

A Grammatical description of Xuwen : A colloquial dialect of Lei-zhou peninsula (Part II)

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A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF XUWEN :

A COLLOQUIAL DIALECT OF LEI-ZHOU

PENINSULA (Part II)

II. FROM ANCIENT CHINESE TO XUWEN

It was observed in Section I that Xúwén retains the Ancient Chinese syllable-final /p/, /t/, /k/ and /m/, /n/, /ŋ/. For initials, however, the voicing contrast among stops and affricates in Ancient Chinese is lost. The only voiced initial of Xúwén is the labial dental fricative /v/ which does not have a voiceless counterpart. In the following discussion of Xúwén and Ancient Chinese phonology, we will focus on the tones and the initials. The sound system of Ancient Chinese is that of the *Qie-yun* system.

II.1. Tones

The following rules illustrate the change of the tonal system from Ancient Chinese to Xúwén.

	Ancient Chinese	Xúwén
(i)	yīn píng (陰平)	mid-level
(ii)	yáng píng (陽平)	low-level
(iii)	yīn shǎng (陰上)	falling
	yáng shǎng (陽上)	

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| (iv) yīn qù (陰去) | rising |
| (v) yáng qù (陽去) | mid-level |
| (vi) yīn rù (陰入) | high-level |
| (vii) yáng rù (陽入) | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: space-between;"> { low-level if final stop
is retained mid-level if final stop
is lost </div> |

The Xúwén high-level tone is derived primarily from the Ancient Chinese tone yīn rù (陰入). Similar to words with the Ancient Chinese tone yáng rù (陽入), words with Ancient Chinese yīn rù (陰入) tone fall into two classes of Xúwén words : those which retain the Ancient Chinese final stop and those which have lost the final stop. But both classes of Xúwén words deriving from the Ancient Chinese yīn rù tone have acquired the high-level tone. The following are some examples :

鴨	'duck'	/a/	百	'hundred'	/pæ/
雪	'snow'	/toi/	蛤	'toad'	/kap/
鐵	'iron'	/thi/	七	'seven'	/sit/
拍	'to swat'	/pha/	國	'country'	/kɒk/
伯	'father's elder brother'	/pæ/	北	'north'	/pak/
殺	'kill'	/tua/	得	'obtain'	/tik/
			一	'one'	/it/

Examples illustrating rule (vii) above which shows the splitting of the Ancient Chinese yáng rù tone on the basis of the loss or retention of the final stop are given below :

日	'sun'	/yɪt/	學	'to learn'	/ɔ/
盒	'box'	/hāp/	石	'stone'	/tʃio/
目	'eye'	/māk/	食	'eat'	/tʃia/
侄	'brother's children'	/tsiēk/	熱	'hot'	/lua/
六	'six'	/lāk/	薄	'thin'	/pɔ/
十	'ten'	/tsāp/	落	'fall'	/lɔ/
直	'straight'	/tik/			
肉	'meat'	/hɪp/			

The Ancient Chinese yīn shǎng and yáng shǎng have merged

into the Xuwén falling tone as stated in rule (iii). All of the Xuwén falling tones derive from the Ancient Chinese shǎng tones, e.g.

	yīn shǎng		yáng shǎng		
海	'sea'	/hài/	我	'1st person sg. pronoun'	/và/
虎	'tiger'	/hɛu/	汝	'2nd person sg. pronoun'	/lù/
鼠	'mouse'	/sù/	月	'moon'	/yù/
狗	'dog'	/kàu/	馬	'horse'	/væ/
左	'left'	/tsò/	美	'pretty'	/mùi/
腿	'lower limb'	/thui/	女	'female (human)'	/ní/
本	'classifier for book'	/puì/	老	'old'	/laù/
把	'classifier for knife'	/pæ/	母	'female (animal)'	/vò/
矮	'short in height'	/sì/			
淺	'shallow'	/təhiɛŋ/			
洗	'to wash'	/tɔi/			
好	'good'	/hò/			
手	'hand'	/sìu/			

Our data suggest that if an Ancient Chinese word with yáng shǎng tone has a voiced true consonant (i.e. stops, fricatives, affricates), its reflex in Xuwén is a mid-level tone. But we only have four items of data. They do not constitute sufficient evidence for us to formulate a rule. We also have four items of data which yield a mid-level tone as the Xuwén reflex of Ancient Chinese yáng shǎng tone with liquid or nasal initials. These data are given below :

	Ancient Chinese	Xuwén
	initial	
舅	'mother's brother'	[g-] /ku/
雨	'rain'	[v-] /hɛu/
後	'behind, later'	[v-] /au/
弟	'younger brother'	[d-] /ti/
耳	'ear'	[n-] /hi/
咬	'to bite'	[ŋ-] /ka/
五	'five'	[ŋ-] /ŋɛu/
卵	'egg'	[l-] /nui/

The following examples illustrate rule (i) where Ancient Chinese yīn píng tone becomes the mid-level tone in Xuwén :

冰	'ice'	/pεŋ/	書	'book'	/tsu/
風	'wind'	/huaŋ/	衫	'shirt'	/ta/
刀	'knife'	/tɔ/	聽	'hear'	/tʰia/
金	'gold'	/kim/	羊	'sheep'	/iɔ/
雞	'chicken'	/koi/	伊	'3rd person sg. pronoun'	/i/
花	'flower'	/huɛ/			
吹	'blow'	/sui/			
香	'fragrant'	/phao/			
深	'deep'	/sim/			
三	'three'	/ta/			

Examples for rule (ii) where Ancient Chinese yáng píng tone becomes the low level tone in Xuwén :

逃	'to escape'	/tʰāu/	婆	'old woman'	/pʰō/
雷	'thunder'	/loī/	斜	'slanted'	/tiā/
鵝	'goose'	/ŋɔ/	皮	'skin'	/pʰɛ/
人	'person'	/nāŋ/	來	'to come'	/lāi/
湖	'lake'	/hū/	房	'room'	/pāŋ/
前	'before/ahead'	/tsāi/	門	'door'	/muī/
煤	'coal'	/vē/	難	'difficult'	/nāŋ/
蛇	'snake'	/tsuā/			

