

A Synchronic and Diachronic Study  
of the Grammar of the Chinese Xiang Dialects



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A Synchronic and Diachronic Study  
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of the Chinese Xiang Dialects

*by*

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## Key to symbols

*	Ungrammatical sentence or reconstructed earlier phonetic form
→	'to become' in diachronic description
AA	Reduplicated adjective
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Adv	Adverb
ANT	Anterior
ASP	Aspectual marker
BBG	<i>Beat the Brass Gang</i>
BCW	<i>Repairing the Cooking Wok</i>
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complement
CON	Continuous
Conj	Conjunction
CP	Colloquial pronunciation
Dative M	Dative marker
DCD	<i>A Dictionary of the Changsha Dialect</i>
DO	Direct objective
FF	Fusion form
GCM	<i>Great Changes in a Mountain</i>
GH-	Gan and/or Hakka speaking area
IO	Indirect Object
Loc M	Locative marker
Loc P	Locative phrase
LP	Literary pronunciation
M	Mandarin area
ML	Mandarin or unclassified dialect-speaking area
MCD	<i>Modern Chinese Dictionary</i>
MOD	Modal particles
Neg	Negative form
NP	Noun or noun phrase
O	Object
PER	Perfective

PP	Plastic Putonghua
Prep	Preposition
Pron	Pronoun
PTH	Putonghua
Q	Numerical quantity
RC	Reading Changsha
S	Subject
SC	Spoken Changsha
SP	Structural particle
SSO	<i>A Selection of Short Operas from Hunan</i>
V	Verb
WX	Waxiang-speaking area

## Introduction

It is intended that this book will provide a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the Xiang dialect group.<sup>1</sup> The synchronic analysis will cover contemporary grammar across localities within the Xiang-speaking area by using the methods and theories of comparative and typological linguistics. The diachronic analysis will reconstruct earlier grammatical systems based mainly on modern data but also on historical records where available, and analyze the evolution of the syntactical systems of the Xiang dialects by adapting the methods and theories of historical linguistics and grammaticalization.

The Xiang dialects are mainly spoken in the centre of Hunan.<sup>2</sup> Discussion of the classification and distribution of dialects spoken in Hunan can be found in a number of works (Hunan Normal University 1960; Yang Shifeng 1974; Tsuji 1979; Bao Houxing and Li Yongming 1985; Zhou Zhenhe and You Rujie 1985; Bao Houxing and Yan Sen 1986; Li Rong et al. 1991, among others). Although the methods and criteria used by scholars vary, the localities identified do not differ greatly, except for Yang Shifeng (1974). In my previous work (Wu Yunji 1999a) I adapted the proposal of Bao and Li (1985), whose work was based on the survey by Hunan Normal University with the additional contribution of the newly-discovered bilingual areas. This book takes this approach also.

Bao and Li classified the Hunan dialects into five broad areas:

- The Xiang dialects spoken in the centre of Hunan.
- Southwestern Mandarin dialects spoken in the west and south.
- The Gan and Hakka dialects spoken in the east.
- The Waxiang dialect spoken in the west of Hunan within the Mandarin-speaking areas.
- Some unnamed dialects spoken in the south of Hunan, also within the Mandarin-speaking area.

Map 1 shows the classification and distribution of dialects spoken in Hunan. According to their classification, the Xiang dialects are spoken in forty-five administrative areas, which have a total population of 34,927,800,<sup>3</sup> although not everyone who resides in these areas speaks a Xiang dialect.

## 2 Introduction

The Xiang dialect group was also further divided into so-called New Xiang and Old Xiang by Yuan Jiahua (1983: 103), based mainly on the retention of Middle Chinese voiced initials in Old Xiang but not in New Xiang. New Xiang occupies the northern area of the Xiang dialects while Old Xiang occupies the southern part. There are some distinctive features between New Xiang and Old Xiang at the grammatical level as well. For example, the perfective marker that corresponds functionally with Mandarin 了 *le* is [ta] in New Xiang but [li] in Old Xiang. The attributive particle, which corresponds with Mandarin 的 *de*, is [ti] in New Xiang but 个 [ke] in Old Xiang. However, both the Old Xiang and New Xiang dialects have more features in common than differences.

### 1. The strategic value of the Xiang dialect group

Compared to other major dialect groups of Chinese, such as Mandarin, Wu, Yue and Min, less is known about Xiang. Within traditional Chinese dialectology, the Xiang dialect group has attracted attention mainly for its evolution of voiced initials from Middle Chinese (Hunan Normal University 1960; Yuan Jiahua [1960] 1983; W. S.-Y. Wang and C. C. Cheng 1970; Yang Shifeng 1974; Tsuji 1979; Ho Dah-an 1987, 1988; Yang Hsiu-fang 1989, among others).

Yuan Jiahua once stated that ‘compared to the Northern Chinese, there are few distinguishing features of the Xiang dialects’ (1983: 123). This comment was made in 1960 when little research on Xiang grammar had been carried out. In the last ten years research on the grammar of the Xiang dialects has achieved remarkable results. This book will not only describe significant distinctions between the grammatical structure of Xiang and that of northern Chinese, but will also show the strategic value of the Xiang dialect group. The Xiang dialect group actually occupies a nodal position in China since it forms a transitional zone between northern and southern dialects.<sup>4</sup> The syntactic constructions in these two areas often co-exist or are mingled in Xiang. More importantly, some grammatical structures which occurred in earlier stages of Chinese have disappeared in Mandarin or other dialects but have been maintained and developed in the Xiang dialects. The grammatical constructions in different localities of the Xiang dialect group thus often provide a bridge connecting the constructions of northern and southern Chinese, or Modern Chinese and Chinese of earlier periods. For example, it is well known that the gender markers of animal terms differ

between northern and southern Chinese. In the modern written language and northern Chinese, gender markers precede animal terms, but it is the reverse in most of the southern dialects. This has been taken as one of the criteria according to which northern and southern dialects are distinguished (Ho Dah-an 1987: 156; Norman 1988: 182). Scholars thus usually treat the preceding marker as [modifier + root] in Mandarin, such as in 公鸡 *gōngjī* ‘rooster’, but as [root + modifier] in the Hakka (Meixian) dialect, such as in 鸡公 [*kɛ<sup>44</sup>kuŋ<sup>44</sup>*] ‘rooster’ (e.g. Wang Jun 1991: 177–178; Pan Wuyun 1991: 287–288). In the Xiang dialects, however, there are mixed systems of gender markers. In some localities, some animal terms take the [modifier + root] position while others take the [root + modifier] position. More interestingly, in some localities, male animal terms take the [modifier + root] position while female animal terms take the [root + modifier] position. The data found in the Xiang dialects has allowed new light to be shed on the different evolutionary paths of gender markers between northern Chinese and southern Chinese.

