	n	n	ts	ts'	ts'	ʂ	t'

For the MC velar stops, some Hakka dialects have gone through different degrees of palatalization and realized them as different affricates (Rule 110a-c) or fricatives (Rule 110d) before high front vowels, and retain them as velar stops before [- high front vowel]. Most of the other Hakka dialects such as Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Xīhé, Miáoliǐ, and Táoyuán, etc. retain the MC velar stops without going through the palatalization process (Rule 111). Examples are provided in the following tables.

Rule 110. Palatalization of Velar Stops

110a. *k- (見) *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, tʃ''- / # ____ i (Chángfǐng, Shàngháng)

110b. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> tʂ-, tʂ'-, tʂ''- / # ____ i (Wúpíng, Sāndū, Gànxiàn, Dàyú)

110c. *k- (見) ----> t- / # ____ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)

⁸ In Liángshuǐjǐng, /n-/ and /l-/ are free variations.

110d. *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> t'-, ʂ- / # ____ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)

Rule 111. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> k-, k'-, k''- / # ____ elsewhere

Table 83 Consonant Initials of the Kèjiā Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts- 精	*ts'- 清	*x- 休	*k- 經	*k'- 輕	*g'- 棋	*g'- 具	*ts- 酒	*k- 九	*ts'- 趣	*k'- 去
Běijīng 北京	tʂ	tʂ'	ʂ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'	tʂ	tʂ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'
Méixiàn 梅縣	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	ts	k	ts'	k'
Wēngyuán 翁源	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	ts	k	ts'	k'
Xīhé 西河	θ	t'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	θ	k	t'	k'
Gànxiàn 贛縣	tʂ	tʂ'	ʂ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'	tʂ'	tʂ	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ'
Chángfǐng 長汀	ts	ts'	h	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ'	ts	tʃ	ts'	k'
Shàngháng 上杭	ts	ts'	h	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ'	ts	tʃ	ts'	k'
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	ts	k	ts'	k'
Táoyuán 桃園	ts	ts'	h	k	k'	k'	k'	ts	k	ts'	k'
Liángshuǐ- jǐng 涼水井	ts	ts'	h	t	t'	t'	t'	t	t	t	ʂ

Table 84 Consonant Initials of the Kejia Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*t'- 土	*d'- 弟	*k- 句	*g'- 橋	*k- 高	*k'- 考	*tʃ- 莊	*tʃ'- 初	*ʂ- 書	*z- 熟
Běijīng 北京	t'	t	tʂ	tʂ'	k	k'	tʂ	tʂ'	ʂ	ʂ
Méixiàn 梅縣	t'	t'	k	k'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Wēngyuán 翁源	t'	t'	k	k'	k	k'	θ	t'	s	s
Xīhé 西河	t'	t'	k	k'	k	k'	ts	t'	ʃ	ʃ

Gànxiàn 贛縣	t'	t'	tɕ	tɕ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Chángfǎng 長汀	t'	t'	tʃ	tʃ'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Shàngháng 上杭	t'	t'	ts	ts'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	t'	t'	k	k'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Táoyuán 桃園	t'	t'	k	k'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	t'	t'	t̚	t̚'	k	k'	ts	ts'	s	s

Table 85 Consonant Initials of the Kejia Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*t̚-	*t̚'-	*d'-	*d'-	*tɕ-	*tɕ'-	*ɕ-	*tʃ-
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ
Méixiàn 梅縣	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	tɕ'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Wēngyuán 翁源	ts	ts'	s	ts	t'	tɕ'	t'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Xīhé 西河	θ	t'	θ	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	θ
Gànxiàn 贛縣	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Chángfǎng 長汀	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Shàngháng 上杭	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Táoyuán 桃園	ts	ts'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ'
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts'	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts

In most of the Hakka dialects, the MC velar fricatives */x-/ (曉), and */ɣ-/ (匣) have been realized as /f-/ before a close final (合口韻) which contains a labial medial onglide /-u/, elsewhere realized as /h-, x-/. In Shàngháng, Gànxiàn, Wǔpíng, Dàiyú and

Liángshuǐjǐng dialects, */x-/ (曉), and */ɣ-/ (匣) are realized as or /ɕ'-/ /tɕ'-/ before a high front vowel /-i/.

Occasionally, we can find in some Hakka dialects, such as Wēngyuán, Liánnán, Dàiyú, and Xīhé, etc., the MC */x-/ (曉) or */ɣ-/ (匣) have been realized as a velar stop /k-/ or /k'/ in some characters (Rule 112d). A couple examples are provided in the following table. This feature can also be found in southern Chinese dialects, Southern Min dialects in particular.

Rule 112. Development of the Velar Fricatives

112a. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> f- / # ___ u

112b. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> h-, x- / # ___ (Méixiàn)

112c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> tɕ'-/ # ___ i (Shàngháng, Gànxiàn, Wǔpíng, Dàiyú, Liángshuǐjǐng)

112c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> ɕ- / # ___ i (Shàngháng, Gànxiàn, Dàiyú, Liángshuǐjǐng)

112d. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> k-, k' / # ___ i (Wēngyuán, Liánnán, Dàiyú, Xīhé, etc.)

Table 86 Consonant Initials of the Kejia Dialects (VI)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*x- 戲	*x- 吸	*x- 虎	*x- 呼	*ɣ- 回	*ɣ- 紅	*ɣ- 糊
Běijīng 北京	ɕ	ɕ	x	x	x	x	x
Méixiàn 梅縣	h	k'	f	f (L) k' (C)	f	f	f
Wēngyuán 翁源	k'	k	f	f	f	f	f
Xīhé 西河	h	k'	f	f	f	f	f
Gànxiàn 贛縣	tɕ'	tɕ	f	f	f	f	f
Chángfǎng 長汀	ʃ	ʃ	f	f	f	f	f
Shàngháng 上杭	ɕ	ɕ	f	f	f	f	f
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	h	k'	f	f	f	f	f

Táoyuán 桃園	h	k'	f	f	f	f	f
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	ɕ	t'	f	f	f	f	f

In most of the Hakka dialects, the realizations of the MC nasal initial *rì* */n-/ (日) are /n-, ŋ-/ before a high front vowel, and are either /n-, /z-, ʒ-/ (very rare), or zero /Ø-/ before non-high front vowel. The realization of zero initial has also been found in Northeastern and Shāndōng Mandarins as well as Yuè dialects.

Rule 113. Development of Nasal Initial *rì*

113a. *n- (日) ----> n-, ŋ- / # ___ i

113b. *n- (日) ----> n-, Ø- / # ___ elsewhere

113c. *n- (日) ----> z-, ʒ- / # ___ (Liángshuǐjǐng, Táoyuán)

113d. *n- (日) ----> / # ___ [- high front vowel]

The realizations of the MC velar nasal */ŋ-/ (疑) in the Hakka dialects are /n-, n-, Ø-/ before high front vowels (Rule 114a), and /ŋ-/ elsewhere (Rule 114b). Only in a few characters such as 吳 'a surname', 魚 'fish' and 五 'five', has the */ŋ-/ initial become a syllabic nasal /ŋ/ or /m/ (Rule 114c).

Rule 114. Development of Velar Nasal Initial

114a. *ŋ- (疑) ----> n-, n-, Ø- / # ___ i

114b. *ŋ- (疑) ----> *ŋ- / # ___ elsewhere

114c. *ŋ- (疑) ----> ŋ, m / # ___ # (Cf. Cantonese)

The realizations of the MC zero initial */Ø-/ (影) in the Hakka dialects are basically either /v-/ in a closed final (with /-u-/ medial), or /Ø-/ elsewhere. Only in the Hakka dialects in Jiāngxī province that the zero initial has also become velar nasal /ŋ-/ , thus merging with the MC velar nasal */ŋ-/ (疑)

Rule 115.

115a. *Ø- (影) ----> v- / # ___ (closed final 合口韻)

115b. *Ø- (影) ----> Ø- / # ___ elsewhere

115c. *Ø- (影) ----> ŋ- / # ___ (Hakka dialects in Jiāngxī province)

Table 87 Consonant Initials of the Kejia Dialects (VII)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*Ø-	*Ø-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-
	嚴	五	愛	矮	日	肉	人	軟	絨
Běijīng 北京	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
Méixiàn 梅縣	n	ŋ	ŋ	Ø	n	n	n	n	Ø
Wēngyuán 翁源	ŋ	m	Ø	Ø	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	Ø
Xīhé 西河	n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	n	n	n	n	Ø
Gànxian 贛縣	n	ŋ	ŋ	Ø	n	n	n	n	Ø
Chángfǐng 長汀	n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	n	n	n	n	n
Shàngháng 上杭	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	Ø
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	ŋ	ŋ	Ø-	ŋ	n	n	n	n	Ø
Táoyuán 桃園	ŋ	ŋ	Ø	Ø	n	n	n	n	ʒ
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	n	ŋ	Ø, ŋ	Ø	n	n	n	n	ʒ

4.64 Finals of the Kèjiā Dialects

Many Hakka dialects, such as Méixiàn, Chángfǐng, and Táoyuán, etc., do not realized the MC vowels */-iu/ as rounded high front vowel or medial /y/. Some Hakka dialects are undergoing the changing of MC low back */-a/ to mid round vowels /-o/ or /-ɔ/ in the MC *shān* 山攝 rime group. (Rule 116).

Rule 116. *-a ----> o, ɔ / #C ___ n (*shān* rime group)

Most of the Hakka dialects in Guangdong province do not have nasalized vowels, while some Hakka dialects in Fújiàn (such as Chángfǐng, Shàngháng) and Jiāngxī (such as Gànxian, Dà'yú) have nasalized vowels, especially in the MC *shān* 山攝 rime group and *gěng* 梗 rime group.

Rule 117. *-V ----→ -v̄ / #C ___ n (shān rime group)

Rule 118. *-iə ----→ -iã / #C ___ ŋ (gěng rime group)

For the development of the MC consonant endings: /-m, -n, -ŋ, -p, -t, -k/ in the Hakka dialects, different dialects realize them in different reflexes. For the nasal endings, some retain the bilabial nasal /-m/ endings (such as Méixiàn, and Taiwan Hakka dialects), some merge */-m/ to /-n/ which combine the hán 咸攝 and shān 山攝 into one rime group (such as Héyuán, Níngdū, Liángshuǐjǐng), some merge both */-m/ and */-n/ to /-ŋ/ which combine hán 咸攝, shān 山攝 and zēng 曾攝 into one rime group (such as Wǔpíng, Chángfǐng, Nínghuà, Gànxiàn, etc.), while others may change the whole final into nasalized vowels (such as Chángfǐng, Nínghuà, Gànxiàn, Dàyú). The merging of three MC nasal endings into one nasal ending /-ŋ/ occurs more in the Hakka dialects located in western Fujian province. Below are some rules to account for these sound changes.

Rule 119. Development of Nasal Endings

- 119a. *-m ----→ -n / (Héyuán, Níngdū, Liángshuǐjǐng)
- 119b. *-m, *-n ----→ -ŋ / ___ # (Wǔpíng, Chángfǐng, Nínghuà, Gànxiàn, etc.)
- 119c. *-ŋ ----→ -n / ___ # (Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Jiéxī, Yǒngdǐng, Sāndū, etc.)
- 119d. *-m ----→ -m / ___ # (Méixiàn, Jiéxī, Miáolǐ, Táoyuán, etc.)
- 119e. *V- --→ v̄ / # ___ N (Chángfǐng, Nínghuà, Gànxiàn, Dàyú, etc.)

The development of the MC stop endings */-p, *-t, *-k/ is parallel to that of their nasal counterparts. In the following table, we can see that */-p/ is the first to be disappeared. Some dialects have merged /-p/ with /-t/ (such as Liánnán) or /-k/ (such as Wēngyuán), or /-p/ has become /-ʔ/ (such as Shàngháng, Yǒngdǐng, Wǔpíng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.). Some dialects have changed */-k/ into /-t/ (such as Méixiàn, Miáolǐ, Táoyuán, etc), some have changed */-p, *-t, *-k / into /-ʔ/ (Shàngháng, etc.) or zero ending /-∅/ (Chángfǐng, etc.). Like their nasal counterparts, the merging of the stop endings into one ending occurs basically in the Hakka dialects located in western Fujian province.

Rule 120. Development of Stop Endings

- 120a. *-p ----→ -t / ___ # (Liánnán, etc)
- 120b. *-p ----→ -k / ___ # (Wēngyuán, etc.)
- 120c. *-k ----→ -t / ___ # ((Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Jiéxī, Miáolǐ, Táoyuán, etc.)
- 120d. *-p, *-t, *-k ----→ -ʔ / ___ # (Shàngháng, Yǒngdǐng, Wǔpíng,

Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

120e. *-p, *-t, *-k ----→ -∅ / ___ # (Chángfǐng, Liánchéng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

Table 88 Consonant Endings of the Kejia Dialects

Dialect	Subdialect	MC *-m, *-n, *-ŋ	Nasalized V	MC *-p, *-t, *-k
Méixiàn	Jiāyǐng	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Wēngyuán	Yuèzhōng	-n, -ŋ		-t, -k
Jiéxī	Xǐnghuá	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Xiùzhuàn	Xǐnghuá	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Yǒngdǐng	Tǐngzhōu	-n, -ŋ	v̄	-ʔ
Wǔpíng	Tǐngzhōu	-ŋ		-ʔ
Shàngháng	Tǐngzhōu	-ŋ		-ʔ
Liánchéng	Tǐngzhōu	-ŋ		-∅
Chángfǐng	Tǐngzhōu	-ŋ		-∅
Ruǐjīn	Nínglóng	-n, -ŋ		-t, -k
Níngdū	Nínglóng	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Sāndū	Tónggǔ	-n, -ŋ		-t, -k
Gànxiàn	Yúguǐ	-ŋ	v̄	-ʔ
Miáolǐ	Sìxiàn	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Táoyuán	Sìxiàn	-m, -n, -ŋ		-p, -t, -k
Liángshuǐjǐng	Sìchuān	-n, -ŋ		-∅

Table 89 Finals of the Kejia Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*jæn 山	*sam 三	*suan 酸	*puən 本	*an 安	*nuan 暖	*luan 亂
Běijīng 北京	ʂan ¹	san ¹	suan ¹	pən ³	an ¹	nuan ³ nan ³ (C)	luan ⁴ lan ⁴ (C)
Méixiàn 梅縣	san ¹	san ¹	son ¹	pun ³	on ¹	non ³	lon ⁶
Wēngyuán 翁源	san ¹	sam ¹	son ¹	pun ³	on ¹	non ³	lon ⁶
Xīhé 西河	san ¹	san ¹	θon ¹	pun ³	on ¹	lon ¹	lon ³
Gànxiàn 贛縣	son ¹	san ¹	sō ¹	pəŋ ³	ŋã ¹	nō ¹	lō ⁵
Chángfǐng 長汀	saŋ ¹	saŋ ¹	soŋ ¹	peŋ ³	uŋ ¹	nuŋ ³	loŋ ⁶
Shàngháng 上杭	sã ¹	san ¹	sũō ¹	pě ³	ũō ¹	nũō ³	lũō ⁶

Miáoli 苗栗	san ¹	sam ¹	son ¹	pun ³	ŋon ¹	on ¹	lon ⁶
Táoyuán 桃園	san ¹	sam ¹	son ¹	pun ³	on ¹	non ¹	lon ⁶
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	san ¹	san ¹	son ³	pən ³	on ¹	non	non

Table 90 Finals of the Kejia Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm 金	*kiēŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元	*piuŋ 風	*kɔŋ 講	*n̄iuŋ 絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yan ²	fəŋ ¹	tɕian ³	zuŋ ²
Méixiàn 梅縣	kim ¹	kin ¹	ɲian ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	luŋ ² iuŋ ²
Wēngyuán 翁源	kin ¹	kin ¹	ien ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	niuŋ ²
Xīhé 西河	kim ¹	kin ¹	ien ²	fəŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	ləŋ ²
Gànxian 贛縣	tɕiŋ ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	iē ²	fən ¹	kɔn ³	lən ²
Chángfǐng 長汀	tʃeŋ ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	iē ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	iŋ ²
Shàngháng 上杭	tsieŋ ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	jä ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	luŋ ²
Miáoli 苗栗	kim ¹	kiŋ ¹	ɲian ²	fuŋ ¹	kon ³	luŋ ²
Táoyuán 桃園	kim ¹	kian ¹	ɲian ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	zuŋ ²
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	tin ¹	tin ¹	ien ²	fuŋ ¹	kɔŋ ³	zuŋ ²

Table 91 Finals of the Kejia Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*nɔp 納	*ɣɔp 合	*ŋiwät 月	*tsiēt 節	*k'ək 客	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京	na ⁴	hy ²	yue ⁴	tɕie ²	k'ɣ ⁴	li ⁴
Méixiàn 梅縣	nap ⁸	hɔt ⁸ kɔt ⁸	ɲiat ⁸	tsiat ⁷	k'et ⁷	li ⁴
Wēngyuán 翁源	nak ⁸	hop ⁸	ŋiet ⁸	tsiet ⁷	k'ak ⁷	ti ⁷

Xīhé 西河	nat ⁸	hɔt ⁸	niēt ⁸	θiet ⁷	k'ak ⁷	tit ⁷
Gànxian 贛縣	na ⁷	hɔt ⁸	nie ⁷	tɕie ⁷	k'a ⁷	lit ⁷
Chángfǐng 長汀	la ⁶	ho ⁶	ie ⁶	tse ²	k'a ²	ti ⁶
Shàngháng 上杭	na ⁷	ha ⁷	ŋie ⁷	tsie ⁷	k'ɔ ⁷	tei ⁷
Miáoli 苗栗	nap ⁸	he ⁷	ŋiet ⁸	tsiet ⁷	hak ⁷	li ⁷
Táoyuán 桃園	nap ⁸	hap ⁸	ɲie ⁸	tsiet ⁷	hak ⁷	lit ⁷
Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	na ⁷	xo ⁷	ɲie ⁷	tse ⁷	k'a ⁷	ni ⁷

4.65 Tones of the Kejia Dialects

One of the characteristics of the Kejia (Hakka) dialects is that in some of its subdialects, the MC *cizhuó* 次濁 (sonorants) *shāngshēng* 上聲 (Tone 2b) characters have been realized as voiceless aspirated consonants with the *yīn píng* (Tone 1a) tones. We will use Rule 122 to account for this feature. As mentioned previously, this feature has also been found in Gàn, and Yuè dialects. In fact, Hashimoto ([1986]1992), has also pointed out that this feature is not unique to the Hakka dialects, but can be found in some dialects of Jīn, Gàn, and Xiāng as well. The number of the tones in the Hakka dialects ranges from five (such as Chángfǐng, Gànxian) to seven (such as Héyuán, Níngdū). Most of the Hakka dialects have six tones. Liángshuǐjǐng is one of them, but it only retains the entering tones' values (T4a, T4b) without any consonant endings. The development of the MC four tones in the Hakka dialects is very complicated. First of all, all of the dialects have undergone the tone split (Rule 121), and then started to engage in the shuffling of the tones.

Rule 121. Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T2, *T3, *T4 ----> { T1a, T2a, T3a, T4a/ voiceless initial syllable
T1b, T2b, T3b, T4b/ voiced initial syllable

Rule 122. *Cizhuó shāngshēng* and *yīnpíng* Merging Rule (次濁上聲歸陰平)

T2b ----> T1a / sonorant initial syllables

Based on Lán Xiǎolíng's analysis (1999: 60), the following rules account for the development of the MC T2 (上聲) and T3 (去聲) in the Hakka dialects:

Rule 123. Development of T2 and T3

123a. T3b ----→ T2b (Hǎifēng, Lùfēng, Níng huà, Qīngliú, Liánchéng, etc.)

123b. T2b + T3b ----→ T2a (Shàngháng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdǐng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

123c. T2b + T3b ----→ T3a (Méixiàn, Wūhuá, etc.)

123d. (i) T2a + T3a ----→ T3 (Xiànyáng, Xiùzhuàn, etc.)

(ii) T2b + T3b ----→ T2 (Xiànyáng, Xiùzhuàn, etc.)

The changes in T2 and T3 vary from place to place, but they share one common feature—the merging of T2b and T3b into one tone.

Table 92 Tone values of the Kèjiā Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1	平	T2	上		T	去			T4 入
						3				
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214			T3 去 51				
Méixiàn 梅縣	T1a 陰平 44	T1b 陽平 11	T2 上聲 31			T3 去聲 52		T4a 陰入 1	T4b 陽入 5	
Wēngyuán 翁源	T1a 陰平 22	T1b 陽平 51	T2 上聲 21			T3 去聲 55		T4a 陰入 2	T4b 陽入 5	
Héyuán 河源	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 31	T2 上聲 24			T3a 陰去 12	T3b 陽去 55	T4a 陰入 5	T4b 陽入 2	
Xīhé 西河	T1a 陰平 35	T1b 陽平 22	T2 上聲 31			T3 去聲 53		T4a 陰入 11	T4b 陽入 5	
Gànxiàn 贛縣	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 211	T2 上聲 31			T3 去聲 53		T4 入聲 5		
Chángfǎng 長汀	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 24	T2 上聲 42			T3a 陰去 54	T3b 陽去 21			

Shàngháng 上杭	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 21	T2 上聲 53	T3 去聲 132	T4a 陰入 4	T4b 陽入 35
Miáoli 苗栗	T1a 陰平 24	T1b 陽平 11	T2 上聲 31	T3 去聲 55	T4a 陰入 2	T4b 陽入 5
Táoyuán 桃園	T1a 陰平 24	T1b 陽平 11	T2 上聲 31	T3 去聲 55	T4a 陰入 22	T4b 陽入 55
Liángshuǐ- jǐng 涼水井	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 12	T2 上聲 31	T3 去聲 53	T4a 陰入 42	T4b 陽入 5

4.66 Lexical Differences in the Kèjiā Dialects

Like the Gàn dialects, Kèjiā Dialects have shared some lexical items with other southern dialects, such as using 日頭 for the “sun”, and 渠 for pronoun “s/he”. However, they also have unique lexical items, such as using 媯媯 or 姐姐 for “paternal grandmother”, 阿媯 or 媯媯 for “mother”, and 隸 or 隸子 for “son.”

