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**THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERITICS AND THE HISTORICAL STRATA  
OF THE QIANJIANG DIAECT**

A Thesis Presented

by

LIYAN LUO

Submitted to the Graduates School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in Partial fulfillment

Of the requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS**

September 2014

Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures

Asian Languages and Literatures

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**THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERITICS AND THE HISTORICAL STRATA  
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## **DEDICATION**

To my grandfather Yaohua Luo

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to show my sincere appreciation to my advisor Professor Zhongwei Shen for his inspiration, guidance, patience and support throughout my pursuit of this Master's degree. Without his encouragement and resourceful discussions, this thesis would not have been possible.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THE HISTORICAL STRATA OF THE QIANJIANG DIALECT

SEPTEMBER 2014

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The Qianjiang (潛江) city is located not only on the boundary of the Southwestern Mandarin and the Gan dialect, but also on the boundary of three different sub-cluster regions of the Southwestern Mandarin. Therefore, it is difficult to classify the Qianjiang dialect into any region. As a result, the phonological features of the Qianjiang dialect have not yet been systematically studied so far. In order to provide a thorough understanding of the Qianjiang dialect, this thesis focuses on investigating phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect and in particular the aspiration of the Middle Chinese (MC) voiceless obstruent. As many ancient phonological characteristics are still preserved in today's Qianjiang dialect, the study also helps us better understand the immigration history of Qianjiang as well as its impact on the Qianjiang dialect.

First of all, a summary of phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect is carried out. A set of distinctive phonological characteristics are listed and analyzed with respect to both initials and finals of the Qianjiang dialect. For example, the MC *zhongchun* (重唇) sounds, the *Jiantuanyin* (尖團音), the MC value of the *jia* (假) rhyme

group, the *guo* (果) rhyme group, and the *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme which belong to the historical stratum of Middle Chinese are preserved in the Qianjiang dialect.

Those phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect belong to the stratum of the historical stratum of the Southwestern Mandarin are also described in this thesis, such as the confusion of the MC initials *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來), the MC *zhi* (知) group, *zhuang* (莊) group and *zhang* (章) group in the Qianjiang dialect. The development from [u] to [əu] of the *mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group, and the entering tone, *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect.

As a unique characteristic of the Qianjiang dialect, the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent is thoroughly analyzed in historical and geographical contexts. From the analysis, it can be drawn that the Qianjiang dialect has been impacted by immigrants from northwestern areas during Tang dynasty as well as immigrants from Jiangxi(江西) province during the Ming and Qing dynasty. In addition, the theory of hypercorrection has been established to explain aspirated sound of MC *Quanqing* (全清 voiceless unaspirated stop and affricates) initials in the Qianjiang dialect.

From the investigation of the phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect, this thesis considers the Qianjiang dialect as a dialect transition region between two sub-regions of Southwestern Mandarin represented by the Chengyu(成渝) region and the Wutian(武天) region. The Qianjiang dialect itself has inherited phonological features from immigrants of other areas and do stand out as an important language resource to mirror the profound historical shifts in Chinese history.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect have not yet been systematically studied so far. This thesis not only investigates the phonological characteristics and their historical strata of the Qianjiang dialect, but also tries to redefine the sub-cluster of the Qianjiang Dialect in the Southwestern Mandarin. As a unique feature of the Qianjiang dialect, the aspiration of the Middle Chinese (MC) voiced obstruent is thoroughly analyzed in historical and geographical contexts in this thesis at the first time. Moreover, this thesis offers an original explanation of the aspirated MC Quanqing (voiceless unaspirated stop and affricates) initials in the Qianjiang dialect.

#### 1.1 Location of the Qianjiang city

The Qianjiang(潛江) city is located in south-central Hubei(湖北) province at the Jianghan(江漢) plain. Geographically, the Qianjiang city used to be at the corner of Jianghan Plain, formed by long time of alleviation from Han River (漢水) and Old Yunmeng Marsh (云夢澤). The Qianjiang city used to be the early center of the Chu State, but it didn't become a county until 965 during the Song dynasty. The old Qianjiang county used to be subordinate to the Jiangling government (江陵府), Jingzhou government (荊州府) and Anlu government (安陸府).



## **1.2 The classification of the Qianjiang dialect**

According to *Language Atlas of China* published in 1987, the Qianjiang city is located on the boundary of the Southwestern mandarin and the Gan dialect. Mandarin is usually classified based upon the development of the MC entering tone. The most distinctive characteristic of the Southwestern Mandarin is that all the entering tones have developed into lower level tones in terms of voiceless consonants, voiced sonorant and voiced consonants. Because the qianjiang dialect has the same feature, it is safe to conclude that the Qianjiang dialect belongs to the Southwestern Mandarin.

In Figure B6 of *Language Atlas of China*, the Qianjiang dialect was classified as the E'bei (Northern Hubei) region, a sub-region of Southwestern mandarin which consists of Zhongxiang(鍾祥), Xiangfan(襄樊), Shiyan(十堰), etc. However, after investigating the phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect, this thesis advocates that the Qianjiang dialect, originally displaying characteristics of the dialect of the Chengyu(成渝) region, slowly developed into the dialect of the Wutian(武天) region (both the Chengyu region and the Wutian region are sub-regions of Southwestern Mandarin region), which will be discussed in details in Chapter 3.

## **1.3 Related works of the Qianjiang dialect**

Wang, Qunsheng (1989) briefly described the phonetic system of the Qianjiang dialect, including initials, finals, vocabulary and grammar. Yang, Huiying (1992) described the phenomenon of the development of the MC voiced obstruents of the Qianjiang dialect. In addition, Wang, Hongjia; Wang, Guosheng (2011) mentioned a few phonetic characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect. However, all of the above research

efforts failed to systematically study the phonological features of the Qianjiang dialect. Besides, few works have studied the Qianjiang dialect through historical strata

#### **1.4 The structure of the thesis**

This thesis is organized as follows: Firstly, a detailed description of the phonology system of the Qianjiang dialect is presented. The phonology system mainly includes the following four aspects: initials, finals, tones and syllables. An in-depth illustration is presented in the thesis to explain each aspect of the phonology system of the Qianjiang Dialect.

Secondly, a summary of phonological features of the Qianjiang dialect is carried out. A set of distinctive phonological features are listed and analyzed with respect to both initials and finals of the Qianjiang dialect. The historical strata of the Qianjiang dialect are summarized as a conclusion. In addition, a redefinition of the sub-cluster of the Qianjiang dialect is proposed as a transition region between two sub-clusters of Southwestern Mandarin represented by the Chengyu (成渝) region and the Wutian (武天) region is proposed at the end of the chapter.

Finally, as a unique feature of the Qianjiang dialect, the aspiration of MC voiced obstruent is thoroughly analyzed in historical and geographical contexts. From the analysis, it can be drawn that the Qianjiang dialect has been impacted by immigrants from northern areas during Tang dynasty as well as immigrants from Jiangxi province during the Ming and Qing dynasty. In addition, the theory of hypercorrection has been established to explain aspirated sound of MC Quanzing (voiceless unaspirated stop and affricates) initials in the Qianjiang dialect.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE PHONOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE QIANJIANG DIALECT

Few researchers have addresses the phonology features of the Qianjiang dialect systematically studied so far except the pronunciation of the Qianjiang dialect were described in the *Qianjiang xianzhi* (潛江縣誌). In this chapter, the phonological characteristics are described in terms of the four aspects: initials, finals, tones and syllabary.

#### 2.1 The initials in the Qianjiang dialect

All of the 19 initials in the Qianjiang dialect are described in table with examples. The Qianjiang dialect share same 18 initials with Mandarin, including zero initial. The rest initial in the Qianjiang dialect is  $\eta$ . The syllables underlined with    are colloquial readings, while those syllables underlined with    are literary readings. The labio-dental and nasal initial  $m$  and the dental and nasal initial  $n$  could be used independently as prefixes in the Qianjiang dialect; they are marked as approximants  $\eta$  and  $\eta$  in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The initials in the Qianjiang dialect

<b>place manner</b>	<b>Labials</b>	<b>Dentals</b>	<b>Retroflexes</b>	<b>Palatals</b>	<b>Velars</b>
Unaspirated Stops	p 爸 布 北	t 他 打 多			k 乾 高 跟
Aspirated Stops	p <sup>h</sup> 怕 部 拔	t <sup>h</sup> 塔 舵 怠			k <sup>h</sup> 看 跪 概
Affricatives		ts 芝 指 周		tɕ 雞 幾 軍	
		ts <sup>h</sup> 才 在 皂		tɕ <sup>h</sup> 慶 像 見	
Fricatives	f 發 婦 風	s 雖 三 上		ɕ 洗 先 學	x 黑 鹹 后
			ʐ 人 熱 讓		
Nasals	m 麻 米 命	n 儂			ŋ 人
Approximants	姆	你			
Laterals		l 拿 懶 藍			
Zero	ø 啞 牙 惹				

## 2.2 The finals in the Qianjiang dialect

The Qianjiang dialect includes 10 vowels: a, o, ɤ, ε, ə, i, u, y, ʉ and ɿ, as well as 3 medial: -i-, -u-, and -y-. The total 35 finals in the Qianjiang dialect are listed in the table with examples.

Table 2.2 The finals in the Qianjiang dialect

No Medial	Medial-i-	Medial-u-	Medial-y-
	i 比 裏 堤	u 胡 部 朱	y 徐 取 雨
a 牙 阿 他	ia 假 芽 鴨	ua 挖 花 瓜	
o 伯 摸 破	io 學 卻 覺	uo 我 左 多	
ɤ 墨 黑 熱	ie 鐵 寫 聶		yε 月 血 絕
ai 開 概 鞋		uai 乖 在 壞	
ei 幣 蔽 被		uei 貴 會 鬼	
au 稻 早 老	iau 表 交 條		
əu 樓 六 走	iou 牛 秋 有		
an 晏 看 鹹	iɛn 變 店 剪	uan 管 關 灣	yn 軍 群 雲
ən 真 冷 正	in 林 清 醒	uən 混 春 文	yɛn 元 娟 券
aŋ 剛 昌 幫	iaŋ 亮 將 像	uaŋ 莊 雙 汪	
		uŋ 木 紅 中	yŋ 窮 熊 用
ʉ 日 兒 去			
ɿ 字 刺 是			

### 2.3 The tones in the Qianjiang dialect

The Qianjiang dialect includes four tones. The tonal categories in the Qianjiang dialect are the same as they are in Mandarin, but the tonal values are different, which are 35, 13, 31 and 55, respectively, as described in table with examples.

Table 2.3 The tones in the Qianjiang dialect

Tonal category	Upper even	Lower even	Rising	Departing
Tonal value	35	13	31	55
Example	高光挖瞄	鴨割雪窮	古短管狗	用大近玉

### 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang Dialect

The system of syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect is close to Mandarin, with some minor differences. All of the existing syllables in the Qianjiang dialect are listed in Table 2.4 (Some of the examples of the syllables are written as “□”, because of the lack of the corresponding characters).

The syllables underlined with    are colloquial readings, those syllables underlined with    are literary readings.

Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect

	a				o				ɤ				i				u			
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55
p	疤	爸	把	霸	波	伯	跛	簸		白				逼	比			不	補	布
p <sup>h</sup>	扒	爬		怕	坡	潑		破		拍				劈	痞	屁	潛	撲	卜	部
m	媽	麻	馬	罵	摸	磨	麼	募		麥			眯	彌	米	沕				
f		發															敷	福	腐	富
t	他	搭	打	大						得		得	低	嫡	底	弟		讀	賭	度
t <sup>h</sup>		踏	塔							<u>特</u>			<u>梯</u>	堤	體	屨		徒	土	<u>兔</u>
n																				
l	拉	辣	哪							樂		肋	裏	利	李			綠	滷	路
ts	渣	雜	焯	蔗					遮	摘							豬	粥	組	駐
ts <sup>h</sup>	差	擦	敞	岔					車	擇	扯	策					粗	鋤	拄	住
s	沙	撒	灑	□					賒	舌	舍	射					舒	熟	屬	數
ʒ									<u>熱</u>	<u>惹</u>								肉	乳	
tɕ													雞	吉	幾	寄				
tɕ <sup>h</sup>													欺	騎	起	氣				
ɕ													稀	習	洗	戲				
k	家	夾	假	架					□											
k <sup>h</sup>																				
ŋ																				
x																				
ø	阿	呀	啞	丫	窩	惡	我	餓		熱	惹		醫	一	以	意	烏	吳	五	霧

Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect (continued)

	y				u				ɿ				ai				ei				
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	
p													□		擺	拜	碑				貝
p <sup>h</sup>														排		派	胚	陪			配
m														埋	買	賣	沒	梅	美		妹
f																	飛	肥	匪		費
t													呆		歹	帶				堵	兌
t <sup>h</sup>													胎	擡	□	太	推			腿	退
n																					
l		驢	女											來	奶	賴		雷	磊		累
ts									枝	植	止	志	栽		宰	□		賊	嘴		最
ts <sup>h</sup>									痴	遲	此	刺	猜	裁	在	菜	崔				脆
s									絲	十	使	四	篩	□		曬	雖	誰	水		絮
ʒ						旦															
tɕ	珠	菊	舉	據																	
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	區	渠	取	趣																	
ɕ	需	徐	許	緒																	
k													該		改	蓋					
k <sup>h</sup>						去							開		楷	概					
ŋ																					
x														還	海	害					嘿
ø	迂	魚	語	玉		兒	耳	二					挨	挨	矮	愛					



Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect (continued)

	au				əu				an				ən				aŋ			
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55
p	鮑	雹	寶	暴					班		板	半								
p <sup>h</sup>	包	刨	跑	泡					潘	盤		盼	噴	盆	拌		噴	旁	碰	胖
m	貓	毛	卯	帽		謀	某		幔	蠻	滿	慢	爛	門	豐	悶		忙	蟒	
f						浮	否		翻	凡	反	飯	分	墳	粉	奮	方	房	坊	放
t	刀		搗	到	都	豚	陡	豆	單		膽	擔	登		等	鄧	當		黨	蕩
t <sup>h</sup>	濤	桃	討	套	偷	頭	抖	透	貪	談	毯	淡		疼	□		湯	糖	躺	淌
n																	儂		□	
l	□	勞	老	鬧	擻	撈	魯	露		藍	懶	爛		楞	冷	嫩	□	狼		浪
ts	招		早	燥	周	粥	走	做	沾		攢	站	曾		振	鄭	張		長	漲
ts <sup>h</sup>	操	潮	吵	趙	抽	妯	丑	臭	參	殘	慘	晨	皺	陳	鎮		倉	長	場	帳
s	燒	苕	掃	少	搜	熟	手	瘦	三	□	傘	算	生	繩	省	剩	傷	嘗	噤	上
ʒ										然	染		扔	人	忍	認				
tɕ																				
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																				
ɕ																				
k	高		搞	告	鈎		狗	夠	乾		趕	幹	跟	整	梗	更	剛	□	港	槓
k <sup>h</sup>	敲		考	靠	摳		口	扣	嵌		砍	看	坑		啃		康	扛		抗
ŋ														人						
x	蒿	嚎	好	浩	□	猴	吼	厚	慙	鹹	喊	汗	哼	橫	狠	恨	夯	行		巷
∅																				

Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect (continued)

	ia				io				ie				iau				iou				
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	
p									憋	别	癩	别	標		表						
p <sup>h</sup>											□	撇	飄	藻		票					
m									□	篋			瞄	苗	秒	妙					
f																					
t									爹				刁		扁	掉					
t <sup>h</sup>										鐵			挑	條	□	跳					
ts																					
ts <sup>h</sup>																					
n																					
l						掠				捏		列	撩	聊	鳥	料	溜	牛	柳		
s																					
ʒ																					
tɕ	加	夾	假	嫁		腳				接	姐	借	交		攪	叫	揪		九	救	
tɕ <sup>h</sup>		恰	卡			雀	薺			切	且		鍬	橋	撬	俏	秋	求	□	舅	
ɕ													消		小	笑	修	蓄	朽	秀	
k																					
k <sup>h</sup>																					
ŋ																					
x																					
ø	丫	牙	啞	軋		約				頁	也	夜	么	搖	舀	要	幽	游	有	又	

Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect (continued)

	ien				in				iaŋ				ua				uo				
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	
p	邊		扁	變	冰		餅	並													
p <sup>h</sup>	偏	便	片	騙	拼	貧	品	病													
m		棉	免	面		名	敏	命													
f																					
t	顛		點	電	丁	盯	頂	<u>定</u>													
t <sup>h</sup>	天	田	舔	墊	聽	停	挺	<u>定</u>													
n																					
l	拈	連	碾	念		林	領	凌	□	量	兩	亮						鑼	囉	擻	
ts													抓	□				桌	左	<u>坐</u>	
ts <sup>h</sup>														□	□			搓	銼	<u>坐</u>	
s														刷	耍			梭	索	所	□
ʒ																		弱			
tɕ	尖		檢	賤	金		緊	進	江	□	講	醬									
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	千	潛	淺	欠	輕	情	請	近	像	強	搶	槍									
ɕ	先	舷	顯	縣	新	尋	醒	信	鄉	□	想	象									
k													瓜	刮	剛	卦	鍋	郭	果	過	
k <sup>h</sup>													<u>誇</u>	<u>誇</u>	垮	挂	科	磕	可	闊	
ŋ																					
x													花	華		畫	喝	活	火	貨	
ø	煙	簷	<u>眼</u>	燕	陰	銀	影	印	秧	楊	養	樣	蛙	娃	瓦	窪	窩	噁	我	餓	

Table 2.4 The syllabaries in the Qianjiang dialect (continued)

	uai				uei				uan				uən				uaŋ				
Initial	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	35	13	31	55	
p																					
p <sup>h</sup>																					
m																					
f																					
t																					
t <sup>h</sup>																					
n																					
l										暖	亂		輪		論						
ts	□		□		追		嘴	醉	鑽		轉	賺	尊		準		裝				壯
ts <sup>h</sup>	猜		睬		崔	錘		脆	穿	船	喘	竄	春	存	蠢	寸	窗	床	闖		創
s			甩	帥	雖	隨	水	睡	栓			算	孫	純	筍	順	雙				爽
z <sub>l</sub>								蕊	銳			軟									
tɕ																					
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																					
ɕ																					
k	乖		拐	怪	龜		鬼	貴	關		管	罐			滾	棍	光	恍	廣		光
k <sup>h</sup>			塊	快	虧	葵	跪	櫃	寬		款		昆		捆	困	筐		□		礦
ŋ																					
x		壞		壞	輝	回	毀	會	歡	還	緩	換	渾	橫	混	混	慌	黃	謊		晃
ø	歪		歲	外	煨	微	尾	味	灣	玩	晚	万		文	穩	問	汪	王	網		忘

## CHAPTER 3

### THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE QIANJIANG DIALECT

A set of distinctive phonological features are listed and analyzed with respect to both initials and finals of the Qianjiang dialect in this Chapter. The existing historical strata in literary and colloquial readings in the Qianjiang Dialect are also discussed.

#### 3.1 Initials

##### 3.1.1 The MC voiced obstruents

In Mandarin and most other mandarin dialects, the Middle Chinese (MC) voiced obstruent in level tone are aspirated, while those in oblique tones are unaspirated, but nearly almost the dialects of the Jiangnan plain, especially the Qianjiang dialect, share the same characteristic with the Guanzhong mandarin and the Gan dialect, that is regardless of the tones, most of the MC voiced obstruents are voiceless aspirated. A place named Zekou (澤口) [tsʰkʰəu] in Qianjiang was first recorded in *Jiajing Mianyang zhi* (嘉靖沔陽誌) in the Ming Dynasty<sup>1</sup>. However this place name Zekou (澤口) was written as Cekou (策口) [tsʰkʰəu] in the *Kangxi Qianjiang Xianzhi* (康熙潛江縣誌) (1694/2001) which was compiled in 1694. It is the earliest document that recorded the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent in the Qianjiang Dialect. In *Qing Shigao* (清史稿) (1927/1998),

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<sup>1</sup> 《嘉靖沔陽誌》：“景陵東行百二十里盡城隍臺……西南行五十里盡澤口”is cited from Li, Keke 李可可, Li, Peihong 黎沛虹. Xiyangshui he dongjinghe kao yi 夏楊水與東荊河考異, *Wuhan University Journal (Humanity Sciences)*, Vol.54. No.6 2001. P704

Cekou (策口) was recorded as another name of Zekou (澤口)<sup>2</sup>. It shows that the aspirated MC voiced obstruent pronunciations were the literary readings in the Qianjiang dialect during the early Qing Dynasty.

The following tables (Tables 3.1-3.7) conduct the comparison of the MC voiced obstruent in oblique tones between the Qianjiang Dialect and Mandarin.

Table 3.1 The MC initial *bing* (並)

falling- rising tone	example	部	簿	倍	抱	罷	辦	伴	笨	棒	蚌	並
	Qianjiang	<u>pu</u>	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> ei	p <sup>h</sup> au	p <sup>h</sup> a	<u>pan</u>	p <sup>h</sup> an	p <sup>h</sup> ən	<u>paŋ</u>	p <sup>h</sup> aŋ	p <sup>h</sup> in
		<u>p<sup>h</sup>u</u>					<u>p<sup>h</sup>an</u>			<u>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ</u>		
Mandarin	pu	pu	pei	pau	pa	pan	pan	pən	paŋ	paŋ	piŋ	
falling tone	example	鼻	稗	敗	焙	暴	步	埠	病			
	Qianjiang	p <sup>h</sup> i	p <sup>h</sup> ai	p <sup>h</sup> ai	p <sup>h</sup> ei	<u>pau</u>	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> in			
						<u>p<sup>h</sup>au</u>						
Mandarin	pi	pei	pai	pei	pau	pu	pu	piŋ				
entering tone	example	別	薄	跋	拔	白						
	Qianjiang	<u>pie</u>	p <sup>h</sup> o	p <sup>h</sup> a	p <sup>h</sup> a	<u>pɣ</u>						
		<u>p<sup>h</sup>ie</u>				<u>p<sup>h</sup>ɣ</u>						
Mandarin	pie	pau	pa	pa	pai							

<sup>2</sup> 《清史稿·卷六十七·志四十二·地理十四》：“潜江難……西：夜汉河，上承汉水，旧由大泽口分流，亦谓策口。”Zhao, Erxun 趙爾巽. *Qing Shigao* 清史稿, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 北京：中華書局 1998.

Table 3.2 The MC initial *ding* (定)

falling -rising tone	example	舵	惰	杜	肚	代	待	怠	稻	斷		
	Qianjiang	t <sup>h</sup> uo	t <sup>h</sup> uo	<u>tu</u>	<u>tu</u>	<u>tai</u>	<u>tai</u>	t <sup>h</sup> ai	t <sup>h</sup> au	t <sup>h</sup> aŋ		
	Mandarin	tuo	tuo	tu	tu	tai	tai	tai	tou	tuan		
falling tone	example	定	遞	地	渡	鍍	袋	盜	淡	佃	動	洞
	Qianjiang	<u>tin</u>	<u>t<sup>h</sup>i</u>	t <sup>h</sup> i	<u>tu</u>	<u>tu</u>	t <sup>h</sup> ai	<u>tau</u>	t <sup>h</sup> an	t <sup>h</sup> iɛn	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ	t <sup>h</sup> uŋ
	Mandarin	tiŋ	ti	ti	tu	tu	tai	tau	tan	tien	tuŋ	tuŋ
enterin g tone	example	奪	鐸	磔	疊	蝶	笛	讀	獨	毒		
	Qianjiang	t <sup>h</sup> uo	t <sup>h</sup> uo	t <sup>h</sup> ie	t <sup>h</sup> ie	t <sup>h</sup> ie	t <sup>h</sup> i	<u>tu</u>	<u>tu</u>	<u>tu</u>		
	Mandarin	tuo	tuo	tie	tie	tie	ti	tu	tu	tu		

Table 3.3 The MC initial *cong* (從)

falling- rising tone	example	坐	座	在	皂	造	靜
	Qianjiang	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	ts <sup>h</sup> ai	ts <sup>h</sup> au	ts <sup>h</sup> au	<u>tɕin</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> in
	Mandarin	tsuo	tsuo	tsai	tsau	tsau	tɕiŋ
falling tone	example	字	暫	臟	匠	就	淨
	Qianjiang	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> an	<u>tsaŋ</u> ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ	<u>tɕiaŋ</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iou	tɕ <sup>h</sup> in
	Mandarin	tsɿ	tsan	tsaŋ	tɕiaŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> iou	tɕiŋ
entering tone	example	昨	鑿	族	疾	截	
	Qianjiang	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	<u>tsu</u> ts <sup>h</sup> ou ts <sup>h</sup> u	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ie	
	Mandarin	tsuo	tsau	tsu	tɕi	tɕie	



Table 3.4 The MC initial *cheng* (澄)

falling -rising tone	example	柱	趙	兆	丈	杖	重				
	Qianjiang	<u>tsu</u> <u>ts<sup>h</sup>u</u>	ts <sup>h</sup> au	ts <sup>h</sup> au	ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> uŋ				
	Mandarin	tʂu	tʂau	tʂau	tʂaŋ	tʂaŋ	tʂuŋ				
falling tone	example	治	稚	住	陣	撞	鄭				
	Qianjiang	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> u	ts <sup>h</sup> ən	ts <sup>h</sup> uɑŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> ən				
	Mandarin	tʂɿ	tʂɿ	tʂu	tʂən	tʂuɑŋ	tʂən				
enterin g tone	example	濁	侄	直	值	澤	擇	宅	着	軸	妯
	Qianjiang	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɣ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɣ	<u>tsai</u> <u>ts<sup>h</sup>ɣ</u>	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	ts <sup>h</sup> ou	ts <sup>h</sup> ou
	Mandarin	tʂuo	tʂɿ	tʂɿ	tʂɿ	tsɣ	tsɣ	tʂai	tʂau	tʂou	tʂou

Table 3.5 The MC initial *qun* (群)

falling- rising tone	example	舅	件	近	技	跪
	Qianjiang	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iou	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛn	tɕ <sup>h</sup> in	<u>tɕi</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i	k <sup>h</sup> uei
	Mandarin	tɕiou	tɕiæn	tɕin	tɕi	kuei
falling tone	example	驕	舊	倦	櫃	共
	Qianjiang	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iou	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iou	tɕ <sup>h</sup> yæn	k <sup>h</sup> uei	<u>kuŋ</u> k <sup>h</sup> uŋ
	Mandarin	tɕiau	tɕiou	tɕyæn	kuei	kuŋ
entering tone	example	極	槩	屐		
	Qianjiang	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i	tɕ <sup>h</sup> yɛ		<u>tɕ<sup>h</sup>in</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> io	
	Mandarin	tɕi	tɕyɛ		tɕi	

Table 3.6 The MC initial *chong* (崇)

falling tone	example	乍	助	驟	狀
	Qianjian g	ts <sup>h</sup> a	ts <sup>h</sup> u	ts <sup>h</sup> u	ts <sup>h</sup> uaŋ
	Mandari n	tʂa	tʂu	tʂou	tʂuaŋ
enterin g tone	example	鐺		泥	
	Qianjian g	<u>tsuo</u>		ts <sup>h</sup> ua	
	Mandari n	tʂuo		tʂuo	

Table 3.7 The MC initial *chan* (禪)

entering tone	example	植	殖
	Qianjiang	<u>tsɿ</u>	<u>tsɿ</u>
		ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ
	Mandarin	tʂɿ	tʂɿ

The tables above show that for all tones, most of the MC voiced obstruent are voiceless aspirated in the Qianjiang Dialect. In fact, this phonological phenomenon is quite common across the whole Southwestern Mandarin system, especially for those often-used words such as 族, 造, 撞, 跪, 助, 奪, 舅, etc. Wang, Futang (2010:179) advocated that the enormous immigration activity from northwestern regions before the Five-Dynasty era probably caused the aspirated sound in the Southwestern mandarin after

the MC voiced obstruent became voiceless. From Tang Dynasty to Song Dynasty, the amount of immigrants from north decreased thus the connections between the dialects of those two regions were weakened gradually. Almost one thousand years later, it is without doubt that less characters of oblique tone would be pronounced with aspirated sound in Southwestern mandarin regions. On the other hand, Wang, Qunsheng (1994:63) proposed that the feature of aspirated sound for the MC voiced obstruents across the Jiangnan Plain should be attributed to the influence from the Gan dialect brought by Jiangxi immigrants during the Ming and Qing Dynasty. While either of the above proposals has its point, it is believed that both immigration activities together caused the voiced aspiration in the Qianjiang dialect, which will be discussed in details in Chapter four.