## 2. The linguistic approach of this book

Studies of grammaticalization have achieved great success based on the research of many languages and dialects, including Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese, but the Xiang dialect group has been neglected (see the survey of the literature on grammaticalization in Lehmann 1995; Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003). By focussing on the Xiang dialects, this book will contribute new data to and discuss new issues in the study of grammaticalization.

Grammar is a system constructed of diverse relationships between different grammatical units. Research into grammar seeks to discover or explain how the different grammatical units, namely morphemes, words, phrases and clauses, work together to express ideas. The framework in this book is determined by two key aspects, grammatical words and word order, which are the two main syntactical mechanisms of the Sinitic languages. The book sets out to provide insights into how grammar units work together with the assistance of grammatical words and word order variations.

Both oral data and written materials will be used in this book. The focus will be not only on current constructions but also on the evolution from earlier constructions to current ones through synchronic and diachronic approaches. For example, the verb 得 *dé* ‘to obtain’ in Chinese is a linguistic

sign with very complex usages. The [得 *dé* + Verb] and [Verb + 得 *dé*] constructions, in both of which the 得 *dé* is claimed to be used as a modal auxiliary verb, indicated possibility in early Chinese. [得 *dé* + Verb] appeared earlier than [Verb + 得 *dé*]. It is unclear what relationships there were between these constructions, and what caused the differences in word order. Did [Verb + 得 *dé*] derive from a word shift of [得 *dé* + Verb], or did [得 *dé* + Verb] and [Verb + 得 *dé*] have different paths? Historical linguists have different suggestions (Yue Junfa 1984; Yang Ping 1989; Sun Chaofen 1996, among others), but do not present living evidence to support their hypotheses. The living evidence actually exists in the Xiang dialects, where these two constructions are very productive. The [得 *dé* + Verb] construction can refer to volition and possibility; the [Verb + 得 *dé*] to possibility, permission, ability and obligation. Therefore, apart from examining the different usages across localities in Hunan via the traditional methods, this book will use the internal differences of the Xiang dialects and the written materials from different time periods to develop a hypothesis about the order differences and the path(s) of development of these two constructions. The book will search for such 'missing links', and identify their position and timing in the chain of grammaticalization.

Although the focus of this book is the Xiang dialect group, other dialects surrounding Xiang are referred to where data are available. The research encompasses the diversity and interaction not only among the different Xiang localities, but also among the dialect groups adjacent to Xiang, such as Southwestern Mandarin, Gan and Hakka. People who live in the same administrative division in Hunan have the opportunity to move around. The dialects spoken in those divisions also often influence one another. It is not rare to find that, in the same administrative area in Hunan, a few different dialects are spoken. For example, in Liuyang County, the Hakka dialect is spoken in the east, the Xiang dialect in the west, and the Gan dialect in most of the area (Xia Jianqin 1998: 4–5).<sup>5</sup> This complex linguistic picture can provide very useful data for the reconstruction of the dialect systems of the Xiang dialects. In the Xiang dialects, there are, for example, nominalizer [tsɿ]-like sounds and diminutive suffix [tsæ]-like and [tɕi]-like sounds. The relationship of these three forms is unclear if the study is based only on the data of the Xiang dialects. By investigating dialects surrounding Xiang, the gaps can be filled and the three forms seen to have derived from the same lexical source.

This book will shed light on how grammatical words evolve from lexical words, and how and why some of the word orders have changed diachronically. The discussion will also raise some new issues in dialect research which have not yet been fully acknowledged by Chinese dialectologists. For example, using modern data to reconstruct sound systems of early phases of Chinese has achieved great success. There has been, however, little consideration of how the earlier layers of grammar may be reconstructed on the basis of modern data, how the grammaticalization of functional words may be traced, or how to demonstrate the classification and distribution of grammatical constructions both synchronically and diachronically. “In the past, some have even suggested that grammar cannot be reconstructed” (Gildea 2000: 1). Observing the grammatical evolution in the Xiang dialects will reveal that grammar can be reconstructed. This is possible partly because the speed of evolution is not the same in the dialects. A particular grammatical change may happen earlier in the city than in the countryside; it may happen earlier among young people than among old people. Therefore, the path of evolution can be traced based on the variations in different localities and different age groups. The development of attributive markers in the Xiang dialects is a nice example. In the Xiang dialects, in most localities, there is no contrast between attributive and nominalizer as there was between 之 *zhī* and 者 *zhě* in Archaic Chinese. In most of the New Xiang dialects, both attributive and nominalizer have a 的 [ti]-like sound but in most of the Old Xiang dialects they have a 个 [ke]-like sound. According to my recent investigation, the contrast between attributive and nominalizer similar to that between 之 *zhī* and 者 *zhě* exists in a few Xiang localities.

Based on the data from different localities, the evolutionary path of the attributive markers in the Xiang dialects can be shown by the following steps:

- A distinction exists between the attributive [kɛ] and nominalizer [kau], as in the Shangsiyuan dialect in Qiyang.
- The distinction between attributive and nominalizer disappears; the attributive [kɛ] and nominalizer [kau] co-exist but are interchangeable, as in the Huangni tang dialect in Qiyang.
- The distinction between attributive and nominalizer disappears, and one form, either the attributive or nominalizer marker, takes over the function of the other, as in most of the Old Xiang dialects.
- A borrowed marker, 的 [ti], comes into the dialect and co-exists with the local

marker. The two forms are interchangeable functionally, as in the Loudi dialect.  
 – The borrowed form 的[tɿ] takes over, as in most of the New Xiang dialects.

One of the difficulties in reconstructing the grammar of the Xiang dialects is that there is a lack of historical written material.<sup>6</sup> The earliest local written materials appeared only in the twentieth century. Therefore, the main method used in reconstruction is to compare the contemporary data within different localities of Xiang, and also to use the data in the written language in general to work out the historical path of evolution.

### **3. The framework and arrangement of this book**

In this book, modern standard Chinese Mandarin is taken as a comparative model. The emphasis will be on the features of the Xiang group which differ from Mandarin and other dialect groups. In the first part of each chapter, a detailed synchronic description of a particular topic will be given using the representative dialect; in the remaining part(s) of the chapter, both a synchronic and a diachronic discussion will be presented on one or several issues across localities within Xiang, or even across the localities in Hunan. In most chapters, the grammar of the Changsha dialect will be taken as representative when the synchronic grammatical constructions are examined. This is not only because this dialect is spoken in the capital city and has been taken as representative by Chinese linguists (Yuan Jiahua [1960] 1983, Norman 1988 and Chappell 2001), but also because the Changsha dialect shares the most common grammatical features with the other localities of the Xiang dialect group. There is one exception: if a feature is shared by many localities in the Xiang dialects but not by the Changsha dialect, then another representative dialect is selected. For example, there are diminutive markers [tɕi] in many of the Xiang dialects but not in the Changsha dialect; therefore the Xinhua and Yiyang dialects are used to represent the whole dialect group.