Examples for rule (iv) where Ancient Chinese yīn qu tone becomes the rising tone in Xuwén :

倒	'pour'	/tō/	放	'to release'	/paŋ/
褲	'pants'	/kʰεú/	四	'four'	/tí/
意	'meaning'	/i/	探	'explore'	/tʰám/
笑	'to laugh'	/piú/	貴	'expensive'	/kui/
臭	'odorous'	/tʃián/			
(睡)覺	'sleep'	/kiáu/			

Examples for rule (v) where Ancient Chinese yáng qu tone becomes the mid-level tone in Xuwén :

鍊	'chain'	/liɛn/	妹	'younger sister'	/muɛ/
下	'below'	/æ/	尿	'urine'	/iɔ̄/
帽	'hat'	/mau/	病	'sick'	/pæ/
壞	'bad'	/huai/	鼻	'nose'	/phi/
就	'then'	/tsiū/	樹	'tree'	/siū/
右	'right' (opposite of left)'	/iū/			

The main features of tone change from Ancient Chinese to Xuwen are,

- (a) the Ancient Chinese tones yīn shǎng (陰上) and yáng shǎng (陽上) have merged into a falling tone in Xuwen ;
- (b) Ancient Chinese yáng rù (陽入) tone is split into a short (checked syllable) low tone and a mid-level in Xuwen ;
- (c) the Ancient Chinese tones yīn píng (陰平) and yáng qù (陽去) have merged into the mid-level tone in Xuwen ;
- (d) it is possible that the Ancient Chinese yáng shǎng (陽上) tone has been split into a falling tone and a mid-level tone in Xuwen. Further evidence is needed to ascertain this change.

II.2. Initials

Ancient Chinese	Xuwen	Examples
幫	*p-	/p-/ 冰 'ice' ; 本 'classifier for book' ; 爸 'dad' ; 伯 'father's older brother' ; 八 'eight' ; 百 'hundred' ; 北 'north'
非	*f-	/h-/ 風 'wind' /p-/ 方 'square' ; 放 'to release' ; 房 'room'
滂	*ph-	/ph-/ 拍 'to swat'
敷	*fh	/ph-/ 芳 'fragrant'
並	*b-	/ph-/ 婆 'elderly woman' ; 朋 'friend' ; 跑 'to run' ; 鼻 'nose' ; 皮 'skin' /p-/ 便 (宜) 'cheap' ; 薄 'thin' ;
奉	*v-	/p-/ 房 'house' ; 肥 'fat'

Ancient Chinese Xúwén

Examples

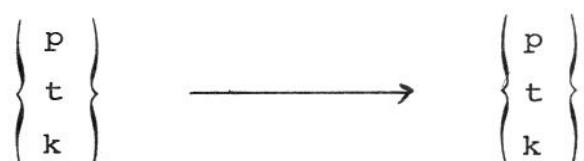
明	*m-	m-	明 'bright' ; 毛 'body hair' ; 忙 'busy' ; 門 'door' ; 母 'mother' ; 美 'pretty' ; 罷 'to scold' ; 帽 'hat' ; 目 'eye'
明	*m-	/v-/	煤 'coal' ; 梅 'plum' ; 馬 'horse'
微	*m̩-	/v-/	無 'negative particle' ; 文 'literature' ; 萬 'ten thousand'
端	*t-	/t-/	刀 'knife' ; 短 'short in length' ; 得 'obtain' ; 倒 'pour'
透	*tʰ-	/tʰ-/	吞 'swallow' ; 聽 'hear' ; 腿 'lower limb' ; 探 'explore' ; 鐵 'iron'
定	*d-	/tʰ-/	逃 'to escape' ; 頭 'head' ; 糖 'sugar' ; 讀 'to study'
		/t-/	銅 'copper' ; 條 'classifier for dog, snake, etc.' ; 弟 'younger brother' ; 大 'big' ; 道 'way'
泥	*n-	/n-/	男 'male (human)' ; 難 'difficult' ; 奴 'slave' ; 奶 'milk'
知	*t̪-	/ts-/	中 'middle'
		/tsʰ-/	桌 'table'
		/t-/	豬 'pig' ; 張 'a surname'
澄	*d̪-	/t-/	長 'to grow' ; 直 'straight'
		/t̪-/	侄 'brother's children'
精	*ts-	/ts-/	樽 'bottle' ; 行 'walk'
		/t̪s-/	姐 'elder sister' ; 酒 'wine'
		/s-/	嘴 'mouth'
		/t̪sʰ-/	淺 'shallow'
清	*tsʰ-	/s-/	粗 'thick, rough' ; 千 'thousand'
		/s̪-/	七 'seven'
從	*dz-	/t̪s-/	錢 'money' ; 前 'before, in front of' ; 就 'then'
		/s̪-/	牆 'wall'

Ancient Chinese	Xuwén	Examples
心 *s-	/s-/	星 'star'
	/t-/	孫 'grandson (paternal)' ; 箱 'suit-case' ; 先 (生) 'mister' ; 洗 'to wash' ; 四 'four' ; 雪 'snow'
	/p-/	笑 'to laugh'
邪 *z-	/t-/	斜 'slanted'
章 *tʂ-	/tʂ-/	鐘 'clock'
穿 *tʂʰ-	/tʂ-/	臭 'odorous'
	/s-/	吹 'blow'
船 *dʐ-	/tʂ-/	食 'eat'
	/ts-/	蛇 'snake'
書 *ʂ-	/t-/	燒 'cook, burn' ; 身 'body' ; 書 'book'
	/s-/	鼠 'mouse'
	/p-/	深 'deep' ; 手 'hand'
禪 *ʐ-	/t-/	時 'time'
	/ʂ-/	樹 'tree'
	/ts-/	十 'ten'
見 *k-	/k-/	公 'public' ; 今(天) 'today' ; 金 'gold' ; 國 'country' ; 雞 'chicken' ; 龜 'tortoise' ; 家 'family' ; 果 'fruit' ; 講 'to talk' ; 貴 'precious' ; 港 'harbour'
漢 *kʰ-	/kʰ-/	開 'open' ; 氣 'air' ; 褲 'pants' ; 去 'to go' ; 眇 'sleepy' ; 靠 'to depend on' ; 快 'fast' ; 湯 'thirsty'
羣 *g-	/k-/	舅 'mother's brother'
	/kʰ-/	葛 'worn out'
疑 *ŋ-	/ŋ-/	鵝 'goose' ; 銀 'silver' ; 五 'five' ; 午 'noon'
	/v-/	牛 'cattle'
	/h-/	魚 'fish'