### 3.1.2 The MC *Quanqing* (全清) initials

In the Qianjiang Dialect, not only the MC voiced obstruents are aspirated, some of the voiceless *Quanqing* (全清 stop affricates) initials are also aspirated, and mixed with the *Ciqing* (次清 voiceless aspirated obstruents) initials. This characteristic applies to the initials *bang* (幫), initials *duan* (端) and initials *jian* (見). The examples are listed in Table 3.8.

Tables 3.8 Examples of initial *bang* (幫) which are aspirated

Eg Dialect	鄙	擺	捕	蔽	扮	絆	痺
Qianjiang	p <sup>h</sup> i	<u>pai</u> p <sup>h</sup> ai	p <sup>h</sup> u	<u>p<sup>h</sup>i</u> pei	p <sup>h</sup> an	p <sup>h</sup> an	p <sup>h</sup> i
Mandarin	pi <sup>51</sup>	pai	pu	pi	pan	pan	pi

Tables 3.9 Examples of initial *duan* (端) which are aspirated

Eg Dialect	抖	地	底	堵	店	帝
Qianjiang	t <sup>h</sup> ou	t <sup>h</sup> i	t <sup>h</sup> i	<u>tou</u> t <sup>h</sup> u	tien	ti
Mandarin	tou	ti	ti	tu	tien	ti

Tables 3.10 Examples of initial *jian* (見) which are aspirated

Eg Dialect	漑	概	挂	箍	劓
Qianjiang	k <sup>h</sup> ai	k <sup>h</sup> ai	k <sup>h</sup> ua	k <sup>h</sup> u	k <sup>h</sup> uai
Mandarin	kai	Kai	kua	ku	kui

Pan, Wuyun (2000:129) proposed that in old Chinese plosive sound with same articulation position have multiple ways of readings, including switches between voiced and voiceless sound, and swiches between aspirated and unaspirated sound. The causative verb is voiceless, while the spontaneous verb is voiced. For example, the

pronunciation of *bai* (敗) is indicated as “薄邁切” in *Guangyun* (廣韻) with the annotation “自破曰~” (spontaneous verb); another pronunciation of 敗 is indicated as “補邁切” with the annotation “破他曰~” (causative verb).

Li, Rong (1982: 129) believed this phenomenon is an exception of the phonetic rules for two reasons: Firstly, there are exceptions of dialect phonetic evolvement; secondly, different characters and pronunciations have different origins. For instance, character “箍”, which belongs to the *jian* (見) initial, is pronounced with unaspirated sound in dialect in Beijing (北京), Xi’an (西安) and Suzhou (蘇州); while for dialects in Chongqing (重慶), Yiwu (義烏), Yixian (黟縣), and Fuzhou (福州) which belongs to the *xi* (溪) initial, the character is pronounced with aspirated sound. The former could be found in *Yizhiyun* (異字苑), *Guangyun* (廣韻), as level tone, *mo* (模) rhyme, indicated as “古胡切”, which matches the unaspirated sound in the Beijing Mandarin, the Xi’an dialect, and the Suzhou dialect. The latter could be found in *Jiyun* (集韻), indicated as “空胡切”, which matches the unaspirated sound in the Chongqing dialect, the Yiwu dialect, the Yixian dialect and the Fuzhou dialect. Li, Rong also gave the analysis and explanation of the different readings of “稻” and “堤” by tracing back its different origins.

However, there is really no clear rule to follow when it comes to understanding the phenomenon of the voiceless stop and affricates initials becoming aspirated in the Southwestern mandarin-speaking regions, due to considerable difference of such characteristics among dialects.

Our data listed in this thesis show that this aspiration of voiceless stop and affricates has little to do with the variant pronunciation in Ancient-Chinese. Besides, the way to trace the different origins of different pronunciations causes more grief to explain all mispronounced cases.

This thesis will present some research efforts in explaining this aspirated of the *Quanqing* (全清) initials pronunciative phenomenon from the perspective of the immigration in the history of Qianjiang. The main reason behind this phenomenon is the hypercorrection implemented by the local residents of Qianjiang trying to imitate the pronunciation of the immigrants. William Labov's study of hypercorrection is also quoted to help to conclude that the probable occurrence of hypercorrection took place during the aftermath of the immigration from Northern China region to the Qianjiang area during Late Tang dynasty, which will be discussed in details in Chapter 4.

### **3.1.3 The MC *Zhongchun* 重唇 sounds**

The early Middle Chinese had no labiodentals initials like f- or v- which developed under certain conditions from the bilabial initials in later varieties of Chinese. In mandarin, the MC initial *fei* (非) group have all developed into f- and w-. In the Qianjiang dialect, there are some bilabial initials preserved in a few common words where other dialects have labiodentals.

Table 3.11 Examples of the MC initial *fei* (非) group

Eg Dialect	非		敷		奉		微
	赴	甫	覆	孵	浮	伏	豐
Qianjiang	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> u	<u>fu</u> p <sup>h</sup> au	<u>fou</u> <u>fu</u> p <sup>h</sup> au	p <sup>h</sup> u	mən
Mandarin	fu	fu	fu	fu	fu	fu	wən

One interesting thing is that *fen*(噴), which means water spray, belongs to the MC initial *pang* (滂) and is pronounced as [fən] not only in the Qianjiang Dialect, but also in Wuhan dialect (fən), Chengdu (fən), Changsha (fən) and Nanchang (p<sup>h</sup>ən fən). The variant pronunciation here could be traced back to different origins. *Fen* (噴) was also sorted as MC initial *fei* (非) in *Fenyun Cuoyao* (分韻撮要)<sup>3</sup>. However, this thesis will not focus on explaining it.

### 3.1.4 The MC *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來)

The MC initials *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來) are distinguished and pronounced as [n] and [l] respectively in Mandarin, while in the Southwestern Mandarin they are not distinguishable and are both pronounced as n. In the Qianjiang dialect, the MC initials *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來) are not distinguishable and could be pronounced either [l] or [n].

<sup>3</sup>This data were provided by the website [www.ytenx.org](http://www.ytenx.org) (韻典網). *Fenyun Cuoyao* 分韻撮要 is a rhythmic dictionary recorded the pronunciations of Cantonese in the Qing Dynasty.



Generally, [n]=[l], which means the pronunciation of n and l has nothing to do with the meaning of the characters. Based on personal choice, either [n] or [l] can be acceptable. However, before the *hongyin*, [n] was definitely more commonly used than [l].

Table 3.12 Examples of the MC *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來)

Eg Dialect	樓	拿	列	捏	臉	量
Qianjiang	lou	la	lie	niɛ	niɛn	niaŋ
Mandarin	lou	na	lie	niɛ	liɛn	niaŋ
Wuhan	nou	na	niɛ	niɛ	niɛn	niaŋ
Chengdu	nəu	na	niɛ	niɛ	niɛn	niaŋ

According to *Wushengpu* (五聲譜) written by Hao, Jin (郝敬) from Jingshan (京山), a city very close to Qianjiang in Hubei province, in Ming Dynasty, the pronunciations of *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來) already differed little from each other in the Jingshan dialect (Ji Fu 2005). Based on *Hubei Fangyan Diaocha Baogao* (湖北方言調查報告)(1948), either [l] or [n] was used before *hongyin* (洪音)<sup>4</sup> in the Jingshan(京山) dialect, but [n] was only used before *xiyin*(細音)<sup>5</sup>. In addition, written by Zhang, Wei (張位) in Ming Dynasty, *Wenqiji*(問奇集) recorded that in Xishu (西蜀) dialect, *nu*(怒)was

<sup>4</sup> Hongyin(洪音) the board sound, is a Chinese traditional phonology term, which includes the finals begin with open-mouths and the close-mouths.

<sup>5</sup> *xiyin*(細音), the fine sound, is a Chinese traditional phonology term, which includes the finals begin with even-teeth and the pursed-mouths.

pronounced as *lu* (路) (Ding, Bangxin 2008:100)<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the Southwestern mandarin including the Qianjiang dialect has been confusing *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來) since Ming Dynasty at the latest.

The initial *l* in the Qianjiang dialect is pronounced like [n], and the position of articulation is in the middle of the lateral and the nasal. According to *Hanyu fanyin Zihui*(漢語方音字彙) the initial consonant *n* in Wuhan(武漢) dialect also has two variants : *l* and *l̥*.

### 3.1.5 *Jiantuanyin* (尖團音) : the sharp sounds and the rounded sounds

In the Qianjiang dialect, the initials of the *jing* (精) group have become palatalized before high front vowels, merging with velar initials, which palatalized in the same environment. For example, in Qianjiang dialect, most of the original dental sibilants and the velar have merged in this environment such as palatal *tɕ*, *tɕ<sup>h</sup>* and *ɕ*. Only a few of the sharp sounds initial are still preserved in the colloquial reading of the Qianjiang dialect, but the medial *-i* or *-y* were absent.

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<sup>6</sup>张位 (1538-1605) 《問奇集》：“西蜀鄉音‘怒為路、弩為魯、主為詛’，三楚鄉音‘祖為走，睹為斗’”is cited from Ding, Bangxin, Wenqiji Suoji Zhi Mingdai Fangyin, *Zhongguo Yuyanxue Lunwenji*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2008. p100

Table 3.13 Examples of the dental sibilants initial preserved in the *jing* (精) group

Eg Dialect	雪	絮	斜	瀉
Qianjiang	<u>ɕyɛ</u> <u>sɻ</u>	<u>ɕy</u> <u>sei</u>	<u>ɕiɛ</u> <u>sa</u>	<u>ɕiɛ</u> <u>sa</u>
Mandarin	ɕyɛ	ɕy	ɕiɛ	ɕiɛ

In the Qianjiang dialect, “今” which means today is a rounded sound pronounced as [zən] in the colloquial reading. The medial -i were absent too. This means in the Qianjiang dialect the sharp sounds and the rounded sounds have been mutually transformative.

### 3.1.6 The MC *zhi* (知) group, *zhuang* (莊) group and *zhang* (章) group

The MC *zhi* (知) group, *zhuang* (莊) group and *zhang* (章) group are pronounced as [ts], [ts<sup>h</sup>] and [s] in the Qianjiang dialect.

Table 3.14 Example of the MC *zhi* (知) group, *zhuang* (莊) group and *zhang* (章) group

Eg Dialect	<i>zhi</i> (知) group			<i>zhuang</i> (莊) group			<i>zhang</i> (章) group		
	豬	除	池	抓	鑿	瘦	蒸	臭	書
Qianjiang	tsu	ts <sup>h</sup> u	ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ	tsua	ts <sup>h</sup> an	sou	tsəŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> ou	su
Mandarin	tʂu	tʂ <sup>h</sup> u	tʂ <sup>h</sup> ɿ	tʂ <sup>h</sup> ua	tʂ <sup>h</sup> an	ʂou	tʂ <sup>h</sup> əŋ	tʂ <sup>h</sup> ou	ʂu

### 3.1.7 The MC *jian* (見) group and *xiao* (曉) group

The palatalization of the MC *Jian* (見) group is the very important evolvement in the history of Chinese language. In Mandarin, all division II finals become *xiyin*(细音) when they combine with velars or glottal initial consonants.

In the Qianjiang dialect, the MC *jian* (見) group of initials and *xiao* (曉) group of initials in division II *kaikou* syllables have not been palatalized yet, and the finals are still Hongyin(洪音), for example, 窖 *kau*, 介 *kai*, 屈 *kai*, 戒 *gai*, 疥 *gai*, 界 *gai*, 解 *gai*, 嚇 *xɤ*, 夾 *ka*, 挾 *ka*, 街 *kai*, 階 *kai* with initial *jian* (見); 衙 *a*, 伢 *a*, *ŋa*, 咬 *au* with initial *yi* (疑); 跨 *k<sup>h</sup>a*, 胯 *k<sup>h</sup>a*, 掐 *k<sup>h</sup>a*, 恰 *k<sup>h</sup>a* in initial *xi* (溪); 械 *xai*, 鞋 *xai*, 蟹 *xai*, 巷 *xɑŋ*, 銜 *xan* with initial *xia* (匣). Some of them have both of literary and colloquial readings, the initials are velars in the colloquial readings, and became palatalized in the literary readings. Examples in the Qianjiang Dialect are given in the Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 Example of literary and colloquial readings of the MC *jian* (見) group and *xiao* (曉) group in division II *kaikou* syllables

	literary readings		colloquial readings		literary readings		colloquial readings	
見	tɕiau	教授	kau	教你	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɛn	嵌入	khan	嵌瓷磚
	tɕia	家庭	ka	人家	tɕy	鋸子	kɤ	鋸开
	tɕia	架子	ka	架勢	tɕio	角度	ko	角落
	tɕiɛn	艱苦	kan	艱難	tɕiɛn	時間	kan	一間房
	tɕiɛn	簡直	kan	簡化				
溪	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iau	推敲	k <sup>h</sup> au	敲门				

Table 3.15 Example of literary and colloquial readings of the MC *jian* (見) group and *xiao* (曉) group in division II *kaikou* syllables (continued)

	literary readings	colloquial readings	literary readings	colloquial readings		literary readings	colloquial readings	literary readings
疑	ja	拔 <u>牙</u>	a	<u>牙</u> 齒	jen	<u>眼</u> 鏡	an	<u>眼</u> 雨
曉	ɕia	龍 <u>蝦</u>	xa	<u>蝦</u> 子	ɕia	<u>瞎</u> 說	xa	<u>瞎</u> 子
匣	ɕie	合 <u>諧</u>	xai	<u>諧</u> 調	ɕia	<u>下</u> 面	xa	底 <u>下</u> 、 下 <u>巴</u>
	ɕien	<u>咸</u> 寧	xan	<u>鹹</u> 淡	ɕiaŋ	<u>項</u> 鏈	xuaŋ	頸 <u>項</u>

Based on phonetic development of dialects in history, it is impossible for the velars in the colloquial readings to directly transform to the front palatals in the literary readings due to distinct difference in articulate positions. The vocabulary used by literary readings consists of words that do not exist in the traditional Qianjiang dialect, which evidences that the discrete layers in dialects are caused by lexicon borrowing. Therefore, the palatalization of the MC *jian* (見) and *xiao* (曉) group of initials in division II *kaikou* syllables in Qianjiang dialect should be attributed to external language, especially impact from mandarin.