Over its ten chapters, this book analyses the Xiang dialects both synchronically and diachronically. Chapters 1 and 2 include background information on the spoken and written language of the Xiang dialects. Chapters 3 to 10 discuss the evolution of the Xiang grammar. The book concludes with a summary of the main grammatical features of the Xiang dialects.

#### 4. Data of this book

Data from the following sources will be used:

- Existing publications in Chinese dialectology, comparative grammar etc.
- My data collection and native speaker knowledge. All the data for the Changsha dialect, unless noted otherwise, are from my own collection and knowledge. I lived in Changsha for many years from the age of ten, and I have worked on this dialect since 1978.
- Narratives. Examples marked with (Wang) are taken from a ten-hour-long narrative recorded by Ms. Wang Jingwen, a secondary-school-educated Changsha speaker. This recording was made in 1996, when she was 40 years old.
- My fieldwork. The data for localities other than Changsha result from my fieldwork and are noted in the text or footnotes and the details are given in the appendix. I have conducted extensive fieldwork during the past ten years and have collected a large amount of data.

In this book, the grammatical features are examined through both oral and written data, with more emphasis placed on the oral data. All of the oral data are transcribed in both the International Phonetic Alphabet<sup>7</sup> and Chinese characters. Some background information about the written language of the Xiang dialects is provided in Chapter 2 in order to show the problems of using written data and of recording dialects in Chinese characters. The 拼音 Pinyin system will also be used when the discussion relates to Mandarin or Mandarin correspondences in the dialects. All of the 拼音 Pinyin in the text are presented in italics.

#### 5. Overview of Xiang grammar

Systematic grammatical study of the Xiang dialects began with one monograph and two series of books. The monograph (Wu Yunji 1999a) is entitled *The Development of Aspectual Systems in the Chinese-Xiang Dialects*. This book examined the aspectual markers and aspectual systems in the Xiang dialects, and discussed the etymology and grammaticalization of aspectual markers and the historical development of aspectual systems from Early Modern Chinese to the modern Xiang dialect group. Of the two series, one is entitled 湖南方言研究丛书 *Húnán Fāngyán Yánjiū Cóngshū* ‘Research Series of the Hunan Dialects’, in fifteen volumes and edited by Wu Qizhu et al. Each volume provides a detailed description of all aspects of

the dialect in a particular locality. The fifteen localities are Changsha, Yiyang, Qiyang, Xinhua, Lianyuan, Shaoyang, Hengshan, Xupu, Dong'an, WX<sup>8</sup>–Yuanling, ML–Yizhang, GH–Liuyang, M–Changde, ML–Ningyuan and GH–Changning, of which the first nine are classified as belonging to the Xiang dialect group. Two additional books, which were published later under the same program, cover Yueyang and Shaoshan, both of which are in the Xiang dialect area. All of these works contain a grammar section, and some have quite detailed discussions on aspects of grammar. The second series is entitled 湖南方言语法系列 *Húnán Fāngyán Yǔfǎ Xìliè* 'Grammar Series of the Hunan Dialects', edited by Wu Yunji. The first volume, entitled 湖南方言的动态助词 *Húnán Fāngyán de Dòngtài Zhùcí* 'The Aspectual Markers in the Hunan Dialects', published in 1996, has a discussion on aspectual markers in eighteen localities. The second volume, entitled 湖南方言的介词 *Húnán Fāngyán de Jiècí* 'The Prepositions in the Hunan Dialects', published in 1998, has a discussion on prepositions in sixteen localities. The third volume, 湖南方言的代词 *Húnán Fāngyán de Dàicí* 'The Pronouns in the Hunan Dialects', published in 2000, has a discussion on pronouns in nineteen localities. The present book benefited considerably from all the foregoing work. In the following section, an overview of Xiang grammar is provided by describing its word structure, sentence structure and word order.

### 5.1. Word structure: Morphology and word formation

A comparison between the building blocks, namely morphemes, of a Xiang dialect and Mandarin reveals that about 85 percent of these blocks are shared. Fewer than 15 percent of the morphemes that Xiang does not share with Mandarin are either remainders of earlier Chinese or new developments within the local dialects. As with Mandarin, word formation in the Xiang dialects also includes affixation, reduplication and compounding, which will be described below.

#### 5.1.1. Affixation

The prefixes used in Mandarin are also used in the Xiang dialects, e.g. 老 *lǎo*-, 小 *xiǎo*-, 第 *dì*-, 初 *chū*-, 可 *kě*-, 好 *hǎo*- and 难 *nán*- (for details see Li and Thompson 1981: 37–38). In addition, the Xiang dialects have a rich

system of prefixes for adjectives. There is a group of adjectives with the meaning [very X], such as ‘very hot’ and ‘very thin’. The first stressed syllable can be regarded as indicating the comparative function, and may thus be glossed as ‘very much’. The second unstressed syllable is the adjective proper. Apart from the adjective prefixes, there is also a prefix [man<sup>41</sup>] 晚 *wǎn-*, common in the Xiang dialects but not used in Mandarin. 晚 *wǎn-* is used for nouns that refer to the youngest sibling or youngest child. Table 1 provides some examples of these prefixes.

Table 1. The prefixes in the Xiang dialects

Prefix	Gloss	Exam- ples	Sound	Gloss	Local- ity <sup>9</sup>
晚-	later	晚舅	man <sup>41</sup> tɕiəu <sup>21</sup>	mother’s youngest brother	Chang- sha
		晚妹子	man <sup>41</sup> mei <sup>21</sup> tsɿ	the youngest girl in the fam- ily	
拉-	? <sup>10</sup>	拉碎	la <sup>33</sup> sɿ <sup>45</sup>	very small pieces	Xinhua (Luo Xiru 1998: 210)
		拉粗	la <sup>33</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>33</sup>	very thick	
		拉瘪	la <sup>33</sup> piē <sup>45</sup>	very flat	
		拉嫩	la <sup>33</sup> lin <sup>33</sup>	very young (for vegeta- bles)	
溜-	smooth	溜滑	No transcription	very slippery	Xinhua (Luo Xiru 1998: 231)
		溜活		very nimble;	
		溜壮		very lively (for plant)	
			very strong (for people)		
		溜圆	perfectly round		
		溜软	very soft		

All the suffixes used in Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1981: 39–45), except 儿 *er*, can be used in the Xiang dialects. The following suffixes are commonly employed in the Xiang dialects. Table 2 provides examples in the Changsha dialect and table 3 provides examples in the Lianyuan, Yiyang and Xinhua dialects.