Table 93 Lexical Differences in the Kèjiā Dialects (I)

	太陽	爺爺	奶奶	丈夫	媽媽	兒子	他
Běijīng 北京	太陽	爺爺	奶奶	男人, 爺們	媽媽	兒子	他
Méixiàn 梅縣	日頭	阿公	阿婆	老公	阿媯, 娘兒	隸兒	渠
Wēngyuán 翁源	日頭	阿公	阿婆	老公	阿媯	隸子	渠
Xīhé 西河	日頭	公	婆	老公	娘, 嫂	隸	渠
Gànxiàn 贛縣	日頭	爹爹	奶奶	老公	媯	隸	渠
Chángfǎng 長汀	日頭	公爹	媯媯	老公	媯媯	隸	渠
Shàngháng 上杭	日頭	大大	姐姐	老公	媯媯	子隸	渠
Miáoli 苗栗	日頭, 太陽	阿公	阿婆	老公	阿媯	隸	渠
Táoyuán 桃園	日頭	阿公	阿婆	老公	阿媯	隸	渠

Liángshuǐjǐng 涼水井	日頭	阿公	阿婆	老公	阿嬤 (姆)	隸子	渠
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For animal terms, the word order of [head noun + gender modifier], and the use of only one verb 食 for “eating, drinking, and smoking” are the same as that of the other southern dialects.

Table 94 Lexical Differences in the Kejia Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙	喝酒
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鉄鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙 抽煙	喝酒
Méixiàn 梅縣	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食煙
Wēngyuán 翁源	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Xīhé 西河	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Gànxian 贛縣	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Chángfǎng 長汀	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食酒
Shàngháng 上杭	牛牯	牛婆	狗牯	狗婆	鑊頭	屋	喝茶	食煙	食煙
Miáoliǐ 苗栗	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食煙
Táoyuán 桃園	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食煙
Liángshuǐ- jǐng 涼水井	牛牯	牛嫲	狗牯	狗嫲	鑊頭	屋	食茶	食煙	食煙

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4.7 The Yue Dialects

4.71 Subgrouping of the Yuè Dialects

Yuèyǔ 粵語 (Yuè language) or *Yuè fāngyán* 粵方言 (Yuè dialect) is also known as Cantonese. *Yuè* 粵 is a geographic short term for the modern 廣東 Guǎngdōng province, where currently most of the 粵 Yuè dialect speakers are found. According to historical records, the ancient people who lived in this area belonged to one of the *bǎiyuè* 百越 or 百粵 (hundred Yuè tribes). *Yuè* 越 and *Yuè* 粵 are homographs, the former was found in *Shǐjì* 史記 (the *Historical Records*) by Simǎ Qiān 司馬遷 (of the Hàn dynasty), while the latter was found in *Hànshū* 漢書 (*History of the Hàn Dynasty*) by Bān Gù 班固 (of the Eastern Hàn dynasty). Ancestors of the present-day Yuè dialect speakers originally migrated from the Central Plains to the Liǎng-Yuè 兩粵 (“two-Yue’s” = Yuèdōng 粵東 ‘Guǎngdōng’ and Yuèxī 粵西 ‘Guǎngxī’) area. The first significant migration can be traced back to as early as in Qín 秦 dynasty, due to military conquest of the *Yuè* 越 tribes, when some five hundred thousand Han-Chinese military personnel and officials were dispatched to this area. Later during the Hàn 漢, Táng 唐, and Sòng 宋 dynasties, different waves of large scale migrations via various routes brought more people from the North into the area.¹ Due to contacts between the Han-Chinese people and the *Yuè* 越 aborigines in these earlier periods, like other southern Chinese dialects, *Yuèyǔ* 粵語 or *Yuè fāngyán* 粵方言 (Yuè language/dialect) has inevitably assimilated some non-Hàn characteristics into its lexicon and syntactic structures. At present, most of the *Yuèyǔ* 粵語 speakers live in the areas of *Zhūjiāng sānjiǎozhōu* 珠江三角洲 “Pearl River Delta,” *Xījiāng* 西江 “West River”, and the southeastern part of *Guǎngxī* 廣西 province. *Yuèyǔ* 粵語 speakers are also found in southeast Asia and north America.

Based on the geographical distribution of the Yuè dialect speakers, Yuan et al (1962:179) have divided the Yuè dialects into the following subgroups:²

1. Yuè-Hǎi group (粵海系): includes most of the Pearl Delta area and Xī River (西江) area;

¹ During the Tang dynasty, the area which includes the modern Guangdong, Guangxi and northern Vietnam was under the administrative district of *Lǐngnándào* 嶺南道 “District of the Area South of the Five Ridges”. Thus later *Lǐngnán* 嶺南 has also been used as an alternative term for Guangdong province. For more detail of the historical background of the Yue speakers, readers are referred to Yuan et al 1960: 179-180 and Hashimoto 1972: 1-7.

² Cheung Yat-shing and Gan Yu'en (1993) have divided the Yuè dialects into the following subgroups: Yuè-Hǎi Subgroup 粵海片, Sìyǐ Subgroup 四邑片, Gāo-Léi Subgroup 高雷片, Qín-Lián Subgroup 欽廉片, and Guǐ-Nán Subgroup 桂南片. The grouping is very close to that of Yuan et al (1962).

2. Qín-Lián group (欽廉系): includes Qínzhōu 欽州, Liánzhōu 廉州, etc.;
3. Gāo-Léi group (高雷系): includes Gāozhōu 高州 and Léizhōu 雷州 area;
4. Sì-Yǐ group (四邑系): includes Táishān 台山, Xīnhuǐ, 新會 Kāipíng 開平, and Enpíng 恩平;³
5. Guǐ Nán group (桂南系): includes the locales in the southwest part of Guangxi province, such as Wúzhōu 梧州, Róngxiàn 容縣, Yùlín 郁林, Bóbái 博白, etc.

According to the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), the estimate number of Yuè speakers is over twenty-eight million. Based on whether the realization of the MC voiced stop and affricate initials is aspirated, and the realization of the MC *t'- (透) and *s- (心), the Yuè dialects spoken in Guǎngdōng province have been divided into the following subgroups:

1. Guǎngfǔ Subgroup 廣府片
2. Sìyǐ Subgroup 四邑片
3. Gāoyáng Subgroup 高陽片
4. Gōulòu Subgroup 勾漏片
5. Wúhuà Subgroup 吳化片

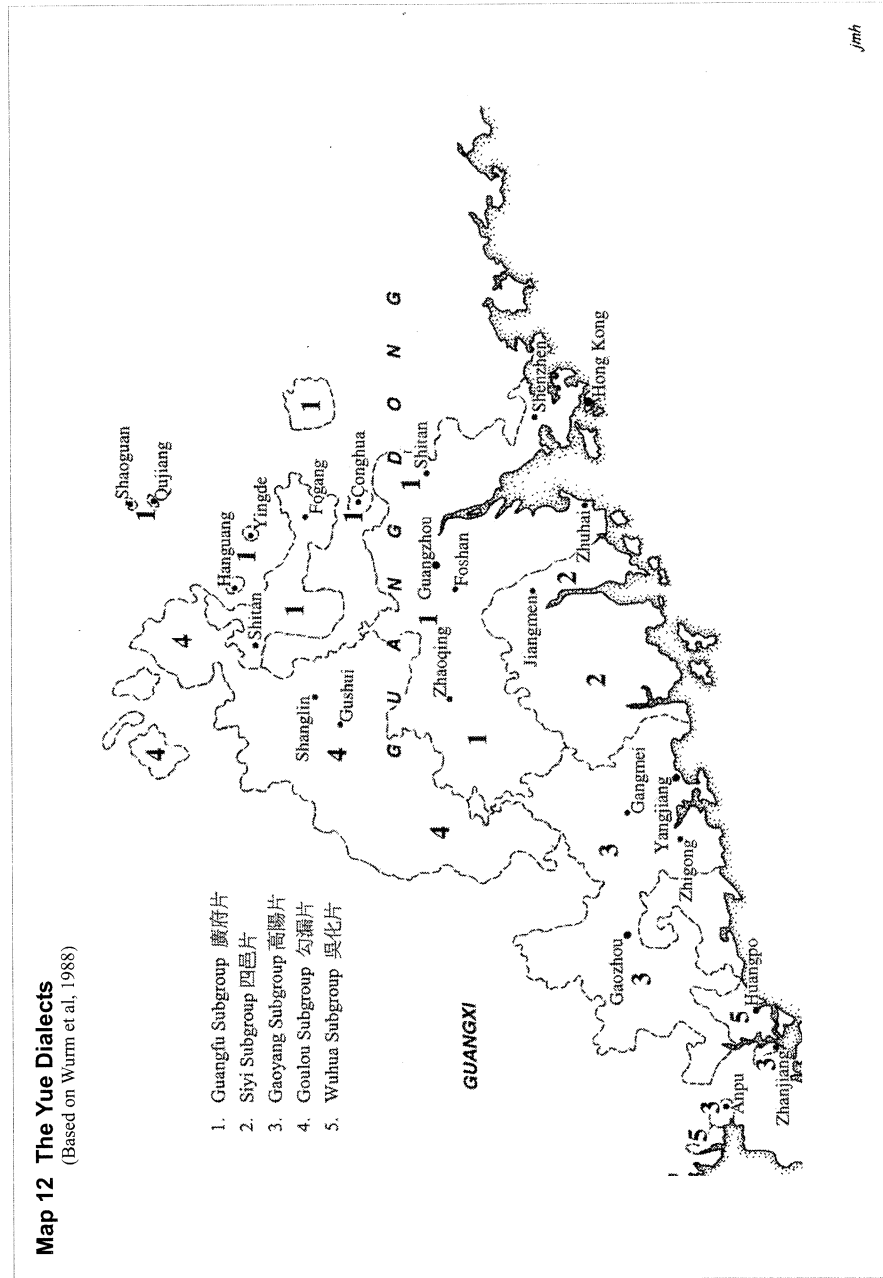
For easier comparison, the subgroups in the *Atlas* can be recaptured in the following table:

Table 95 Comparison of the Yuè Subdialect Groups

Reflexes of MC	Guǎngfǔ	Sìyǐ	Gāoyáng	Gōulòu	Wúhuà
voiced					
Stops/Affricated					
[- voiced, + aspirated]	+	T1b, T2b +	+		+
[- voiced, - aspirated]	+	T3b, T4b +	+	+	
Reflexes of MC *t'- (透)	t'	h	t'		
Reflexes of MC *s- (心)	s		ʃ		

For detailed locales for each dialect subgroup, readers are referred to Wurm et al 1988: B13.

³ These four cities are also well-known as *Seiyap* (lit. ‘four-cities’ in Cantonese).



Based on the analyses of reflexes of the MC initials, finals, and tones in the Yuè dialects in the Pearl River Delta, Zhān Bóhuǐ 詹伯慧 and Cheung Yat-Shing 張日昇 (1990: 18-20) et al have divided the Yuè dialects into four subgroups:

1. Guǎngfǔ Subgroup 廣府片—Guǎngzhōu 廣州市 and Hong Kong 香港 (city) dialects are the representatives. This subgroup includes the surrounding counties and areas of Guǎngzhōu city, Nánhǎi 南海, Sānshuǐ 三水, Gāomíng 高明, Shùndé 順德, Fóshān city 佛山, etc., and partial areas of Zhàoqíng city 肇慶市.
2. Sìyì Subgroup 四邑片—Táishān 台山 and Kāipíng 開平 dialects are the representatives. This subgroup also includes Enpíng 恩平, Xīnhuì 新會, Jiāngmén 江門, Dǒumén 斗門, etc.
3. Xiāngshān Subgroup 香山片—This subgroup includes Zhūhǎi 珠海⁴ and Zhōngshān 中山, etc.
4. Guānbǎo Subgroup 莞寶片—This subgroup includes Dōngguān city 東莞市 and Bǎo'ān county 寶安縣 areas.

In 1991, a new classification on the Yuè dialects basing on phonological and lexical criteria as well as on geographical distribution has been proposed by Yue-Hashimoto 余靄芹 (1991c: 164-181). According to her analyses, the Yuè dialects can be divided into the following subgroups:

- I. Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲區:⁵
 - A. Guǎngfǔ Group 廣府片:
 1. Guǎngdōng 廣東: Guǎngzhōu 廣州, Pānyú 番禺, Macao 澳門, Zēngchéng 增城, Cónghuā 從化, Xīnyì 信宜, Gāozhōu 高州, Huāxiān 花縣
 2. Guangxi 廣西: Nanning 南寧, Guiping 桂平
 3. Hong Kong 香港
 - B. Northern Pearl River Delta Group 北三角洲片:
 1. Sanyi-Zhaoqing Subgroup 三邑肇慶小片: Guangdong: Nanhai 南海, Gaoyao 高要, Sanshui 三水, Shunde, 順德 Gaoming 高明, Foshan 佛山
 2. Interior Subgroup 內陸小片: Guangdong: Wuchuan 吳川, Huazhou 化州
Guangxi: Beiliu 北流, Rongxian 容縣, Wuzhou 梧州, Mengshan 蒙山, Zhaoping 昭平, Pingnan 平南, Cenxi 岑溪, Yulin 玉林, Binyang 賓陽, Hengxian 橫縣, Cangwu 蒼梧, Yongning 邕寧
 - C. Southern Pearl River Delta Group 南三角洲片:

⁴ Zhūhǎi 珠海 once belonged to Xiāngshān county 香山縣.

⁵ Readers are referred to the map 粵語方言的分佈和分區 in Yue-Hashimoto (1991: 177) for detailed locale distribution of the Yuè subdialects.

1. Qin-Lian Subgroup 欽廉小片:
Guangdong: Dongguan 東莞, Baoan 寶安, New Territories 新界 (Hong Kong)
Guangxi: Qinzhou 欽州, Lianjiang 廉江, Hepu 合浦, Beihai 北海, Fangcheng 防城, Lingshan 靈山, Pubei 浦北
 2. Zhongshan Subgroup 中山小片:
Zhongshan 中山
- II. Siyi-Liangyang 四邑兩陽:
- A. Siyi 四邑:
Taishan 台山, Enping 恩平, Kaiping 開平, Heshan 鶴山, Xinhui 新會, Doumen 斗門
 - B. Liangyang 兩陽:
Yangjiang 陽江, Yangchun 陽春

As we can see from the different classifications listed above, since late 1980s when more field data are available, the classification of the Yuè dialects has become more elaborate. However, the Yuè dialects are also complicated by one of the transitional dialect systems, *Píng huà* 平話.

Píng huà 平話, is a group of Chinese dialects spoken mainly in Guǎngxī province, where Han-Chinese people reside among Zhuàng 壯族 people. Prior to the publication of the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), *Píng huà* had never been treated as one of the major Chinese dialect groups. From the limited data of phonological system of the *Píng huà* that are available in the field (Lǐ 1987, Zhāng 1987, Tán et al 1997), it seems that in general *Píng huà* show much similarity with the Yuè dialects, and do not possess as great differences as that between any of the seven major dialects that we have previously discussed. In this book, *Píng huà* dialects are considered transitional, but some phonological data from Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村 of Nán níng Píng huà 南寧平話 (Tán et al 1997) and Xīn xū Píng huà 心圩平話 are provided together with that of the Yuè dialects for easier comparison. More discussion on the *Píng huà* will be presented later in the part on transitional dialects.

4.72 Sounds of the Yuè Dialects⁶

In general, the initials of the subdialects of the Yuè dialect group are much more homogeneous than in the other Chinese dialect groups, but by no means that are they all the same. Due to the political and economic importance of the Guǎngzhōu city (also known as Canton) in modern Chinese history, the Guǎngzhōu dialect 廣州話 (also

known as Cantonese) has been regarded as the representative or standard dialect of the Yuè dialects. The Guǎngzhōu dialect is also known as *Guǎngfǔ huà* 廣府話. Local people call it *báihuà* 白話. In overseas Chinese communities, people call it *tánghuà* 唐話 'Tang language' (or *tongwa* in Cantonese).

Depending on the treatment of the phonemes of the Guǎngzhōu dialect, different scholars have proposed different numbers of the initials and finals. According to *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989: 28-31), the Guǎngzhōu dialect has the following eighteen initials (including \emptyset initial) and sixty-eight finals: which include three *jièyīn* 介音 (medials): *i*, *u*, *y*; eight vowel phonemes: *i*, *u*, *y*, *e*, *æ*, *a*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*; three *bíyīn yùnwěi* 鼻音韻尾 (nasal endings): *-m*, *-n*, *-ŋ*; three stop endings: *-p*, *-t*, *-k* and two syllabic nasals: *m*, *ŋ*.

The Guǎngzhōu eighteen initials (including zero initial) are as follows:⁷

Labials	p	p'	m	f	(w)	
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	n		(j)	l
Postal-veolar	tʃ	tʃ'		ʃ		
Velars	k	k'	ŋ	h		
Glottal	\emptyset					

The Guǎngzhōu dialect's 68 finals are as follows:

	u	i	y
a	ua		
ɛ			
æ			
ɔ	uo		
ai	uai		
ɛi	uei		
ei			
ɔi	ui		
au			
ɛu			
ou		iu	
øy			
am			
em		im	
an	uan		

⁷ In *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989: 28-31), /w, j/ are listed as initials. In *Guǎngzhōu Fāngyán Cídiǎn*, by Bai Wanru (1998), Guǎngzhōu dialect has sixteen initials and ninety-four finals (/w, j/ are considered as medials). Yue-Hashimoto (1972) has listed twenty initials, and fifty-three finals for the Guǎngzhōu dialect, and Bauer-Benedict (1999) has listed twenty initials (including zero initial), and fifty-six finals.

⁶ Dialect data of Guǎngzhōu and Yángjiāng are taken from *Hànyǔ Fāngyīn Zìhuì* (1989), and other Yuè dialect data are from *A Survey of Dialects in the Pearl River Delta, Vol. 1-3*, by Zhān Bóhuǐ and Cheung Yat-Shing (eds.) (1987, 1988, 1990). Nán níng Píng huà Tíngzǐcūn data are from *Nán níng Píng huà Cídiǎn* (1997), edited by Tán, Wéi, and Biàn.

ən	uən		
ø̃n			
ɔ̃n			
	un	in	yn
aŋ	uaŋ		
ɐŋ	ueŋ		
eŋ			
iŋ	uiŋ		
œŋ			
ɔŋ	uoŋ		
uŋ			
ap			
ɛp			
		ip	
at	uat		
ɛt	uet		
ø̃t			
ɔ̃t			
	ut	it	yt
ak	uak		
ɛk			
ek			
ik	uik		
œk			
ɔk	uɔk		
uk			
ɱ	ŋ		

The Guǎngzhōu dialect's nine tones are:

Guǎng- zhōu 廣州	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2a 陰上	T2b 陽上	T3a 陰去	T3b 陽去	T4a 上 陰入	Tab 下 陰入	T4c 陽入 22, 2
	53, 55	21	35	23	33	22	5	33	

4.73 Initials of the Yuè Dialects

One of the common features shared by most of the Yuè dialects is that the MC voiced obstruents have become voiceless aspirated in the *píngshēng* (T1) (basically in the Yuè dialects in the Pearl River Delta area), and become voiceless unaspirated in the *zè* tone 仄聲 (T2-T4) syllables. (Rule 124) For example, in Guǎngzhōu dialect (Cantonese) 盤 'plate' is /p'un²/ (< MC buən¹), and 拌 'to mix' is /p'un⁶/ (< MC buən²). This sound change feature is also shared with Mandarin dialects (see Rule 1). Most of the Píngguà

dialects have realized the MC voiced obstruents as voiceless unaspirated initials (Rule 124b). This feature is similar to that of Chángshā (New Xiang) and Min dialects.

Rule 124. Devoicing of MC Voiced Obstruents (= Rule 1)

124a. *C- -----> [+ aspirated, -vd] / # ____ (T1)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

124b. *C- -----> [- aspirated, -vd] / # ____ (T2-T4)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

For the MC bilabials series, in some Yuè dialects, such as the Kāipíng 開平 dialect, some syllables have retained the MC *pāng* 幫 and *bìng* 並 initial syllables as bilabials (Rule 125a); for example, 配 'to match' is /p'uoi/ (< MC *p'uoi), and 陪 'to accompany' is /p'uoi/ (< MC *b'uoi). In the Yǎyáo 雅瑤 dialect of Hèshān 鶴山 and other Sìyǐ 四邑 dialects, some MC bilabial initials have undergone deplosivization and are realized as voiced labial dental /v-/ (Rule 125b); for example, in the Yǎyáo dialect, 壩 'a dam' is /va¹/ (< MC *pa), and 步 'step' is /vau⁴/ (< MC *bu). There are a small number of bilabials in the Sìyǐ dialects that have been realized as velar fricative /h-/ (Rule 125c); for example, in the Yǎyáo dialect 皮 'skin' is /hAi²/, and 被 'quilt' is /hAi²/.