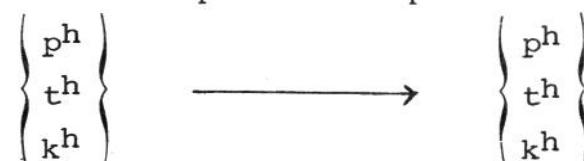
Ancient Chinese	Xuwén	Examples
曉 *x-	/h-/	花 'flower' ; 香 'fragrant' ; 兄 'elder brother' ; 歡 'be glad' ; 薫 'to smoke' ; 好 'good' ; 虎 'tiger' ; 海 'sea'
匣 *y-	/h-/	湖 'lake' ; 雨 'rain' ; 現 'appear' ; 盒 'box' ; 壞 'bad'
	/k-/	行 'walk' ; 懸 'to hang' ; 寂 'cold' ; 厚 'thick'
	/ɸ-/	學 'learn' ; 下 'descend, down' ; 右 'to right (side)' ; 後 'behind' ; 鞋 'shoe' ; 喉 'throat'
來 *l-	/l-/	雷 'thunder' ; 郎 'young man' ; 涼 'cold' ; 來 'to come' ; 零 'zero' ; 鍊 'chain' ; 路 'street' ; 六 'six' ; 老 'old'
而 *n-	/n-/	人 'person' ; 二 'two'
	/h-/	耳 'ear' ; 肉 'meat'
所 *ʃ-	/t-/	衫 'shirt, clothing' ; 殺 'kill'

We do not have data to show the Xuwén reflexes of the following Ancient Chinese initials : 徹 *tʰ-, 𢵤 *ɸ-, 𠂔 *tʃ-, 初 *tʃʰ-, 壴 *dʒ-. 影 *ʔ-. The Xuwén data we have are also insufficient in a number of cases to establish firmly the modern Xuwén reflexes of certain Ancient Chinese initials. However, the following Xuwén reflexes of Ancient Chinese initials appear to be well supported by our data :

- | Ancient Chinese | Xuwén |
|--|-------|
| (i) Voiceless unaspirated stops are retained | |



- (ii) Voiceless aspirated stops are retained



(iii) Ancient Chinese voiced stops are split into voiceless unaspirated stops and voiceless aspirated stops. Our data suggest that Ancient Chinese voiced bilabial and alveolar stops have mostly become voiceless and aspirated when the tone is a ping (平) tone. When the tone is not a ping (平) tone, voiced bilabial and alveolar stops tend to become voiceless and unaspirated. We have only three Xuwen reflexes of the Ancient Chinese voiced velar stop. They include unaspirated and aspirated stops. Even in the case of the voiced alveolar and bilabial stops, the above-mentioned tendencies are not strong according to our limited data. In the following tables, we present all the morphemes involving Xuwen reflexes of Ancient Chinese voiced stops with their complete phonological information.

morpheme	Xuwén tone	shè (攝)	kāi } kǒu { 開 } 口 hé } { 合 }	děng	Ancient Chinese tone	yùn 韵	initials
婆 'elder woman'	一	果	合口 hé kǒu	—	平 ping	戈	並
朋 'friend'	一	會	開口 kāi kǒu	—	平 ping	登	並
跑 'run'	一	效	開口 kāi kǒu	二	平 ping	肴	並
皮 'skin'	一	止	開口 kāi kǒu	三	平 ping	支	並
鼻 'nose'	一	止	開口 kāi kǒu	三	去 qu	至	並

Table 1 : Ancient Chinese

Xuwén

[b] → [p^h]

morpheme	Xúwén tone	shè (攝)	$\{kāi\}$ $\{hé\}$ kǒu {開} {合} 口	děng 等	Ancient Chinese tone	yùn 韵	initials
薄 'thin'	一	宮	開口 kāi kǒu	一	入 rù	鐸	並
病 'sick'	一	梗	開口 kāi kǒu	三	去 qù	映	並
便(宜) 'cheap'	一	山	開口 kāi kǒu	三	平 píng	仙	並

Table 2 : Ancient Chinese Xúwén

[b] → [p]

morpheme	Xúwén tone	shè (攝)	$\{kāi\}$ $\{hé\}$ kǒu {開} {合} 口	děng 等	Ancient Chinese tone	yùn 韵	initials
頭 'head'	一	流	開口 kāi kǒu	一	平 píng	候	定
逃 'escape'	一	效	開口 kāi kǒu	一	平 píng	蒙	定
糖 'sugar'	一	宮	開口 kāi kǒu	一	平 píng	唐	定
讀(書) 'study'	一	通	合口 hé kǒu	一	入 rù	屋	定

Table 3 : Ancient Chinese Xúwén

[d] → [t^h]

morpheme	Xuwén tone	shè (攝)	kāi hé } kǒu { 開 } 口	děng 等	Ancient Chinese tone	yùn 韵	initials
弟 'younger brother'	一	蟹	開口 kāi kǒu	四	上 shàng	齊	定
大 'big'	一	果	開口 kāi kǒu	一	去 qù	箇	定
地 'earth'	二	止	開口 kāi kǒu	三	去 qù	至	定
道 'way'	一	效	開口 kāi kǒu	一	上 shàng	皓	定
係 'classifier for snake, etc.'	二	效	開口 kāi kǒu	四	平 píng	薦	定
銅 'copper'	二	通	合口 hé kǒu	一	平 píng	東	定

Table 4 : Ancient Chinese Xuwén
[d] → [t]

morpheme	Xuwén tone and initial	shè (攝)	kāi hé } kǒu { 開 } 口	děng 等	Ancient Chinese tone	yùn 韵	initials
舅 'mother's brother'	k- 一	流	開口 kāi kǒu	三	上 shàng	有	群
舊 'old, worn out'	k ^h - 一	流	開口 kāi kǒu	三	去 qù	宥	群
妗 'wife of mother's brother'	k- 一	深	開口 kāi kǒu	三	去 qù	沁	群

Table 5 : Xuwén reflexes of Ancient Chinese voiced velar stop [g]

- (iv) The Ancient Chinese liquid [l] and alveolar nasal [n] remain unchanged in Xúwén :

Ancient Chinese	Xúwén
{ l n }	→ { l n }

- (v) The Ancient Chinese labial-dental nasal [ŋ] mostly becomes the only voiced initial in Xúwén, the labial-dental or bi-labial fricative, /v/ /w/.