Table 2. The suffixes in the Changsha dialect

Suf- fix	Gloss	Examples	Sound	Gloss
公	grandfather	鸡公	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>33</sup> kən <sup>33</sup>	cock
		虾公	xɑ <sup>33</sup> kən <sup>33</sup>	shrimp
婆	grand- mother	鸡婆	tɕi <sup>33</sup> po <sup>13</sup>	hen
		沙婆	sa <sup>33</sup> po <sup>13</sup>	sand
		寒婆	xan <sup>13</sup> po <sup>13</sup>	a person who is afraid of cold
牯	bull	羊牯子	ian <sup>13</sup> ku <sup>41</sup> tsɿ	ram
码子	the sliding weight of a steelyard	下流码子	ɕia <sup>21</sup> liəu <sup>13</sup> ma <sup>41</sup> tsɿ	a dirty person
		苦力码子	k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>41</sup> li <sup>24</sup> ma <sup>41</sup> tsɿ	a labourer
老信	old man	兔老信	t <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>45</sup> lau <sup>41</sup> kən	a thievish man
		水老信	ɕyei <sup>41</sup> lau <sup>41</sup> kən	a badly-behaved man
手	?	里手	li <sup>41</sup> səu <sup>41</sup>	a specialist
		看手	k <sup>h</sup> an <sup>45</sup> səu <sup>41</sup>	worth watching
		吃手	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ia <sup>24</sup> səu <sup>41</sup>	worth eating
崽	son	鸡崽	tɕi <sup>33</sup> tsai <sup>41</sup>	chick
		鬼崽子	kuei <sup>41</sup> tsai <sup>41</sup> tsɿ	naughty boy
子	son	心子	ɕin <sup>33</sup> tsɿ	filling
		早年子	tsau <sup>33</sup> ŋien <sup>33</sup> tsɿ	early years

- 公 [-kən<sup>33</sup>] and 牯 [-ku<sup>41</sup>] are used for male animals while 婆 [-po<sup>13</sup>] is used for female animals. The latter can also be used to refer to a type of female person, usually with a negative sense.
- 老信 [-lau<sup>41</sup>kən] is used for different types of people who do not behave well.
- 码子 [-ma<sup>41</sup>tsɿ] is used in referring to people who are doing physical work.
- 手 [-tsəu<sup>41</sup>] is used to refer to a type of person, e.g. 里手 [li<sup>41</sup>səu<sup>41</sup>] [insider – person] ‘a specialist’. It can also be used at the syntactic level to turn a verb into a noun in a negative sentence only, with the meaning ‘not worth carrying out a particular action’.
- 子 [-tsɿ] and 崽 [-tsai<sup>41</sup>] derived from the same lexical source but have different functions in different dialects. They can act as nominalizers and/or diminutive suffixes for nouns that function like Mandarin 子 -zi and 儿 -er.

Table 3. The suffixes in the Lianyuan, Yiyang and Xinhua dialects

Suf-fix	Gloss	Exam-ples	Sound	Gloss	Locality
唧	?	伯唧	pɔ <sup>33</sup> tɕi	father's older brother's wife	Lianyuan (Chen Hui 1999: 148)
		姨唧	i <sup>13</sup> tɕi	mother's sister	
佬	per-son	兵古佬 船古佬	No tran-scription	soldier boatman	Yiyang (Cui Zhenhua 1998a: 223)
下家	low-fam-ily	厉害下家 调皮下家	No tran-scription	a tough person a naughty per-son	Yiyang (Cui Zhenhua 1998a: 223)
巴子	?	手巴子 耳巴子	No tran-scription	arm ear	Xinhua (Luo Xiru 1998: 230)

- 唧 [tɕi] can be used as a diminutive suffix.
- 佬 [-lau<sup>41</sup>] and 下家 [-ɕia<sup>21</sup>tɕia<sup>33</sup>] are used to refer to a type of person. 佬 [-lau<sup>41</sup>] is usually used to refer to occupations, while 下家 [-ɕia<sup>21</sup>tɕia<sup>33</sup>] is used to refer to people with a certain personality.

### 5.1.2. Reduplication

Reduplication, the doubling of a syllable or a word, occurs in Mandarin and also can be found in the Xiang dialects, but not to the same extent as in Mandarin. Reduplicated forms for kin terms, for example, exist in the Xiang dialects. All the eleven closed kin terms, such as 爷爷 *yéye* ‘grandfather’, 奶奶 *nǎinai* ‘grandmother’, 伯伯 *bóbo* ‘father’s older brother’, 叔叔 *shūshu* ‘father’s younger brother’, 舅舅 *jiùjiu* ‘mother’s brother’, 爸爸 *bàba* ‘father’, 妈妈 *māma* ‘mother’, 哥哥 *gēge* ‘older brother’, 姐姐 *jiějie* ‘younger sister’, 弟弟 *dìdi* ‘younger brother’ and 妹妹 *mèmei* ‘younger sister’ are reduplicated forms in Mandarin. But in the Xiang dialects, only five of them, 爹爹 [tia<sup>33</sup>tia] ‘grandfather’, 伯伯 [pɿ<sup>24</sup>pɿ], ‘father’s older brother’,<sup>11</sup> 叔叔 [səu<sup>24</sup>səu] ‘father’s younger brother’, 爷爷 [ia<sup>13</sup>ia] ‘father’ and 姐姐 [tɕie<sup>41</sup>tɕie] ‘older sister’, are reduplicated forms.

The classifiers in the Xiang dialects can be reduplicated as in Mandarin, for example 张张画 [tsan<sup>33</sup> tsan xua<sup>21</sup>] ‘every picture’ and 条条鱼 [tiau<sup>13</sup> tiau y<sup>13</sup>] ‘every fish’. However, the more common expressions are 每张画 [mei<sup>41</sup> san<sup>33</sup> xua<sup>21</sup>] ‘each picture’ and 每条鱼 [mei<sup>41</sup> tiau<sup>13</sup> y<sup>13</sup>] ‘each fish’.

In Mandarin, the monosyllabic adjectives can be reduplicated in order to make the description more vivid, for example 红红的脸，白白的牙 *hónghong de liǎn, báibai de yá* ‘red face and white teeth’. But the corresponding expression in the Xiang dialects is 绯红的脸，胜<sup>12</sup>白的牙齿 [fei<sup>33</sup> xən<sup>13</sup> ti liē<sup>41</sup>, sən<sup>45</sup> pɿ<sup>24</sup> ti ɲa<sup>13</sup> tsʰi<sup>41</sup>]. In Mandarin, the monosyllabic verbs can be reduplicated to indicate a brief action, such as in 看看 *kànkān* ‘to have a look’ and 想想 *xiǎngxiang* ‘think for a while’. In the Xiang dialects, the corresponding expression is [V<sup>13</sup> + 一下子 [i<sup>24</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> tsi] ‘for a while’], such as in 看一下子 [kʰan<sup>45;24</sup> i<sup>24</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> tsi] ‘to have a look’ and 想一下子 [ɕian<sup>45;24</sup> i<sup>24</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> tsi] ‘to think for a while’.