In most of the Yuè and Píngguà dialects, the MC *fēi* series 非系 (labiodentals <OC bilabials) have been realized as labiodental fricatives /f-/ (Rule 125d). However, in the Sìyǐ dialects, some characters of the *fēi* series 非系 have been realized as either /v-/ (most in *zè* tones 仄聲) or glottal fricative /h-/. For example, in the Yǎyáo dialect, 幫 'to help' is /voeŋ¹/, 謗 'to libel' is /voeŋ⁵/, 旁 'side' is /hoeŋ²/, 飛 'to fly' is /fAi¹/.

Rule 125. Development of MC Bilabial Stops

125a. **p- (幫), **p'- (滂), **b'- (並) ----> *p-, *p'- ----> p-, p'- / # ____

125b. *p- (幫), *p'- (滂), *b'- (並) ----> v- / # ____ (T2-T4) (Sìyǐ dialects)

125c. *p- (幫), *p'- (滂), *b'- (並) ----> h- / # ____ (Sìyǐ dialects)

125d. *f- (非) (< **p-), *f- (敷) (< **p'-), *v- (奉) (< **b'-) ----> f- / # ____ j
(*fēi* series 非系)

Most of the Yuè and Píngguà dialects retain OC bilabial nasals, *mīng* **m- 明 initials (including the Grade III *wēi* 微 initials /**mj-/ which become MC /**ŋ-/) as bilabial nasal /m-/ (Rule 126a), except in some Sìyǐ dialects, such as Huìchéng 會城, Táichéng 台城, Chìkǎn 赤坎, Niújiāng 牛江, etc. which are in the mid-process of undergoing the denasalization and realigning the OC *wēi* (微) initial /**m-/ as a nasalized

bilabial stop /^mb-/ (Rule 126b).⁸ For example, in Guǎngzhōu, 尾 ‘tail’ is /mei/, in Shíqí 石岐 (Zhōngshān 中山) is /mi/, in Tíngzǐcūn Píngguà is /mi/, but in Chìkǎn (Kāipíng 開平) is /^mbei/.

In the Sìyǐ dialects, the MC dental nasal /*n-/ (泥) and velar nasal /*ŋ-/ (疑) have been denasalized and realized as /ⁿd-/ and /ⁿg-/ respectively. (Rule 126b) For example, in Táishān 奶 ‘milk’ is /ⁿdai²/, 危 ‘dangerous’ is /ⁿgai²/.

In some Yuè dialects, such as Pānyú 番禺, Macao 澳門, Hong Kong 香港 (younger speakers), Dàliáng 大良, Báishā 白沙, etc., the MC dental nasal /*n-/ (泥) has been denasalized and realized as lateral /l-/ (Rule 126c).⁹

The evolution of the MC velar nasal /*ŋ-/ (疑) is very complicated. In some cases, /*ŋ-/ (疑) has been undergone fronting and been realized as /n-/ or /n_v-/ before high front vowel, or become zero initial /∅-/ or /j-/ (Rule 126f), or become syllabic velar nasal /ŋ/ (Rule 126k), syllabic bilabial /m/ (Rule 126l), or even /z-/ (Rule 126g). For example, in Guǎngzhōu, 嚴 ‘strict’ is pronounced as /jim²/, 牛 ‘cow’ is /au²/, 五 ‘five’ is /ŋ/; in Guānchéng of Dōngguān, 嚴 ‘strict’ is pronounced as /zin²/, 牛 ‘cow’ is /ŋau²/, and 五 ‘five’ is /m⁴/. Shíqí 石岐 and Qiánshān 前山 (Zhūhǎi 珠海) retain velar nasal /*ŋ-/ (疑) as velar nasal /ŋ-/ (Rule 126j). In Dàliáng 大良 (Shunde 順德), the MC /*ŋ-/ (疑) has been denasalized and realized as /h-/. Thus Dàliáng has become the only Yuè dialect which has no dental nasal initial /n-/ or velar nasal initial /ŋ-/, but only the nasal initial /m-/.¹⁰ In the Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村 (Náníng Píngguà 南寧平話) dialect, MC /*ŋ-/ (疑) has been realized as /β-/ in closed rimes 合口韻 (Rule 126i).

In most of the Yuè dialects, the MC palatal nasal initial /*n_v-/ (日) has basically been undergoing the same sound change as that of the MC /*ŋ-/ (疑), realizing it as /∅-/ or /j-/ (Rule 126f); for example, in the Guangzhou dialect 人 ‘people’ is pronounced as

/ien²/. In the Sìyǐ dialects, the /*n_v-/ (日) initial has been realized as nasalized velar stop /ⁿg-/; for example, in the Taicheng dialect 人 ‘people’ is pronounced as /ⁿgin²/. In Guānchéng, however, 日 ‘sun’ initial is realized as /z-/, and 人 ‘people’ is /zɛn²/ (Rule 126g).

Rule 126. Development of the MC Nasal Initials

126a. *m- (明), *ŋ- (微) (<*mj-) ----> m- / # ___ (most of the Yuè dialects)

126b. *m- (明), *n- (泥), *n_v- (日), *ŋ- (疑) ----> ^mb-, ⁿd-, ⁿg-, ⁿg- / # ___ (most of the Sìyǐ dialects)

126c. *n- (泥) ----> l- / # ___ (Pānyú, Macao, Hong Kong, Dàliáng, Báishā, etc.)

126d. *ŋ- (疑) ----> n- / # ___

126e. *ŋ- (疑) ----> n_v- / # ___ i

126f. *n_v- (日), *ŋ- (疑), ----> ∅-, j- / # ___ (most of the Yuè dialects)

126g. *n_v- (日), *ŋ- (疑) ----> z- / # ___ (Guānchéng)

126h. *ŋ- (疑) ----> h- / # ___ (Dàliáng)

126i. *ŋ- (疑) ----> β- / # ___ u (Tíngzǐcūn)

126j. *ŋ- (疑) ----> ŋ- / # ___ (Shíqí, Qiánshān)

126k. *ŋ- (疑) ----> ŋ / # ___ # (= Rule 114c, cf. Kèjiā dialects)

126l. *ŋ- (疑) ----> m / # ___ # (Guānchéng, Hong Kong, Cóngguà, Zēngchéng, Niújiāng, etc)

126m. *n_v- (日) ----> z- / # ___ (Guānchéng)

⁸ Zhān and Cheung (1990: 8) claim that this denasalization feature of Sìyǐ dialects is very similar to that of the Mǐn dialects. In fact, in S. Mǐn dialects, the MC nasals have been completely denasalized when they occur with oral vowels, but retained as nasals when they occur with nasalized vowels.

⁹ In 1949, when my family moved from Amoy (Xiamen) to Hong Kong, as a fifth-grader I started to learn the Cantonese dialect which had /n-/ and /l-/ in contrast. In 1952, my family moved to Taiwan. 31 years later in 1983 when I went back to Hong Kong on my way to conduct fieldwork in Shandong, I was very interested to find out that the Cantonese of my old brother’s children (born and living in Hong Kong, age 9~20 years old) has changed all the /n-/ initials to laterals /l-/, and 牛 ‘cow’ has been changed from /ŋau²/ to /au²/, and 五 ‘five’ has been changed from /ŋ⁴/ to /m⁴/, while people who are over 30 years old did not undergo the changes. Apparently, these sound changes started to occur in Hong Kong during 1952-83. See Bauer and Benedict (1999: 329-335) for more on these sound changes in Hong Kong areas.

¹⁰ So far, to the best of my knowledge, Dàliáng is the only Chinese dialect that has only one nasal initial.

Table 96 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*p-	*p’-	*b’-	*m-	*f-	* f- (**pj-)	* f- (**pj’-)	*v- (**bj-)	*ŋ- (**mj-)
	幫	胖	盤	明	飛	夫	蜂	鳳	味
Běijīng 北京	p	p’	p’	m	f	f	f	f	∅

Guǎngzhōu 廣州	p	p	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Yángjiāng 陽江	p	p	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Jǐntián 錦田	p	p	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Macao 澳門	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Shātóu 沙頭	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Dàliáng 大良	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Shíqí 石岐	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Táichéng 台城	p	p'	p'	^m b	f	f	f	f	^m b
Guānchéng 莞城	p	p'	p'	m	f	f	f	f	m
Chìkǎn 赤坎	v	h	h	m	f	f	f	f	b
Yǎyáo 雅瑤	v	h	h	m	f	f	f	f	m
Tǐngzǐcūn 亭子村	p	p'	p	m	f	f	f	f	m

In most of the Yuè dialects, the MC dental stops, /*t-, *t'-, *d'-/ have been realized as /t-, t'-/; whereas, in some Sìyǐ dialects, the MC *t- (端), *d'- (定) initials are realized as zero /Ø-/ initials in zè tones 仄聲 (T2-T4) and some *t'- (透), *d'- (定) initials are realized as glottal fricative /h-/ in píng tones 平聲 (T1). For example, in Táichéng, 答 'to answer' is /ap⁷/, 土 'soil' is /hu²/, 潭 'deep pool' is /ham³/. This feature has also been found in some Gàn dialects, such as Líchuān, Lílíng, Jíshuǐ, Nánchéng and Jiànníng (cf. Rule 76h).

Rule 127. Development of MC Dental Stops

127a. *t- (端), *d'- (定) ----> Ø- / # ____ (T2-T4) (Táichéng, Enpíng, Yǎyáo)

127b. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ----> h- / # ____ (T1) (Táichéng, Enpíng, Yǎyáo)

Almost all the Yuè dialects have retained the MC lateral /*l-/ (來) initial, except the Guānchéng 莞城 (Dōngguān) dialect which has changed MC /*l-/ to /ŋ-/ (Rule 128). For example, 來 'to come' is pronounced as /ŋui²/, 老 'old' is /ŋou⁴/. This is a very rare sound change that has been found in the history of Chinese dialectology.

Rule 128. *l- (來) ----> ŋ- / # ____ (Guānchéng Dōngguān)

Among the Yuè dialects, the realizations of the MC dental affricates, post-alveolar stops and affricates are not quite unanimous. For the affricates of *jīng* (精), *zhuāng* (莊), *zhī* (知), and *zhāng* (章) series, most of the Yuè dialects have merged these four series into one series and realized them as affricates, /ts-/ or /tʃ-/ (Rule 129a), but in some Yuè dialects, such as Shātōu, Dǒuménzhèn, Táichéng, Chìkǎn, and Yǎyáo, etc., some characters with the affricates of *jīng* (精) series have been realized as dental stops /t-, t'-/ (Rule 129b).

In Dǒuménzhèn, the realization of the aspirated affricate initials: *t'- (徹 < **t'-), *d'- (澄 < **d'-), tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇), *tɕ'- (昌 < **t'-) are /t'-/, which is a rare relic case of retaining the stop feature of OC *zhī* (知 **t'-) series and *zhāng* (章 **t'-) series (Rule 129c)—a significant feature which has also been found in the Mǐn and Shuāngfēng (Old Xiāng) dialects. Among all of the Yuè dialects, there are only a few characters with *dʒ'- (崇) initials that have been realized as /s-/ (Rule 129d).

Most of the Pínghuà 平話 dialects in Guǎngxī, such as Jiǔwū 九屋, Sānjiē 三街, Dàxū 大圩, Xīnxū 心圩, have realized the *t- (知) series as alveolar stop /t-/ which is one of the feature found in the Old Xiāng and Mǐn dialects.

Rule 129. Development of MC Dental and Post-alveolar Affricates/Stops

129a. *ts- (精), *tʃ- (莊) *t- (知), *tɕ- (章), *dʒ'- (崇) ---->

ts-/tʃ-, ts'-/tʃ'-, ts'-/tʃ'- / # ____

129b. *ts- (精), *dʒ'- (從) ----> t- / # ____ (Shātōu, Táichéng, Chìkǎn, and Yǎyáo)

129c. *ts'- (清) *dʒ'- (從), *t'- (徹), *d'- (澄), tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇), *tɕ'- (昌) (< **t'-), ----> t'- / # ____ (Dǒuménzhèn)

129d. *dʒ'- (崇) ----> s- / # ____

129e. *t- (知) ----> t- / # ____ (Jiǔwū, Sānjiē, Dàxū, Xīnxū)

A few examples are provided below for comparison:

Example	祖 (<*tsu) 'ancestor'	粗 (<*ts'u) 'rough'	(跟)從 (<*dz'jwoŋ) 'to follow'	唱 (<*tɕ'jaŋ) 'sing'	程 (<*d'jeŋ) 'a road; a journal'
Dialect					
Guǎngzhōu	tʃou ³	ts'ou ³	tʃoŋ ²	tʃœŋ ⁵	tʃeŋ ²
Yángjiāng	tʃou ³	tʃou ³	tʃoŋ ²	tʃieŋ ⁵	tʃeŋ ²

Shātóu	tou ³	t'ou ³	t'ou ¹	ts'œŋ ⁵	ts'œŋ ²
Dǒuménzhèn	tsou ³	ts'ou ³	t'ou ¹	t'ioŋ	t'œŋ ²
Táichéng	tu ³	t'u ³	t'ou ¹	ts'iaŋ	ts'en ²
Chikǎn	tu ³	t'u ³	t'ou ¹	ts'iaŋ	ts'en ²
Yǎyáo	tAu ³	t'Au ³	t'ou ¹	ts'uŋ	ts'œŋ ²

As for the realization of the MC fricatives, *s- (心), *z- (邪), *f- (生), and *z- (禪), the development of these initials are more complicated. For most of the Yuè dialects, these fricatives have been realized as voiceless dental/post-alveolar affricates /ts-, ts'-, tʃ-, tʃ'-/ and some as voiceless dental/post-alveolar fricatives /s-, f-/. However, in the Shātóu 沙頭 (Nánhǎi 南海) dialect, Sìyǐ dialects and Nánmíng Pínghuà 平話 such as Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村, Xīnxū 心圩, Shǎjǐng 沙井, etc., dental/post-alveolar fricatives /s-, f-/ have mostly been realized as voiceless lateral /l-/, while some have been realized as dental stops /t-, t'-/. Zhan-Cheung (1990: 9) have claimed that the realization of voiceless lateral /l-/ in the Yuè dialects was probably due to the contact of the Old Yuè (老粵語) dialects with the Tóng-Dòng (僮侗語) languages which are known for having the voiceless lateral /l-/.¹¹

Rule 130. Development of MC Dental and Post-alveolar Fricatives

130a. *s- (心) ----> s, f, tʃ- / # ____ (Guǎngzhōu, other Yue dialects)

130b. *s- (心), *f- (生) ----> t- / # ____ (Yángjiāng, Táishān, Kāipíng, Yǎyáo, Táichéng, Guānchéng, Tíngzǐcūn, Xīnxū, Shǎjǐng, etc)

130c. *z- (邪) ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, t- / # ____ (Yángjiāng)

130d. *z- (邪) ----> t-, t'-, t- / # ____ (Shātóu, Táichéng, Chikǎn, Yǎyáo)

130e. *z- (邪) ----> ts-, t'-, s- / # ____ (Dǒuménzhèn)

130f. *z- (邪) ----> ts-/tʃ-, ts'-/tʃ'-, s-/f- / # ____ (other Yuè dialects)

130g. *z- (禪) ----> t- / # ____ (Xīnxū, Shǎjǐng)

130h. *z- (禪) ----> s-, f- / # ____ (other Yuè dialects)

A few lexical examples are provided below for comparison:

Dialect	序 'a preface' (<*zjo)	徐 'a surname; slow' (<*zjo)	緒 'beginning' (<*zjo)	算 'to count' (<*suan)	善 'virtuous' (<*zjen)
Guǎngzhōu	tʃœy ⁶	tʃœy ²	ʃœy ⁴	syn ⁵	ʃin ⁶
Yángjiāng	tʃei ⁶	tʃei ²	ʃui ⁴	ʃun ⁵	ʃin ⁶
Shātóu	toey ⁶	t'œy ²	sœy ⁴	syn ⁵	sin ⁶
Dǒuménzhèn	tsui ⁶	t'ui ²	sui ⁴	sun ⁵	sin ⁶
Táichéng	tui ⁵	t'ui ²	ʃui ⁴	ʃon ⁵	sen ⁶
Chikan	tui ⁵	t'ui ²	ʃui ⁴	ʃuan ⁵	sen ⁶
Yǎyáo	tui ⁵	ts'ui ²	ʃui ⁴	ʃon ⁵	sin ⁶
Tíngzǐcūn	tsy ⁶	ts'y ²	ʃy ⁴	ʃun ⁵	syn ⁶

Table 97 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*t- 答	*t'- 土	*d'- 弟	*n- 腦	*l- 老	*ts- 祖	*ts'- 粗	*dz'- 從	*s- 四	*z- 謝
Běijīng 北京	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ɕ
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	t	t'	t	n/l (Y)	l	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	s	tʃ
Yángjiāng 陽江	t	t'	t (L) t' (C)	n	l	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	ɬ	tʃ
Jǐntián 錦田	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts
Macao 澳門	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts
Shātóu 沙頭	t	t'	t	n	l	t	t'	t'	s	t
Dàliáng 大良	t	t'	t	l	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts
Shíqí 石岐	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts
Táichéng 台城	∅	h	∅	ⁿ d	l	t	t'	t'	ɬ	t
Guānchéng 莞城	t	t'	t	n	ŋ	ts	ts'	ts'	s	ts
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	t	t'	t	n	l	ts	ts'	ts'	ɬ	ts

Note: L = literary, C = colloquial, Y = younger speakers

¹¹ See Zhan-Cheung (1990: 9).

Table 98 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*x-	*k-	*k'-	*g'-	*g'-	*ts-	*k-	*ts'-	*k'-
Běijīng 北京	tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ	tɕ'	tɕ'
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	tʃ	tʃ'	j	k	h	k'	k	tʃ	k	tʃ'	h
Yángjiāng 陽江	tʃ	tʃ'	h	k	h	k'	k	tʃ	k	tʃ'	h
Jǐntián 錦田	ts	ts'	h	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	ts'	h
Macao 澳門	ts	ts'	∅	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	ts'	h
Shātóu 沙頭	t	t'	∅	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	t'	h
Dàliáng 大良	ts	ts'	∅	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	ts'	h
Shíqí 石岐	ts	ts'	∅	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	ts'	h
Táichéng 台城	t	t'	h	k	h	k'	k	t	k	t'	h
Guānchéng 莞城	ts	ts'	h	k	h	k'	k	ts	k	ts'	h
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	ts	ts'	∅	k	h	k	k	ts	k	ts'	h

For the MC *jiàn* 見 (velar) series, all the Yue dialects have retained the *jiàn* 見 /**k-*/ initial as voiceless velar stop /*k-*/. For the MC *xī* 溪 /**k'-*/ initial, some dialects retain it as /*k'-*/ (Rule 131a), while some have undergone deplosivization and realized /**k'-*/ as glottal fricative /*h-*/ (Rule 131b), some as labiodental fricative /*f-*/ (Rule 131c), and some (such as Tíngzǐcūn) even realized it as bilabial fricative /*β-*/ in closed rime characters 合口韻 (Rule 131d).

Rule 131. Development of the MC Velar Stops

131a. **k-* (見), **k'-* (溪) ----> *k-*, *k'-* / # ____131b. **k'-* (溪) ----> *h-* / # ____ u (all Yue dialects, Tíngzǐcūn)131c. **k'-* (溪) ----> *f-* / # ____ u (all Yue dialects)131d. **k'-* (溪) ----> *β-* / # ____ u (Tíngzǐcūn) (partial)131e. **g-* (群) ----> *k-*, *k'-* / # ____

A few lexical examples are provided below for comparison:

Dialect	枯 'dry wood' (< <i>*k'u</i> >)	褲 'pants' (< <i>*k'u</i> >)	哭 'to cry' (< <i>*k'uk</i> >)	客 'guest' (< <i>*hek</i> >)	快 'fast' (< <i>*k'wæi</i> >)
Guǎngzhōu	fu ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Yángjiāng	ku ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Shātóu	fu ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	wa ⁵
Shíqí	ku ¹	hu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Dǒuménzhèn	k'u ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Táichéng	k'u ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Chíkǎn	ku ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hak ⁷	fai ⁵
Yǎyáo	fu ¹	fu ⁵	hok ⁷	hiAk ⁷	fai ⁵
Tíngzǐcūn	hu ¹	hu ⁵	hok ⁷	hieK ⁷	βai ⁵

Table 99 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (IV)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*t'-	*d'-	*k-	*k'-	*g'-	*tʃ-	*tʃ'-	*dʒ'-	*ɕ-	*z-
Běijīng 北京	t'	t'	tɕ	k'	tɕ'	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ'	ɕ	ɕ
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	t'	t'	k	f	k'	tʃ	tʃ'	ts'	s	s
Yángjiāng 陽江	t'	t'	k	f	k'	tʃ	tʃ'	ts'	s	s
Jǐntián 錦田	t'	t'	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Macao 澳門	t'	t'	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Shātóu 沙頭	t'	t'	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Dàliáng 大良	t'	t'	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Shíqí 石岐	t'	t'	k	h	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Dǒuménzhèn 斗門鎮	h	h	k	f	k'	ts	t'	t'	s	s
Táichéng 台城	h	h	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s

Guǎnchéng 莞城	t'	t'	k	f	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	t'	t'	k	h	k'	ts	ts'	ts'	s	s

Table 100 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (V)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ts-	*ts'-	*s-	*t-	*t'	*d'-	*d'-	*tɕ-	*tɕ'-	*ʃ-	*tʃ-
Běijīng 北京	ts	ts'	s	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ	tʂ'	tʂ	tʂ'	ʃ	tʃ
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	tʃ	tʃ'	s	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ
Yángjiāng 陽江	tʃ	tʃ'	ɬ	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ	tʃ'	ʃ	tʃ
Jīntián 錦田	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Macao 澳門	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Shātóu 沙頭	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Dàiliáng 大良	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Shíqí 石岐	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Táichéng 台城	ts	ts'	ɬ	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ɬ	ts
Guǎnchéng 莞城	ts	ts'	s	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	s	ts
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	ts	ts'	ɬ	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ts	ts'	ɬ	ts

Similar to most Chinese dialects, most Yuè dialects have realized the MC velar fricatives /*x-/ and /*ɣ-/ as fricative /h-/ (Rule 132a). For example, in Guǎngzhōu dialect, 瞎 'blind' is /hat⁷/, 希 'to hope' is /hei¹/, 喜 'happy' is /hei³/, and 蝦 'shrimp' is /ha²/, 學 'to learn' is /hɔk⁸/, while in the Shíqí (Zhōngshān) dialect, 虎 'tiger' is /hu³/, 呼 'to call' is /hu¹/, 湖 'a lake' is /hu²/.