The initial *yi* (疑) which is combined with division II finals in the Qianjiang dialect is becoming  $\emptyset$ . In addition, the initial  $\eta$ - was only preserved in the colloquial readings, it gradually went missing.

### 3.1.8 The MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪)

Most of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) of level tone are affricated in Mandarin, while some are voiceless fricative in the Qianjiang dialect as the Table 3.16 below shows.

Table 3.16 Examples of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) in the Qianjiang dialect

Eg Dialect	禪							船	
	常	純	盛 (~ 滿)	晨	嘗	償	豉	唇	乘
Qianjiang	saŋ	<u>suən</u> <u>sən</u>	sən	sən	saŋ	saŋ	sɿ	<u>tsʰən</u> <u>sən</u>	<u>tsʰən</u> <u>sən</u>
Mandarin	tʂʰaŋ	tʂʰuən	tʂʰəŋ	tʂʰuən	tʂʰaŋ	tʂʰaŋ	tʂʰɿ	tʂʰuən	tʂʰəŋ

Yan, Zhitui (531-591), a man of letters who lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century of China, recorded the phonetic phenomenon of his time as: The south people pronounced “石” as “射” and pronounced “是” as “舐”<sup>7</sup>. The MC initial of “石” and “射” is *chan* (禪), while the MC initial of “射” and “舐” is *chuan* (船). It can be seen that even in the 6<sup>th</sup> century the pronunciations between *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) are not distinguishable. Traditionally, *chuan* (船) were recognized as voiced affricate sound, and *chan* (禪) is recognized as voiced fricative sound, some of them are still remain voiced in some dialect today, like the Wu dialect. Therefore, in the Qianjiang dialect, the phenomenon that of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) of level tone are affricate is the preservation of the devocalization of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪).

<sup>7</sup>颜之推 (531-591) 《颜氏家训·音辞第十八》云：“南人以钱为涎，以石为射，以贱为羨，以是为舐。” Yan, Zhitui *Yanshi Jiaxun*. Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1993. p530.

Shao, Rongfen (1963) pointed out that *chuan* (船) initial in the Northwestern dialect during Tang-and-Five Dynasty fell into the category of fricative sound. Gong, Huangcheng (1981) believed that before the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century, voiced affricative sound had already developed into voiceless fricative sound in the Northwestern dialect. Table 3.17 shows examples of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) in the South western Mandarin, the Northwestern Mandarin, the Gan dialect and the Hakka dialect.

Table 3.17 Examples of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) in various dialects

Eg Dialects Dialect	禪						船	
	常	純	盛 (~ 滿)	晨	嘗	償	唇	乘
Wuhan (武漢)	ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ saŋ	ɕyn	sən	sən	saŋ	saŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> yn	ts <sup>h</sup> ən
Xi'an (西安)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> aŋ ɕaŋ	pf	tɕ <sup>h</sup> əŋ	ɕ tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup> aŋ ɕaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> aŋ ɕaŋ	f	ts <sup>h</sup> ən
Chengdu (成都)	saŋ	suən	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ən	sən	saŋ	saŋ	suən	<u>ts<sup>h</sup>ən</u> <u>sən</u>
Nanchang (南昌)	səŋ	sun	ts <sup>h</sup> ən	sən	səŋ	səŋ	sun	<u>ts<sup>h</sup>ən</u> <u>sən</u>
Meixian (梅縣)	səŋ	sun	sən	sən	səŋ	səŋ	sun	sən

The phenomenon of the MC initials *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) becoming fricative sound [s] shows similar behavior in the Southwestern Mandarin, the Northwestern Mandarin, the Gan dialect and the Hakka dialect. Although “純” and “唇” are

pronounced as [pf ] and [f ] in the Xi'an (西安) dialect, it is generally accepted that it was between the end of the Ming dynasty and the middle of Qing Dynasty that the development from [tʂ] and [ʂ] sound to [pf], [f] sound in the Xi'an dialect took place. It is proposed in Section 3.1.1 that the phenomenon of the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent in southwestern mandarin was heavily related to the immigration activity during the Tang-and-Five dynasty. In addition, in the southwestern part of Shanxi (陝西) province, the phenomenon that the MC initials *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) became fricative sounds also took place in areas where the the MC voiced aspirated obstruent has been reported. Therefore, it is advocated that it is largely due to the Northwestern immigrants during the Tang-and-Five dynasty that the devocalization of *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) initials was preserved in the same dialects where the aspirated obstruent are preserved.

### 3.1.9. The affrication of the MC *xie* (邪)

Most of the MC *xie* (邪) initials in the Qianjiang dialect are apically fricative. However, some of them are linguofacial affricative sounds, which is a commonly existing feature in most dialects of southwestern mandarin. Examples are listed in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18 Examples of the affrication of the MC *xie* (邪) in the Southwestern dialects

Eg Dialect	詳	祥	翔	像
Qianjiang(潛江)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ
Wuhan(武漢)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ	<u>ɕiaŋ</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ
Chengdu(成都)	ɕiaŋ	ɕiaŋ	ɕiaŋ	<u>ɕiaŋ</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> iaŋ



As mentioned in Section 3.1.8, Yan, Zhitui also recorded that people living in the south in the 6<sup>th</sup> century pronounced the character “涎”, which begins with the *xie* (邪) initial as “錢” which begins with the *cong* (從) initial<sup>8</sup>. In *Qieyun* 切韻, which reflected literary language since the six-dynasty, the MC *xin* (心), *shu* (書), *sheng* (生), *xie* (邪), *chan* (禪) initials have been recognized as fricative sounds. Table 3.18 shows examples of the affrication of the MC *xin* (心), *sheng* (生), *shu* (書), *xiao* (曉) and *xia* (匣) in the Qianjiang dialect.

Table 3.19 Examples of the affrication of the MC *xin* (心), *sheng* (生), *shu* (書), *xiao* (曉) and *xia* (匣) in the Qianjiang dialect

MC initials	心	生	書	曉	匣
Example	膝	滲	伸	吸	匣
Qianjiang	<u>ɕi</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> i	<u>sən</u> ts <sup>h</sup> an	<u>sən</u> ts <sup>h</sup> ən	<u>ɕi</u> tɕi	tɕia

The affrication of the MC *xie* (邪) also existed in other dialects, such as the Wu dialect, Xiang dialect, Yue dialect, min dialect, and Hakka dialect, etc. Please read Table 3.20 for examples.

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<sup>8</sup>颜之推 (531-591) 《颜氏家训·音辞第十八》云:“南人以钱为涎,以石为射,以贱为羨,以是为舐。” Yan, Zhitui, *Yanshi Jiaxun*. Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1993. p530.

Table 3.20 Examples of the MC *chuan* (船) and *chan* (禪) in various dialects

Eg Dialect	詳	祥	翔	像	象
Changsha (長沙)	tɕian	tɕian	tɕian	<u>ɕian</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> ian	<u>ɕian</u> tɕ <sup>h</sup> ian
Shuangfeng (雙峰)	dʒiɔŋ	dʒiɔŋ	dʒiɔŋ	dʒiɔŋ	dʒiɔŋ
Yangzhou (揚州)	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ian	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ian	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ian	ɕian	ɕian
Suzhou (蘇州)	ʒian	ʒian	ʒian	ʒian	ʒian
Meixian (梅縣)	siɔŋ	siɔŋ	siɔŋ	<u>siɔŋ</u> ts <sup>h</sup> iɔŋ	siɔŋ
Guangzhou (廣州)	tʃ <sup>h</sup> œŋ	tʃ <sup>h</sup> œŋ	tʃ <sup>h</sup> œŋ	tʃœŋ	tʃœŋ
Fuzhou (福州)	suɔŋ	suɔŋ	suɔŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> uɔŋ	ts <sup>h</sup> uɔŋ

It is therefore believed that the affrication of the MC *xie* (邪) did not come from linguistic evolution, but was due to preservation of early southern colloquial pronunciation in Qianjiang dialect.

### 3.1.10 The independent morphemes and

In the Qianjiang dialect, the labio-dental and nasal initial m and the dental and nasal initial n could be used independently as prefixes; they are marked as and in this thesis. Such syllabic nasals are only used in two words in the Qianjiang dialect, one is the

kinship term for mother, which is 姆媽 [ ma], and the other is the honorific second person 你儂[ naŋ].Such independent nasal sounds exist in almost every southern dialect, they are actually the results of the morphological process, which is phonologically realized as a homorganic nasal extension of the nasal initial of the root morpheme (Shen 2006). This morphological process changes the monosyllabic words *ma* (媽) and *naŋ* (儂) to disyllabic word *ma* and *naŋ* in the Qianjiang dialect.

No sensible explanation of natural linguistic evolution can be found to correlate such special phenomenon. In addition, such phonetic characteristic did not exist in the Chinese language history, neither did in the northern dialects. Therefore, it would be much more sensible to trace the source of such linguistic feature from exterior influences outside of the Chinese language. It has been found that independent nasal sound existed only in the Miao language (Shen 2007). Thus the same feature in Qianjiang dialect must come from the influences from the Miao language.

## **3.2 Finals**

### **3.2.1 The *guo* (果) rhyme group**

The *guo* (果) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect has two phonetic representations: [o] (as Table 3.21 shows) and [a].

Table 3.21 Examples of the *guo* (果) rhyme group

Eg	歌	顆	過	鵝	河	那	个	餓	賀
Dialect									
Qianjiang	ko	k <sup>h</sup> o	ko	o	xo	lo	go	o	xo

In Qianjiang dialect, *po* (婆) is pronounced as [pa] in colloquial readings, in which [a] is a MC value of the *guo* (果) rhyme group that was preserved and still being used. For example, the kinship term *popo* (婆婆) which means grandma is pronounced as [pa<sup>55</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>].

As another example, *yanyu posuo* (眼雨婆婆) which is used in the Qianjiang dialect to describe being full of tears is pronounced as [jɛn jy pa sa]. *Po* (婆) is the division I *hekou ge* (戈) rhyme and *Sa* (娑) is the division I *kaikou ge* (歌) rhyme, both of which preserved the value of the MC *guo* (果) rhyme group. Other examples include *Zabazi* (昨婆子) [ts<sup>h</sup>a pa tsɿ] which means people who like to show off, *Yabazi* (鴨婆子) [ja pa tsɿ] which means duck.

### 3.2.2 The division III finals of the *jia* (假) rhyme group

The division III finals of the *jia* (假) rhyme group are reconstructed as [a] in Middle Chinese. Some of the colloquial readings of division III finals of the *jia* (假) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect is [a], which belongs to the historical stratum of the evolution of the *ma* (麻) rhyme. Examples are listed in Table 3.22.

Table 3.22 The examples of the division III finals of the *jia* (假) rhyme group

Eg	斜	瀉	爹	蔗
Dialect				
Qianjiang	sa	sa	ta	tʂa
Mandarin	ɕiɛ	ɕiɛ	tiɛ	tʂɤ

### 3.2.3 The division I *hekou* syllables in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group

*Mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group was pronounced as [u] in Southwestern mandarin in most areas. However, in Hubei region, *mo* (模) rhyme is pronounced as *you* (尤) and *hou* (侯) rhyme in some dialects due to split of laterals (l) and dentals (t, th, d, n). Chang Kuang-yu (2006) proposed that it is easy for the –u-medial following initial group to drop or change after analyzing the phenomenon of *hekou* medial becoming *kaikou*. Hao, Jing (1558-1639), born in Jinshan (京山) of Hubei, stated in *Wushengpu* (五聲譜) that it is before the Ming dynasty when the the *mo* (模) rhyme combined with initial group was read the same as the *liu* (流) rhyme group<sup>9</sup>. Zhang, Wei (1538-1605) from Ming Dynasty in *Wenqiji* (問奇集) recorded that in Xishu (Sichuan) dialect, *nu* (怒) was pronounced as *lu* (路); while *zu* (祖) was pronounced as *zou* (走), *du* (賭) was pronounced as *dou* (斗)<sup>10</sup> (Ding, Bangxin 2008:101). The final of *zu* (祖) and *du* (賭) belongs to *mo* (模) rhyme, the final of *zou* (走) and as *dou* (斗)

<sup>9</sup> Ji, Fu 忌浮. Phonetic System of Jingshan Dialect in Hubei Province at the End of Ming Dynasty—Reading *Dushutong* compiled by Hao jing 明末湖北京山方言音系——讀郝敬《讀書通》. *Studie in Language and Linguistics* 語言研究. Vol.25 No. 4(2005). p9-11.

<sup>10</sup> 张位 (1538-1605) 《問奇集》：“二楚鄉音：之為知、解為改、永為允、汝為爾、介為蓋、山為三、士為四、產為傘、歲為細、祖為走、觀為鬥” is cited from Ding, Bangxin 丁邦新. *Wenqiji Suoji Zhi Mingdai Fangyin* 問奇集所記之明代方音, *Zhongguo Yuyanxue Lunwenji* 中國語言學論文集, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2008. p101

belongs to *you* (尤) and *hou* (侯) rhyme. It is worth noting that since Ming Dynasty the *mo* (模) rhyme has never been pronounced as *you* (尤) and *hou* (侯) rhyme in Xishu(西蜀) (Sichuan) dialect. Therefore, the phenomenon that the *mo* (模) rhyme is pronounced as *you* (尤) and *hou* (侯) rhyme in some can be the key characteristic to distinguish the Hubei Southwestern mandarin and the other Southwestern mandarin (Guo, Li 2009).

In the Qianjiang dialect, when combined with *bang* (幫) initials group and *jian* (見) initials group, the *mo* (模) rhyme is pronounced as [u]. On the other hand, the pronunciation of *mo* (模) rhyme can be either [u] or [əu] when combined with the *duan* (端) initial group and *jing* (精) initial group as shown in table 3.23. Note that the pronunciation of [əu] is due to impact of Southwestern mandarin in the Wutian(武天) region.