### 5.1.3. *Compounding*

All the types of compounding forms that occur in Mandarin also occur in the Xiang dialects (for Mandarin compounding forms, see Chao Yuen Ren 1968: 359–495; Li and Thompson 1981: 46–84). The main differences between Mandarin compounding and Xiang dialect compounding are not reflected in the inner structures between morpheme and morpheme but in the selection of building bricks and/or the basis for creating words. For example, the word ‘headache’ in Mandarin is 头疼 *tóuténg* [head – ache] and in the Changsha dialect it is 脑壳痛 [lau<sup>41</sup> kʰo<sup>24</sup> tʰən<sup>45</sup>] [brain – shell – ache]. Both belong to a subject-predicate compound but use different building bricks. A pregnant woman is called 孕妇 *yùnfù* [to pregnant – woman] in Mandarin but 四眼人 [sɿ<sup>45</sup> ɲan<sup>41</sup> po<sup>13</sup>] [four – eye – person] in the Changsha dialect. These two words all belong to subordinative compounds but have different building bricks as well as a different basis for creating the word.

Chapter 3 gives a detailed account of morphology and word formation in the Xiang dialects. The focus will be on the following four aspects:

- Building bricks in the Changsha and Loudi dialects. The monosyllabic morphemes in the Xiang dialects that are not shared with Mandarin will be examined.

- The prefixes in [very X] adjectives. The evolution of prefixes from adjective to prefix will be explored.
- Nominalizer and diminutive suffixes. The evolution of nominalizers and diminutives in the Xiang dialects will be discussed.
- Gender markers of animal terms. A hypothesis will be presented on how and why the gender markers in the Xiang dialects differ from Northern dialects.

## 5.2. Syntactic categories: Parts of speech and related constructions

Parts of speech include nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, particles and conjunctions. In this section, the most distinctive features of these categories and their related constructions are stressed.

### 5.2.1. Nouns (*N*)

The most distinctive feature of nouns at the syntactic level is that 子 [tsɿ] and 式 [sɿ] can be used after or between nouns to express additional meaning. The suffix 子 [tsɿ], for example, can be added after a time word to indicate that the time in the speaker's mind is not long. If someone regards leaving home for one month as not a long time, he or she will add the suffix 子 [tsɿ] after the time word. The infix [sɿ] is used in the construction [N + [sɿ] + N] and combines words such as day, year, month and night to emphasize the length of time, for example, 年式年 [ɲien<sup>13</sup> sɿ ɲien<sup>13</sup>] 'one year after another' and 月式月 [ye<sup>24</sup> sɿ ye<sup>24</sup>] 'one month after another'. As the lexical source of [sɿ] is unknown, a homophonous character 式 is employed here.<sup>14</sup>

### 5.2.2. Verbs (*V*)

At the syntactic level, the most distinctive feature of verbs in the Xiang dialects is found in auxiliary verb categories. In the Xiang dialects, the auxiliary verb that indicates ability and possibility is not 能 *néng* as in Mandarin but 得 *dé*, which has a different position from Mandarin. It is used after the verb, while all other auxiliary verbs come before a verb. For example, the

expression ‘I can go’ 我能去 *wǒ néng qù* [1<sup>st</sup> SG – can – to go] in Mandarin is 我去得 [ŋo<sup>41</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>45</sup> tɿ<sup>24</sup>] [1<sup>st</sup> SG – to go – can] in the Changsha dialect.

### 5.2.3. *Adjectives (Adj)*

In the Xiang dialects, unlike Mandarin, an adjective is not usually used before an adverbial modifier. A sentence with an adjective as an adverbial modifier in Mandarin usually has a different sentence structure, in which the adjective is used as another element rather than as an adverbial modifier. For example, the expression ‘I would like to have a good sleep’ in Mandarin is 我想好好地睡一觉 *wǒ xiǎng hǎohao de shuì yí jiào* [1<sup>st</sup>SG – to want to – good – good – SP<sup>15</sup> – to sleep – one – sleep] will be 我想困一觉好的 [ŋo<sup>41</sup> ɕian<sup>41</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uən<sup>45</sup> i<sup>24</sup> kau<sup>45</sup> xau<sup>41</sup> ti] [1<sup>st</sup>SG – want to – to sleep – one – asleep – good – SP] in the Xiang dialects.

### 5.2.4. *Numerals (Num)*

Although numerals in the Xiang dialects have no specific syntactic features, the word 炮 [p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>45</sup>] ‘ten’ (etymology unknown), needs to be mentioned here. This word is used as a cardinal number only. It can be combined only with ‘one’, such as in 一炮只客 [i<sup>24</sup> p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>45</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>45</sup>] [one – ten – CL<sup>16</sup> – guest] ‘ten guests’, but not in ‘twenty guests’. Twenty guests would be 二十只客 [ɿ<sup>21</sup> si<sup>24</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>45</sup>], in which [si<sup>24</sup>] corresponds to Mandarin 十 *shí* ‘ten’. The word [p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>45</sup>] can be used as a criterion to identify the Xiang dialects. Map 2 shows the distribution of this word. This word occurs in most of the localities of the Xiang dialect group but is rarely found in other localities.

### 5.2.5. *Classifiers (CL)*

In the Xiang dialects, 个 *gè*, the most common classifier in Mandarin, is rarely used. The most common classifier in the Xiang dialects is 只 [tsa<sup>24</sup>], which can be used for human beings and animals and for many objects, such as 一只学生 [i<sup>24</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup> ɕio<sup>24</sup> sən<sup>33</sup>] ‘one student’, 一只牛 ‘one ox’ [i<sup>24</sup>

tsa<sup>24</sup> ŋjəu<sup>13</sup>] and 一只电视机 [i<sup>24</sup> tsa<sup>24</sup> tiē<sup>45</sup> sɿ<sup>45</sup> tçi<sup>33</sup>] ‘one television’. 只 zhī is used for animals only in Mandarin. Some commonly-used classifiers which do not occur in Mandarin are listed below. The etymology of these classifiers is unknown:

- [pu<sup>13</sup>] ‘a pile of (grass), a mouthful of (saliva or phlegm)’
- [pi<sup>13</sup>] ‘a piece of (leaf); a thin strip of (bamboo)’
- [p<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>41</sup>] ‘the distance between two outstretched arms’
- [təu<sup>21</sup>] ‘loop’ (refers to the action of winding things like wool or rope)
- [to<sup>13</sup>] ‘used for small ball-like things’
- [lo<sup>45</sup>] ‘a group of (people)’
- [ka<sup>21</sup>] ‘a span: the distance between the thumb and the little finger’.