However, there are some cases that show the complexity of the development of the MC velar fricatives. In Báishā 白沙 (Jiāngmén 江門), the MC /*ɣ-/ (匣) has been realized as unaspirated velar stop /k-/ (Rule 132b). /*x-/ (曉) and /*ɣ-/ (匣) may also be realized as aspirated velar stop /k'-/ (Rule 132c). For example, 汞 is pronounced as /kɔŋ¹/.

In Táichéng (Táishān), 紅 'red', 洪 'great', 鴻

'huge' are all pronounced as /kɔŋ²/.

In Taicheng (Taishan), 烘 'to bake; to roast', 哄 'to cheat; to defraud' are pronounced as /k'ɔŋ¹/ (<*x 曉). In the past, the feature of realizing the MC /*x-/ (曉) or /*ɣ-/ (匣) as velar stop /k-/ or /k'-/ has been recognized as a unique feature of the Mǐn dialects, but as we can see from our previous and current discussions, this feature is in fact shared by the Mǐn, Gǎn, Kèjiā, and Yuè dialects; for example, the character 吸 'to inhale; to suck' has been realized as aspirated velar stop /k'-/ (<*x 曉) in all of these dialects.

The MC *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) may also be realized as zero initial /Ø-/ or /w-/ in closed rimes in some Yuè dialects such as Guǎngzhōu, Xīnán 西南 (Sānshuǐ 三水) and Míngchéng 明城 (Gāomíng 高明). For example, 戶 'door' and 護 'to protect' are pronounced as /wu⁶/ (<*ɣ-), 湖 'a lake' and 壺 'a pot; a jug' are pronounced as /wu²/ (<*ɣ- (Rule 132d)).

In some Siyǐ dialects such as Táichéng, Chīkǎn, Niújiāng, Huǐchéng and Guǎnchéng, the MC *ɣ- (匣) initial has been realized as /z-/ (Rule 132e), for example, the character 穴 /zit⁸/ 'a cave' in Huǐchéng is /zuot⁸/, in Chīkǎn is /zuat⁸/, in Niújiāng is /ziet⁸/, and in Guǎnchéng is /zɔt⁸/.

For the closed rime 合口韻 characters, most of the Yuè dialects have realized the MC *x- (曉) and *ɣ- (匣) initials as labiodental fricatives /f-/ and /f-, v-/ respectively (Rule 132f, Rule 132g). For example, for characters with the MC*x- 曉 initial, in many Yuè dialects 火 'a fire' is pronounced as /fɔ³/ (<*x- 曉); in the Guǎngzhōu dialect, 花 'flower' is /fa¹/, 虎 'tiger' is /fu³/, 呼 'to cry; to call; to exhale' is /fu¹/; in Dōngguān, 海 'sea' is /fi³/, 開 'to open' is /fi¹/.

Further, for characters with the MC *ɣ- (匣) initial, for example, 弘 'great' is pronounced as /faŋ²/ (<*ɣ- 匣) in Siyǐ dialects and as /fəŋ²/ in Jīntián 錦田 (Hong Kong New Territory). In Dòménzhèn and Huǐchéng, 華 'China; splendid' is pronounced as /vua²/; in Chīkǎn, Niújiāng, Yǎyáo, Guǎnchéng it is /va²/.

In Huāshān 花山 (Huāxiàn 花縣), Yǎyáo, and Guǎnchéng, 划 'to row a boat' is pronounced as /va²/ (Rule 132g), but in Chikan it is pronounced as /ha²/ (Rule 132a); while in Dòménzhèn, Huǐchéng, Táichéng and Niújiāng, however, 划 is pronounced as /p'a²/ (Rule 132h).

In Náníng Pínghuà 南寧平話, the MC *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) have been realized as /β-/. For example, 花 'flower' is pronounced as /βa²/ (<*x-), 化 'to change' is /βa²/ (<*x-), and 話 'language' is /βa²/ (<*ɣ-) (Rule 132i). The following rules will account for the differences in the realization of the MC velar fricatives.

Rule 132. Development of the MC Velar Fricatives

132a. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> h- / # ____ (most of the Yuè dialects, Tíngzǐcūn)

132b. *ɣ- (匣) ----> k- / # ____ (Báishā)

132c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> k'- / # ____ (some Yuè)

132d. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ ɸ-, w- / # ___ closed rimes (Guǎngzhōu, Xīnán, Míngchéng)

132e. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ z- / # ___ (Siyǐ)

132f. *x- (曉) ----→ f- / # ___ closed rimes (most Yuè dialects)

132g. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ f-, v- / # ___ closed rimes (Siyǐ dialects)

132h. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ p'- / # ___ (Siyǐ dialects)

132i. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----→ β- / # ___ closed rimes (Tíngzǐcūn)

Most of the Yuè dialects have realized the MC *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) initials as /j-/ or /ɸ-/. For example, in Guǎngzhōu dialect, 英 'hero' is pronounced as /ien¹/ (<*ɸ-), 雨 'rain' is /jy³/ (<*j-), 'a duck' is /ap^{7b}/. In the Siyǐ dialects, the MC *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) initials have been realized as /z-/, for example, 英 'hero' is pronounced as /zien¹/ (<*ɸ-) in Huìchéng, as /zen¹/ in Táichéng and Chìkǎn, as /zen¹/ in Níújiāng, and as /zəŋ¹/ in Guānchéng. 余 'a Chinese family name' is pronounced as /jy²/ (<*j-) in Guǎngzhōu, but is pronounced as /zi²/ in the Siyǐ dialects. In some dialects such as Shātóu (Nánhǎi) and Dàliáng (Shùndé), the MC *j- (以) has been realized as /h-/ or as /v-/ in the closed rime syllables. For example, 余 'a Chinese family name' is pronounced as /hy²/. In the Siyǐ dialects, the MC *j- (以) has been realized as /v-/ in the closed rime syllables. For example 彎 'curve' is pronounced as /van¹/ (<*j-).

In Nánning Pínghuà 南寧平話, the MC *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) initials have been realized as /β-/ in the closed rime characters. For example, 彎 'curve' is pronounced as /βan¹/ (<*ɸ-), and 運 'to move' is /βen⁵/ (<*j-).

The following rules will account for the differences in the realization of the MC *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) initials:

Rule 133. Development of the MC *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) Initials

133a. *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) ----→ j- / # ___ (most Yuè dialects)

133b. *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) ----→ z- / # ___ (Siyǐ dialects)

133c. *ɸ- (影) ----→ v- / # ___ closed rimes (Siyǐ dialects)

133e. *j- (以) ----→ h- / # ___ (Shātóu, Dàliáng)

133d. *ɸ- (影), *j- (以) ----→ β- / # ___ closed rimes (Tíngzǐcūn)

Table 101 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (VI)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*x- 喜	*x- 好	*x- 賄	*x- 呼	*ɣ- 回	*ɣ- 紅	*ɣ- 糊	*ɣ- 烘
Běijīng 北京	ç	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	h	h	k'	f	w	h	w	h
Yángjiāng 陽江	h	h	k'	f	w	h	w	h
Jintían 錦田	h	h	f	f	w	h	f	h
Macao 澳門	h	h	k'	f	ɸ	h	w	h
Shātóu 沙頭	h	h	k'	f	f	h	f	h
Dàliáng 大良	h	h	f	h	f	h	f	h
Shíqí 石岐	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
Táichéng 台城	h	h	h	f	v	h	v	k'
Guānchéng 莞城	h	h	f	f	v	h	f	h
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h

Table 102 Consonant Initials of the Yuè Dialects (VII)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋ- 嚴	*ŋ- 五	*ɸ- 愛	*ɸ- 矮	*ŋ- 日	*ŋ- 肉	*ŋ- 人	*ŋ- 軟	*ŋ- 絨
Běijīng 北京	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	z	z	z	z	z
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	j	ŋ	ɸ	ɸ	j/ɸ	j	j	j	j
Yángjiāng 陽江	j	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	j/ɸ	j	j	j	j
Jintían 錦田	j	ŋ	ɸ	ɸ	j/ɸ	j	j	j	j
Macao 澳門	j	ŋ	ɸ	ɸ	j/ɸ	j	j	j	j

Shātóu 沙頭	j	ŋ	∅	∅	j/∅	j	j	j	j
Dàliáng 大良	j	ŋ	∅	∅	∅	j	j	j	j
Shíqí 石岐	j	ŋ	∅	∅	∅	j	j	j	j
Táichéng 台城	^h g	ŋ, m̩	∅	∅	^h g	^h g	^h g	^h g	^h g
Guǎnchéng 莞城	j	m̩	v	ŋ	z	z	z	z	z
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	∅	ŋ	∅	∅	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ	ɳ

4.74 Finals of the Yuè Dialects

In general, Yuè Dialects do not have nasalized vowels. Most of the Yuè Dialects, such as Guǎngzhōu, Hong Kong, Fóshān, Pānyú, Cóngguà, Zēngchéng, Nánhǎi, Shùndé, Sānshuǐ, Gāomíng, Zhōngshān, Zhūhǎi, Dǒumén, Jiāngmén, Bǎo'ān, Dōngguān, etc.¹² have shared a unique characteristic that does not exist in other Chinese dialects, namely the vowel length contrast in their vowel system. For example, the contrast of the long vowel (or tense) /a/ and short vowel (or lax) /ə/ is a distinctive feature in Guǎngzhōu dialect. In this dialect 街 'street' is pronounced as /kai¹/ and 鷄 'chicken' is /kɛi¹/. No similar contrast has been found in Sìyǐ dialects, such as Táichéng, Chìkǎn, and Niújiāng, etc., where both 街 and 鷄 are pronounced as /kai¹/.

Most of the Yuè Dialects, such as Guǎngzhōu, Hong Kong, Jìntián, Macau, Pānyú, Huāxiàn, Cóngguà, Zēngchéng, Fúshān, Shātóu, Shùndé, Gāomíng, Zhōngshān, Zhūhǎi, etc. have realized the finals with MC *yü* rime 遇三合 and *dàng* rime 宕三 as rounded front vowels: /y, ø, œ/. Dialects of the Sìyǐ subgroup 四邑片, such as Yángjiāng, Báishā, Huǐchéng, Chìkǎn, and Niújiāng, etc., however, did not undergo these changes and, thus, do not have rounded front vowels. The following rules account for the rounding of the vowels:

Rule 134. *-ju- ----> -y / ____# (*yü* rime)

Rule 135. *-ja ----> -ø, -œ / ____ŋ (*dàng* rime)

Most of the Yuè dialects have retained the MC nasal stop endings /*-m, *-n, *-ŋ/ and stop endings /*-p, *-t, *-k/ intact. Guǎngzhōu and Hong Kong dialects are typical

examples. There are, however, some dialects, such as Guǎnchéng (Dōngguān), Shǎjǐng (Bǎo'ān), and Jìntián (Hong Kong New Territory), that have developed the partial merging of the nasal and stop endings. In Guǎnchéng, the MC bilabial nasal ending /*-m/ has been realized as alveolar nasal /-n/ in *hán* 咸 rime (*-əm) syllables (Rule 136a), while in Shǎjǐng /*-m/ has been realized as velar nasal /-ŋ/ in the *hán* 咸 and *shēn* 深 rime syllables (Rule 136b). In Jìntián, Cóngguà, Zēngchéng, Shātóu, Guǎnchéng, and Shǎjǐng, the MC alveolar nasal ending /*-n/ in *shān* 山 and *zhēn* 臻 rime syllables has been realized as /-ŋ/ and merged with *zēng* 曾 and *gēng* 梗 Rime syllables. In Shǎjǐng and Xīnxū 心圩 (Nánning) dialects, however, the MC velar stop /*-ŋ/ has been realized as /-n/ instead.

Rule 136. Development of the MC Nasal Endings /*-m, *-n, *-ŋ/

136a. *-m ----> -n / ____# *hán* 咸 rime (Guǎnchéng)

136b. *-m ----> -ŋ / ____# *hán* 咸, *shēn* 深 rimes (Shǎjǐng)

136c. *-n ----> -ŋ / ____# *shān* 山 and *zhēn* 臻 (Jìntián, Cóngguà, Zēngchéng, Shātóu, Guǎnchéng, Shǎjǐng)

136d. *-ŋ ----> -n / ____# (Shǎjǐng, Xīnxū)

The majority of the Yue dialects, such as Guǎngzhōu and Hong Kong dialects, have maintained the MC stop endings /-p, -t, -k/. Some dialects, such as Guǎnchéng 莞城 (Dōngguān 東莞) are in the process of changing the MC stop ending /-p/ into /-k/ or /-ʔ/ (Rule 137a). There are only a small number of dialects, such as Shǎjǐng 沙井 (Bǎo'ān 寶安), where all of the MC stop endings /-p, -t, -k/ have changed to /-ʔ/ (Rule 137e); while Jìntián 錦田 (Hong Kong New Territory) has realized the MC stop ending /-t/ as /-k/ (Rule 137d); and Pānyú 番禺, Dàliáng 大良, Táichéng 台城 and Chìkǎn 赤坎 have realized /*-k/ as /-t/ (Rule 137c). In Guǎnchéng 莞城 and Shǎjǐng 沙井, a few MC velar stop endings /-k/ have been realized as zero /-∅/ (Rule 137c); for example, 國 'country' is pronounced as /kuo⁷/ in these two dialects.

Rule 137. Development of the MC Stop Endings /*-p, *-t, *-k/

137a. *-p ----> -k, -ʔ / ____# (Guǎnchéng)

137b. *-k ----> -t / ____# (Pānyú, Dàliáng, Táichéng, Chìkǎn)

137c. *-k ----> -∅ / ____# (Guǎnchéng, Shǎjǐng)

137d. *-t ----> -k / ____# (Jìntián, Guǎnchéng, Táichéng)

¹² See Bauer and Benedict (1997: 33-39) for the discussion on the vowel length of the Cantonese.

137e. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ___# (Shǎjǐng)

The following table shows the realization of the MC consonant endings in some of the Yuè Dialects.

Table 103 Consonant Endings of the Yuè Dialects

Dialect	Subdialect	MC *-m, *-n, *-ŋ	MC *-p, *-t, *-k
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Yángjiāng 陽江	Gāoyáng	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Jǐntián 錦田	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -ŋ	-p, -k
Macao 澳門	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Shātóu 沙頭	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Dàliáng 大良	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Shíqí 石岐	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Táichéng 台城	Sīyǐ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Guānchéng 莞城	Guǎngfǔ	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k, -ʔ
Shǎjǐng 沙井	Guǎngfǔ	-n, -ŋ	-ʔ
Tǐngzǐcūn 亭子村	Guǐnán Píngguà	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k
Xīnxū Píngguà 心圩平話	Guǐnán Píngguà	-m, -n, -ŋ	-p, -t, -k

Some examples of the finals of the Yuè Dialects are provided in the following tables:

Table 104 Finals of the Yuè Dialects (I)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*jæn 山	*sam 三	*suan 酸	*puən 本	*an 安	*nuan 暖	*luan 亂
Běijīng 北京	ʂan ¹	san ¹	suan ¹	pən ³	an ¹	nuan ³ nan ³ (C)	luan ⁴ lan ⁴ (C)
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	fan ¹	jam ¹	fyn ¹	pun ³	ən ¹	nyn ³	lyn ⁶
Yángjiāng 陽江	fan ¹	ɬam ¹	ɬun ¹	pun ³	ən ¹	nun ³	lun ⁶
Jǐntián 錦田	sæn ¹	sAm ¹	syŋ ¹	puŋ ³	wuŋ ¹	luən ³	lyŋ ⁶
Macao 澳門	san ¹	sam ¹	syn ¹	pən ³	ən ¹	lən ³	lyn ⁶
Shātóu 沙頭	san ¹	san ¹	syn ¹	pyn ³	ən ¹	lən ³	lyn ⁶
Dàliáng 大良	san ¹	san ¹	syn ¹	pun ³	ən ¹	lən ³	lyn ⁶

Shíqí 石岐	san ¹	san ¹	syn ¹	pun ³	ən ¹	nən ³	lyn ⁶
Táichéng 台城	seŋ ¹	saŋ ¹	ɬ ^u ən ¹	p ^u ən ³	^u ən ¹	ⁿ d ^u ən ³	l ^u ən ⁶
Guānchéng 莞城	seŋ ¹	saŋ ¹	sən ¹	pun ³	vun ¹	nən ³	ŋən ⁶
Tǐngzǐcūn 亭子村	san ¹	ɬam ¹	ɬun ¹	pun ³	an ¹	nun ³	lun ⁶

Table 105 Finals of the Yuè Dialects (II)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*kiēm 金	*kiēŋ 京	*ŋiwen 元	*piuŋ 風	*koŋ 講	*ŋiŋ 絨
Běijīng 北京	tɕin ¹	tɕiŋ ¹	yan ²	fəŋ ¹	tɕiaŋ ³	ʒuŋ ²
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	kəm ¹	kiŋ ¹	jyn ²	fuŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	juŋ ²
Yángjiāng 陽江	kiem ¹	kiŋ ¹	jin ²	fuŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	juŋ ²
Jǐntián 錦田	kəm ¹	keŋ ¹	jyŋ ²	foŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ioŋ ²
Macao 澳門	kəm ¹	keŋ ¹	jyn ²	foŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ioŋ ²
Shātóu 沙頭	kəm ¹	keŋ ¹	jyn ²	p'oŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ioŋ ²
Dàliáng 大良	kəm ¹	ken ¹	jyn ²	foŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ioŋ ²
Shíqí 石岐	kəm ¹	keŋ ¹	ŋyn ²	hoŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	ioŋ ²
Táichéng 台城	kim ¹	ken ¹	^ŋ gyn ²	fəŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	zəŋ ²
Guānchéng 莞城	kəm ¹	kəŋ ¹	zəŋ ²	foŋ ¹	kəŋ ³	zoŋ ²
Tǐngzǐcūn 亭子村	kəm ¹	keŋ ¹	yn ²	fəŋ ¹	kaŋ ³	ɾəŋ ²

Table 106 Finals of the Yuè Dialects (III)

MC 中古音 Example 例字	*ŋop 納	*ɣop 合	*miwət 物	*kiēt 吉	*kuək 國	*liək 力
Běijīng 北京	na ⁴	hɿ ²	u ⁴	tɕi ²	kuo ²	li ⁴

Guǎngzhōu 廣州	nap ⁸	hɛp ⁸ kɛp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kuɔk ⁷	lik ⁷
Yángjiāng 陽江	nap ⁸	hɛp ⁸ kɛp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kɔk ⁷	lik ⁷
Jǐntián 錦田	nAp ⁸	hɛp ⁸ kɛp ⁸	mɛk ⁸	kɛk ⁷	kuɔk ⁷	lɔk ⁷
Macao 澳門	lap ⁸	hɔp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kuɔk ⁷	lek ⁷
Shātóu 沙頭	nɛp ⁸	hɔp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kuɔk ⁷	lek ⁷
Dàliáng 大良	lap ⁸	hɔp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kuɔk ⁷	lit ⁷
Shíqí 石岐	nap ⁸	hɔp ⁸	mɛt ⁸	kɛt ⁷	kɔk ⁷	lɔk ⁷
Táichéng 台城	ⁿ dap ⁸	hap ⁸	^m bɛt ⁸	kit ⁷	kɔk ⁷	let ⁷
Guānchéng 莞城	nɛk ⁸	ha ⁸	mɛk ⁸	kɛk ⁷	kuɔ ⁷	ŋɔk ⁷
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	nap ⁸	hap ⁸	fət ⁸	kət ⁷	kok ⁷	lek ⁷

4.75 Tones of the Yuè Dialects

Previously, the Yuè Dialects were well-known for having “nine tones”, but as more and more field data have become available, this claim can only be held to refer to the subgroup of the Guǎngfū dialects. In fact, the number of the tones within the Yuè dialect group ranges from six (in dialects such as Jǐntián 錦田, Shíqí 石岐, etc.) to ten (in dialects such as Bóbái, and in Guǎngxī province, etc.)¹³ The majority of the Yuè Dialects have undergone the *yīn-yáng* (upper-lower or a-b) tone split in the MC four tones (Rule 138), with the exception of Yángjiāng, Shíqí (Zhōngshān), Qiánshān (Zhūhǎi) which did not undergo the tone split in *shǎng* (T2) tone. In Sīyǐ dialects, *yīnpíng* 陰平 (T1a) tone and *yīngqù* 陰去 (T3a) tone have merged together (Rule 139). In Cāngwú 蒼梧 and Jiāngkǒu 江口 (Guǐpíng), *yángpíng* 陽平 (T1b) tone has merged with *yángqù* 陽去 (T3b) tone (Rule 140). In Yǎyáo (Hèshān) the *yīnshǎng* 陰上 (T2a) tone has been further split into two, namely *yīnshǎng* 陰上 (T2a) and *zhōngshǎng* 中上 (T2az) (Rule 141). In most of the Yuè dialects, such as Guǎngzhōu, Hong Kong, Macao, Yángjiāng, Shíqí (Pānyú), Huáshān, Cónguà, Zēngchéng, Fóshān, Shātóu, Dàliáng, Xínán (Sānshuǐ), Míngchéng, Niújiāng (Enpíng), Yǎyáo, and Tíngzǐcūn, *yīnrù* 陰入 (T4a) has been further split into two: *shàngyīnrù* 上陰入 (T4a) and *xià yīnrù* 下陰入 (T4a')

¹³For more discussions on the tones of the Yuè dialects, see Yue-Hashimoto (1972: 44-47), Zhan and Cheung (1990: 14-18), and Bauer and Benedict (1997: 109-249)

142). In Yángjiāng and Tíngzǐcūn, the *yángqù* 陽入 (T4b) tone has been further split into two: *shàngyángqù* 上陽入 T4b and *xiàyángqù* 下陽入 T4b' respectively (Rule 143).