Table 3.23 Examples of the MC *mo* (模) rhyme combines with *duan* (端) group and *jing* (精) group in the Qianjiang dialect

<i>duan</i> (端) group		<i>ni</i> (泥), <i>lai</i> (來)		<i>jing</i> (精) group	
u	əu	u	əu	u	əu
肚 t <sup>h</sup> u	賭 <u>t</u> <u>u</u> <u>təu</u>	爐 lu	路 <u>l</u> <u>u</u> <u>ləu</u>	醋 ts <sup>h</sup> u	租 <u>t</u> <u>su</u> <u>tsəu</u>
屠 t <sup>h</sup> u	都 <u>t</u> <u>u</u> <u>təu</u> <u>tu</u>	蘆 lu	努 <u>l</u> <u>u</u> <u>ləu</u> <u>lu</u>	訴 su	做 tsəu
吐 t <sup>h</sup> u	徒 <u>t</u> <sup>h</sup> <u>u</u> <u>t<sup>h</sup>əu</u> <u>t<sup>h</sup>u</u>	魯 lu	滷 <u>l</u> <u>u</u> <u>ləu</u> <u>lu</u>	蘇 su	組 <u>t</u> <u>su</u> <u>tsəu</u> <u>tsu</u>

Except *zuo* (做), the phenomenon of both colloquial and literary reading exists for all other pronunciation of [əu] in the *mo* (模) rhyme. Among these two different kinds of pronunciation, the literary reading method should attribute to the impact of Southwestern mandarin in Wutian region. The pronunciation of “u” could be either the old colloquial reading or the new literary reading which is influenced by mandarin.

### 3.2.4 The entering tone syllables in the *tong* (通) rhyme group

The entering tone, *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhymes in the *tong* (通) rhyme group was read the same as the *mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group due to split of laterals and dentals. Examples are below in table 3.24.

Table 3.24 Examples of the the literary and colloquial readings of the MC *wu* (屋) and *zhu* (燭) rhyme

	literary reading		colloquial reading		literary reading		colloquial reading	
屋	sou	縮 <u>小</u>	su	縮了	lou	六 <u>個</u>	lu	六六順
	zou	買 <u>肉</u>	zu	脍 <u>肉</u>	tsou	八寶 <u>粥</u>	tsu	喝 <u>粥</u>
沃	tou	毒 <u>藥</u>	t <sup>h</sup> u	毒氣	tou	監 <u>督</u>	tu	督到
燭	sou	繼 <u>續</u>	su	手 <u>續</u>	lou	綠 <u>顏</u> 色	lu	綠 <u>瑩</u> 瑩

The development from [u] to [əu] is very common in modern Chinese dialects. Therefore, it is believed that in the Qianjiang dialect, the pronunciation of the *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group was hekou [u], while kaikou [əu] is due to later evolution or language spread caused by other dialects' influences, especially, the impact of Southwestern mandarin in Wutian region.

### 3.2.5 The *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme

The *ji* (祭) rhyme is reconstructed in Middle Chinese as [iei] by Wang, Li, [iei] by Bernhard Karlgren, [iei] by Li, Rong, [ɛi] by Shao, Rongfen, [ei] by Pan, Wuyun. Linguistics have reconstructed the MC *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme as diphthong [ei] or [ɛi]. In the Qianjiang dialect, as *kaikou* of division III and IV in the *xie* (蟹) rhyme group, [ei], as the preserved sound from middle Chinese, is pronounced when the *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme is combined with the bang initial group, such as 閉 pei, 陞 pei, 批 p<sup>h</sup>ei.

The phenomenon of both colloquial and literary reading exists as well for other characters of the *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme combined with bang initial group. For instance, [i] is pronounced according to the new literary reading method, while [ei] only exists in colloquial context.

Table 3.25 Examples of the literary and colloquial readings of the MC *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme

	literary reading		colloquial reading		literary reading		colloquial reading	
祭	pi	遮 <u>蔽</u>	pei	<u>蔽</u> 蔭	pi	作 <u>弊</u>	pei	<u>弊</u> 端
	pi	槍 <u>斃</u>	pei	<u>斃</u> 了	bi	人民 <u>幣</u>	pei	錢 <u>幣</u>
齊	mi	<u>迷</u> 宮	mei	<u>迷</u> 住	mi	<u>謎</u> 團	mei	<u>謎</u> 語
	pi	<u>蓖</u> 麻	pei	<u>蓖</u> 麻子	t <sup>h</sup> i	電 <u>梯</u>	t <sup>h</sup> ei	<u>梯</u> 子
	ti	<u>抵</u> 抗	tei	<u>抵</u> 回去	t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup>	郵 <u>遞</u>	tei	<u>遞</u> 過來



### 3.2.6 The division I *kaikou* entering tone syllables in the *xian* (咸) and *shan* (山) rhymes

The entering tone *he* (合), *he* (盍) and *he* (曷) rhyme which are in the *kaikou* of division I of the *xian* (咸) and *shan* (山) group, when combined with the *jian* (見) initial group, is pronounced as [o] in today's the Qianjiang Dialect. On the other hand, other initial groups are pronounced as [a].

Table 3.26 Examples of the entering tone *he* (合), *he* (盍) and *he* (曷) rhyme combined with the *jian* (見) initial group

Eg	喝	鴿	磕	割	渴	活	荷	貨	禍
Dialect Qianjiang	xo	ko	k <sup>h</sup> o	ko	xo	xo	xo	xo	xo
Mandarin	xɤ	kɤ	k <sup>h</sup> ɤ	kɤ	k <sup>h</sup> ɤ	xuo	xɤ	xuo	xuo

### 3.2.7 The entering tone syllables in the *dang* (宕) and *jiang* (江) rhymes

The *dang* (宕) and *jiang* (江) rhyme in the Qianjiang dialect are pronounced in two ways. When combined with the *zhi* (知) initial group and *zhang* (章) initial group, they are pronounced as [o]. On the other hand, when combined with the *jing* (精) and *jian* (見) initial group, they are pronounced as [io]. For most cases, the *dang* (宕) and *jiang* (江) rhyme are pronounced as [io]. Please find the examples in table 3.28.

Table 3.27 Examples of the entering tone syllables in the *dang* (宕) and *jiang* (江) rhymes

Eg Dialect	宕					江				
	各	勺	削	雀	虐	覺	確	岳	樂	刻
Qianjiang	ko	so	ɕio	tɕ <sup>h</sup> io	nio	tɕio	tɕ <sup>h</sup> io	jio	jio	k <sup>h</sup> o

### 3.2.8 The entering tone syllables in the *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥) rhymes

Nearly all the finals of the entering tone *kaikou* syllables in the *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥) rhymes are pronounced as  $\gamma$  in the Qianjiang Dialect. Examples are listed in Table 3.28. The exceptions are 賊 *tsui* and 刻 *k<sup>h</sup>uo*.

Table 3.28 Examples of the MC *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥) rhymes

Eg Dialect	The division I <i>kaikou</i>			The division II <i>kaikou</i>			The division II <i>kaikou</i>		
	in <i>de</i> (德) rhyme			in <i>mo</i> (陌) rhyme			in <i>mai</i> (麥) rhyme		
	北	墨	塞	百	白	窄	麥	摘	擘
Qianjiang	p $\gamma$	m $\gamma$	s $\gamma$	p $\gamma$	p $\gamma$	ts $\gamma$	m $\gamma$	ts $\gamma$	p $\gamma$

### 3.2.9 The drop of the medial -u- in MC *xie* (蟹), *zhi* (止), *shan* (山), *zhen* (臻) *hekou* (合口) after MC *duan* (端), *ni* (泥), *jing* (精) initials

The medial -u in MC *xie* (蟹), *zhi* (止), *shan* (山), *zhen* (臻) *hekou* (合口) after MC *duan* (端), *ni* (泥), *jing* (精) initials are dropped in the Qianjiang dialect, such as examples in Table 3.29 .

Table 3.29 Examples of the the drop of the medial -u- in MC *xie*(蟹), *zhi*(止), *shan*(山), *zhen*(臻) *hekou* (合口) after MC *duan*(端), *ni*(泥), *jing*(精) initials

	<i>duan</i> (端)			<i>ni</i> (泥)			<i>jing</i> (精)		
<i>xie</i> (蟹)	推 t <sup>h</sup> ei	腿 t <sup>h</sup> ei	對 tei				催 ts <sup>h</sup> ei	最 tsei	歲 sei
<i>zhi</i> (止)							嘴 tsei	隨 sei	雖 sei
<i>shan</i> (山)	斷 t <sup>h</sup> an	短 tan	團 tan	亂 lan	暖 lan	卯 lan	鑽 tsan	酸 san	算 san
<i>zhen</i> (臻)	敦 tən	屯 t <sup>h</sup> ən	頓 tən	論 lən			村 ts <sup>h</sup> ən	存 ts <sup>h</sup> ən	孫 sən

In addition to dropping -u-s, some -u- are inserted in the Qianjiang dialect, such as 銚 k<sup>h</sup>uan, 侃 k<sup>h</sup>uan, 刪 suan, 姍 suan.

### 3.3 Conclusions

#### 3.3.1 Redefine the sub-cluster of the Qianjiang dialect in the Southwestern Mandarin

The Qianjiang city is located on the boundaries not only of the Southwestern mandarin and the Gan dialect, but also of three different sub-cluster regions of the Southwestern mandarin. In Figure B6 of *Language Atlas of China* published in 1987, the Qianjiang dialect was distributed to the E'bei (Northern Hubei) region, a sub-region of Southwestern mandarin together with Zhongxiang, Xiangfan, and Shiyan. However, thorough investigations of characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect do not confirm that the Qianjiang dialect belongs to the E'bei region.



Table 3.30 Tonal development and the value in the E'bei region and the Chengyu Region<sup>11</sup>

Dialect	ping 平		shang 上			qu 去		ru 入		
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	sub-voiced	voiced	voiced	voiceless	voiceless	sub-voiced	voiced
Danjiangkou (丹江口)	upper even 35	lower even 51	rising 44			departing 21		upper even/lower even 35/51		lower even 51
Xiangfan (襄樊)	upper even 34	lower even 52	rising 55			departing 31		upper even/lower even 34/52		lower even 52
Qianjiang (潜江)	upper even 35	lower even 13	rising 31			departing 55		lower even 13		
Jingzhou (荆州)	upper even 55	lower even 213	rising 44			departing 35		lower even 213		
Wuhan (武汉)	upper even 55	lower even 213	rising 42			departing 35		lower even 213		

Secondly, as proposed by Guo, Li (2008), most of the rhyme *zeng* (曾) *kaikou* division I and *geng* (梗) *kaikou* division II, like *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥) rhymes, had merged together and were pronounced as “e” in the dialect of E’bei region. However, nearly all the finals of the entering tone *kaikou* syllables in the *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai*(麥) rhymes are pronounced as “ɤ” in the Qianjiang dialect. Guo, Li (2008) also pointed that the medial -i- in some entering tones like *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥)

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<sup>11</sup>The Danjiangkou dialect and the Xiangfan is the typical Ebei region dialect, the data of these two dialects is cited from Ke, Xigang. Geographic Pattern and Mixed Features of Dialects in the Northern Hubei Cluster of Southwest Mandarin Up the Reaches of Hanjiang River. *Fangyan*. Vol.11 2010(P81) The Jingzhou dialect represents the Chengyu region of the Southwestern Mandarin, while the Wuhan dialect represents the Wutian region of the Southwestern Mandarin.

rhymes was proper to the E'bei region. As shown in Table 3.31, the Qianjiang dialect does not exhibit this feature.

Table 3.31 Examples of the MC *de* (德) *mo* (陌) and *mai* (麥) rhymes in the Qianjiang dialect and the Xiangfan dialect<sup>12</sup>

Dialect \ Eg	The division I kaikou in <i>de</i> (德) rhyme			The division II kaikou in <i>mo</i> (陌) rhyme	The division II kaikou in <i>mai</i> (麥) rhyme
	北	特	勒	百	麥
Xiangfan (襄樊)	pe	t <sup>h</sup> e/t <sup>h</sup> ie	nie	pe	mie
Qianjiang (潛江)	pɤ	t <sup>h</sup> ɤ	lɤ	pɤ	mɤ

From the foregoing, it is safe to draw the conclusion that the Qianjiang dialect cannot be classified as one sub-cluster of Southwestern Mandarin represented by the region of E'bei.

Li, Lan (2009) merged the Chengyu region and the Wutian region, the two sub-cluster of Southwestern Mandarin, into E'zhong (central Hubei) region by consulting the tonal development and the value of the Southwestern mandarin as the criteria. Li classified the Qianjiang dialect as one sub-cluster of the E'zhong region as well as the Jingzhou dialect and the Wuhan dialect. It is hard to draw the isogloss among central Hubei area. Li's classification could avoid the argument to some extent. However, from

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<sup>12</sup> The data of Xiangfan dialects is cited from Guo, Li. Xinan Guanhua E'beipian Rushengyun Dai -i- Jieyin Xianxiang Tanxi, *Hanyuxuebao*. Vol.1 2008 33-96

the investigation of the phonological characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect, this thesis considers the Qianjiang dialect as a transition region between the Chengyu Region and the Wutian Region. The evidences will be explained in the following section.

### **3.3.2 The characteristics distinguishing the Qianjiang dialect from the other Southwestern Mandarin**

There are two characteristics distinguishing the Qianjiang dialect from the other Southwestern Mandarin.

The first characteristic is that the Qianjiang dialect preserved the most noticeable aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent. Wang, Qunsheng (1994) proposed that the phenomenon of aspirated sound for the MC voiced obstruent exists in 13 counties in Jingsha(荆沙)<sup>13</sup> region, among them Jianli(監利), Qianjiang(潛江) and Honghu(洪湖) are the most noticeable places. According to the *Language Atlas of China* (1987), figure3.1, part of Jianli and Honghu areas are classified as the Gan dialect area. Therefore, the Qianjiang dialect preserved the most noticeable aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent in the Southwestern Mandarin.

Geographical factors played an important part in preserving the phonetic feature of Qianjiang dialect. Geographically, as shown in Figure 3.2, Qianjiang, Jianli and Honghu, these three counties in the Jiangnan Plain are contained by a triangle demarcated by the Yangtz River and the Han River which cut these three counties off from outside interflowing. Moreover, there are a great many rivers, lakes, and ponds dividing this area

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<sup>13</sup> Jingsha which is short for Jingzhou(荊州) and Shashi(沙市) was the official name of Jingzhou from October, 1994 to November, 1996.

into small areas. In addition, local abundant existence of water caused sticky soil, which prevented local government from fully establishing the network of roads. As a result, when roads are less developed in the old days, the dialect of these three counties was less prone to be influenced by the national common language.

Figure 3.2 Hu Guang (湖廣) in the Ming dynasty Period <sup>14</sup>



Since Jianli and Honghu were even more isolated by the Honghu (洪湖) lake, the dialect of these two places preserved more features of Gan dialect from the Jiangxi immigrants such as the entering tone and the aspiration of the MC *lai*(來) initial and the *jing*(精), *zhi*(知), *zhao*(照) initial groups than other areas on Jiangnan plain. Therefore these two dialects are classified as Gan dialect. In contrast, the Qianjiang dialect

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<sup>14</sup> The Historical Atlas of China Volume VII China Cartographic Publishing house 1996 p66-67



classified as the Southwestern Mandarin preserved the most noticeable aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent.