The most distinctive grammatical features of classifiers in the Xiang dialects are the following:<sup>17</sup>

- A general noun needs a classifier before it. The Mandarin sentence 猪喂了没有 zhū wèi le méiyǒu [pig – to feed – ASP<sup>18</sup> – not] ‘have you fed the pigs?’ is 只猪噢<sup>19</sup>食么 [tɕ<sup>33</sup> ty<sup>55</sup> y<sup>45</sup> si<sup>55</sup> mɔ<sup>21</sup>] [CL – pig – to feed – ASP – not] in the Lianyuan dialect (Chen Hui 2000: 186).
- A classifier can take the position of a structural particle (SP) in the [Pron<sup>20</sup>/N + SP + N] construction. The expression ‘My feet are painful’ is 我的脚疼 wǒ de jiǎo téng [1<sup>st</sup> SG – SP – feet – pain] in Mandarin but 我只脚疼 [ŋ<sup>41</sup> tɕ<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ɑŋ<sup>55</sup>] [1<sup>st</sup> SG – CL – feet – pain] in the Lianyuan dialect (Chen Hui 1999: 276).

### 5.2.6. Pronouns (Pron)

The pronouns in the Xiang dialects have a number of distinctive features which will be discussed in Chapter 4:

- Most pronouns derived from different lexical sources from their Mandarin counterparts, especially the interrogative pronouns.
- The word formation of the plural forms of personal pronouns may have been due to tonal variation at an earlier stage. Presently, plural forms in most localities are formed by adding suffixes.

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- In Mandarin, demonstrative pronouns have a two-way system of indicating ‘here’ and ‘there’. In some localities of the Xiang dialects, however, there is a three-way system.
- The demonstrative pronouns ‘this’ and ‘that’ have a phonological connection with the 1st person pronoun 我 *wǒ* ‘I’.

### 5.2.7. Adverbs (*Adv*)

Adverbs in the Xiang dialects show highly distinctive etymological features. Most derived from different lexical sources than did adverbs in Mandarin. For example, the adverb for ‘all’ is 都 *dōu* in Mandarin but [xa<sup>21</sup>] (lexical source unknown) in the Xiang dialects. Map 3 shows that this word mainly occurs in the Xiang-speaking areas. The most interesting feature is found in the negative adverbs. In Mandarin, there is a distinction between the adverbs 没 *méi* and 不 *bù*. It has been found that in the older layer of the Xiang dialects there was no such distinction. Detailed discussion on negation can be found in Chapter 5.

### 5.2.8. Prepositions (*Prep*)

Prepositions occur in a number of constructions. The prepositions and their constructions show very distinctive features in terms of etymology and usage in the Xiang dialects. Chapter 6 has a discussion of the evolution of the disposal and passive markers, which have different lexical sources and paths of evolution from the functional corresponding forms in Mandarin.

### 5.2.9. Particles

Particles are usually sub-grouped into three categories: aspectual particles (ASP), structural particles (SP), and modal particles (MOD). Most particles are marked by homophonous characters. All three categories show very strong local features:

- Aspectual particles  
Most aspectual markers in the Xiang dialects have different lexical sources from Mandarin. The common aspectual markers 了 *le* and 着 *zhe* have not yet been yet introduced into the Xiang dialects. The aspectual system in the Xiang

dialects is more complex than in Mandarin, not only in the number of aspectual markers but also in semantic distinctions. Chapter 7 describes how the aspectual system from Early Modern Chinese has developed into the modern system in the Xiang dialects.

- Structural particles

In Mandarin, there are three types of structural particles: 得 *de* in [V + 得 *de* + COMP] marks the complement; 地 *de* in [Adj + 地 *de* + V] marks the adverbial modifiers; and 的 *de* in [Adj/N + 的 *de* + N] marks the attributive modifiers. The distinctive feature of the Xiang structural particles is seen in the attributive particles mentioned earlier in this chapter. Chapter 8 presents a hypothesis on the lexical sources of the attributive particle 个 [*ke*] and its evolution in the Xiang dialects. Chapter 8 also shows how the Mandarin attributive particle 的 [*ti*] came into the Xiang dialects and co-existed with or took over from the local particle 个 [*ke*].

- Modal particles

The most distinctive feature of modal particles in the Xiang dialects is that there are fusion forms which combine the negative adverb 不 [*pu*<sup>24</sup>]/冒<sup>21</sup> [*mau*<sup>21</sup>] and a modal particle used in yes/no questions. The common yes/no construction in the Xiang dialect is not [V + Neg<sup>22</sup> + V], as in Mandarin, but [V + Neg] or [V + fusion form]. Chapter 9 discusses the evolution of yes/no questions in the Xiang dialects.

### 5.2.10. Conjunctions (*Conj*)

Conjunctions are not a prominent category in the Xiang dialects. In everyday conversation, the logical connection is usually expressed by context rather than by conjunctions. Most conjunctions in the Xiang dialects are shared with Mandarin.

### 5.3. Word order

Chinese is usually described as a SVO or a topic + comment language. The basic word order of the Xiang dialects is very similar to Mandarin, but when the sentence involves more elements than a subject and a predicate the order can be very different from Mandarin. In Mandarin, for example, verbs with a resultative complement have the [V + COMP + O]<sup>23</sup> construction. In the Xiang dialects, however, positive sentences share the same order as Mandarin but negative sentences have the different order [V + O + COMP]. For example, the Mandarin sentence 吃不完这碗饭 *chī bù wán*

*zhè wǎn fàn* [to eat – not – finish – this – CL – rice] ‘(I) cannot finish this bowl of rice’ will be 吃咯<sup>24</sup>碗饭不完 [tɕ<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>24</sup>ko<sup>24</sup>õ<sup>41</sup>fan<sup>21</sup>pu<sup>24</sup>yẽ<sup>13</sup>] [to eat – this – CL – rice – not – finish] in the Xiang dialects. In the Mandarin [想 *xiǎng* ‘to wish’ + V + O] construction if a verb indicates a common action in everyday life, such as ‘to eat’, ‘to drink’, ‘to sleep’, the order in the Xiang dialects will be [想 *xiǎng* ‘to wish’ + O + V]. The Mandarin sentence 想吃饭了 *xiǎng chī fàn le* [to wish – to eat – meal – ASP] ‘(I) want to have a meal now’ will be 想饭吃了 [ɕian<sup>41</sup>fan<sup>21</sup>tɕ<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>24</sup>ta<sup>21</sup>] [to wish – meal – to eat – ASP] in the Xiang dialects.

In Chapter 10, the order differences of double objects and [得 *dé* + V] and [V + 得 *dé*] constructions are discussed. The order for double objects is not [V + IO + DO]<sup>25</sup> as in Mandarin, but [V + DO + IO]. The [得 *dé* + V] and [V + 得 *dé*] constructions, which were productive in earlier periods of Chinese but are not so in Mandarin and many other dialects, have undergone a further development in the Xiang dialects.

It will be seen from this book that a number of interesting grammatical features that occur in the Xiang dialects and are important for studies on Chinese grammar have not yet attracted the attention of Chinese linguists. This is partly because these features are not possessed by Mandarin, and partly because the investigation of the grammar of different localities, especially in remote areas, is still in its infancy.