Rule 138. Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T2, *T3, *T4 ----> { T1a, T2a, T3a, T4a/ voiceless initial syllable
T1b, T2b, T3b, T4b/ voiced initial syllable

Rule 139. T1a ----> T3a (Sīyǐ dialects)

Rule 140. T1b ----> T3b (Cāngwú, Jiāngkǒu)

Rule 141. T2a ----> { T2a (Yǎyáo)
T2az

Rule 142. T4a ----> { T4a /lax vowel (most Yuè dialects, Tíngzǐcūn, Xínxū)
T4a' /tense vowel

Rule 143. T4b ----> { T4b (Yángjiāng, Tíngzǐcūn, Xínxū)
T4b'

Table 107 Tone Values of the Yuè Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	
MC Tone 調類	T1	平	T2	上		T3	去		T4	入	
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214			T3 去 51					
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	T1a 陰平 53, 55	T1b 陽平 21	T2a 陰上 35	T2b 陽上 23		T3a 陰去 33	T3b 陽去 22	T4a 上 陰入 5	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 22, 2	
Yángjiāng 陽江	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 43	T2 上聲 21			T3a 陰去 24	T3b 陽去 54	T4a 上 陰入 24	T4a' 下 陰入 21	T4b 上 陽入 54	T4b' 下 陽入 43
Jǐntián 錦田	T1a 陰平	T1b 陽平	T2 上聲			T3 去聲		T4a 陰入		T4b 陽入	

	232 (55)	21	35		32		35		22		
Macao 澳門	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 21	T2 上聲 13		T3a 陰去 33	T3b 陽去 22	T4a 上 陰入 55	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 22		
Shātóu 沙頭	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 44	T2a 陰上 35	T2b 陽上 13	T3a 陰去 33	T3b 陽去 22	T4a 上 陰入 55	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 22		
Dàliáng 大良	T1a 陰平 53, 55	T1b 陽平 42	T2a 陰上 24	T2b 陽上 13	T3a 陰去 32	T3b 陽去 21	T4a 上 陰入 55	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 21		
Shíqí 石岐	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 51	T2 上聲 213		T3 去聲 33		T4a 陰入 55		T4b 陽入 33		
Táichéng 台城	T1a 陰平 23	T1b 陽平 22	T2a 陰上 45	T2b 陽上 21	T3 去聲 31		T4a 上 陰入 55	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 21		
Guānchéng 莞城	T1a 陰平 213	T1b 陽平 21	T2a 陰上 35	T2b 陽上 13	T3 去聲 32		T4a 陰入 44		T4b 陽入 22	T4c 變入 224	
Yāyáo 雅瑤	T1a 陰平 33	T1b 陽平 12	T2a 陰上 55	T2az 中上 35	T2 b 陽 上 21	T3 去聲 32	T4a 上 陰入 55	T4a' 下 陰入 33	T4b 陽入 22		
Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村	T1a 陰平 53	T1b 陽平 21	T2a 陰上 33	T2b 陽上 24	T3a 陰去 55	T3b 陽去 22	T4a 上 陰入 5	T4a' 下 陰入 3	T4b 上 陽入 23	T4b' 下 陽入 2	
Xīnxū 心圩	T1a 陰平 53	T1b 陽平 31	T2a 陰上 33	T2b 陽上 24	T3 a 陰 去 55	T3a' 陰去 35	T3b 陽去 11	T4a 上 陰入 33	T4a' 下 陰入 55	T4b 上 陽入 11	T4b' 下 陽入 24

4.76 Lexical Differences in the Yuè Dialects

The Yuè Dialects share some lexical items with the Gàn and Kèjiā dialects, such as using the term 老公 for 'husband', and 佢(渠) for the pronoun 'he; him'; but for the

term for 'son', the Gàn dialects use 崽, Kèjiā dialects use 隸, while the Yuè dialects use 仔. The Yuè dialects are well-known for having many Cantonese lexical items which are not found in other major dialect groups and have no Chinese characters to match them. However, in order to use these lexical items in literature, newspapers and other publications, the Cantonese people have coined some so-called 廣東字 or 粵語字 'Cantonese dialect characters' for them. For example, 佢 for /k'œy⁴/ 'he;him'; 哋 for /tei⁶/ 'pronominal plural suffix' (Mandarin 們); 啲 for /ti¹/ 'plural suffix' (Mandarin 些), and 冇 for 'do not have' (Mandarin 沒有) etc., are just a few of them.¹⁴

Table 108 Lexical Differences in the Yuè Dialects (I)

	太陽	爺爺	奶奶	丈夫	媽媽	兒子	他
Běijīng 北京	太陽 老爺兒	爺爺	奶奶	男人, 爺們	媽媽	兒子	他
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	熱頭	阿爺	阿嫲	老公, 男人	媽媽, 阿媽	仔	佢(渠)
Yángjiāng 陽江	熱頭	阿爺, 阿公	阿嫲, 阿婆	老公	阿奶, 阿媽, 阿娘	仔	其
Jǐntián 錦田	熱頭	爺公	阿嫲	老公	媽	仔	佢
Macao 澳門	熱頭	阿爺	阿嫲	老公	阿媽, 媽咪	仔	佢
Shātóu 沙頭	熱頭	阿爺	阿人	老公	阿媽, 阿嫲	仔	佢
Dàliáng 大良	熱頭	阿爺	阿仁	老公	阿娘	仔	佢
Shíqí 石岐	熱頭	阿爺	阿婆	老公	阿媽	仔	佢
Táichéng 台城	熱頭	阿爺	阿人	老公	媽媽	仔	佢
Guānchéng 莞城	熱頭	阿爺 阿公	阿婆	老公	阿媽, 媽媽 阿奶, 阿姐	仔	佢

Some Gàn dialects, Kèjiā dialects, and Yuè Dialects have shared the same character 鑊 for 'wok', and 屋 for 'house'. But in the Yuè Dialects, 飲茶 is for 'to drink tea', 食煙 is for 'to smoke cigarette', and 飲酒 is for 'to drink wine.'

In the the Yuè Dialects, for the animal terms, the word order is [head noun + gender modifier] as in other southern Chinese dialects. This kind of word order and some

¹⁴ See Yue-Hashimoto (1972:14-19) for more Cantonese dialect words. For detailed Cantonese morphology, readers are referred to *Cantonese: a Comprehensive Grammar* (1994) by Stephen Matthews and Virginia Yip.

other lexical items that have no counterparts in other Chinese dialects may be due to the contact of the indigenous languages spoken by the Old Yuè 越 people.

Table 109 Lexical Differences in the Yuè Dialects (II)

	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鐵鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙	喝酒
Běijīng 北京	公牛	母牛	公狗	母狗	鐵鍋	房子	喝茶	吸煙 抽煙	喝酒
Guǎngzhōu 廣州	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Yángjiāng 陽江	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Jǐntián 錦田	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Macao 澳門	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Shātóu 沙頭	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Dàliáng 大良	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Shíqí 石岐	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Táichéng 台城	牛公 牛牯	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒
Guǎnchéng 莞城	牛公	牛𪗇	狗公	狗𪗇	鑊	屋	飲茶	食煙	飲酒

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4.8 The Transitional Dialects: Huīyǔ and Pínghuà

4.81 Transitional Nature of Mixed Dialect Areas

From the earlier discussions on the major Chinese dialect groups, it is clear that even within each major dialect group, many different varieties (subdialects) are still found. It is a well-known fact that dialect/language variation is not geographically abrupt. Due to the intermingling of different migration waves from the North and cultural contacts with the indigenous people in the South, within southern China there are numerous transitional areas where the status of the local dialects remains controversial. Some dialects spoken in the transitional or crisscrossed areas possess more salient mixed dialect features. In the southern part of Anhui 安徽 province or Wǎn'nán 皖南 where different major dialects such as the Huīyǔ 徽語, Wú 吳語, Gàn 贛語, Jiānghuái 江淮官話, Hénán 河南話 and Húběi 湖北話 dialects co-exist; in the northeastern part of Fújiàn 福建 province (Shao'wu dialect 邵武方言 for example)¹ where Gàn 贛語, Kèjiā 客語 and Mǐn 閩語 dialects are found; and in the Guǎngxī 廣西 province where Cantonese speakers reside with numerous indigenous Zhuàng 壯族—within all of these areas, the local dialects tend to exhibit mixed characteristics of the surrounding dialects/languages. As we have mentioned earlier, the status of the Jin dialects is still very controversial due to their mixed characteristics.

For the introductory purposes here, we will briefly discuss only two dialect groups: the Huīyǔ 徽語 and Pínghuà 平話, to illustrate the case in point.

4.82 Huīyǔ²

4.821 Subgrouping of the Huī Dialects

Prior to the publication of the *Atlas* (Wurm et al, 1988), Huīyǔ 徽語 'Huī language', or Huīzhōuhuà 徽州話 'Huīzhōu language', had been considered as a separate dialect group by Ruen-Ren Chao (1939, 1948), but most other Chinese dialectologists have considered Huīyǔ 徽語 as an uncertain dialect group because of its mixed linguistic features. In the *Atlas* (Wurm et al, 1988), Huīyǔ 徽語 or the Huī Group, has been listed as one of the ten major Chinese dialect groups, with the number of speakers placed at 3.2 million (B-10). According to Zhèng-Zhāng Shàngfāng 鄭張尚芳 (1986: 8-16), this dialect group is spoken in the southern part of Anhui 安徽 province, the Jiàndé 建德 (old Yánzhōu 嚴州) area in Zhèjiāng 浙江 province, and the Wùyúán 婺源 and Déxíng 德興 areas of Jiāngxī 江西 province. Zhèng-Zhāng has claimed (1986:13) that "the

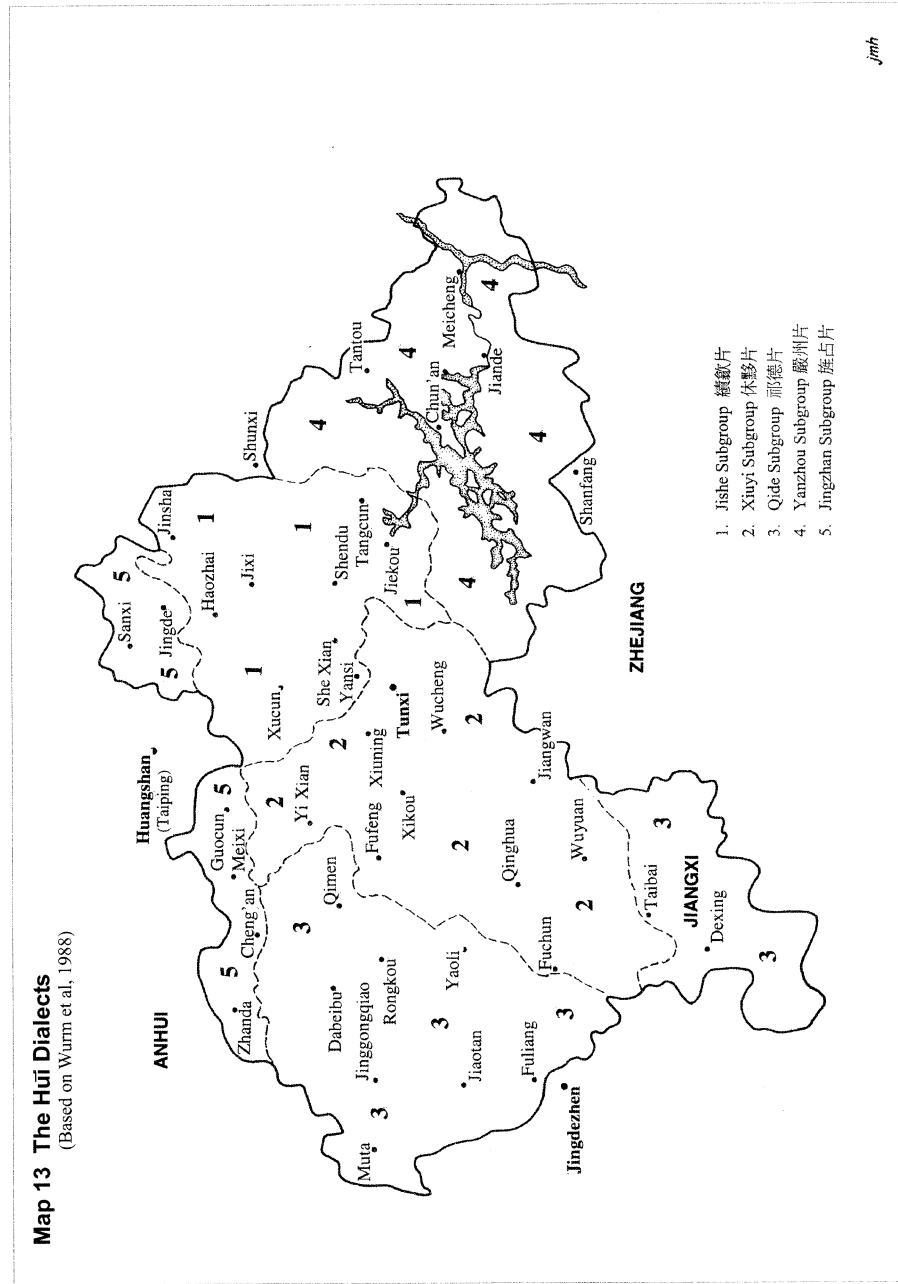
characteristics of the Huīyǔ initials are similar to that of the Gàn dialects, while the finals are close to that of the southern Wú dialects (the dialects in Chūqú Subgroup 處衢片 and Ōujiāng Subgroup 甌江片)." He has divided the Huīyǔ 徽語 into the following subgroups (1986: 14-16):

1. Jishè Subgroup 績歙片: includes Jíxǐ 績溪, Shèxiàn 歙縣, Jíngdé 旌德, Níngguó 寧國 of Anhui 安徽 province and Chún'an 淳安 of Zhèjiāng 浙江 province.
2. Xiūyǐ Subgroup 休黟片: includes Túnxǐ 屯溪, Xiūníng 休寧, Yìxiàn 黟縣, Qímén 祁門, Huángshān 黃山市 of Anhui and Wùyúán 婺源 of Jiāngxī 江西 province.
3. Qídé Subgroup 祁德片: includes Qímén 祁門, Dongzhi 東至 of Anhui province and Jíngdézhèn 景德鎮市, Déxíng 德興, and Wùyúán 婺源 of Jiāngxī 江西 province.
4. Yánzhōu Subgroup 嚴州片: includes Chún'an 淳安 and Jiàndé 建德 of Zhèjiāng 浙江 province.
5. Jíngzhān Subgroup 旌占片: includes Jíngdé 旌德, Qímén 祁門, Zhāndà 占大區 of Shítái 石台, Yìxiàn 黟縣, and Níngguó 寧國 of Anhui province.

Among these subgroups, the Jishè Subgroup 績歙片 and Xiūyǐ Subgroup 休黟片 are the representative varieties of the Huīyǔ 徽語 group, while the other three subgroups have shown considerable influence from the Wú and Gàn dialects.

¹ For the status of the Shaowu, see Norman's article on "The Classification of the Shaowu Dialect," (1982, 1987) and Yan (1994b).

² The data of the Huīyǔ dialects are from Yuen-Ren Chao and Yang Shifeng (1965), and Zhèng-Zhāng (1986).



4.822 Sounds of the Jixi Dialect

Since field data for the Hui dialects are not as extensive or as comprehensive as that of other major dialects, we will not be able to provide detailed comparisons for their phonological systems here. So far, only the study on the Lingbei 嶺北 of Jixi 績溪 dialect by Chao and Yang (1965) provides such detail. Based on their report, the Jixi dialect has 19 initials (including zero initial), 41 finals: which include six medials: i, u, y, ɿ, ʉ, ʏ; 16 vowels: ɿ, i, u, y, e, æ, a, o, ə, ɿ̃, ʉ̃, ʏ̃, ẽ, æ̃, ǣ, õ; no nasal endings; one stop ending -ʔ; and 2 syllabic nasals: m̥, n̥. We will briefly present the sounds of the Jixi dialect below.

Jixi dialect has 19 initials (including zero initial)

Labials	p	p'	m	f	v
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	n/l		
	ts	ts'	s	z	
Alveolo-Palatals	tç	tç'	ç		
Velars	k	k'	h		
Glottal					∅

Jixi dialect has 41 finals:³

ɿ	ɿ̃	u	y
e		ue	
æ		uæ	yæ
a	ia		ya
o	io		
ə	iə		
ẽ		ũẽ	yẽ
æ̃	ĩæ̃	ũæ̃	yæ̃
ǣ̃	ĩǣ̃	ũǣ̃	
õ	ĩõ		
ər			
ɿʔ			
eʔ			
aʔ	iaʔ	yaʔ	yæʔ
		uæʔ	
oʔ	ioʔ		
əʔ			
m̥	n̥		

³ In Chao and Yang (1965), the glottal stop endings in the finals with entering tones have been left out. For easier comparison, we have listed finals with glottal stop endings.

Jixi dialect has six tones:

Jixi	T1a	T1b	T2	T3a	T3b	T4
績溪	陰平	陽平	上	陰去	陽去	入
	31	42	55	424	24	32

4.823 Initials of the Huǐ Dialects

Based on the data from Chao and Yang (1965) as well as that available in the field (Shoji Hirata 平田昌司 1982; Zheng-Zhang 1986), only a few phonological rules will be discussed.

Among the five Huǐ dialect subgroups, the realization of the MC voiced obstruents as aspirated and voiceless (Rule 144) is the feature that is similar to that of the Gàn and Kèjiā 休寧 dialects, but this is not true in all the subgroups. In some subdialects, such as Xiūníng (Hirata 1982: 276), only partial lexical items have undergone this rule, while other lexical items may realize the MC voiced obstruents as unaspirated voiceless initials (Rule 145). The condition for the difference is not clear. For example:

	蠶 (*<dz'-)	盤 (*<b'-)	直 (*<d'-)	茶 (*<d'-)
	'silkworm'	'plate'	'straight'	'tea'
Jixi 績溪	ts'ã	p'ã	ts'ĩ	ts'o
Shèxiàn 歙縣	ts'ã	p'o	ts'ĩ	ts'o
Yánsi 岩寺	ts'an	pan	ts'ĩ	
Jiàndé 建德			tɕ'ie	
Xiūníng 休寧		p'uǎ	tɕ'	tsɔ

Rule 144. Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruents (=Rule 73)

*C- -----> [+ aspirated, -voiced] / # ____ (in all tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 145.

*C- -----> [- aspirated, -voiced] / # ____ (in some tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

The realization of the initials of the MC *ts-精系, *tʃ-莊系, *t-知系, *tɕ-章系 series are in general quite consistent among the dialects in the Huǐ group. When the finals consist of *xìyīn* 細音 (high front vowels) /i/ as main vowel or medial (Grade III), the initials will be realized as palatals /tɕ-, tɕ'-, ɕ-/ (Rule 146a); elsewhere they will be realized as /ts-, ts'-, s-/ (Rule 146b) instead. The results basically make these series

merge with *ts-精系 series. For example, 主 'master' (<*tɕ-) is pronounced as /tɕy³/, 猪 'a pig' (<*t-) is pronounced as /tɕy¹/ in Jixi, Wùyuan, Tónglíng, and Tàihú.