Ancient Chinese	Xúwén
[ŋ]	→ [v] ~ [w]

- (vi) The Ancient Chinese bilabial nasal [m] is retained in most cases. In cases of exceptions, it has become /v/ in Xúwén. No conditioning factors are found for the exceptions.

Ancient Chinese	Xúwén
[m]	→ { [m] [v] ~ [w] }

- (vii) The Ancient Chinese voiceless velar fricative [x] becomes [h] in Xúwén.

Ancient Chinese	Xuwen
[x]	→ [h]

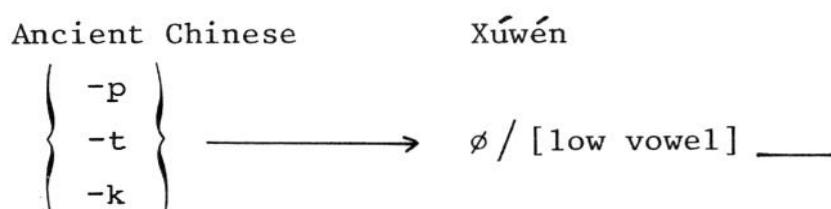
- (viii) Changes of Ancient Chinese fricatives into stops are common in Xúwén. Such changes have been observed in most Min dialects spoken on the island, Hainan, which is in close proximity to Xuwen. In our data, the change from the labial fricatives /f/, /v/ to /p/ and from the alveolar fricative /s/ to the alveolar stop /t/ is prevalent ; the changes from the palatal fricative /ʂ/ and the alveo-palatal fricative /ʂ/ to alveolar stop /t/ and from the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ to velar stop /k/ are common.

To sum up this discussion of initials from Ancient Chinese to Xúwén, we should point out that Xúwén is a colloquial dialect and our consultant's inability to read prevented us from obtaining data that do not occur in her speech. Thus, pronunciations of the literary morphemes of rhyme dictionaries cannot be elicited, rendering our data insufficient for establishing rules of phonological changes from Ancient Chinese to modern Xúwén. Another factor worth noting is interdialectal influence. There is no doubt that our consultant's speech has been influenced by Yue dialects. For example, the Xúwén morpheme for 'mosquito' (蚊) is pronounced /màŋ/. It has the same phonolo-

gical form as 'literature' (文) in Ancient Chinese : 素指, 合口, 三等, 平聲, 文韻, 微母. 'Literature' (文), however, is pronounced as /viŋ/ in Xuwen. Since the Ancient Chinese yáng píng (陽平) tone has become the low level tone in Xuwen, and the Ancient Chinese labial-dental nasal [m] has mostly become the voiced labial-dental fricative /v/ in Xuwen, we can infer that /məŋ/ 'mosquito' is probably a loan word in Xuwen. The likely source of this loan is a Yue dialect which is also spoken in Xuwen. In standard Yue, the word for 'mosquito' is pronounced as [mən] with a high tone,

II.3. Finals.

We have already stated that the three stops [-p], [-t], [-k] and the three nasals [-m], [-n], [-ŋ], all occur in Xuwen finals. Our data show that there are as many words which have lost their final stops as there are words which have retained their final stops. For these words with Ancient Chinese rù (入) tone and voiced initials, we have already stated that where the final [p], [t], [k] is retained, the modern Xuwen tone is low level, and where the final stop is lost, the modern Xuwen tone is mid-level. For those words with Ancient Chinese rù tone and voiceless initials, the loss or retention of the final stop depends on the Ancient Chinese vowel preceding the stop. If the nuclear vowel is a low vowel in Ancient Chinese, the final stop is lost; otherwise, the final stop is retained. Thus, we have the following rule that applies to words with rù tone :



Examples

Morpheme	Ancient Chinese form	Xuwen form
鴨 'duck'	[?ap]	[a̤]
雪 'snow'	[sjæt]	[toi̤]
鐵 'iron'	[thiɛt]	[thi̤]
拍 'swat'	[pʰɒk]	[pʰa̤]

Morpheme	Ancient Chinese form	Xúwén form
卓 'table'	[tɔk]	[tsʰɔ̄]
伯 'father's older brother'	[pɔk]	[pǣ]
殺 'kill'	[ʃæt]	[tuā]
渴 'thirsty'	[khat]	[kʰuā]
一 'one'	[?jet]	[it̄]
國 'country'	[kuək]	[kɔ̄k]
北 'north'	[pək]	[pak̄]
得 'obtain'	[tək]	[tik̄]

Table 6 : Morphemes with yīn rù (陰入) tone in Ancient Chinese

As for the final nasals, there appears to be a great deal of idiosyncratic change from Ancient Chinese to Xúwén. A final nasal may be lost, retained, or changed to another nasal. The following examples will illustrate the changes :

Morpheme	Ancient Chinese form	Xúwén form
冰 'ice'	[pjəŋ]	[pɛ̄ŋ̄]
星 'star'	[sien̄]	[sǣ]
天 'sky'	[tʰien̄]	[tʰī]
金 'gold'	[kjem]	[kim̄]
今 'today'	[kjem]	[kiŋ̄]

Morpheme	Ancient Chinese form	Xúwén form
鷹 'eagle'	[?jəŋ]	[yim]
三 'three'	[sam]	[ta]
前 'before'	[dziɛn]	[tsai̯]
鍊 'chain'	[liuɛn]	[liɛn]
人 'person'	[njen]	[naŋ]
零 'zero'	[lieŋ]	[laŋ]

Our data indicate that final alveolar nasal is rare. In most cases, it is either lost or merged with the velar nasal.