# Chapter 1

## The spoken language of the Xiang dialects

This chapter consists of two parts: the main phonological features of the Xiang dialects and the evolution of the phonological system of the Changsha dialect over fifty years. The latter is used as a case study of phonological development. The complex sound changes that have occurred in the Changsha dialect will be closely examined.

### 1. The phonological features of the Xiang dialects

According to a survey by Hunan Normal University (1960), there are forty-seven initials and ninety-four finals in the Xiang dialects (see Appendix 2 for details). In general, the Xiang dialects have the following phonological features:

- The contrast between Middle Chinese voiced and voiceless stops and fricatives exists in many Xiang localities. For the localities where the contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants has been lost, the voiced consonants have usually become voiceless and unaspirated in all the tonal categories.
- There is a condition under which the Middle Chinese 泥 *ní* and 来 *lái* initials are contrasted: in those with an [-i] final there may be a contrast between [ŋ-] and [l-].
- Most Xiang dialects possess five or six tones. The Middle Chinese 入 *Rù* tone is retained as one tonal category, although the stop endings have disappeared.
- The contrast between [ts], [ts<sup>h</sup>], [s] and [tʂ], [tʂ<sup>h</sup>], [ʂ] used to exist in the Xiang dialects, but has been lost in most localities, such as Changsha city.<sup>26</sup>
- The contrast between Middle Chinese 尖 *Jiān* and 团 *Tuán* used to exist in the Xiang dialects. This contrast has disappeared in most localities, such as Changsha city.
- The Middle Chinese contrast between [-n] and [-ŋ] has disappeared for most rhymes. Words that originally had a [-ŋ] ending have been changed to [-n] or have lost their nasal ending. Instead, their vowels have become nasalized.
- In many localities [y] rhyme words are abundant. Some localities, such as Changsha, possess seven [y-] rhymes, while in Mandarin there are only four [y-] rhymes. In some southern dialects such as Hakka [y-] rhymes do not occur at all.

The most significant feature is the retention of the contrast between Middle Chinese voiced and voiceless consonants, as this contrast has been lost in most other Chinese dialects. There are two different types of contrast in the Xiang dialects: voiced aspirated consonants versus voiceless consonants; and voiced unaspirated consonants versus voiceless consonants. Table 4 contrasts voiceless and voiced consonants in two localities of the Xiang dialects<sup>27</sup> and Table 5 provides some examples of voiced consonants in the Qiyang and Shaoyang dialects.

*Table 4.* The contrast between voiceless and voiced consonants in the Qiyang and Shaoyang dialects

Qiyang Dialect			Shaoyang Dialect		
Voiceless		Voiced	Voiceless		Voiced
p	p <sup>h</sup>	b <sup>h</sup>	p	p <sup>h</sup>	b
t	t <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>	t	t <sup>h</sup>	d
ts	ts <sup>h</sup>	dz <sup>h</sup>	ts	ts <sup>h</sup>	dz
tɕ	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	dʒ <sup>h</sup>	tɕ	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	dʒ
tʃ		dʒ <sup>h</sup>			
k	k <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>	k	k <sup>h</sup>	g

*Table 5.* Voiced consonants in the Qiyang and Shaoyang dialects

Script	Qiyang	Shaoyang	Gloss
爬	b <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup>	ba <sup>12</sup>	to climb
大	d <sup>h</sup> a <sup>35</sup>	da <sup>24</sup>	big
茶	dz <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup>	dza <sup>12</sup>	tea
桥	dʒ <sup>h</sup> ia <sup>11</sup>	dʒia <sup>12</sup>	bridge
其	dʒ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup>		3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun
柜	g <sup>h</sup> ui <sup>33</sup>	guei <sup>33</sup>	cupboard

Map 4 illustrates the distribution of the localities where the Middle Chinese voiced consonants have remained. It must be pointed out that, in some localities, voiced consonants have begun to shift to voiceless consonants. In the Xinhua dialect, the voiced aspirated consonants are in the process of becoming voiceless unaspirated consonants; for example [b<sup>h</sup>] > [p], [d<sup>h</sup>] > [t], etc. (Luo Xinru 1998: 11–12). According to Tang Zuofan (1997), the shift between voiced consonants and voiceless consonants began with the 入 *Rù* tone. He investigated four localities of Old Xiang, Dongkou, Shuangfeng, Chengbu and Shaoyang, and discovered that all

four, except those with the 入 *Rù* tone, have kept the Middle Chinese voiced consonants. Words that had the Middle Chinese 入 *Rù* tone have become voiceless.

Among the Hunan dialects, there are five different ways in which the Middle Chinese voiced consonants have become voiceless (Yang Hsiufang 1989):

- All have become voiceless unaspirated consonants.
- All have become voiceless aspirated consonants.
- Those with the 仄 *Zè* tone have become voiceless unaspirated, while those with the 平 *Píng* tone have become voiceless aspirated consonants.
- Those with the 仄 *Zè* tone have become voiceless unaspirated, while those with the 平 *Píng* tone have remained voiced unaspirated consonants.
- Those with Middle Chinese 并 *Bìng* and 定 *Dìng* initials have become voiceless unaspirated, while those with other initials have become voiceless aspirated consonants.

In general, the New Xiang dialect localities belong to the first category; that is, all consonants have become voiceless unaspirated.

## **2. Evolution of the phonological system of the Changsha dialect**

Modern studies of the Changsha dialect began at the end of the 1930s, with three publications. The first is a well-known article by Chao Yuen Ren and Li Jinxi (1936), which describes the phonological features of the Changsha dialect from a synchronic perspective. The second publication, which gives a systematic description of the phonetic system of the Changsha dialect, is 湘音检字 *Xiāng Yīn Jiǎn Zì* ‘A Rhyme Book of the Xiang Dialect’ (Li Danming 1937). The third publication was included in the 1974 edition of Chao Yuen Ren’s dialect survey of 1935 (Yang Shifeng 1974). It contains a description of the phonology of a 21-year-old Changsha-speaking student from an historical perspective. The description of the sound system of the Changsha dialect can also be found in some other works (Yuan Jiahua [1960] 1983; Wang Futang et al. 1962, 1989; Li Yongming 1991; Bao, Houxing et al. 1993).

This section will investigate the phonological and semantic organization and reorganization by Changsha speakers as evidence of the conceptualization of the relationship network between form and meaning across

variants. The manner in which speakers conceptualize variants and how they fit those variants into a complex mental representation or system will be addressed below. A precise description of phonological and semantic change or rearrangement in a Chinese dialect relies on a model of the individual speaker's knowledge of the cross-dialect network. The simultaneous existence of different variants is accommodated by speakers into this network or representation. The process by which conflicting speech codes have caused sound change and semantic variation over fifty years in the Changsha speech community will be used as an example.