Rule 146. Development of the MC *tʃ-莊系, *t-知系, *tɕ-章系

146a. *tʃ-莊系, *t-知系, *tɕ-章系 ----> tɕ-, tɕ'-, ɕ- / #_i, Grade III

146b. *tʃ-莊系, *t-知系, *tɕ-章系 ----> ts-, ts'-, s- / elsewhere

In the Qídé Subgroup 祁德片, *tʃ-莊系 and *t-知系 series have been realized as retroflexes /tʃ-, tʃ'-, ʃ-/ (Rule 147). This feature is similar to that of the Beijing and Héféi 合肥 (Jiānghuái 江淮/Xiàjiāng 下江) Mandarin. For example:

	找 (<*tʃau)	蟲 (<*d'iuŋ)	雙 (<*sɔŋ)
	'to find'	'worm'	'a pair'
Qímén 祁門	tʃu:ɐ	tʃ'ɛŋ	ʃu:ã
Déxīng 德興	tʃau	tʃ'ɛŋ	ʃau

Rule 147. *tʃ-莊系, *t-知系 ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, ʃ- / # ____ (Qídé Subgroup)

Like the Mandarin and Gàn dialects, most of the Huǐ dialects have realized the MC *k-見系 stops as palatals /tɕ-, tɕ'-/ in the *xìyīn* 細音 (Grade III) syllables (Rule 148a), and retain them as stops in *hóngyīn* 洪音 (grave) syllables (Rule 148b). The palatalization of the MC *k-見系 is parallel to that of the MC *tʃ-莊系, etc. series. For example:

	共 (<*g'-)	狗 (<*k-)	九 (<*k-)	酒 (<*ts-)	真 (<*tʃ-)
		'silkworm'	'plate'	'straight'	'real'
Jixi 績溪	k'uã	ki	tɕie	ts'i	tɕiã
Shèxiàn 歙縣	k'uã	kio	tɕio	ts'io	tɕiɛ
Yánsi 岩寺	kan				tɕin

Rule 148. Palatalization of the MC *k-見系

148a. *k-, *k'-, *g'- ----> tɕ-, tɕ'- / # ____ i, Grade III

148b. *k-, *k'-, *g'- ----> k-, k'- / grave syllables

In the Yánzhōu Subgroup 嚴州片, the MC *n- (日) initial has been realized as zero initial /Ø-/ (Rule 149a). For example, in Jiàndé 建德, 人 is pronounced as /iŋ/, and

日 is /iɛʔ/. This feature is similar to that of the Northeastern Mandarin 東北官話, Jiāoliáo Mandarin 膠遼官話, and the Shuāngfēng dialect. In the Jìxī dialect, the MC *n- (日) initial has been realized as alveolar fricative /z-/ in some lexical items (Rule 149b) and in others as alveolar nasal /n-/ (Rule 149c). This feature is similar to that of the Wú and Mǐn dialects. Some lexical items have realized the MC *n- (日) as retroflex /ɛr/ (= ə), which is similar to that of the Beijing dialect. For example, in the Jìxī dialect 耳 'ear' and 爾 'you' are pronounced as /ɛr/.

Rule 149. Development of the MC *n- (日) initial

149a. *n- (日) ----> ɸ- / # ____

149b. *n- (日) ----> z- / # ____ (Jìxī) (partial)

149c. *n- (日) ----> n- / # ____ (Jìxī) (partial)

149d. *n- (日) ----> ɛr- / # ____ (Jìxī) (partial)

In the Huǐ dialects, the MC *ʃ- (影) initial has been realized as velar nasal /ŋ-/ (Rule 150). For example, in the Jìxī dialect, 安 'peace' (<*ʃ-) is pronounced as /ŋǎ¹/, and 羊 'sheep, goat' is pronounced as /ŋō/. This feature is similar to that of the Xī'ān (Mandarin), Wūhàn (Mandarin), Chéngdū (Mandarin), Chángshā (Xiāng), Shuāngfēng (Xiāng), and Nánchāng (Gàn) dialects.

Rule 150. *ʃ- (影) ----> ŋ- / # ____

A common feature of merging of the MC *n- (泥) initial and the MC */l-/ (來) is also found in the Huǐ dialects (Rule 151). For example, in the Túnxī 屯溪 dialect, 腦 'brain' = 老 'old' which are pronounced as /ly³/. In Xuānchéng 宣城 and Jīnpái 金牌, 膿 'pus' = 農 'farming' which are pronounced as /noŋ²/. In Shuāngfēng (Old Xiang) and Cantonese, the MC *n- (泥) has been realized as /l-/.

Rule 151. *n- (泥) ----> l- / # ____ (grave syllables)

In the Huǐ dialects, most of the MC *x- (曉) have been realized as fricative /h-, f-, ç-/ (Rule 152a, b, c) or as aspirated velar stop /k'-/ (Rule 152d). For example, in the Jìxī dialect, 火 'fire' is pronounced as /ho⁶/, 呼 'to call' is /fu¹/, 喜 'happy' is /ci³/, and 況 is /k'ò⁵/.

Rule 152.

152a. *x- (曉) ----> h-, x- / # ____ (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152b. *x- (曉) ----> f- / # ____ u (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152c. *x- (曉) ----> ç- / # ____ Grade III, IV (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152d. *x- (曉) ----> k'- / # ____ (partial lexicon)

In the Huǐ dialects, most of the MC *ɣ- (匣) have been realized as velar fricative /x-/ or /h-/ (Rule 153a). For example, in the Jìxī dialect 蟹 'crab' is pronounced as /ha²/, 'red' is /huǎ²/. However, some *ɣ- (匣) initials may be realized as velar stop /k-/ (Rule 153b), which is one of the known features found in the Mǐn dialects and the Shuāngfēng (Old Xiāng) dialect. For example, 虹 'rainbow' is pronounced as /kǎ²/ in Tónglíng 銅陵, and as /kau²/ in Xiūníng 休寧.

Rule 153.

153a. *ɣ- (匣) ----> h-, x- / # ____ (most of the Huǐ dialects)

153b. *ɣ- (匣) ----> k- / # ____ (partial)

From the above mentioned features, we can see that the Huǐ dialects have mixed features from the Mandarin, Gàn, Kèjiā, Old Xiāng, and Mǐn dialects.

4.824 Finals of the Huǐ Dialects

In most of Huǐ dialects, for many MC finals which having the vowels preceding nasal endings (see the conditions listed below), the vowels have been undergoing the process of nasalization (Rule 154a), and some dialects may even have undergone the process of deleting the nasal endings and realized the finals as plain vowels (Rule 154b). This characteristic is similar to that of the Wú dialects. In Xiūníng dialect, most of the MC nasal endings have been realized as zero endings (Rule 155a), but only in some Grade III syllables in *shēn* 深韻, *dōng* 東韻, and *zēng* 曾韻 rimes, has the /*-ŋ/ been realized as /-n/ (Rule 155b), while in syllables with *táng* 唐韻 and *yáng* 陽韻, the /*-ŋ/ has been realized as high back vowel /-u/ (Rule 155c).

Rule 154. MC Nasal Ending Deletion Rule

154a. *VN ----> ṽN ----> ṽ / # (C) ____ #
(*iēn, *iēm, *iüēn, *an, *am, *uan, *iəŋ,
*iəŋ, *ieŋ, *ieŋ)

154b. ṽ ---> V / # (C) ____ # (*an, *am)

Rule 155. Development of the MC Nasal Endings

155a. *-m, *-n, *-ŋ ----> -∅ / ____ # (Xiūning dialect)

155b. *-m, *-ŋ ----> -n / ____ # Grade III (*shēn* 深韻, *dōng* 東韻, and *zēng* 曾韻 rimes)155c. *-ŋ ----> -u / ____ # (*táng*, *yáng* rime) (Xiūning dialect)

Here are some examples:

	孫 (<*sǔən)	酸 (<*suan)	心 (<*sǐəm)	聲 (<*çǐeŋ)	興 (<*xǐəŋ)
	'grandson'	'sour'	'heart'	'sound'	'to prosper'
Jíxī 績溪	sā	sā	çiǎ	çiǎ	çiǎ
Shèxiàn 歙縣	sā	so	siǎ	siǎ	siǎ
Yánsǐ 岩寺	san	san	çin	çin	çin
Xiūning	suǎ	suǎ	sin	çia	

As we can see from the above examples, some of the dialects have realized the nasal endings /*-m, *-ŋ/ as /-n/ (Rule 155) and have undergone the deletion of the MC medial /-u-/ (Rule 156).

Rule 156. Medial Deletion Rule

*-/u-/ ----> ∅ / #C ____ #

In most Hui dialects, the MC stop endings /*-p, *-t, *-k/ have all been realized as glottal stop /-ʔ/ (Rule 157a). For example, in the Jíxī dialect, 白 'white' is pronounced as /p'aʔ/.⁴ This feature is similar to that of Jiānghuāi Mandarin, the Wú dialect and Fúzhōu dialect (Eastern Mǐn), but in the Xiūning dialect, the MC stop endings have been realized as zero ending (Rule 157b). For example, 白 'white' is pronounced as /p'a/.

Rule 157. Development of the MC Stop Endings

157a. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ____ #

157b. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -∅ / ____ # (Xiūning)

In some Hui dialects, the vowel ending /-i/ in the MC rime 蟹 /*-ai/ and /-u/ in 效 /*-au/ rime have been deleted (Rule 158a, b), thus resulting in more homonyms. For example, in the Yánsǐ 岩寺 (of Shèxiàn 歙縣) dialect, 雷 'thunder' = 來 'to come' are pronounced as /la²/, and 消 'to disappear' = 休 'to rest' are pronounced as /çiə¹/.

Rule 158. Deletion of the MC Vowel Coda

158a. */-i/ ----> ∅ / #(C)V ____ (rime 蟹)

158b. */-u/ ----> ∅ / #(C)V ____ (rime 效)

4.825 Tones of the Hui Dialects

Generally, in the Hui dialects, the MC *T1 (píng 平聲) and *T3 (qù 去聲) have been split into T1a, T1b and T3a, T3b respectively. Some dialects may just retain T2 tone without splitting. Nevertheless, the T2b tone (全濁上) has never been merged with T3b (陽去). In some dialects, T2 syllables may have a glottal stop /-ʔ/ ending which is a feature that also found in Wūnzhou 温州 area.⁵ In the Xiūning dialect, the entering tones have only been realized as different tones but have lost the MC stop endings completely.

Table 109 Tone Values of the Hui Dialects

MC Initial 聲母	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd	清 vl	濁 vd	清 vl	次濁 vs	全濁 vd
MC Tone 調類	T1 平		T2 上			T3 去		T4 入		
Běijīng 北京	T1a 陰平 55	T1b 陽平 35	T2 上 214		T3 去 51					
Jíxī 績溪	T1a 陰平 31	T1b 陽平 42	T2 上 55		T3a 陰去 423	T3b 陽去 24	T4 入 32			
Xiūning 休寧	T1a 陰平 33		T2a 陰上 31	T2b 陽上 13	T3a 陰去 55		T4a 陰入 212	T4b 陽入 35		

4.826 Lexicon of the Hui Dialects

The lexical data is insufficient to make a systematic comparison. Only a couple lexical items will be cited here. In the Hui dialects, the word for 'thing' ('東西' in

⁴ In Chao and Yang (1965), the glottal stop ending /-ʔ/ had been omitted because of the short length of the tone value.

⁵ According to Zheng-Zhang (1986: 13-14)

Mandarin) is “物事”, which is a typical lexical item of the Wú dialects. The word for ‘dirty’ (“骯髒” in Mandarin) is “邇邇”, which is found in the Yuè dialects. The negative adverb is “不” which is a Mandarin item. A unique characteristic of the Huǐ dialects is the use of an ingressive sound /pf/ for negation, and an aspirated affricate /ts'/ for affirmation.

4.83 Píng huà 平話

4.831 Subgrouping of the Píng huà Dialects

As mentioned previously, *Píng huà* 平話 is a group of Chinese dialects spoken mainly in Guǎng xī province, where Han-Chinese people reside among Zhuàng 壯族 people. According to the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988), the *Píng huà* speaking areas form a slanting band running from Líng chuān 靈川 (north of Guǐ lín 桂林) along the major railroad line southwards to Nán níng 南寧. The dialect areas are interspersed among the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, Yuè, Kè jiā and Xiāng dialects, as well as the Zhuàng languages. The number of the *Píng huà* speakers exceeds two million. The dialects can be divided into two subgroups:

1. Guǐ běi Subgroup 桂北平話⁶
 - a. North Cluster 北片: includes Jiǔ wū, 九屋 etc.
 - b. Central Cluster 中片: includes Sān jiē 三街, etc.
 - c. East Cluster 東片: includes Dà xū 大圩, etc.
2. Guǐ nán Subgroup 桂南平話: includes Yōng níng 邕寧, Bìnyáng 賓陽, Héng xiàn 橫縣, Shān lín 山林, and Tíng zǐ cūn 亭子村, etc.

4.832 Sounds of the Tíng zǐ cūn Píng huà

Based on the report from the *Nán níng Píng huà Cí diǎn* 南寧平話詞典 by Tan et al 覃遠雄等 (1997), *Nán níng Píng huà* 南寧平話 is spoken primarily in the suburban districts which surrounding the city of Nán níng city in Guǎng xī province. These districts include: Tíng zǐ cūn 亭子村, Jīn tóu 津頭, Nà hóng 那洪, Shā jǐng 沙井, Jiāng xī 江西, Shí bù 石埠, Shàng yáo 上堯, Xīn xū 心圩, and Ān jí 安吉, etc. According to Tan et al (1997: 4), the population of the whole Nán níng city is 2,608,566; this includes 1,658,673 Zhuàng people, 929,949 Han-Chinese, plus another 19,944 people from 30 minority nationalities. The Tíng zǐ cūn 亭子村 dialect consists of 22 initials (including zero initial), 50 finals which include: three medials: i, u, y; 9 vowels: i, u, y, e, ø, ə, o, e a; and 6 consonant endings: -m, -n, -ŋ; and ten tones.

Tíng zǐ cūn Píng huà has 22 initials (including zero initial):

Labials	p	p'	m	f	β
Dental-Alveolars	t	t'	n	l	
	ts	ts'	s	ʃ	
Alveolo-Palatals		ɲ	j		
Velars	k	k'	ŋ	h	
	ku	k'u			
Glottal					ø

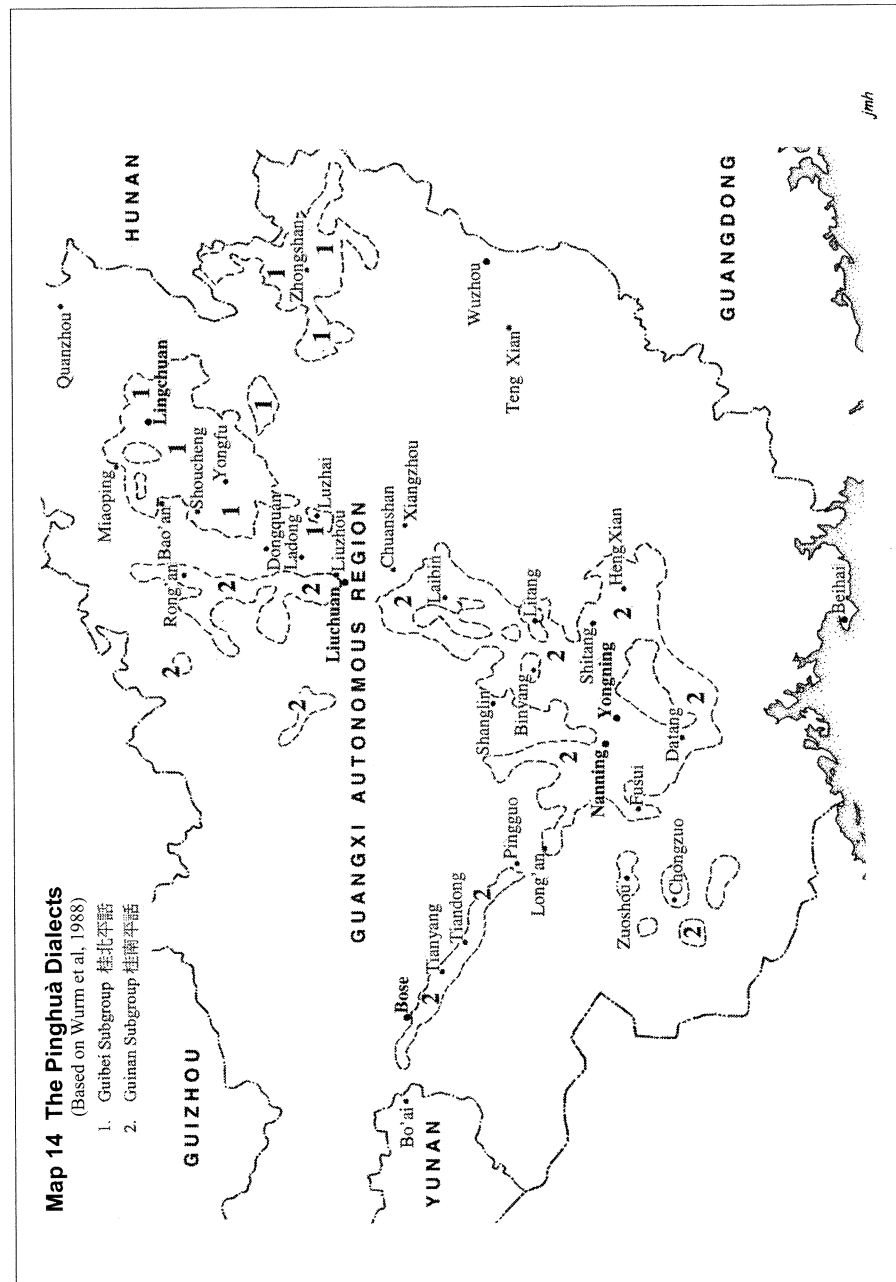
Tíng zǐ cūn Píng huà has 50 finals:

i	u	y	a		e	o	ø	
	ui		ai	əi				
iu			au	əu	eu			
	ua							
im			am	əm	em			
in	un	yn	an	ən	en	on		
iəŋ			aŋ	əŋ	eŋ	oŋ	øŋ	ŋ
ip			ap	əp	ep			
it	ut	yt	at	ət	et	ot		
iək			ak	ək	ek	ok	øk	

Tíng zǐ cūn Píng huà has ten tones:

Tíng zǐ cūn 亭子村	T1a 陰平 53	T1b 陽平 21	T2a 陰上 33	T2b 陽上 24	T3a 陰去 55	T3b 陽去 22	T4a 上 陰入 5	T4a' 下 陰入 3	T4b 上 陽入 23	T4b' 下 陽入 2

⁶ Based on Lǐ Wèi (1987).



From the discussion in the Yuè dialects section and the data that are available in the field⁷, it is clear that the initials of the Pinghua dialects have mixed features of the Yuè, Xiāng and Mǐn dialects; the finals are very close to that of the Xiāng and Yuè dialects; and the tone development is very similar to that of the Yuè dialects. The realization of the MC *s- (心) initial as voiceless lateral /t-/, which has also been found in the Sìyǐ dialects (Yuè), is a feature that resulted from the contact with the Zhuàng language.

From the above brief examination on the Huǐ and Pinghua dialects, there is no doubt that these two dialect groups are indeed transitional/mixed dialects. It seems that the status of these groups should be re-evaluated when more field data are available in the future, and the dialect classification criteria are more rigidly defined and agree upon by the linguists in the field.

Further Readings:

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Exercises

Note: For the following exercises, you may use the data included in *Hànyǔ Fāngyǔ Zìhuì* (1962, 2003), in this book, or in other field reports as examples.

1. Examine the examples of initials and finals of the dialects provided in Tables 10-19, and present your view on whether you would consider the Jin dialects as a sub-group of Mandarin dialects. Explain why.

⁷ The data of Tíngzǐcūn 亭子村 of Náníng Pínghuà 南寧平話 are from Tán et al (1997), the data of Língchūān Pínghuà are from Lǐ Wèi(1987), and the data of Xīnxū of Náníng Pínghuà are from Zhāng Jūnrú (1987).

2. Most of the Jin dialects, the Jiānghuái (Eastern) Mandarins, and the Wú dialects have a common feature: having only one entering tone (T4) which ends with consonant stop /-ʔ/. Should we use this feature as a criterion to group them together as one major dialect group? Provide reasons for your answer.
3. The Wú dialect group is well-known for preserving the MC voiced obstruent initials (such as *b'-, *d'-, *g'-, *z-, *dz'-, *dʒ'-, *dʒ'-, etc.), also shared by the Old Xiāng dialects (such as Shuāngfēng, etc.). The Mǐn dialects are well-known for having the reflexes of the MC 知 **zhī** series as dental stops, which is considered a feature of OC. But the Xiāng dialects and some southern Wú dialects (such as Lìshuǐ, etc.) also have this feature. Do you think these three major dialect groups (Wú, Xiāng, Mǐn) have any genetic relationship? If so, how are they related? If not, explain why.
4. From the *Hànyǔ Fāngyī Zìhuì* (1962/2003), look up the readings of the characters of the given dialects listed in the following table, and then:
- Write down the readings of the whole syllables;
 - show the distributions of the initials 精, 莊 (庄), 知, 章 of the characters on a map;
 - discuss the differences/similarities of the initials among these dialects;
 - postulate an evolutionary theory to account for the different readings of these initials among the given dialects.

	精	俊	莊	責	知	豬	章	蔗
OC 上古音	**ts	**ts	**tʃ	**tʃ	**t	**t	*t	*t
MC 中古音	*ts	*ts	*tʃ	*tʃ	*t	*t	*tʃ	*tʃ
Běijīng 北京 (官話)								
Xī'ān 西安 (官語)								
Tàiyuán 太原 (晉語)								
Sūzhōu 蘇州 (吳語)								
Wēnzhōu 溫州 (吳語)								
Chángshā 長沙 (湘語)								
Shuāngfēng 雙峰 (湘語)								

Fúzhōu 福州 (閩東語)									
Xiàmén 廈門 (閩南語)									
Nánchāng 南昌 (贛語)									
Méixiàn 梅縣 (客語)									
Guǎngzhōu 廣州 (粵語)									
Yángjiāng 陽江 (粵語)									

5. Find a native speaker of one of the non-Mandarin dialects (Wú, Xiāng, Mǐn, Gàn, Kè, or Yuè), and then

- transcribe the pronunciation for each character, (and write the dialect characters, if any) of the following sentences;
- discuss the differences and similarities between the given dialect and Mandarin in terms of pronunciation, lexical item and grammatical structure.