III. THE CLASSIFICATION OF XUWEN IN CHINESE DIALECTS

In the preceding discussion, we have pointed out that Xúwén possesses various phonological and syntactic characteristics that are typical of Southern Chinese dialects. The location of Xúwén, of course, is almost the southern-most region of coastal China. The question concerning the classificatory status of Xúwén, then, is a matter of choice among three dialect families : Min, Yue, and Hakka. Our impression in the field was that Xúwén belongs to the Southern Min family. We will, therefore, proceed from there. First of all, we will present the lexical evidence involving a sample of basic vocabulary items from Xúwén, Cháozhōu (Southern Min), Guǎngzhōu (Yue), and Méixiān (Hakka) :

Morpheme	Xuwen	Chaozhou (Southern Min)	Gångzhou (Yue)	Meixian (Hakka)
3rd person singular pronoun, 他 [tə]	[t̩] 33	[kʰøy] 23	[kʰøy] 23	[k̚i] 12
3rd person plural pronoun, 他們 [tʰəm]	[t̩] 33 [naŋ] 33	[kʰøy] 23 [tei] 22	[ki] 12 [teu] 44 [m̚in] 12	
2nd person singular pronoun, 你 [n̚i]	[n̚i] 42	[lɯ] 53	[nei] 23	[n̚i] 12
1st person singular pronoun, 我 [wə]	[va] 42	[ua] 53	[ŋɔ] 23	[ŋati] 12
eye, 眼睛 [ŋai]	[mak] 1	[mak] 4	[ŋan] 23	[muk] 21 [tsu] 44
ear, 耳朵 [ŋi]	[hi] 33	[hi] 35	[ji] 23 [tsat̚i] 35	[ŋi] 31 [kuŋ] 44
kid, 孩子 [ŋi]	[non] 11 [kia] 42	[non] 33 [kia] 53	[saŋ] 33 [lou] 23 [ko] 53	[se] 42 [lau] 31 [ko] 44
pig, 猪 [ŋi]	[tu] 33	[tu] 33	[tʃy] 53	[tsu] 44
coal, 煤 [ŋi]	[ve] 11	[buŋ] 55	[muŋ] 21	[moŋ] 12
tea, 茶 [ŋi]	[te] 33	[te] 55	[tsha] 21	[tsha] 12
portridge, 粥 [ŋi]	[muŋ] 11	[muŋ] 55	[tsuk] 5	[tsuk] 2
year, 年 [ŋi]	[hi] 11	[ni] 55	[niŋ] 21	[niŋ] 12
water, 水 [ŋi]	[tsui] 42	[tsui] 53	[sɸy] 35	[suŋ] 31
hen, 雞 [ŋi]	[kɔi] 33 [vɔ] 42	[kɔi] 53	[na] 35	[ke] 44 [na] 12

cont'd.

Morpheme	Xuwén	Cháozhōu (Southern Min)	Guǎngzhōu (Yue)	Méixiàn (Hakka)
'rain' 雨	[həu]33	[hou]35	[jy]23	[ji]31
'to eat' 吃	[tʂia]33	[tsia?]4	[sik]2	[sət]4
'often' 常	[ti]11[ti]11	[si]55[si]55	[ʃi]21[ʃi]21	[sɿ]12[sɔŋ]12
'be' 是	[ti]33	[si]35	[hai]22	[hɛ]42
'book' 書	[tsu]11	[tsɿ]33	[ʃy]53	[su]44
'to walk' 走	[kia]11	[kiā]55	[haŋ]21	[haŋ]12
'older brother' 哥哥	[tua]33 [hia]33	[a]33 [hiã]33	[tai]22 [lou]23	[a]44 [ko]44
'son' 兒子	[kia]42	[kiā]53	[tsail]21	[lai]42[ɛ]

The similarity between the Xuwén forms and the Cháozhōu forms in the preceding example lexicon is too striking and consistent to be a result of chance. Since Xuwén is geographically closer to Méixiàn and Guǎngzhōu than to Cháozhōu, it is unlikely that the similarity between the Xuwén forms and Cháozhōu forms is a result of borrowing. It is worth noting from the preceding sample of basic vocabulary that Ancient Chinese fricatives have become affricates in several entries in Cháozhōu and Xuwén whereas they remain as fricatives in Guǎngzhōu and Méixiàn ('book' 書 , 'eat' 吃 , 'water' 水). Another interesting fact is that the Xuwén initial [v] corresponds to [b] or [u] in Cháozhōu and nasals in the other two dialects.

An important criterion for classifying a dialect into the Min group is the reflexes of the Ancient Chinese voiced stops. According to Norman (1970), the voiced stops of Ancient Chinese are split into voiceless aspirated or voiceless unaspirated stops in all tones in Min. This split is unconditioned. Our scanty data show a tendency for voiced bilabial and voiced alveolar stops to become voiceless aspirated stops when the tone is ping (平) tone. This tendency, however, is not strong enough to constitute a contradiction to the principle stated by Norman (see Table 1, Table 5 for data). This tendency suggests

that Xúwén shares with Yue dialects a property regarding the reflexes of Ancient Chinese voiced initials. But we can also point to the lack of consistency of this property in Xúwén and suggest that it is similar in that respect to Min dialects.

Norman (1970) also noted that the Min dialects have a number of lexical items not found in other dialects. The following are some exemples from four Min dialects including Xúwén.