The second characteristic which distinguishes the Qianjiang dialect from the other Southwestern Mandarin is the colloquial and literary reading of the *mo* (模) rhyme and the entering tone syllables in the *tong* (通) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect. *Mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group was pronounced as [u] in Southwestern mandarin in most areas. However, due to split of laterals (l) and dentals (t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, n), *mo* (模) rhyme is pronounced as *you* (尤) and *hou* (侯) rhyme in some dialects in Hubei region, especially in the Wutian Region of the Southwestern mandarin and the Huangxiao(黄孝) region of the Jianghuai(江淮) mandarin. In Qianjiang dialect, when combined with *bang* (幫) initials group and *jian* (見) initials group, the *mo* (模) rhyme is pronounced as [u]. On the other hand, the pronunciation of *mo* (模) rhyme can be either [u] or [əu] when combined with the *duan* (端) initial group and *jing* (精) initial group as shown in Table 3.23<sup>15</sup>.

The phenomenon of both colloquial and literary reading exists for all other pronunciation of [əu] in the *mo* (模) rhyme. Among these two reading means, the literary reading method should be attributed to the impact of the Wutian(武天) region. The pronunciation of “u” could be either the old colloquial reading or the new literary reading which is influenced by mandarin.

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<sup>15</sup> Table 3.23 Examples of the MC *mo* (模) rhyme combines with *duan* (端) group and *jing* (精) group in the Qianjiang dialect on page 33.

The entering tone, *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group was read the same as the *mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group due to split of laterals and dentals. Examples are below in table 3.24<sup>16</sup>.

The development from [u] to [əu] is very common in modern Chinese dialects. Therefore, it is believed that in the early years of the Qianjiang Dialect, the pronunciation of the *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group is *hekou* [u], while *kaikou* [əu] is due to later evolution or language spread caused by other dialects' influences, especially, the impact of the Wutian(武天) region.

In Chengyu (成渝) region, when combined with *bang* (幫) initials group and *jian* (見) initials group, the *mo* (模) rhyme is still pronounced as [u]. The pronunciation of the *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group is also *hekou* [u]. Table 3.32 shows examples of the *mo* (模) rhyme and the entering tone syllables in the *tong* (通) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect and other dialects from the Chengyu region and the Wutian region.

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<sup>16</sup> Table 3.24 Examples of the the literary and colloquial readings of the MC *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), and *zhu* (燭) rhyme on page 34.

Table 3.32 Examples of the *mo* (模) rhyme and the entering tone syllables in the *tong* (通) rhyme group in various dialects

Dialect \ Eg	the <i>mo</i> (模) rhyme				the <i>wu</i> (屋), <i>wo</i> (沃), and <i>zhu</i> (燭) rhyme			
	肚	兔	努	蘇	肉	毒	續	綠
Wuhan 武漢	tou	t <sup>h</sup> ou	nou	sou	nou	tou	sou	nou
Tianmen 天門	tou	tou	nou	sou	ou	tou	sou	lou
Qianjiang 潛江	<u>tou</u> t <sup>h</sup> u	tu	<u>lu</u> <u>ləu</u> <u>lu</u>	su	<u>zu</u> <u>zou</u>	saŋ	<u>su</u> <u>sou</u>	<u>lu</u> <u>lou</u>
Jingzhou 荊州	tu	tu	lu	su	zu	tu	su	lu
Chengdu 成都	tu	tu	nu	su	zu	tu	ɕyo	nu

From this prospective, the Qianjiang dialect could be considered as a transition region between the Chengyu Region and the Wutian Region.

### 3.3.3 The historical strata of the characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect

The historical stratum of the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent and the MC *Quanqing* (voiceless unaspirated stop and affricates) Initials in the Qianjiang dialect are complicated, they will be discussed in particular separately in Chapter 4. The historical strata of the other characteristics of the Qianjiang dialect are summarized as below.

The first is the historical stratum of Middle Chinese. The early Middle Chinese had no labiodentals initials like f- or v- which developed under certain conditions from the

bilabial initials in later varieties of Chinese. In mandarin, the MC initial *fei* (非) group have all developed into f- and w-. The initials of the *jing* (精) group have become palatalized before high front vowels, merging with velar initials, which palatalized in the same environment. Therefore, the MC *zhongchun* (重唇) sounds and *Jiantuanyin* (尖團音) are preserved in the Qianjiang dialect from the historical stratum of Middle Chinese.

Some of the colloquial readings of division III finals of the *jia* (假) rhyme group in the Qianjiang dialect is [a], which belongs to the historical stratum of the evolution of the *ma* (麻) rhyme. The *guo* (果) rhyme group is pronounced as the MC value [a], the *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme are pronounced as the MC value [ei]. They also belong to the historical stratum of Middle Chinese.

The second is the historical stratum of the Southwestern Mandarin. The MC entering tone has also merged with the lower even tone category. The MC initials *ni* (泥) and *lai* (來) are not distinguished and could be pronounced either [l] or [n]. The MC *zhi* (知) group, *zhuang* (莊) group and *zhang* (章) group are pronounced as [ts], [ts<sup>h</sup>] and [s] in the Qianjiang dialect respectively. The value [u] of the *mo* (模) Rhyme in the *yu* (遇) rhyme group and the entering tone, *wu* (屋), *wo* (沃), *zhu* (燭) rhyme in the *tong* (通) rhyme group are developing to [əu] in the Qianjiang dialect. Those phonological features in the Qianjiang dialect belong to the stratum of the historical stratum of the Southwestern Mandarin.

The third is the non-Chinese stratum. The independent nasal sounds and used independently as prefixes in the Qianjiang dialect are the results of the morphological

process which changes the monosyllabic words *ma* (媽) and *nay* (儂) to disyllabic word *ma* and *nay*. Little sensible explanation of natural linguistic evolution can be found to correlate such special phenomenon. In addition, such phonetic characteristic did not exist in the Chinese language history; neither did in the northern dialects. Therefore, it would be much more sensible to trace the source of such linguistic feature from exterior influences outside of the Chinese language. It has been found that independent nasal sound existed only in the Miao language (Shen 2007). Thus the same feature in Qianjiang dialect must come from the influences from the Miao language.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**THE HISTORICAL STRATA OF THE ASPIRATION**  
**OF THE MC VOICED INITIALS IN THE QIANJIANG DIALECT**

It has been proposed in Chapter 3 that aspiration of the voiced obstruent is a very important phonetic characteristic of the Qianjiang dialect. Although some scholars have proposed that this might be due to the impact from the Gan dialect, such as Qunsheng Wang (1994) and Hongjia Wang, Guosheng Wang (2011), but no detailed analysis was given. This chapter will give in-depth comprehensive analysis regarding historical reasons behind the voiced aspiration feature of the Qianjiang Dialect. In Section 4.1, existing research works are summarized with respect to voiced initial consonants in various regions to point out that it is widely accepted that immigration activities had profound influences to voiced aspiration as a phonetic phenomenon; Section 4.2 mainly retrospects a few large-scale immigration activities in the history of Qianjiang, including *AnShi* (安史) rebellion, *JingKang* (靖康) Incident, and the *HongWu* (洪武) resettlement; Section 4.3 focuses on explaining the impact brought by each immigration activity in history towards Qianjiang dialect and discussing the rationale behind the aspiration in the Qianjiang dialect.

**4.1 The Aspiration of the MC Voiced Obstruents and the related works**

The fact that the MC voiced obstruent is aspirated over all level or oblique tones is generally regarded as the most important characteristic of the Gan dialect and the Hakka

dialect. However, recent studies show that more and more regional dialects exhibit this feature, i.e. The Tongtai(通泰) dialect in JiangHuai(江淮) Mandarin (Lu, Guoyao 1988); the Jinnan(晉南), the Guanzhong(關中) dialect (He,Wei 1985; Hou, Jingyi; Wen, Duanzheng 1993; Sun Lixin 1997); the Hui(徽) dialect in Jixi(歙溪), Shexian(歙縣), Qimen(祁門) and Wuyuan(婺源) in the Southern Anhui(安徽) province (Hirata, Shoji, 1988); the Pinghua of Guibei(桂北) Lingui(臨桂) and Liangjiang(兩江) (Wang, Futang); the Tuhua of the north Canton (Zhuang, Chusheng; Lin, Lifang 2000); the Mayang(麻陽), Zhongfang(中方) (Luyang 沭陽), Xupu (溱浦) (Dizhuang 丁莊 and Longtan 龍潭), Huaihua (懷化) (Hecheng) (Qu, Jianhui 2011); Guiyang (桂陽), Liufeng(流峰) in the Xiang dialect (Liu,Xiangyou 2011) and the Jiangnan Plain(江漢平原) in Hubei (Wang, Hongjia; Wang , Guosheng 2011).

Linguists have once reached consensus to explain the phenomenon that the MC voiced obstruent was aspirated emerged in both southern and northern regions. It has been mostly argued that in the later years of the West Jin Dynasty, the MC voiced obstruent in the Chinese dialect in northwestern areas had already become aspirated. Due to invasion from exotic races, the people in northwestern areas had to engage massive migration towards southeast, i.e. the *Siyu* (司豫) refugees started moving south from northwestern regions. Nowadays, the phenomenon of the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent in dialects from various areas can be traced back to the historical massive migration of the people from northwestern areas to southeastern regions.

Lu, Guoyao (1994) held the idea that the Hakka, the Gan and the Tongtai dialects originated from the common language of the South Dynasties, reasoning that the massive-scale migration of Han people to the south in the 4<sup>th</sup> century caused language migration as well. In precise, people from Yellow River area carried their northern dialect to Yangtz River areas. After more than 200 years, in later years of the South and the North Dynasties, the North common language was formed based on the Luoyang(洛陽) dialect, while the South common language was formed based on the Jiankang(健康) dialect. More importantly, the South common language is the common source of both the Tongtai dialect and the Hakka, Gan Dialect.

In addition, Li, Rulong and Xin, Shibiao (1999) advocated that the voiced aspiration of current dialects inherited from the ancient Qinjin (秦晉) dialect. They not only quoted the records from some transliteration materials of the Buddhist Scriptures, Xixia thyme book and Xixia-Chinese dictionaries to prove that this aspiration of the MC voiced obstruents already existed in the northwestern dialect in Tang and the Five dynasties, but also proved relations between the northwestern dialect of Tang, Song dynasty, Guanzhong (關中) mandarin and South Jin dialect. For instance, the colloquial pronunciation of *dang* (宕) rhyme and *jiang* (江) rhyme in the south Jin dialect are same to the *guo* (果) rhyme, the main vowels are pronounced as “o” ,”ɔ” or”ə”, which happens in both the northwest dialect of Tang, Song dynasty, and the Guanzhong mandarin. Li and Xin agreed with Lu, Guoyao’s hypothesis to some extent, and considered that all the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruents came from the ancient Qin and Jin dialect.



Although the two above-mentioned articles have been widely questioned in terms of the source of voiced aspiration, it has been commonly accepted that historical migrations played a very important role in causing voiced aspirations. In other words, it is almost imperative to study large-scale immigration activities in the history of Qianjiang when it comes to tracing back the voiced aspirations in Qianjiang Dialect.

#### **4.2 The Immigration Activities in the History of Qianjiang and Their Impact**

Geographically, Qianjiang used to be at the corner of Jiangnan Plain, formed by long time of alleviation from Han River and Old Yunmeng Marsh (云夢澤). In year 965, the government of Qianjiang county was established, which used to be subordinate to the Jiangling government (江陵府), Jingzhou government(荊州府) and Anlu government(安陸府). As the government Qianjiang County was established later, there were few records written down in history and little information of family trees. Therefore, keywords, such as the Jiangnan Plain (江漢平原), Jiangling Government, Jingzhou Government, and Anlu Government, have been used to help scrutinize historical massive migration activities in Qianjiang area.

##### **4.2.1 Population movement from North to South**

Due to the war in the *Yongjia* (永嘉) years of the Jin Dynasty, a lot of people living in the north migrated to southern parts of China. In particular, immigrants from Luoyang and Guanzhong went through Nanyang basin, across southeast side of Qinling (秦嶺), converged at the city of Xiangyang (襄陽), where they headed downstream towards southeast. Most refugees living in areas, which are demarcated as the Gansu(甘肅),

Shanxi(陝西), Jiangling(江陵) and west Henan province today, chose the same route and settled down in Han River region and middle reaches of Yangtz River, such as Xiangyang and Jiangling. It is also worth mentioning that a small amount of refugee from the southeast part of Nanyang (南陽) basin migrated to the Jiangnan Plain via the passes in Tongbai (桐柏) mountain and Dabie (大別) Mountain (Ge, Jianxiong 1997)<sup>17</sup>.

During An-shi(安史) Rebellion, people living in the north started to migrate to south. As geographically close to the central plains, the Jing-Xiang (荊襄) area became the first region to accept immigrants from north. As the war has impact in Xiangyang (襄陽) and Dengzhou (鄧州) regions, people used to live in those two areas, together with people from north, moved into Jingzhou. Since the era of Qin and Han, the Jiangling region has been sitting on the main road from central plains area to Hunan (湖南) and Lingnan (嶺南) area, even during the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the Jiangling region was where northern immigrants mainly settled down during later years of the Tang Dynasty.

In the second year of *Zhide* (至德) (756-758), the Jiangling Government welcomed the first provincial governor in charge of civil and military affairs. According to *Jiutangshu* (舊唐書) the population of JingNan increased ten times due to immigration after the *Zhide* (Wu, Songdi 1997)<sup>18</sup>. Later in the first year of *Shangyuan* (上元) (760-761), the city of Jiangling was promoted to the south capital. All government officials

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<sup>17</sup> Ge, Jianxiong. 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi. Vol.2. Xianqin Weijin Nanbeichao Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe. p340

<sup>18</sup> “《舊唐書·地理志》說至德以後，由於移民遷入，荆南井邑，十倍其初。” Wu, Songdi, *Zhongguo Yiminshi Vol.3 Suitang Wudai Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujianrenmin Chubanshe, 1997. p314

were appointed according to standard deployment of the capital of Chang'an and Luoyang, including prefecture governor, observer officials etc. Immigrants mainly consisted of scholar-bureaucrat and literatis. In *BeiMengSuoYan* (北夢瑣言), Sun, Guangxian (孫光憲) recorded that during the Tang dynasty, a lot of noble families converged on Jiangling, there was a saying to describe this scenario that “the number of Pipa is more than that of rice cookers, and the scholars outnumbered the crucian carp.”<sup>19</sup>

According to Luo, Changpei (1933), the voiced consonants had been replaced by devoiced initials, namely devocalized aspiration. In *TangGuo Shibu* (唐國史補) Li, Zao recorded that during the Tang dynasty people in Guanzhong(關中) area pronounced ‘稻’ as ‘討’<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that these high-class scholar and liberators must have contributed to the phenomenon of voiced initials in the dialect of the Jiangnan Plain.