- 白馬和黑马都跑得快。
- 下了雪, 大街小巷都不好走。
- 那個孩子穿了鞋了, 沒穿襪子。
- 他母親要買一條裙子。
- 豬肉比雞肉便宜。
- 他喝了九杯酒, 喝了一碗稀飯, 吃了一些菜。
- 天氣很冷, 得穿絨大衣。
- 我的腿被狗咬了。
- 小林把祖父的錢都拿走了。
- 他(正)在睡午覺呢, 別吵他。

Concluding Remarks

Looking back at the development of Chinese dialectology since the 1930s, we can see that the issue of classification of Chinese dialects is still not settled. The "ten major groups" classification proposed by the *Atlas* (Wurm et al 1988) has been under challenged whenever different criteria or characteristics are used, or a different approach has been adopted (cf. Wang 1996:235-267), particularly related to the Jin, Huí, and Píngguà groups. Nevertheless, most Chinese dialectologists have basically consented that Mandarin, Wú, Xiāng, Mǐn, Gàn, Kèjiā and Yuè are seven major dialect groups. With more and more field reports available since 1990's and studies on lexicon and syntactic structures across dialects also receiving much more attention in recent years (cf. Zhan 2004: 46-53), Chinese linguists need to agree on a set of objective diagnostic criteria including phonological, lexical and syntactical features for the classification of Chinese dialects. Of course, this task and settling on the number of criteria and the weight of each criterion for the classification of the major grouping and sub-grouping could be a great challenge to all the Chinese dialectologists. Further investigations on issues such as: how to treat the mixed or transitional dialects among the groupings, the historical/genetic relationship among the dialect groups, and the time of the dialects' branching, etc. still need to be addressed.

Like some other languages in the world, Chinese dialects have been undergoing tremendous change in modern time. The use of Pǔtōnghuà/Guóyǔ (the Common/National Language) as the educational instrument in Mainland China and Taiwan since 1930's, the explosion of mass communication via TV broadcasting, plus internet in recent years, as well as the improvement of transportation means in the last decades, have all had great influence on the evolution of Chinese dialects. Although it is hard (or even impossible) to predict whether or not that any Chinese dialect will disappear in the future, one thing is for sure: the changing of some characteristic features of each dialect group due to the impacts from the expansion of the national language via mass communication and modern technology, as well as the intermarriages among dialect or ethnic groups. It seems that collecting and saving as much valuable Chinese dialect data as possible before it is too late is an urgent task for all of us.

References

Abbreviations:

<i>BIHP</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Taipei)
<i>FPJ</i>	Fāngyán yǔ Pǔtōnghuà Jíkān 方言與普通話集刊 (Beijing)
<i>Fangyan</i>	Fāngyán 方言 (Beijing)
<i>JCL</i>	Journal of Chinese Linguistics 中國語言學報 (Berkeley)
<i>POLA</i>	Project on Linguistic Analysis (Columbus, Berkeley).
<i>YYXC</i>	Yǔyánxué Lùncōng 語言學論叢 (Beijing)
<i>YYYY</i>	Yǔyán Yánjiù 語言研究 (Wuhan)
<i>ZGSMJK</i>	Zhōngguó Shūmù Jíkān 中國書目季刊 (Taipei)
<i>ZGYW</i>	Zhōngguó Yǔwén 中國語文 (Beijing)

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Summary of Phonological Rules

Mandarin Dialects

Rule 1. Devoicing of MC Voiced Obstruents (濁音清化)

- 1a. *C- -----→ [+ aspirated] / # ____ (T1 syllables)
[- sonorant, +voiced]
- 1b. *C- -----→ [- aspirated] / # ____ (T2-T4 syllables)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 2. Denasalization (非鼻音化)

*n- -----→ l- / # ____

Rule 3. Nasalization (鼻音化)

*l- -----→ n- / # ____

Rule 4. Labiodentalization (唇齒音化)

*x- -----→ f- / # ____ u

Rule 5. Palatalization (顎化)

- 5a. *ts-, *ts'-, *s- -----→ tɕ-, tɕ'-, ɕ- / # ____ -i, -y
(of *jīng* series origin 精系字)
- 5b. *k-, *k'-, *g'-, -----→ tɕ-, tɕ'-, ɕ- or tɕ' / # ____ i, y
(of *jiàn* series origin 見系字)

Rule 6. Labiodental Affrication (唇齒塞擦音化)

- 6a. *p-, *p'- -----→ pf-, pf'- / # ____ -u, -o (*pāng* series 幫系)
- 6b. *t-, *t'-, d'-, *s- -----→ pf-, pf'-, f- / # ____ -u (*zhī* series 知系)
- 6c. *tʃ-/tɕ-, *tʃ'-/tɕ'-, *dʒ'/dʒ'-, *ɕ-/ɕ- -----→ pf-, pf'-, f- / # ____ -u
(*Zhuāng* and *Zhāng* series 莊系, 章系)

Rule 7. Retroflexation (捲舌音化)

- 7a. *t-, *t'-, *d'- -----→ tʂ-, tʂ'-, ʂ- / # ____ (*zhi* series 知系)
- 7b. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ʃ-, *ʒ- -----→ tʂ-, tʂ'-, ʂ- / # ____ (*zhuang* series 莊系)
- 7c. *tɕ-, *tɕ'-, *ɕ- -----→ tʂ-, tʂ'-, ʂ- / # ____ (*zhang* series 章系)

Rule 8. Fronting

- 8a. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ʃ- -----→ ts-, ts'-, s- / # ____ (*zhuang* series 莊系)
- 8b. *tɕ-, *tɕ'-, *ɕ- -----→ ts-, ts'-, s- / # ____ (*zhang* series 章系)
- 8c. *ts-, ts'-, s- -----→ tθ-, tθ'-, θ- / # ____ (*jing* series 精系)

Rule 9. Alveolar/Postalveolar Affrication

- 9a. *t-, *t'-, *d'- -----→ ts-, ts'-, s- / # ____ (*zhi* series 知系)
- 9b. *t-, *t'-, *d'- -----→ *tɕ-, *tɕ'-, *ɕ- / # ____ -i, -y (*zhi* series 知系)

Rule 10. Velar Nasal Vocalization Rule

*ŋ- -----→ Ø- / # ____

Rule 11. Velar Nasal Fronting Rule

*ŋ- -----→ n- / # ____

Rule 12. Velar Nasal Frication Rule

*ŋ- -----→ ɣ- / # ____

Rule 13. Velar Nasal Replacement Rule

*Ø- -----→ ŋ- / # ____

Rule 14. *n- -----→ d- -----→ dz- -----→ z- -----→ ʐ- / # ____ jV

Rule 15. Medial /-j-/ Deletion Rule

*-j- -----> Ø / # C ____

Rule 16. *r- (日母) Initial Retroflexation Rule

* z- -----> z- / # ____

Rule 17. *n- -----> (ŋ) -----> Ø / # ____ u

Rule 18. *u -----> v- / # ____

Rule 19. Medial /-j-/ Rounding Rule

*-j- -----> -y- / # ____ o, u, w

Rule 20. Medial /-u-/ Insertion

*-Ø- -----> u / # (C) ____ V

Rule 21. Medial /-u-/ Deletion

*-u- -----> Ø / # (C) ____ V

Rule 22. *m -----> -n / ____ #

Rule 23. 23a. *n -----> -ŋ / ____ #

23b. *-ŋ -----> -n / ____ #

Rule 24. Vowel Nasalization Rule

24a. *VN -----> ṽN / # (C) ____ #

24b. ṽN -----> ṽ / # (C) ____ #

24c. ṽ -----> V / # (C) ____ #

Rule 25. Medial /-j-/ Rounding Rule (cf. Rule 19)

*-j- -----> y- / # ____ u, w

Rule 26. Stop Ending Deletion Rule

26a. *-p, *-t, *-k -----> -ʔ / ____ #

26b. *-ʔ -----> Ø / ____ #

Rule 27. T1 Split Rule

*T1 -----> { T1a / voiceless initial syllable
T1b / voiced initial syllable

Rule 28. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去)

28a. *T2 -----> { T2a / voiceless obstruent initial
T2b / voiced obstruent initial

28b. T2b -----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial

Rule 29. T4 Tripart Rule

*T4 -----> { T1a, T2, T3 / voiceless initial
T1b / voiced obstruent
T3 / sonorant initial (including zero initial)

Wu Dialects

Rule 30. Voiced Obstruent Retaining Rule

*C- -----> [+ voiced] / # ____
[-sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 31. Voiced Obstruent Frication Rule

*C- -----> [+ voiced, + fricated] / # ____
[-sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 32. Labiodentalization of the Labial Initial

32a. **p-, **p'-, **b'-, **m- -----> * f-, *f-, *v-, *m- / # ____ j
(Grade III characters 三等字)

32b. *m- -----> v- / # ____ j

32c. *m- -----> Ø / # ____ j

Rule 33. Affrication and Fronting

- 33a. *t-, *t'-, *d'- ----> ts-, ts'-, z- / # ___ (zhi series 知系)
- 33b. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ʃ-, *ʒ- ----> ts-, ts'-, s-, z- / # ___ (zhuang series 莊系)
- 33c. *tʃ-, *tʃ'-, *ʃ-, *dz'- ----> ts-, ts'-, s- z- or dz- / # ___ (zhang series 章系)

Rule 34. Velar Nasal Development Rule

- 34a. *ŋ- ----> ŋ- / # ___ i, y
- 34b. *ŋ- ----> Ø- / # ___ (elsewhere in literary reading)
- 34c. *ŋ- ----> ŋ- / # ___ (elsewhere in colloquial reading)

Rule 35. Nasal Ending Deletion Rule

VN ----> vN ----> ṽ ----> V / # (C) V ___ # (*am, *em, *an, *uan, *ən, *uən)

Rule 36. Vowel Rounding Rule

*a ----> E ----> Ø / # (C) ___ n, m
(*an (山), *uan (山合), *am (咸), and *uam (咸合))

Rule 37. Tri-Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T3, *T4 ----> $\begin{cases} \text{T1a, T3a, T4a / voiceless initial} \\ \text{T1b, T3b, T4b / voiced obstruent} \end{cases}$

Rule 38. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (=Rule 28)

- 38a. *T2 ----> $\begin{cases} \text{T2a / voiceless obstruent initial} \\ \text{T2b / voiced obstruent initial} \end{cases}$
- 38b. T2b ----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial

Xiang Dialects

Rule 39. Development of OC Labial Stops Rule

- 39a. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> x-, x-, ɣ- / # ___ j (Old Xiāng)
(fēi series 非系, Grade III characters 三等字)
- 39b. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> p-, p'-, b- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)
- 39c. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> f-, f-, f- / # ___ j (New Xiāng)
(fēi series 非系, Grade III characters 三等字)
- 39d. **p-, **p'-, **b'- ----> p-, p'- / # ___ (New Xiāng)

Rule 40. Velar Stops Evolution Rule

- 40a. *k-, *k'-, *g'- ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, dz- / # ___ i, y
(of jiàn series origin 見系字)
- 40b. *k-, *k'-, *g'- ----> t-, t'-, d- / # ___ iu, y
(of jiàn series origin 見系三等合口字 in Old Xiāng)
- 40c. *k-, *k'-, *g'- ----> k-, k'-, g- / # ___ (elsewhere)

Rule 41. OC Alveolar Stops Retention Rule

**t-, **t'-, **d'- (知系, 端系) ----> t-, t'-, d- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)

Rule 42. OC Palatal Stops Fronting Rule

**t'-, **t'-, **d'- (章系) ----> *t-, *t'-, *d- / # ___ (Old Xiāng)

Rule 43. Velar fricatives Labiodentalization Rule

*x-, *ɣ- ----> f-, v- / # ___ u (*o(遇), *ai(蟹), *i(止), *en(臻), *aŋ(宕))

Rule 44. Vowel Nasalization Rule (=Rule 24)

- 44a. *VN ----> ṽN / # (C) ___ #
- 44b. ṽN ----> ṽ / # (C) ___ #

44c. \bar{v} ---- $\rightarrow V / \# (C) __\#$

Rule 45 Bilabial Nasal Ending Merging Rule

45a. $*-m$ ---- $\rightarrow -n / __\#$ (=Rule 22)45b. $*-m$ ---- $\rightarrow -\eta / __\#$

Rule 46 Alveolar and Velar Nasal Ending Merging Rule (=Rule 23)

46a. $*-n$ ---- $\rightarrow -\eta / ____\#$ 46b. $*-\eta$ ---- $\rightarrow -n / ____\#$

Rule 47. Stop Ending Deletion Rule (Cf. Rule 26)

 $*-p, *-t, *-k$ ---- $\rightarrow \emptyset / ____\#$

Rule 48. T1 and T3 Split Rule

$$T1, T3 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T1a, T3a/ \text{ voiceless initial syllable} \\ T1b, T3b/ \text{ voiced initial syllable} \end{array} \right.$$

Rule 49. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (Cf. Rule 28)

$$49a. *T2 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T2a / \text{ voiceless obstruent initial} \\ T2b / \text{ voiced obstruent initial} \end{array} \right.$$
49b. $T2b$ ---- $\rightarrow T3b / \text{ voiced obstruent initial (Shuāngfēng)}$

$$49c. T2b, T3b \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T3a \text{ (literary reading) (Chángshā)} \\ T3b \text{ (colloquial reading) (Chángshā)} \end{array} \right.$$

Rule 50. T4 Split Rule

$$*T4 \text{ ----} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T1b / \text{ condition uncertain} \\ T3a / \text{ condition uncertain} \end{array} \right.$$
Min Dialects

Rule 51. The Split of the OC bilabials into labials and labiodentals

(51a) $**p-, **p'-, **b'-$ ---- $\rightarrow *f-, *f-, *v- / _____ j$ (Grade III

characters 非系) (Cf. Rule 32)

(51b) $**p-, **p'-, **b'-, **m-$ ---- $\rightarrow *p-, *p'-, *b'-, *m- / _____$ Rule 52. $*p-, *p'-$ ---- $\rightarrow h-, h- / _____ u$ (literary reading)Rule 53. $*p-, *p'-, *b'-, *f-, *v-$ ---- $\rightarrow \delta- / _____$

Rule 54. The Split of the OC Alveolar Stops into Alveolars and Palatals

(54a) $**t-, **t'-, **d'-$ ---- $\rightarrow *t-, *t'-, *d'-$ (知系) / $_____ \#$ (54b) $**t-, **t'-, **d'-$ ---- $\rightarrow *t-, *t'-, *d'-$ (端系) / $_____ \#$ Rule 55. $*t-, *d'-, *t-, *d'-$ ---- $\rightarrow d- / _____ \#$ (partial)Rule 56. $*t'-, *d'-$ (T1), ---- $\rightarrow h- / _____ \#$ Rule 57. MC $*ts-$ series, $*tj-$ series, $*tç-$ series ($**t-$) ---- $\rightarrow t- / _____ \#$ (partial lexicon)

Rule 58. Frication Rule

 $*t'-, *d'-, *ts'-, *dz'-, *tç'-, *dz'-, *tj'-, *dç'-$ ---- $\rightarrow s-, ç- / _____ \#$ Rule 59. $*k'-, *g'-$ (T1) ---- $\rightarrow x-, h-, fi- / _____ \#$

Rule 60. Velar Nasal Denasalization Rule

 $*\eta-$ ---- $\rightarrow g- / _____ \#$

Rule 61.

61a. $**n-$ ---- $\rightarrow d-/l-$ ---- $\rightarrow dz-$ ---- $\rightarrow z- / _____ \# jV$ 61b. $**n-$ ---- $\rightarrow (\eta-)$ ---- $\rightarrow \emptyset- / _____ \# jV$

Rule 62. Nasal Ending Neutralization Rule

62a. $*-m$ ---- $\rightarrow -n / _____ \#$ 62b. $*-n$ ---- $\rightarrow -\eta / _____ \#$

Rule 63. Vowel Nasalization Rule

63a. *-VN ----> -ṽN / # (C) ___#

63b. -ṽN ----> -ṽ / # (C) ___#

63c. -ṽ ----> -V / # (C) ___#

Rule 64. Stop Ending Deletion Rule (= Rule 26)

64a. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ___#

64b. *-ʔ ----> Ø / ___#

Rule 65. Consonant Initial Assimilation Rule

65a. p-, p'- ----> β- / C₁V₁ + ___ V₂

65b. t-, t'-, s- ----> l- / C₁V₁ + ___ V₂

65c. k-, k'-, x-, ç- ----> Ø- / C₁V₁ + ___ V₂

65d. ts-, ts'- ----> z- / C₁V₁ + ___ V₂

Rule 66. Consonant Initial Nasalization Rule

66a. p-, p'- ----> m- / C₁V₁N₁ + ___ V₂

66b. t-, t'-, l-, s- ----> n- / C₁V₁N₁ + ___ V₂

66c. k-, k'-, x-, Ø-, tç-, tç'- ----> ŋ- / C₁V₁N₁ + ___ V₂

Rule 67. Tri-Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T3, *T4 ----> $\begin{cases} \text{T1a, T3a, T4a / voiceless initial} \\ \text{T1b, T3b, T4b / voiced obstruent} \end{cases}$

Rule 68. Evolution of T2 (濁上) Rule

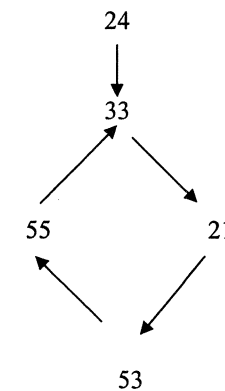
68a. *T2 ----> $\begin{cases} \text{T2a / voiceless initial} \\ \text{T2b / voiced obstruent initial} \end{cases}$

68b. T2b ----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial (for colloquial reading in Fujian and Taiwan S. Min)

68c. T2b ----> T2 / voiced obstruent initial (for literary reading in Fujian and Taiwan S. Min)

Rule 69. T2b, T3b ----> T4 / voiced obstruent initial (Haikou)

Rule 70. Smooth Syllable Tone Sandhi Rule



Rule 71. Checked Syllable Tone Sandhi Rule

71a. 32 ----> 5 / syllables ending in -p, -t, -k

71b. 5 ----> 32 / syllables ending in -p, -t, -k

71c. 32 ----> 53 / syllables ending in -ʔ

71d. 5 ----> 21 / syllables ending in -ʔ

Rule 72. Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (= Rule 26b)

-ʔ ----> Ø / when a syllable ending in /-ʔ/ undergoes 71c or 71d

The Gàn Dialects:

Rule 73 Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruents

*C- -----→ [+ aspirated, -voiced] / #___ (in all tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 74. Voicing of the MC Voiceless Aspirated Initials

74a. *p'- (滂) ----→ b'- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)

74b. *ts'- (清) *tʃ'- (初) ----→ dz'- / #___ (Dūchāng)

74c. *ts'- (清), *t'- (徹), *tʃ'- (初), *tɕ'- (昌) ----→ *dz', dʒ'- / #___
(Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)

74d. *tɕ'- (昌), *t'- (徹) ----→ * dz- / #___ (Dūchāng)

74d. *t'- (透) ----→ d'- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)

74e. *k'- (溪) ----→ g'- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Píngjiāng)

Rule 75. Development of Alveolar/Alveolar-palatal Affricates

75a. *dz'- (從), *dʒ'- (崇), *dz'- (船) ----→ ts'-, ts'- (s-), s-(ɕ-) / #___ (most of the Gàn dialects)

75b. *dz'- (從), *d'- (澄), *dʒ'- (崇) ----→ dz- / #___ (Dūchāng)

75c. *dz'- (從), *d'- (澄), *dʒ'- (崇) ----→ dz'- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)

75d. *ts'- (清), *dz'- (從), *tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇) ----→ t'- / #___ (Líchuān, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

Rule 76. Development of Alveolar/alveolar-palatal Stops

76a. **t- (知--→ *t), **t'- (徹--→ *t') ----→ t-, t'- / #___ (Jíshuǐ, Lílíng, Xīnyú, Yífēng, Anyǐ, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

76b. **t- (知--→ *t), **t'- (徹--→ *t') ----→ k-, k'- / #___jV (Lílíng)

76c. **t- (章 --→ *tɕ) ----→ t- / #___j (Jíshuǐ, Lílíng, Xīnyú, Yífēng, Anyǐ, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

76d. **t'- (昌 --→ tɕ'-), **d'- (澄) ----→ t'- / #___jV (Jíshuǐ, Lílíng, Xīnyú, Yífēng, Anyǐ, Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ)

76e. **d'- (澄) --→ *d' ----→ d- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)

76f. *t- (端), *t'- (透) ----→ d'- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ, Píngjiāng)

76g. *d'- (定) ----→ t'- / #___ (most of the Gàn dialects)

76h. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ----→ h- / #___ (Líchuān)

76i. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ----→ l- / #___ (Dūchāng)

Rule 77. *l- (來) ----→ t- (Líchuān, Fūzhōu)

Rule 78. Development of Voiced Fricatives

78a. *z- (邪), *z- (禪) ----→ s-, ts'- / #___ (most of the Gàn dialects)

78b. *z- (邪), *z- (禪) ----→ ɕ-, tɕ'- / #___ i, y (most of the Gàn dialects)

78c. *z- (邪), *z- (禪) ----→ t'- / #___j (Nánchéng, Jiànníng, Shàowǔ, Yǒngxīn, Lílíng, Xīnyú, Anyǐ)

78d. *ɕ- (書), *z- (禪), *dz'- (船) ----→ f- / #___ (Jíshuǐ)

Rule 79. Development of the Velar Stops

79a. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----→ tɕ-, tɕ'- / #___ i, y (Grade III words)

79b. *k'- (溪) ----→ g- / #___ (Píngjiāng, Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng)

79c. *g'- (群) ----→ k-, k'- / #___ (Líchuān)

79d. *g'- (群) ----→ gv'-, dz- / #___ (Xiūshuǐ)

Rule 80. Development of Velar Fricatives

80a. *x- (曉) ----→ ɕ- / #___ i, y

80b. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----→ f- / #___ u (most of the Gàn dialects)

80c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> h- / # ___ elsewhere (most of the Gàn dialects)

80d. *ɣ- (匣) ----> φ- / # ___ u (Dūchāng)

Rule 81.