Morpheme	Xúwén	Cháozhōu	Fúzhōu	Xiàmén
'foot' 腳	[kʰa]33	[kʰa]33	[kʰa]44	[kʰa]55
'house' 屋	[so]24	[tsʰu]213	[tsʰuo]213	[tsʰu]11
'kill' 刑	[tua]55	[tʰai]55	[tʰai]52	[tʰai]24
'bland' 飄	[tɸia]42	[tsiã]53	[tsiaŋ]31	[tsiã]51

Finally, Norman (1970) stated that the bilabials of Ancient Chinese which become labio-dentals in other dialects families have remained bilabials in Min. This rule certainly applies to Xúwén. Those Xúwén morphemes which have /v/ ~ /w/ corresponding to the Ancient Chinese bilabial nasal do not belong to 合口三等 and therefore, are not exceptions to the rule.

The unusual characteristic of Xúwén within the Min dialect family is the lack of tone sandhi. Most Min dialects have complex tone sandhi phenomena.

To sum up, we conclude that Xúwén is a Min dialect, in particular, belonging to the Southern Min group. It has all of the characteristics of Southern Chinese dialects and it shares most of the features of Min proposed by Norman (1970).

APPENDIX : A Sample Lexicon of Xuwén^(*)

A. NOUNS

I. Nature, natural phenomena

1.	太陽	sun	/it tʰàu/
2.	月亮	moon	/vɛ ni᷑/
3.	冰	ice	/pɛŋ/
4.	星	star	/sæ/
5.	風	wind	/huŋ/
6.	雷	thunder	/lo᷑/
7.	雨	rain	/hɛu/
8.	海	sea	/hài/
9.	湖	lake	/hú/
10.	雪	snow	/toi/
11.	天	sky	/tʰi/
12.	地	earth	/ti/
13.	天氣	climate	/thi kʰi/

II. Animals

14.	鴨	duck	/a/
15.	鵝	goose	/ŋɔ/
16.	老虎	tiger	/hɛu/
17.	老鼠	mouse	/ni᷑u sù/
18.	鷹	eagle	/yim pɔ/
19.	鹿	deer	/ui kia/
20.	麻雀	sparrow	/tʃiau mæ/
21.	牛	cow (generic)	/vú/
22.	公牛	bull	/vú koŋ/
23.	母牛	cow	/vú vɔ/
24.	馬	horse	/væ/
25.	公馬	stallion	/væ koŋ/

(*) The characters in this lexicon represent the Mandarin morphemes which may not be the phonological equivalents of the Xuwén entries.

26.	母馬	mare	/væ vò/
27.	豬	pig	/tū ~ tú/
28.	公豬	boar	/tū kɔ̄/
29.	母豬	sow	/tū vò/
30.	狗	dog	/kàu/
31.	公狗	male dog	/kàu kɔŋ/
32.	母狗	bitch	/kàu vò/
33.	羊	sheep	/iɔ̄/
34.	貓	cat	/niau/
35.	雞	chicken	/koi/
36.	公雞	rooster	/koi t̄hàu/
37.	母雞	hen	/koi vò/
38.	小雞	small chick	/koi kià/
39.	蜻蜓	dragonfly	/niam mi/
40.	烏龜	tortoise	/ɛū kū/
41.	青蛙	frog	/káp ná/~/káp vò/
42.	蚊	mosquito	/màn̄/
43.	蒼蠅	fly	/hèu t̄iŋ/~/hèu t̄i/
44.	蛇	snake	/tsuā/
45.	蜘蛛	spider	/ŋuo ñæ/
46.	蜜蜂	bee	/pʰán̄/

III. Plants

47.	梅花	plum flower	/v̄ε̄ huε̄/
48.	花	flower	/huε̄/
49.	棉花	cotton	/m̄i huε̄/
50.	稻子	rice plant in the field	/tiū/
51.	米	rice uncooked	/v̄i/
52.	花生	peanut	/huan̄ taū/
53.	樹	tree	/s̄iū/
54.	樹葉	tree leaf	/s̄iū hiō/
55.	水果	fruit	/tsuè̄ kūε̄/

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56.	桔子	orange	/tɕin̩/
57.	西瓜	watermelon	/tai kuɛ̄/
58.	蘋果	apple	/pʰin̩ kuɛ̄/

IV. Time

59.	年	year	/hī/ ~ /hì/
60.	今年	this year	/kɪŋ hī/
61.	明年	next year	/mǣ hī/
62.	去年	last year	/kʰú hī/
63.	前年	year before last	/tsaī hī/
64.	今天	today	/kɪŋ ɪt/
65.	明天	tomorrow	/hɪŋ ɪt/
66.	後天	day after tomorrow	/aū ɪt/
67.	昨天	yesterday	/tsam̄ moī/
68.	前天	day before yesterday	/tsaī yit̄/
69.	夜	night	/mǣ hōi/
70.	早晨	morning	/tsà tien̄/ /tsà tiɛ̄/
71.	上午	before noon	/tɕiɔ̄ŋ ɳù/
72.	下午	afternoon	/ǣ ɳù/
73.	今天下午	this afternoon	/kɪŋ ɪt̄ ǣ ɳù/
74.	昨天早晨	yesterday morning	/tsam̄ moī tɕiɔ̄ŋ ɳù/
75.	鐘頭	hour	/tsian̄ tʰaū/

V. Food and drink

76.	豬肉	pork	/tū him̄/
77.	豬肝	pig liver	/tū kuā/
78.	豆腐	bean curd	/taū hū/
79.	雞蛋	egg	/kɔ̄i nuī/
80.	鴨蛋	duck egg	/ā nuī/
81.	粥	rice porridge	/muɛ̄/
82.	茶	tea	/tǣ/
83.	酒	wine	/tɕiū/
84.	飯	cooked rice or meal	/mūɛ̄/
85.	水	water	/tsuī/

86.	蜜 糖	honey	(/pʰəŋ/) /tʰəŋ/
87.	魚	fish	/hū/
88.	奶	milk	/næ/

VI. Minerals

89.	金	gold	/kim/
90.	銀	silver	/yin/
91.	銅	copper	/tāŋ/
92.	鐵	iron	/tʰi/
93.	煤	coal	/vɛ/ ~ /və/
94.	石	stone	/tʃioŋ/