The aspiration of the voiced obstruent can be easily accepted by local residents at the Jiangnan Plain. The reason behind is that the majority tends to cater to higher class people. In addition, people are often interested in new language phenomenon and willing to imitate newly-emerged language. Moreover, the same articulation position but different voicing methods are employed to pronounce the aspirated and unaspirated sound. Therefore, aspiration from other dialect is easy to imitate. Although there is no

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<sup>19</sup> “江陵在唐世，號衣冠薈澤。人言琵琶多於飯甌，措大多於鯽魚。” Wu, Songdi, *Zhongguo Yiminshi Vol.3 Suitang Wudai Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujianrenmin Chubanshe, 1997. p159

<sup>20</sup> 唐·李肇《唐國史補》卷下：“今荊襄人呼提為堤，晉絳人呼梭為莖，關中人呼稻為討，呼釜為付，皆訛謬所習，亦曰坊中語也。” Li, Zhao, *Tangguo Shibu*. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1991. p59

recorded history of local dialects, such behavior can be expected as illustrated by what happened to the contemporary Meizhou (眉州) dialect.

*Zizhi Tongjian* (資治通鑒) written by Sima, Guang (1019-1089) and collaborators during the Northern Song in 1084, has been annotated by many scholars and linguistics. For instance, Shi, Zhao (史炤) from Northern Song authored *Zizhitongjian Shiwen Sanshijuan*(資治通鑒釋文三十卷) (ZSS). This commentary has been criticized by Hu, Sansheng (胡三省) in late Song Dynasty as it had a lot of mistakes because the author used his hometown dialect to note the pronunciation.<sup>21</sup> Nonetheless, Shi, Zhao's annotation provided high research value about the Dialect of Shi, Zhao's hometown Meizhou(眉州), located at the Southwest of Chengdu(成都) Plain. Interestingly, it turned out 75% of Meizhou Population were originated from northern immigrants at the end of the Tang Dynasty (Wu, Songdi 1997: 338) who brought with them their devoiced MC voiced obstruents when they moved to Meizhou.

One of the most important phenomenons of dialects is the evolution of voiced obstruents becoming voiceless, which is reflected in ZZS. According to Deng, Qiang (2012: 83)'s statistics, among the 15 aspirated voiced obstruent in ZZS, 8 of them are oblique tone. The high proportion is worth catching more attention.

It is still far from conclusion that the voiced aspiration of the Qianjiang dialect happened during the Northern Song Dynasty just because Meizhou experienced similar

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<sup>21</sup> “各自以土音為之音，率語轉而失其正音，亦有因土音而失其本，至於大相遠者，不特語轉而已。” Cited from Li, Wenze 2000. Shizhao Zizhi Tongjian Shiwen Yu Songdai Sichuan Fangyin. *Sichuan Daxue Xuebao*. Vol.4 No. 109. p75

immigration history and evidence showed the devocalization happened in Meizhou area. However, it would be an absolute mistake to ignore the impact that the immigrants from Tang Dynasty brought to Qianjiang Dialect, especially in terms of voiced aspiration.

#### 4.2.2 Immigration in the Southern Song Dynasty

Due to its geographical nearness to the city of Chang'an (長安) as the capital of Tang, and the city of Luoyang (洛陽) as the capital during the Five Dynasties, the Hubei province suffered so much from war that the area was still not fully recovered even in the Northern Song Dynasty.

After Jingkang (靖康) incident, the war has soon reached Hubei (湖北) area. As a result, the population of Hubei dropped abruptly. When the war was over, the Jiangnan Plain had been one of most important areas where southern immigrants had moved in<sup>22</sup>. At the beginning of Southern Song Dynasty, the population of Jiangling area decreased abruptly due to years of war. But in Qiandao (乾道) (1165-1173), the whole population of the same area has reached between 200,000 and 300,000, more than 42,000 families<sup>23</sup>. Lu, You(陸游) had recorded what he heard on his way through the southern Jiangling area towards Sichuan, as in “entering Sichuan”<sup>24</sup>, where most residents originated from other areas, and only 1/10 of the population were of local descents. In “Xiong Family Tree” published in 1947, it is stated that “At the end of the Song Dynasty, it was chaos

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<sup>22, 23, 24</sup> Cited from Wu, Songdi. 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi. Vol.4. Liaosong Jinyuan Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujianrenmin Chubanshe. p385-386

everywhere. The majority of Hubei people lost their lives, and many Jiangxi immigrants moved in after the war was over”.

It was also recorded that Huang, Gan (黃榦), who took charge of Hanyang’s military affairs during the South Song dynasty, reported to the emperor that the majority residents of Hubei province originated from various regions. Wang, Xiangzhi (王象之) wrote in *Yudi Jisheng* 輿地紀勝 that “people in Ying Zhou (郢州) (Zhongxiang 鍾祥 of Hubei) spoke northwestern-like dialects”<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that during the Song Dynasty, there were already a certain amount of northern immigrants who resided in the Hubei region.

In addition, *Jingnanfu Tuxu* (荊南府圖序), written in 1064, described Jiangling as the metropolitan area in the southwest, it was the traffic hub between the capital and Guangxi (廣西), Guangdong (廣東), Hunan (湖南) and Hubei (湖北). A lot of government officials from Sicuan lived there<sup>26</sup>. When Lu, You entered Sichuan, he made discovery in Shashi (沙市) (a City in Hubei) that “On the Shashi Bank, the residents are mostly either of Sichuan descent, or married with people of Sichuan descent.” After Duanping (端平) of the Southern Song (1236), Sichuan suffered a lot from war damage. Many residents moved to the east and settled down in Hubei region. In Year 1237, the army of Mongolia assaulted Sichuan (四川) and Xiangyang (襄陽). As a result, “90% of

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<sup>25,26</sup>, Cited from Wu, Songdi. 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi. Vol.4. Liaosong Jinyuan Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujianrenmin Chubanshe. p385-386

residents died from the battle in Xiangyang-Sichuan region. Survivals gathered between Jiangling (江陵) and Wuchang (武昌)".<sup>27</sup>

During the Southern Song Dynasty, most immigrants living on the Jiangnan Plain were from Jiangxi province. Other major groups include immigrants from Northwestern and Sichuan. Therefore, the Gan dialect, the Northwestern dialect and the Sichuan dialect all had a certain impact on the formation of the current Qianjiang dialect.

The place name mentioned above could be found in figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1 Jing Hu Nan Lu in (荆湖南路) the Southern Song dynasty Period<sup>28</sup>



<sup>27</sup> Cited from Wu, Songdi. 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi. Vol.4. Liaosong Jinyuan Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujianrenmin Chubanshe. p385-386

<sup>28</sup> Cited from *The Historical Atlas of China Volume VII* China Cartographic Publishing house 1996 p63-64

### 4.2.3 Jiangxi immigrant in the Ming Dynasty

The economics of Jiangxi (江西) in the Song Dynasty was very prosperous. In the Ming Dynasty, the land of Jiangxi was not enough to accommodate the large population. Besides, the tax and forced labor were very heavily imposed on the people. Tan, Qixiang (1987) explained the enormous immigration from Jiangxi to Hunan (湖南) and Hubei (湖北):” Jiangxi was earlier developed than Hunan and Hubei, thus according to the rule of people moving from crowded regions to scarce areas, it happened spontaneously.” Jiangxi immigrants firstly settled down in eastern Hubei and then west. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the large number of Jiangxi immigrants contributed a lot to the economical growth of the Jiangnan Plain in the Ming and Qing Dynasty.

Based on Zhang, Guoxiong (1995: 257)’s immigration document it has been summarized by Cao, Shuji that out of 38 clans in Hubei area during Hongwu (洪武) Era in the Ming Dynasty, 28 clans were originated from Jiangxi and other provinces, accounting for 73.7% of all clans<sup>29</sup>. Below are the immigration clans in Jingzhou, Hanyang and Mianyang regions.

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<sup>29</sup>Cao, Shuji 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi Vol.5 Ming Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe. p144.



Table 4.1 The clans immigrated to Jingzhou (荊州), Hanyang (漢陽) and Mianyang (沔陽) (unit=clan)<sup>30</sup>

Ancestral home Time	Local	Jiangxi						The other provinces	Total
		Jiangxi	Raozhou 饒州	Nanchang 南昌	Ji'an 吉安	Jiujiang 九江	The Other place		
The North Song	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
The South Song	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	3
Yuan	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
Late Yuan	—	—	1	5	—	—	—	3	9
Hongwu 洪武	3	1	—	6	7	2	—	3	22
Yongle 永乐	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Late Ming	1	8	2	3	5	—	2	1	22
Total	4	10	3	16	13	2	3	10	61

Cao, Shuji had also statistically analyzed the constitution of immigrants in Mianyang (沔陽) and Jingzhou (荊州) region as Table 4.2 shows.

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<sup>30</sup> Cited from Cao, Shuji 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi Vol.5 Ming Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe. p144.

Table 4.2 Immigration groups in Hubei Region during the HongWu Era (unit: 10,000)<sup>31</sup>

Region	Total population	Local Residents	Percentage (%)	Normal immigration	Percentage (%)	Soldiers	Percentage (%)
Hanyangfu 漢陽府	5.0	2.0	40.0	3.0	60.0	0	0
Mianyangfu 沔陽府	8.8	3.5	39.8	3.6	40.9	1.7	19.3
Anlufu 安陸府	9.7	3.9	40.0	4.1	42.5	1.7	17.5
Jingzhoufu 荊州府	33.4	13.0	38.9	16.0	47.8	4.4	13.2

Assuming 10% of all military immigrants were of Jiangxi descent, it can be calculated that 33% of all the Jiangnan Plain population were of Jiangxi descent between the end of the Yuan Dynasty and the beginning of the Ming Dynasty.

In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the Yangtz River and Han River changed direction due to terrain movements. New land was formed for people to cultivate crops. It was written in *Mianyang Zhouzhi* (沔陽州志) that “immigrants were active on the new land” (Yang, Guo’an 2004). Immigrants have two advantages over local residents: 1. they did not need to pay for tax for reclaiming waste land; 2. they did not owe any labor or army obligations. Moreover, the population of immigrants was already huge, thus they made really enormous development. In *Wanli Huguang Zongzhi* (萬曆湖廣總志), it is

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<sup>31</sup> The data is extracted from Cao, Shuji 1997. *Zhongguo Yiminshi Vol.5 Ming Shiqi*. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe. p147.

stated that “immigrants in Qianjiang became rich and greedy landlords, while local residents became poor slaves. The tax and labor obligation law was definitely unfair”<sup>32</sup>. *Mianyang Zhouzhi* (沔陽州志) (Vol. 4) published in Guangxu (光緒) wrote “immigrants of Hubei area gradually gained control. Later, local residents became refugees”.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the enormous amount of Jiangxi immigrants together with their economic advantage, the Gan dialect should have imposed a pivotal and profound influence towards Qianjiang Dialect. However, there are no similarities between the Qianjiang dialect and the Gan dialect except aspiration of the voiced obstruents. Moreover, according to the comparison between the Jingshan (京山) dialect and the Gan dialect conducted by Hao, Jing (郝敬) from Jingshan, which is close to Qianjiang in the Jianghan Plain, from Ming dynasty in *Dushutong* (讀書通), the Jingshan dialect shared no features with the Gan dialect except voiced obstruents becoming aspirated and the preservation of the entering tone and the bilabial MC *wei* (微) initial. Therefore, it can be safely drawn that the Southwestern mandarin has always been the predominant spoken language in the Jianghan Plain ever since the Ming dynasty. It could be explained as the immigration from Jiangxi was characterized as individual families or small groups, most of who were low-class people of society.

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<sup>32,33</sup> Cited from Yang, Guo'an 2004. The Conflict between Native and Refugees of Hunan and Hubei during the Ming Dynasty. *Zhongguo Nongshi* Vol.1 p81-87

Although Jiangxi immigrants' language had never ruled the Jiangnan Plain, they did bring certain influence. Table 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 compare the vocabulary of Qianjiang dialect and that of the Gan dialect with respect to nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Table 4.3 The Comparison of the vocabulary between the Qianjiang dialect and the Gan dialect (nouns)<sup>34</sup>

Meaning	The Qianjiang dialect	The Gan dialect
sun	日頭	日頭
ice	凌	凌
color	色氣	色氣
sound	聲氣	聲氣
hot water	滾水	滾水
rope	索子	索子
ipomeas	蘿菜	蘿菜
duckweed	藻	藻
rooster	雞公	雞公
nose	鼻公	鼻公
ear	耳公	耳公
tadpole	蝌蚪黏子	蝌蚪黏子
stopper	□[tsəu]子	□[tsəʔ tsɿ] / [ tsət]
umbrella	雨盖	雨盖
(utensils) bottom	豚 [tu]	豚 [tuk]
(utensils) brim	舷	舷
lean meat	腩肉	腩肉
leftover	現飯	現飯
dandruff	風皮子	風皮
cripple	拐子	拐子
precipitate	腳子	腳子

<sup>34</sup> The vocabulary and the pronunciation of the Gan dialect are cited from Li, Rulong, Zhang, Shuangqing. 1992. *Kegan Fangyang Diaocha Baogao*. Xiamen: Xiamendaxue Chubanshe

Table 4.4 The Comparison of the vocabulary between the Qianjiang dialect and the Gan dialect (verbs)

Meaning	The Qianjiang dialect	The Gan dialect
drenched by(rain)	浞[ts <sup>h</sup> ua]	[ts <sup>h</sup> at]/[ts <sup>h</sup> oʔ]/[ts <sup>h</sup> k] /[ts <sup>h</sup> au]/[ts <sup>h</sup> t]/[ts <sup>h</sup> aʔ]
slit fish	治鱼 [ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ]	治鱼 [ts <sup>h</sup> ɿ]
build a house	做屋	做屋
soak cooked rice in soup	淘饭	淘饭
boil	焯 ts <sup>h</sup> an	焯 ts <sup>h</sup> an
squeeze in	□tsu	□[tsu]
naked	打條肚 [ta t <sup>h</sup> iau t <sup>h</sup> u] 打條胯 [ta d <sup>h</sup> iau k <sup>h</sup> ua]	打□肚 [ta ləŋ tu] 打□胯 [ta d <sup>h</sup> iau g <sup>h</sup> a]
chapped skin	皸[ts <sup>h</sup> ən]	□[ts <sup>h</sup> ən]

Table 4.5 The Comparison of the vocabulary between the Qianjiang dialect and the Gan dialect (adjectives)

Meaning	The Qianjiang dialect	The Gan dialect
pretty	□□ [lin xin]	□□ [liəŋ siui]
smart	精靈	精靈
(sunshine) dazzling	晟[ts <sup>h</sup> an]	□ [ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ]
cold	凜人 [tɕin zən] [kɿ zən]	凜人[kɛn nɿn]
delicious odor	噴[p <sup>h</sup> aŋ]香氣	噴 [p <sup>h</sup> ɿ]香
filthy	浼濁 [au tso] [au t <sup>h</sup> so]	□ [tsau] / □□ [o tsau]

It can be seen part of the vocabulary of the Qianjiang dialect is used the same as the Gan dialect, which differs a lot with the Southwestern mandarin. Therefore, it can be inferred that the phenomenon of the aspiration of the voiced obstruent, which belongs to the features of the Gan dialect, might be reinforced in the Qianjiang dialect through lexicon diffusion. The aspiration of the voiced obstruent can be easily accepted by local residents at Jiangnan Plain not only because it was easy to imitate, but also because this “aspirated voiced obstruent” matched the existing feature of the local people’s speaking dialect which had been brought by the Northwestern people from the Tang dynasty to the Song dynasty.