81a. *ŋ- (疑) ----> n- / # ___ j

81b. *ŋ- (疑) ----> φ- / # ___

Rule 82. Development of Palatal Nasal Initial

82a. *n- (日) ----> φ- / # ___ non-front vowel

82b. *n- ----> l-, n- / # ___ non-front vowel (Nánchāng, Jīshuǐ, Yífēng, Xiūshuǐ, Dūchāng, Yiyáng)

Rule 83.

*φ- (影) ----> ŋ- / # ___

Rule 84. *m ----> -n / ___ #

Rule 85. *ŋ ----> -n / ___ # (Yífēng)

Rule 86. *ua ----> -ɔ, -o / # (C) ___ n

Rule 87. Medial Rounding Rule (=Rule 25)

*-j ----> -y / # ___ u (w)

Rule 88. Stop Ending Neutralization (cf. Rule 26)

88a. *p ----> -t / ___ # (Nánchāng)

88b. *p, -t ----> -l / ___ # (Yiyáng)

88c. *-t, ----> -ʔ / ___ # (Líchuān)

88d. *k ----> -t / ___ # (Nánchāng)

88e. *k ----> -ʔ / ___ # (Líchuān, Jīshuǐ, Yífēng, Xiūshuǐ, Yiyáng)

Rule 89. T1, T3 and T4 Split Rule

*T1, *T3, *T4 ----> { T1a, T3a, T4a/ voiceless initial syllable
T1b, T3b, T4b/ voiced initial syllable

Rule 90. T2 and T3 Merge Rule (濁上歸去) (Cf. Rule 28)

90a. *T2 ----> { T2a / voiceless obstruent initial
T2b / voiced obstruent initial

90b. T2b ----> T3b / voiced obstruent initial (two third of T2b syllables)

90c. T2b ----> T2b / voiced obstruent initial (one third of T2b syllables)

The Kèjiā Dialects:

Rule 91. Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruent (= Rule 73)

*C- -----> [+ aspirated, -voiced] / # ___ (in all tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 92. Retention of OC Bilabial Initials

92a. **b'- (並) ----> p'- / # ___ j (small number)

92b. **m- (微) ----> m- / # ___ j (small number)

Rule 93. Labiodentalization and Denasalization of OC Bilabial Nasal

93a. **b'- (並) ----> *v- (奉) ----> f- / # ___ j

93b. **p- (幫), **p'- (滂) ----> *f- (非), *f- (敷) ----> f- / # ___ j

93c. **m- (明) ----> *ŋ- (微) ----> v- / # ___ j (=Rule 32a, 32b)

Rule 94. **t- (知) (*t-) ----> t- / # ___ i (Chángfǎng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdǐng, Shàngháng, Liánchéng, Héyuán, Qīngxī, Xiùzhuàn, Xihé, Hong Kong)

- Rule 95. **t- (章) (>*tç-) ----> k- / # ___ i (Jiéxī, Xiùzhuàn)
- Rule 96. *t- (知), *tç- (章), *tʃ- (莊), ----> ts-, tʃ- / # ___
- Rule 97. *t'- (徹), *d'- (澄), *tç'- (昌), *dz'- (從) ----> ts'-, tʃ'- or tç'-, ts'-, ts'- / # ___
- Rule 98. *t- (知), *t'- (徹), *d'- (澄) ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, tʃ'- / # ___ (Sāndū)
- Rule 99. *ts- (精), *tʃ- (莊), *dʒ'- (崇) ----> θ- / # ___ (Xihé)
- Rule 100. *ts- (精) ----> t- / # ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)
- Rule 101. *ts'- (清), *dz'- (從), *tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇), *z- (邪) ----> t'- / # ___ (Xihé)
- Rule 102. *ts'- (清), *dz'- (從), *tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> t'- / # ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)
- Rule 103. *ʃ- (生), *ç- (書), *z- (禪) ----> s-, ʃ- / # ___
- Rule 104. *z- (邪) ----> ts'-, s- / # ___
- Rule 105. *ç- (書) ----> f- / # ___ (Wǔpíng)
- Rule 106. *t- (知), *s- (心), *ʃ- (生) ----> θ- / # ___ (Xihé)
- Rule 107. *tʃ- (莊), *tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇) ----> ts-, ts'-, ts'- / # ___
- Rule 108. *dz'- (從), *dʒ'- (崇), *dz'- (船) ----> ts'-, ts'-, s-(ʃ-) / # ___
- Rule 109. *l- ----> t- / # ___ Grade III (Chángfǐng, Wǔpíng, Liánchéng, Shàngháng)
- Rule 110. Palatalization of Velar Stops
- 110a. *k- (見) *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, tʃ'- / # ___ i (Chángfǐng, Shàngháng)
- 110b. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> tç-, tç'-, tç'- / # ___ i (Wǔpíng, Sāndū, Gànxiàn, Dàiyú)
- 110c. *k- (見) ----> t- / # ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)

- 110d. *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> t'-, ç- / # ___ i (Liángshuǐjǐng)
- Rule 111. *k- (見), *k'- (溪), *g'- (群) ----> k-, k'-, k'- / # ___ elsewhere
- Rule 112. Development of the Velar Fricatives
- 112a. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> f- / # ___ u
- 112b. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> h-, x- / # ___ (Méixiàn)
- 112c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> tç'- / # ___ i (Shàngháng, Gànxiàn, Wǔpíng, Dàiyú, Liángshuǐjǐng)
- 112c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> ç- / # ___ i (Shàngháng, Gànxiàn, Dàiyú, Liángshuǐjǐng)
- 112d. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> k-, k'- / # ___ i (Wēngyuán, Liánán, Dàiyú, Xihé, etc.)
- Rule 113. Development of Nasal Initial *ri*
- 113a. *n- (日) ----> n-, ŋ- / # ___ i
- 113b. *n- (日) ----> n-, Ø- / # ___ elsewhere
- 113c. *n- (日) ----> z-, ʒ- / # ___ (Liángshuǐjǐng, Táoyuán)
- 113d. *n- (日) ----> / # ___ [- high front vowel]
- Rule 114. Development of Velar Nasal Initial
- 114a. *ŋ- (疑) ----> n-, n-, Ø- / # ___ i
- 114b. *ŋ- (疑) ----> *ŋ- / # ___ elsewhere
- 114c. *ŋ- (疑) ----> ŋ, m / # ___ # (Cf. Cantonese)
- Rule 115.
- 115a. *θ- (影) ----> v- / # ___ (closed final 合口韻)
- 115b. *θ- (影) ----> Ø- / # ___ elsewhere

115c. * \emptyset - (影) ----> η - / # ____ (Hakka dialects in Jiāngxī province)

Rule 116. *-a ----> o, ɔ / #C ____ n (shān rime group)

Rule 117. *-V ----> - \tilde{v} / #C ____ n (shān rime group)

Rule 118. *-ie ----> - \tilde{ia} / #C ____ η (gěng rime group)

Rule 119. Development of Nasal Endings

119a. *-m ----> -n / (Héyuán, Níngdū, Liángshuǐjǐng)

119b. *-m, *-n ----> - η / ____ # (Wǔpíng, Chángfǐng, Níngguà, Gànxiàn, etc.)

119c. *- η ----> -n / ____ # (Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Jiéxī, Yǒngdǐng, Sāndū, etc.)

119d. *-m ----> -m / ____ # (Méixiàn, Jiéxī, Miáofǐ, Táoyuán, etc.)

119e. *V- --> \tilde{v} / # ____ N (Chángfǐng, Níngguà, Gànxiàn, Dàiyú, etc.)

Rule 120. Development of Stop Endings

120a. *-p ----> -t / ____ # (Liánnán, etc.)

120b. *-p ----> -k / ____ # (Wēngyuán, etc.)

120c. *-k ----> -t / ____ # ((Méixiàn, Wēngyuán, Jiéxī, Miáofǐ, Táoyuán, etc.)

120d. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ____ # (Shàngháng, Yǒngdǐng, Wǔpíng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

120e. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> - \emptyset / ____ # (Chángfǐng, Liánchéng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

Rule 121. Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T2, *T3, *T4 ----> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{T1a, T2a, T3a, T4a/ voiceless initial syllable} \\ \text{T1b, T2b, T3b, T4b/ voiced initial syllable} \end{array} \right.$

Rule 122. Cìzhúo shǎngshēng and yīnpíng Merging Rule (次濁上聲歸陰平)

T2b ---> T1a / sonorant initial syllables

Rule 123. Development of T2 and T3

123a. T3b ----> T2b (Hǎifēng, Lùfēng, Níngguà, Qíngliú, Liánchéng, etc.)

123b. T2b + T3b ----> T2a (Shàngháng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdǐng, Liángshuǐjǐng, etc.)

123c. T2b + T3b ----> T3a (Méixiàn, Wǔhuà, etc.)

123d. (i) T2a + T3a ----> T3 (Xiànyáng, Xiùzhuàn, etc.)

(ii) T2b + T3b ----> T2 (Xiànyáng, Xiùzhuàn, etc.)

Rule 124. Devoicing of MC Voiced Obstruents (= Rule 1)

124a. *C- -----> [+ aspirated, -vd] / # ____ (T1)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

124b. *C- -----> [- aspirated, -vd] / # ____ (T2-T4)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 125. Development of MC Bilabial Stops

125a. **p- (幫), **p'- (滂), **b'- (並) ----> *p-, *p'- ----> p-, p'- / # ____

125b. *p- (幫), *p'- (滂), *b'- (並) ----> v- / # ____ (T2-T4) (Sìyǐ dialects)

125c. *p- (幫), *p'- (滂), *b'- (並) ----> h- / # ____ (Sìyǐ dialects)

125d. *f- (非) (< **p-), *f- (敷) (< **p'-), *v- (奉) (< **b-) ----> f- / # ____ j
(fei series 非系)

Rule 126. Development of the MC Nasal Initials

126a. *m- (明), * η - (微) (< **mj-) ----> m- / # ____ (most of the Yuè dialects)

126b. *m- (明), *n- (泥), *n'- (日), * η - (疑) ----> m b-, n d-, n g-, n g- / # ____
(most of the Sìyǐ dialects)

126c. *n- (泥) ----> l- / # ____ (Pānyú, Macao, Hong Kong, Dàliáng, Báishā, etc.)

126d. * η - (疑) ----> n- / # ____

126e. * η - (疑) ----> n- / # ____ i

126f. *n- (日), *ŋ- (疑), ----→ Ø-, j- / #___ (most of the Yuè dialects)

126g. *n- (日), *ŋ- (疑) ----→ z- / #___ (Guānchéng)

126h. *ŋ- (疑) ----→ h- / #___ (Dàliáng)

126i. *ŋ- (疑) ----→ β- / #___ u (Tǐngzǐchūn)

126j. *ŋ- (疑) ----→ ŋ- / #___ (Shíqí, Qiánshān)

126k. *ŋ- (疑) ----→ ŋ / #___# (= Rule 114c, cf. Kèjiā dialects)

126l. *ŋ- (疑) ----→ m / #___# (Guānchéng, Hong Kong, Cónguà,
Zēngchéng, Niújiāng, etc)

126m. *n- (日) ----→ z- / #___ (Guānchéng)

Rule 127. Development of MC Dental Stops

127a. *t- (端), *d'- (定) ----→ Ø- / #___ (T2-T4) (Táichéng, Enpíng, Yǎyáo)

127b. *t'- (透), *d'- (定) ----→ h- / #___ (T1) (Táichéng, Enpíng, Yǎyáo)

Rule 128. *l- (來) ----→ ŋ- / #___ (Guānchéng Dōngguān)

Rule 129. Development of MC Dental and Post-alveolar Affricates/Stops

129a. *ts- (精), *tʃ- (莊) *t- (知), *tɕ- (章), *dʒ'- (崇) ----→

ts-/tʃ-, ts'-/tʃ'-, ts'-/tʃ'- / #___

129b. *ts- (精), *dz'- (從) ----→ t- / #___ (Shātóu,
Táichéng, Chīkǎn, and Yǎyáo)

129c. *ts'- (清) *dz'- (從), *t'- (徹), *d'- (澄), tʃ'- (初), *dʒ'- (崇), *tɕ'- (昌)
(<***t'-), ----→ t'- / #___ (Dǒuménzhèn)

129d. *dʒ'- (崇) ----→ s- / #___

129e. *t- (知) ----→ t- / #___ (Jiǔwū, Sānjiē, Dàxū, Xīnxū)

Rule 130. Development of MC Dental and Post-alveolar Fricatives

130a. *s- (心) ----→ s, ʃ, tʃ'- / #___ (Guǎngzhōu, other Yue dialects)

130b. *s- (心), *ʃ- (生) ----→ ʃ- / #___ (Yángjiāng, Táishān,
Kāipíng, Yǎyáo, Táichéng, Guānchéng, Tǐngzǐcūn, Xīnxū, Shājǐng, etc)

130c. *z- (邪) ----→ tʃ-, tʃ'-, ʃ- / #___ (Yángjiāng)

130d. *z- (邪) ----→ t-, t'-, ʃ- / #___ (Shātóu, Táichéng, Chīkǎn,
Yǎyáo)

130e. *z- (邪) ----→ ts-, t'-, s- / #___ (Dǒuménzhèn)

130f. *z- (邪) ----→ ts-/tʃ-, ts'-/tʃ'-, s-/ʃ- / #___ (other Yuè dialects)

130g. *z- (禪) ----→ ʃ- / #___ (Xīnxū, Shājǐng)

130h. *z- (禪) ----→ s-, ʃ- / #___ (other Yuè dialects)

Rule 131. Development of the MC Velar Stops

131a. *k- (見), *k'- (溪) ----→ k-, k'- / #___

131b. *k'- (溪) ----→ h- / #___ u (all Yue dialects, Tǐngzǐcūn)

131c. *k'- (溪) ----→ f- / #___ u (all Yue dialects)

131d. *k'- (溪) ----→ β- / #___ u (Tǐngzǐcūn) (partial)

131e. *g- (群) ----→ k-, k'- / #___

Rule 132. Development of the MC Velar Fricatives

132a. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----→ h- / #___ (most of the Yuè dialects, Tǐngzǐcūn)

132b. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ k- / #___ (Báishā)

132c. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----→ k'- / #___ (some Yuè)

132d. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ Ø-, w- / #___ closed rimes (Guǎngzhōu, Xīnán,
Míngchéng)

132e. *ɣ- (匣) ----→ z- / #___ (Sīyì)

132f. *x- (曉) ----> f- / # ___ closed rimes (most Yuè dialects)

132g. *ɣ- (匣) ----> f-, v- / # ___ closed rimes (Siyǐ dialects)

132h. *ɣ- (匣) ----> p'- / # ___ (Siyǐ dialects)

132i. *x- (曉), *ɣ- (匣) ----> β- / # ___ closed rimes (Tíngzǐcūn)

Rule 133. Development of the MC *ʃ- (影), *j- (以) Initials

133a. *ʃ- (影), *j- (以) ----> j- / # ___ (most Yuè dialects)

133b. *ʃ- (影), *j- (以) ----> z- / # ___ (Siyǐ dialects)

133c. *ʃ- (影) ----> v- / # ___ closed rimes (Siyǐ dialects)

133e. *j- (以) ----> h- / # ___ (Shātóu, Dàliáng)

133d. *ʃ- (影), *j- (以) ----> β- / # ___ closed rimes (Tíngzǐcūn)

Rule 134. *-ju- ----> -y / ___ # (yù rime)

Rule 135. *-ja ----> -ø, -œ / ___ ŋ (dàng rime)

Rule 136. Development of the MC Nasal Endings /*-m, *-n, *-ŋ/

136a. *-m ----> -n / ___ # hán 咸 rime (Guānchéng)

136b. *-m ----> -ŋ / ___ # hán 咸, shēn 深 rimes (Shājǐng)

136c. *-n ----> -ŋ / ___ # shān 山 and zhēn 臻 (Jíngtián, Cónghua, Zēngchéng, Shatou, Guānchéng, Shājǐng)

136d. *-ŋ ----> -n / ___ # (Shājǐng, Xīnxū)

Rule 137. Development of the MC Stop Endings /*-p, *-t, *-k/

137a. *-p ----> -k, -ʔ / ___ # (Guānchéng)

137b. *-k ----> -t / ___ # (Pānyú, Dàliáng, Táichéng, Chīkǎn)

137c. *-k ----> -∅ / ___ # (Guānchéng, Shājǐng)

137d. *-t ----> -k / ___ # (Jíngtián, Guānchéng, Táichéng)

137e. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ___ # (Shājǐng)

Rule 138. Tone Split Rule

*T1, *T2, *T3, *T4 ----> { T1a, T2a, T3a, T4a/ voiceless initial syllable
T1b, T2b, T3b, T4b/ voiced initial syllable

Rule 139. T1a ----> T3a (Siyǐ dialects)

Rule 140. T1b ----> T3b (Cāngwú, Jiāngkǒu)

Rule 141. T2a ----> { T2a (Yǎyáo)
T2az

Rule 142. T4a ----> { T4a /lax vowel (most Yuè dialects, Tíngzǐcūn, Xīnxū)
T4a' /tense vowel

Rule 143. T4b ----> { T4b (Yángjiāng, Tíngzǐcūn, Xīnxū)
T4b'

The Transitional Dialects: Huīyǔ and Pínghuà

Rule 144. Devoicing and Aspiration of the Voiced Obstruents (=Rule 73)

*C- ----> [+ aspirated, -voiced] / # ___ (in all tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 145.

*C- ----> [- aspirated, -voiced] / # ___ (in some tones)
[- sonorant, +voiced]

Rule 146. Development of the MC *tj- 莊系, *t- 知系, *tɕ- 章系

146a. *tʃ- 莊系, *t- 知系, *tʃ- 章系 ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, ʃ- / #_ i, Grade III

146b. *tʃ- 莊系, *t- 知系, *tʃ- 章系 ----> ts-, ts'-, s- / elsewhere

Rule 147. *tʃ- 莊系, *t- 知系 ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-, ʃ- / #___ (Qídé Subgroup)

Rule 148. Palatalization of the MC *k- 見系

148a. *k-, *k'-, *g'-' ----> tʃ-, tʃ'-' / #___ i, Grade III

148b. *k-, *k'-, *g'-' ----> k-, k'-' / grave syllables

Rule 149. Development of the MC *n- (日) initial

149a. *n- (日) ----> ʃ- / #___

149b. *n- (日) ----> z- / #___ (Jìxǐ) (partial)

149c. *n- (日) ----> n- / #___ (Jìxǐ) (partial)

149d. *n- (日) ----> ʒr- / #___ (Jìxǐ) (partial)

Rule 150. *ʃ- (影) ----> ʃ- / #___

Rule 151. *n- (泥) ----> l- / #___ (grave syllables)

Rule 152.

152a. *x- (曉) ----> h-, x- / #___ (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152b. *x- (曉) ----> f- / #___ u (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152c. *x- (曉) ----> ʃ- / #___ Grade III, IV (most of the Huǐ dialects)

152d. *x- (曉) ----> k'-' / #___ (partial lexicon)

Rule 153.

153a. *ɣ- (匣) ----> h-, x- / #___ (most of the Huǐ dialects)

153b. *ɣ- (匣) ----> k- / #___ (partial)

Rule 154. MC Nasal Ending Deletion Rule

154a. *VN ----> ʋN ----> ʋ / # (C) ___ #
(*iě̃n, *iě̃m, *iüě̃n, *an, *am, *uan, *iə̃ŋ,
*iə̃ŋ, *iə̃ŋ, *iə̃ŋ)

154b. ʋ ----> V / # (C) ___ # (*an, *am)

Rule 155. Development of the MC Nasal Endings

155a. *-m, *-n, *-ŋ ----> -∅ / ___ # (Xiūníng dialect)

155b. *-m, *-ŋ ----> -n / ___ # Grade III (*shēn* 深韻, *dōng* 東韻, and
zēng 曾韻 rimes)

155c. *-ŋ ----> -u / ___ # (*táng, yáng* rime) (Xiūníng dialect)

Rule 156. MC Medial Deletion Rule

*-/u- / ----> ∅ / ___ #

Rule 157. Development of the MC Stop Endings

157a. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -ʔ / ___ #

157b. *-p, *-t, *-k ----> -∅ / ___ # (Xiūníng)

Rule 158. Deletion of the MC Vowel Coda

158a. */-i/ ----> ∅ / # (C) V ___ (rime 蟹)

158b. */-u/ ----> ∅ / # (C) V ___ (rime 效)

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