VII. Body parts

95.	腳	foot	/kʰa/
96.	頭	head	/tʰau/
97.	頭髮	hair	/tʰau mɔ/ ~ /tʰau huɛ/
98.	眼睛	eye	/mák/
99.	鼻子	nose	/pʰi/
100.	心	heart	/tim/
101.	耳朵	ear	/hi/
102.	一個耳朵	one ear	/iēt kai hi/
103.	猪耳	pig ear	/tu hi/
104.	嘴	mouth	/sui/
105.	手	hand	/ciù/
106.	左手	left hand	/tsɔ̄ ciù/
107.	右手	right hand	/iu ciù/
108.	腿	lower limb	/tʰui/
109.	大腿	thigh	/tua tʰui/
110.	猪腿	pig leg	/tu tʰui/
111.	喉嚨	throat	/au liǎŋ/

VIII. Human

112.	人	person	/nāŋ/
113.	男人	man	/nī kōŋ nāŋ/ ~ /nām nāŋ/

A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF XUWEN : A COLLOQUIAL DIALECT OF
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114.	女人	woman	/nì nāŋ/
115.	小孩子	child/kid	/nōŋ kià/
116.	朋友	friend	/phīŋ yù/
117.	老人	old person	/lāu nāŋ/
118.	郎	young man	/lōŋ/

IX. Kinship

119.	祖父	paternal grandfather	/ts̄eu kōŋ/
120.	祖母	paternal grandmother	/ts̄eu pʰōŋ/
121.	爸爸	dad	/pæ/
122.	媽媽	mom	/næ/
123.	母親	mother	/mài/
124.	伯父	elder brother of father	/pǽ pæ/
125.	伯母	wife of older brother of father	/pǽ mài/ ~ /pǽ næ/
126.	舅舅	mother's brother	/kú pæ/
127.	舅母	wife of mother's brother	/kim mài/ ~ /kim næ/
128.	哥哥	elder brother (/tua/) /hia/	
129.	弟弟	younger brother	/lāu ti/
130.	姐姐	elder sister (/tua/) /tsei/	
131.	妹妹	younger sister /ní muɛ/ ~ /ní muɛ/	
132.	孫子	grandson (son of son)	/tun kià/
133.	侄女	niece (brother's daughter)	/tsei̯k nì/
134.	女婿	son-in-law	/lōŋ kæ/
135.	兒子	son	/kià/

X. Miscellaneous

136.	金鍊	gold chain	/kim liɛn/
137.	鞋子	shoe	/ōi/
138.	褲子	pants	/kʰεú/
139.	帽子	hat	/mau/
140.	手巾	towel	/siù kīŋ/
141.	錢	money	/tsei/
142.	房子	house	/só/
143.	廚房	kitchen	/fí paŋ/

144.	牆	wall	/si᷑/
145.	桌子	table	/tsʰ᷑/
146.	椅子	chair	/i᷑/
147.	書桌	study desk	/tsu᷑ tsʰ᷑/
148.	箱子	suitcase	/ti᷑/
149.	牀	bed	/tsʰ᷑/
150.	菜	a dish of food	/sái/
151.	街	street	/lɛ᷑/
152.	傘	umbrella	/tu᷑/
153.	音樂	music	/im yōk/
154.	自己	self	/ka᷑ ki᷑/
155.	皮箱	leather suitcase	/pʰ᷑ tio᷑/
156.	門	door	/mūi/
157.	書	book	/tsu᷑/
158.	衣服	clothing	/ta᷑/
159.	刀	knife	/tɔ᷑/
160.	信	letter	/ti᷑ŋ/

B. CLASSIFIERS

161.	一條牛	a cow	/iāt kāi vū/
162.	一個人	a person	/iāt kāi nāŋ/
163.	一隻雞	a chicken	/iāt kāi kōi/
164.	一條魚	a fish	/iāt tiāu hū/
165.	一棵樹	a tree	/iāt ki᷑ ſiu᷑/
166.	一朵花	a flower	/iāt phau hu᷑/
167.	一頓飯	a meal	/iāt túi mu᷑/
168.	一瓶酒	a bottle of wine	/iāt tsùn tʃiu᷑/
169.	一支煙	a cigarette	/iāt tiāu hoŋ/
170.	一把刀	a knife	/iāt pæ᷑ tɔ᷑/
171.	一雙鞋	a pair of shoes	/iāt tiaŋ ūi/
172.	一座房子	a house	/iāt tsæ᷑ sō/
173.	一個盒子	a box	/iāt kāi hāp/
174.	一座牆	a wall	/iāt pak ſi᷑/
175.	一把椅子	a chair	/iāt ti᷑ yi᷑/

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--------|------------------|
| 176. | 一個牀 | a bed | /iāt tīɔ̄ tshō̄/ |
| 177. | 一個頭 | a head | /iāt kāi thāu/ |
| 178. | 一本書 | a book | /iāt puì tsū/ |

C. PRONOUNS

- | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------|-------------------|
| 179. | 我 | 1st person singular | /và/ |
| 180. | 你 | 2nd person singular | /lù/ |
| 181. | 他 | 3rd person singular | /i/ ~ /i/ |
| 182. | 我們 | 1st person plural | /và naŋ/ |
| 183. | 你們 | 2nd person plural | /lù naŋ/ |
| 184. | 他們 | 3rd person plural | /i naŋ/ ~ /i naŋ/ |

D. NUMERALS

- | | | | |
|------|------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 185. | 一 | one | /iāt/ ~ /iēt/ |
| 186. | 二 | two | /nɔ̄/ |
| 187. | 三 | three | /ta/ |
| 188. | 四 | four | /ti/ |
| 189. | 五 | five | /ŋεu/ |
| 190. | 六 | six | /lāk/ |
| 191. | 七 | seven | /pit/ |
| 192. | 八 | eight | /pɔ̄i/ |
| 193. | 九 | nine | /kàu/ |
| 194. | 十 | ten | /tsāp/ |
| 195. | 十一 | eleven | /tsāp īt/ |
| 196. | 七十一 | seventy-one | /pit tsāp īt/ |
| 197. | 七十六 | seventy-six | /pit tsāp lāk/ |
| 198. | 六十 | sixty | /lāk tsāp/ |
| 199. | 五十六 | fifty-six | /ŋεu tsāp lāk/ |
| 200. | 三十 | thirty | /ta tsāp/ |
| 201. | 一百 | one hundred | /iāt pæ/ |
| 202. | 一百零一 | one hundred and one | /iāt pæ lāŋ īt/ |
| 203. | 一千 | one thousand | /iāt sai/ |
| 204. | 一千零五 | one thousand and five | /iāt sai lāŋ ŋεu/ |
| 205. | 一萬 | ten thousand | /iāt vāŋ/ |