### 2.1. Three spoken codes in the Changsha dialect

In the Changsha locality, different spoken varieties are employed according to the sociolinguistic context. In spoken Changsha, the following spoken codes exist:

- Spoken Changsha (SC) is the fundamental spoken variety of the local dialect.
- Reading Changsha (RC) refers to a conventional pronunciation used for reading characters; the actual text may in fact be written in the standard language.
- 塑料 *Sùliào* or 'plastic' *Pǔtōnghuà* (PP) is a variety that combines the features of the local Changsha dialect with the features of standard Mandarin or *Pǔtōnghuà* (PTH).

#### 2.1.1. *Spoken Changsha*

Spoken Changsha (SC) is the local regional dialect used to communicate in everyday life. This dialect has its own distinctive pronunciation, lexicon and grammar. Like any language or dialect spoken by a large number of people, SC is not homogeneous, but exhibits considerable internal variations. It varies according to factors such as speech context, and the gender, age, education or birthplace of the speaker. However, these differences are never significant enough to make communication difficult.

A brief description of the phonological system of SC can be found in Appendix 3. This system is taken from the work carried out by Cui Zhenhua and the author (see Wang Futang et al. 1989), and reflects the spoken language of most speakers under seventy years of age who live in the city area.<sup>28</sup> The system is intended to be representative of SC rather than nor-

mative. Within the Changsha dialect there can be considerable phonological variations which will be discussed in later sections.

### 2.1.2. Reading Changsha

Reading Changsha (RC) is a dialect system of literary pronunciation used solely for reading aloud, dictating letters and performing local operas and plays. When Changsha dialect speakers read aloud they can use either RC or, if they have the knowledge, PTH. The choice between using PTH or RC is determined by three factors:

- The formality of the context and the linguistic responsibilities of the reader in that particular context.
- The reader's knowledge of PTH and ability to read in PTH.
- Who is being read to. If the reader thinks or knows that the listener does not understand PTH, the preference is to use RC.

Professionals such as teachers and government officials are expected to read in PTH, if possible, while teaching, presenting papers or presiding at meetings. A similar constraint applies in political discussion groups, where participants are often required to read aloud. Nevertheless, the use of RC in these contexts is also very common, because most people do not know PTH well enough to use it with confidence in such contexts.

Some excerpts of a reading from a newspaper are provided below. The article<sup>29</sup> was 529 characters long. In the newspaper, many compounds are words not used in SC at all. However, most of these compounds have corresponding forms in the spoken language. For example, 外界 *wàijiè* [outside – boundary] 'outside world' in PTH is a word that a Changsha speaker would encounter only in written texts. However, the corresponding SC form of 外 *wài* 'outside' is used in: 外婆 [*uai*<sup>21</sup> *po*<sup>13</sup>] [outside – old lady] 'mother's mother' and 外孙 [*uai*<sup>21</sup> *sən*<sup>33</sup>] [outside – grandson] 'daughter's children'; [*kai*<sup>45</sup>] 'boundary' is the SC equivalent to PTH 界 *jiè* 'boundary', which is used in 界限 [*kai*<sup>45</sup> *xan*<sup>45</sup>] [boundary – limit] 'bounds'. In such cases we can distinguish a separate RC form, in addition to the PTH and SC forms. For example, the RC form of 'boundary', 界 *jiè* [*tɕiɛ*<sup>45</sup>], reflects the segmental phonology of the PTH [*tɕiɛ*<sup>51</sup>] and the tone of SC [*kai*<sup>45</sup>]. In the following excerpt, the characters are given two of their pos-

sible ‘readings’, including the actual RC form that was used by the reader, as well as the PTH reading. For the purpose of comparison, the pronunciations of the equivalent SC forms are also provided.

最后外界对结果依然发生了震撼。

RC	tsei <sup>45</sup> xəu <sup>21</sup>	<u>uai<sup>21</sup>tɕiɛ<sup>45</sup></u>	tei <sup>45</sup>	tɕiɛ <sup>24</sup> ko <sup>41</sup>	<u>i<sup>33</sup>zan<sup>13</sup></u>	fa <sup>24</sup> sən <sup>33</sup>
	later	outside world	to	result	still	to happen
PTH	tsuei <sup>51</sup> xəu <sup>51</sup>	<u>uai<sup>51</sup>tɕiɛ<sup>51</sup></u>	tuei <sup>51</sup>	tɕiɛ <sup>35</sup> kuo <sup>214</sup>	<u>i<sup>55</sup>zan<sup>35</sup></u>	fa <sup>55</sup> ʂəŋ <sup>55</sup>
SC	tsei <sup>45</sup> xəu <sup>21</sup>	<u>uai<sup>21</sup>kai<sup>45</sup></u>	tei <sup>13</sup>	tɕiɛ <sup>24</sup> ko <sup>41</sup>	<u>i<sup>33</sup>yē<sup>13</sup></u>	fa <sup>24</sup> sən <sup>33</sup>
RC	liau <sup>41</sup>	tsən <sup>45</sup> xan <sup>45</sup>				
	ASP	shake				
PTH	lə	tʂən <sup>51</sup> xan <sup>51</sup>				
SC	ta <sup>21</sup>	tsən <sup>45</sup> xan <sup>45</sup>				

‘Finally, the outside world was shaken by the result.’

It can be seen from this example that RC forms retain most of the same pronunciations as the SC forms. However, as indicated by the underline, the RC forms are more similar to PTH, while retaining some features of SC. Some systematic similarities between RC and SC can be found, examples of which are provided below:

SC [k] corresponds to RC [tɕ].

解释	简单	简报
‘to explain’	‘simple’	‘bulletin’
RC	[ <u>tɕiɛ<sup>41</sup>si<sup>24</sup></u> ]	[ <u>tɕiɛ<sup>41</sup>pau<sup>45</sup></u> ]
SC	[ <u>kai<sup>41</sup>si<sup>24</sup></u> ]	[ <u>kan<sup>41</sup>pau<sup>45</sup></u> ]
PTH	[ <u>tɕiɛ<sup>214</sup>ʂ<sup>51</sup></u> ]	[ <u>tɕiɛ<sup>214</sup>pau<sup>51</sup></u> ]
之间	外界	减
‘between’	‘outside world’	‘to subtract’
RC	[tsi <sup>33</sup> <u>tɕiɛ<sup>33</sup></u> ]	[ <u>kan<sup>41</sup></u> ]
SC	[tsi <sup>33</sup> <u>kan<sup>33</sup></u> ]	[ <u>kan<sup>41</sup></u> ]
PTH	[tʂ <sup>55</sup> <u>tɕien<sup>55</sup></u> ]	[ <u>tɕien<sup>214</sup></u> ]

Note that the final example ‘to subtract’ has the same form in both SC and RC. In this case, the RC form follows the expected SC form.