#### **4.3 The aspiration of the MC *Quanqing* initials in the Qianjiang dialect**

As mentioned in Chapter three, in Qianjiang Dialect, not only the MC voiced obstruent aspirated, but also some of the voiceless *Quanqing* 全清 (voiceless unaspirated stop and affricates) initials are also aspirated. This happens especially in the *bang* (幫) initials, *duan* (端) initials and *jian* (見) initials. The examples were listed in Table 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10<sup>35</sup>.

It has been proposed that the aspirated MC voiced obstruent in the Qianjiang dialect is not generated within the dialect itself, but from exterior influences, namely immigration activities. The aspirated MC voiced obstruent brought by immigrants made impact towards local dialect via vocabulary diffusion. Once such phonetic characteristic prevailed and represented the authority, local residents would spontaneously imitate such phonetic characteristic to cater to the authority. Since such aspirated sound does not come

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<sup>35</sup> On page 22.

out of language evolution, it will definitely cause aspirative misreading of non-voiced initial consonants.

As a means of linguistic transformation, hypercorrection, more often than not, plays a pivotal role in the evolvement of pronunciations ever since ancient times. More importantly, such language evolvement has been witnessed not only in China, but around the globe. A well known example is that the speakers of the eastern Massachusetts dialect ‘drop their *rs*’. Influenced by popular culture, the eastern new Englanders did drop ‘r’ pronunciation, as evidenced by the T-shirts sported by tourists proclaiming ‘I pahked my cah in Hahvahd Yahd’. In addition to dropping *rs*, residents from eastern new England also insert *rs* after non-high vowels. As a result, words that are phonetically distinct in many other English dialects, such as *spa* and *spar* or *tuna* and *tuner*, are pronounced alike in almost all contexts in the Eastern Massachusetts Dialect (Halle and Idsardi 1997). From the foregoing, it can be seen that hypercorrection, as a phenomenon of driving language development, can be defined as speakers spreading language characteristics from a limited scope to a limitless range via over imitation.

So we are faced with the unavoidable question: “What is the inner driving force that causes hypercorrection?” William Labov (1991) has defined the process of linguistic change as having three stages: “In the origin of change, it is one of innumerable variations confined to the use of a few people. In the propagation of the change, it is adopted by such large numbers of speakers that it stands in contrast to the older form along a broad front of social interaction. In the completion of the change, it attains

regularity by the elimination of competing variants.”<sup>36</sup> As evidenced by William Labov in *Social linguistic Patterns*, hypercorrection plays a pivotal role in the propagation of linguistic change. Linguistic forms are exerted upon by social forces, which consist of two distinct types. One type of social force exerts below the level of conscious awareness, operating upon the entire linguistic systems and is relatively obscure. The other type of social force represents the overt process of social correction applied to individual linguistic forms. Hypercorrection belongs to the second type of social force. Through quantitative measurement of linguistic change of New York residents, William Labov has established correlation between hypercorrection of the lower middle class and the solidification of r-pronunciation as a native speech pattern. It was concluded that hypercorrection is incarnated as middle-aged, lower-middle-class speakers adopting the formal speech pattern of the upper-middle-class speakers.

Coincidentally, similar language evolvement was also witnessed in the case of the Qianjiang Dialect. During the Late Tang dynasty and Ming dynasty, a large amount of immigrants from the northern areas moved into the Qianjiang area. While the immigrant speakers brought with them dialect, of which the MC voiced obstruents were pronounced with aspirated sound, they did not speak aspirated sound for *Quanqing* initials. In contract, in the contemporary Qianjiang dialect, a lot of *Quanqing* initials are spoken aspirated. Although it can be argued that linguistic changes can be caused by other

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<sup>36</sup> Labov, William, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 1991. P123.



reasons, immigration usually plays the paramount social force in one entire region's phonetic evolution.

The key to this puzzle may lie in the hypercorrection of the local Qianjiang residents. As has been illustrated before, hypercorrection can be described mainly as over-imitation of exterior language characteristics and spreading such characteristics to the entirety. As for the case of the Qianjiang dialect, after immigrants settled themselves in Qianjiang, local Qianjiang residents adopted their speech pattern of speaking aspirated sounds for the MC voiced obstruents, and then began to make aspirated sounds for voiceless initials, too. There were many reasons for the hypercorrection to occur in that historical scenario. Perhaps one of the primary reasons was that the local Qianjiang residents were confused between voiced initials and voiceless initials. Therefore, they simply adopted the same rule to both voiced and voiceless initials. By over imitating immigrants, local Qianjiang residents implemented hypercorrection and caused aspirated sound for *Quanqing* initials in the contemporary Qianjiang dialect.

As hypercorrection has been established to explain aspirated sound for *Quanqing* initials, another question remains to be answered is when it happened. It is well known that Qianjiang history has witnessed two major immigration activities: one in Late Tang Dynasty and another during Ming Dynasty. Both of the groups of immigrants spoke aspirated sound for the MC voiced obstruents and non-aspirated sound for *Quanqing* initials. It would be natural to ask during the aftermath of which immigration activity the hypercorrection really was occurring. The answer probably lies in the difference of immigrant people. As learned from history, during the Late Tang Dynasty, the majority of immigrants were made up of noble families and scholars from the north, mainly

around the capital Chang'an. These immigrants were of the upper class of society and they were looked up to by lower-class people. On the other hand, during the Ming Dynasty, the immigrants mainly were lower class people during that time. According to William Labov, Hypercorrection norm indicated imitation from lower middle class people to upper class people. Therefore, it is sound to conclude that the probably occurrence of hypercorrection took place during the aftermath of the immigration from Northern China region to Qianjiang area during Late Tang dynasty.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

From the foregoing, it can be summarized that the immigration from North to South during An-shi incident and Five-dynasty belongs to group events, which was heavily related with the move of political capital, thus a lot of language and culture were preserved by the immigrants. Besides, the immigrants are from higher of the society, and the majority tends to cater to higher class people. In addition, people are often interested in new language phenomenon and willing to imitate newly-emerged language. Moreover, the aspiration of the voiced obstruent can be easily accepted by local residents at Jiangnan Plain because the same articulation position but different voicing methods are employed to pronounce the aspirated and unaspirated sound, which means it is easy to imitate. Therefore, the aspiration of the voiced obstruent phenomenon can be easily accepted by local residents at Jiangnan Plain. It can be inferred that, the aspiration of the voiced obstruent in the Jiangnan Plain share the same source with the Gan dialect and the Tongtai dialect. It also shares the same source with the old layer of voice aspiration of the majority of Southwestern mandarin, which is the Guanzhong immigrants' during the Five-Dynasty. Meanwhile, local Qianjiang residents were confused between voiced

initials and voiceless initials. Therefore, they simply adopted the same rule to both voiced and voiceless initials. Therefore, by over imitating immigrants, local Qianjiang residents implemented hypercorrection and caused aspirated sound for *Quanqing* initials in the contemporary Qianjiang dialect.

During the Ming and Qing dynasty, a lot of immigrants from Jiangxi moved to the Jiangnan Plain. The proportion the group immigrant was little (Zhang, Guoxiong 1995: 111). This immigration activity is characterized by individual families or small groups, most of whom are low-class people of society, which was not related with political capital shift. These new immigrants had experienced culture shock in the new environment. They wanted to be recognized by the new community and adapted to the local language, living habits and life style of new environment. Therefore, when the aspiration of the voiced obstruent of the language of local people living on the Jiangnan plain matched with their own speaking dialect, the immigrants from Jiangxi happily inherited the feature of aspiration. Not long afterwards, due to the enormous amount of Jiangxi immigrants together with their economic advantage, the aspiration of the voiced obstruent, which belongs to the features of the Gan dialect, might be reinforced in the Qianjiang dialect through lexicon diffusion.

Examples are listed below in Table 4.6 to prove the above-mentioned inference.

Table 4.6 Examples of the MC voiced obstruent in various dialects

Dialect \ Eg	蟹蟹開四去霽並	遞蟹開四去霽定	篋止開三去至並	避止開三去真並
Qianjiang	<u>p<sup>h</sup>i</u> p <sup>h</sup> ei	<u>t<sup>h</sup>i</u> tei	p <sup>h</sup> ei	<u>p<sup>h</sup>i</u> pei
Wuhan	p <sup>h</sup> i	ti	pei	pei
Nanchang	p <sup>h</sup> i	t <sup>h</sup> i	p <sup>h</sup> i	p <sup>h</sup> i
Chengdu	p <sup>h</sup> i	ti	pi	pi

According to Luo, Changpei (1933: 48), the Chinese phonetic annotation of Tibetan language in *Qianziwen* (千字文) and *Jingangjing* (金剛經) had shown that during the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties in the northwestern China the MC *ji* (祭) was pronounced as [ei], eg. 弊 [be'i], 祭 [dze'i], 藝 [ge'i], 世 [çe'i], while the MC *qi* (齊) rhyme was pronounced as [ei], eg. 陛 [be'i], 隸 [le'i], 翳 [ye'i], 提 [de'i]. In Chapter 3, it is mentioned that in the *xie* (蟹) rhyme group of the Qianjiang dialect, the division III and IV *kaikou* of the MC *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme are colloquially read as [ei] when combined with the *bang* (幫) initial group, which is an inheritance from the ancient language. While in the Gan dialect, MC *ji* (祭) and *qi* (齊) rhyme had already been mixed with the *zhi* (支) rhyme and *zhi* (脂) rhyme at least in the Yuan Dynasty (Tian, Yezheng 2007: 57).

In the Qianjiang dialect, *bei* (璧) is pronounced as [p<sup>h</sup>ei] colloquially, which suggests that the aspiration of *bei* (璧) might be inherited from the Northwestern dialect, while the literary reading of *pei* (璧) is [p<sup>h</sup>i]. However, *di* (遞) is also pronounced with both colloquial and literary reading methods in the Qianjiang dialect, among which [tei] is the colloquial pronunciation and [t<sup>h</sup>i] is the literary. Therefore, the aspirated feature of the *ding* (定) initial *di* (遞) probably was either not affected by the Northwestern dialect, or had gone extinct before in history and resurrected thanks to impact from the Gan dialect. Likewise, the aspiration of *bi* (篋) might be inherited from the Northwestern dialect, while the aspiration of *pi*(僻) must be brought by the Jiangxi immigrants.

In short, dialects in Guanzhong region, represented by northwestern dialect, had expanded into Southwest Mandarin areas, such as Sichuan province and Hubei province. While the feature of the aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent affected by the Northwestern dialect in most areas has been washed out by National Common Language, the dialect of Jiangnan Plain has kept this characteristic through lexicon diffusion due to enormous historical immigration from Jiangxi area.

As analyzed in Chapter 3, Section 3, geographically, as shown in figure 3.2<sup>37</sup>, Qianjiang, Jianli and Honghu, these three counties preserved the most noticeable aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent in the Southwestern Mandarin in the Jiangnan Plain are contained by a triangle demarcated by the Yangtze River and the Han River which cut these three counties off from outside interflowing. Moreover, there are a great

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<sup>37</sup> On page 49.

many rivers, lakes, and ponds dividing this area into small areas. In addition, local abundant existence of water caused sticky soil, which prevented local government from fully establishing the network of roads. As a result, when roads are less developed in the old days, the dialect of these three counties was less prone to be influenced by the national common language.

As a result, when roads are less developed in the old days, the dialect of these three counties was less prone to be influenced by the national common language.

Since Jianli and Honghu were even more isolated by the Honghu (洪湖) lake, the dialect of these two place preserved more features of Gan dialect from the Jiangxi immigrants such as the entering tone and the aspiration of the MC *lai*(來) initial and the *jing*(精), *zhi*(知), *zhao*(照) initial groups. Therefore these two dialects are classified as the Gan dialect. On the other hand, the Qianjiang dialect classified as the Southwestern Mandarin, preserving the most noticeable aspiration of the MC voiced obstruent.

#### **4.5 Postscript: Recent Development of the Qianjiang dialect**

Nowadays the qianjiang dialect is facing challenges in preserving its characteristics. The biggest challenge is the fact that a lot of mandarin-speaking immigrants have settled down in the Qianjiang area. A few incidents have caused recent immigration activity in the Qianjiang region. For instance, the government opened 18 state-owned farms and developed the Jiangnan oil field during 1950s. As another challenge faced by the Qianjiang dialect, the popularization of mandarine mainly among schools have caused the next generation to consistently use less Qianjiang dialect in their daily lives.

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