206. 一萬零一 ten thousand and one /iāt vāŋ lāŋ i̥t/
 207. 一百萬 one million /iāt pæ vāŋ/
 208. 一千萬 ten million /iāt sai vāŋ/

E. VERBS AND ADJECTIVES

209. 倒 collapse /tɔ̄/
 210. 倒 pour /tō̄/
 211. 逃 escape /thāu/
 212. 學 learn /ō/
 213. 喜歡 like /tsɔŋi/ /hua hì/
 214. 有 have/exist /ū/
 215. 打雷 to thunder /lōi phā/
 216. 下雪 to snow /lō̄ toi/
 217. 下雨 to rain /lō̄ heu/
 218. 燒 to roast /tiō̄/
 219. 好 good /hō̄/
 220. 壞 bad /huai/
 221. 去 go /kʰū/
 222. 老 old /lau/
 223. 吃 eat /tɕia/
 224. 喝 drink /im/
 225. 看 see /ō/
 226. 沒有 have not /vō̄/
 227. 聽 hear /tʰia/
 228. 咬 bite /ka/
 229. 吞 swallow /tʰuŋ/
 230. 吹 blow /sui/
 231. 找 find /tuɛ/
 232. 跳 jump /tiō̄/
 233. 打(拍) hit /pʰa/
 234. 跑(走) run /tsàu/
 235. 洗 wash /tɔ̄i/
 236. 洗浴 bathe /tɔ̄i tɕiŋ/
 237. 切 cut with knife /tsɔ̄i/

238.	剪	cut with scissors	/ka/
239.	講	say	/kɔ̄/
240.	殺	kill	/tua/
241.	問	ask	/mui/
242.	喊	yell	/hiám/
243.	笑	laugh	/phiú/
244.	哭	cry	/kʰau/
245.	罵	scold	/mæ/
246.	吵架	quarrel	/tiu tsæ/
247.	打架	fight	/pʰa kæ/
248.	多	many	/tsoi/
249.	冷	cold	/kuā/
250.	涼	cool	/li᷑/
251.	熱	hot	/lua/
252.	芬	fragrant	/pʰan/
253.	臭	odorous	/tsiáu/
254.	忙	busy	/maŋ/
255.	餓	hungry	/ɔi/
256.	喉渴	thirsty	/au khua/
257.	睡覺	sleep	/khɔ̄i kiáu/
258.	小便	urinate	/pán i᷑/
259.	大便	defecate	/pán tài/
260.	病	sick	/pæ/
261.	傷風	to have a cold	/tian huang/
262.	咳嗽	cough	/ka tāu/
263.	頭暈	dizzy	/thāu hīn/
264.	高	tall/high	/kuāi/
265.	大	big	/tua/
266.	小(細)	small	/tōi/
267.	矮	short (in height)	/ɔi/
268.	長	long	/t᷑/
269.	短	short (in length)	/tæ/
270.	粗	thick (in diameter)	/sieu/
271.	細(幼)	thin (in diameter)	/iu/

272.	厚	thick	/kau/
273.	薄	thin	/pɔ/
274.	肥	fat	/pui/
275.	四方	square	/t'i pan/
276.	深	deep	/sim/
277.	淺	shallow	/tʃiɛŋ/
278.	直	straight	/tik/
279.	斜	slanted	/tia/
280.	難	difficult	/nang/
281.	容易	easy	/iɔŋ i/
282.	貴	expensive	/kui/
283.	便宜	cheap	/paŋ i/
284.	淡	bland	/tʃia/
285.	拿	take	/lia/
286.	開(門)	open (door)	/khui/
287.	靠	depend on	/khau/
288.	玩	play	/nam/
289.	探	visit	/tʰam/
290.	是	be	/ti/
291.	給	give	/khi/
292.	乾淨	clean	/thæ/
293.	兇	fierce	/ɔ tì/
294.	小心	careful	/tɔi tim/
295.	舒服	comfortable	/tio/
296.	動	move	/tʰan/
297.	有空	leisurely	/tik ai/
298.	走(行)	walk	/kiā/
299.	懂(明)	understand	/mɪŋ/
300.	讀書	study	/tʰak tsu/
301.	快	fast	/khue/
302.	遠	far	/hui/
303.	回家	return home	/tui su/
304.	煮飯	cook	/tsu̥ muɛ/
305.	寫	write	/tià/

306.	上班	go to work	/tsō kāŋ/
307.	買	buy	/vɔ̄i/
308.	賣	sell	/vɔ̄i/
309.	送	send	/tāŋ/
310.	賺錢	earn money	/tʰāŋ tʂī/
311.	花(錢)	spend	/tài/
312.	認識	know	/pak/
313.	跳舞	dance	/tʰiáu vù/
314.	做工	to labor	/tùi kāŋ/
315.	住	live	/khia/
316.	在	be at	/tu/
317.	用	use	/yōŋ/
318.	漂亮	pretty	/hiɛŋ/
319.	紅	red	/āŋ/
320.	頭痛	have headache	/thāu tʰia/
321.	教書	teach	/ká sū/
322.	走	leave	/tsàu/
323.	死	dead	/tì/
324.	聽話	obedient	/tʰia kò/

F. OTHER

325.	先	first (adv.)	/kʰué tai/
326.	慢慢	slowly	/māŋ māŋ/
327.	很好	very	/hò/
328.	這	this	/ia/
329.	那	that	/ha/
330.	別	negative imperative	/vō/
331.	跟	with (committative)	/kaŋ/
332.	不	not	/vō/
333.	應該	should	/yinŋ/
334.	現在	now	/hīna/
335.	那兒	where	/tæ/

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