

The Classification of The Shaowu Dialect

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1. INTRODUCTION

My first introduction to Chinese dialectology and the Min dialects was in a seminar given by Professor Y. R. Chao in 1963 in which we worked on recording material from the Foochow dialect. In one of our sessions I recall that Professor Chao mentioned that he had always wanted to do a survey of the Fukienese dialects, but that due to various circumstances he was never able to carry out this wish. The most he had been able to do was to make some sketchy notes on one or two dialects one of which was the Shaowu 邵武 dialect spoken in the north-western part of the province; in addition to writing down a few character readings, he had also recorded some materials on an aluminum disk.¹ To make things all the more intriguing he recalled that the word for 'wind' in this dialect was virtually identical to the Ancient Chinese form of Karlgren's reconstruction. (Later I confirmed that this was indeed the case: Shaowu *piùng* 'wind', MC *piung* 'id.'). When I expressed a strong interest in finding out more about this dialect, Professor Chao promised to write to Yang Shih-feng at Academia Sinica in Taiwan on the off chance that his notes and the aluminum disk had survived the vicissitudes of the intervening years. Much to my surprise in a couple of months the notes and the disk arrived in the mail. The notes turned out to be too sketchy to be of any real value, but, even more disappointing, the disk had become so corroded in Taiwan's humid climate that it was almost totally unintelligible. Nevertheless, my curiosity had been whetted and I promised myself that

1. In this paper place names will be given in their Postal Atlas form. Other citations of words from the standard language will be in Y. R. Chao's GR romanization (Gwoyeu Romatzyh).

when I eventually got to China, I would pursue my interest in this dialect. In the fall of 1965 I was able to go to Taiwan on a Fulbright fellowship; one of my hopes for this trip was to find a speaker of the Shaowu dialect. I asked Yang Shih-feng to help me and before long he informed me that he had the name of a Shaowu speaker and that on a certain day we could go to see him. As it turned out, the man whose name he had was too busy to help me, but he kindly introduced me to Mr. Jang Bor 張博, a retired army officer from Shaowu. Mr. Jang still regularly spoke the Shaowu dialect with his children and he turned out to be a patient teacher and a good friend. I recorded a large amount of data from Mr. Jang and one of his daughters. Later I put aside my work on Shaowu and began to work on the Kienyang dialect which eventually became the topic of my Ph. D. thesis. In 1974 I published a short description of Mr. Jang's Shaowu pronunciation in the journal *Orbis*.

The only published material known to me at that time was a score or so of forms in an article by Pan Mawdiing 潘茂鼎 and several other dialectologists in the journal *Zhongguo Yuwen* (1963). In that article, Shaowu was classified as a Hakka dialect on the basis of several phonological characteristics. To me Shaowu possessed so many Min-like features that it was difficult to believe that it should be considered a Hakka dialect despite certain superficial similarities. I touched briefly on this problem in my 1974 article in *Orbis*. In 1977 I did further field work on Shaowu; on this occasion the material was provided by Mr. Sha Huei 沙輝, a native of Shaowu city. Mr. Sha's dialect turned out to differ from Jang Bor's rural subvariety in a number of interesting ways, some of which will be discussed below. I have decided to use Mr. Sha's variety of Shaowu in this paper not only because it represents the dialect of Shaowu city, but because the material better represents the colloquial and popular language.² All the forms cited are real words in the language and not merely character readings unless

2. The material obtained from Mr. Sha better reflects the popular language chiefly because I elicited all the forms not as character readings but as actual spoken words in the dialect. My earlier work with Mr. Jang represented a mixed approach in which I elicited both character readings and actual spoken words.

specifically identified as such. In those cases where both varieties of Shaowu are cited, Mr. Sha's dialect will be identified as dialect 'A' and Mr. Jang's variety as dialect 'B'.

2. PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

The Shaowu initials are shown in Table I.³

Table I. Shaowu Initials

	labials	dentals	alveolar sibilants	alveo- palatals	velars	laryngeals
unaspirated stops	p	t	ts	tš	k	○
aspirated stops	ph	th	tsh	tšh	kh	
nasals	m	n			ng	
fricatives	f		s	š		h
liquids		l				

Dialect B lacks the initial *tsh* which has merged with *th*: A *tshā* 'tea' = B *thā*. In some cases the *th* of dialect A corresponds to an *h* in dialect B: A *thón* □ 'falls' = B *hón*. The initial here symbolized by ○ is generally realized as a glottal stop; it is not written in the present transcription.⁴

Examples of the initials:

- p piēn-tsə 扁子 'money', pǎu-thân 寶塔 'pagoda', piâ 壁 'wall', pû-phêi 剥皮 'peels off the skin'.
- ph phĩ-khuei 鼻窟 'nose', phōn-ə 盤兒 'table', phǎi-fǎi 發火 'gets angry',

3. The transcription for Shaowu used here is essentially that of my 1974 article in *Orbis*. Other dialects are cited in broad phonetic transcription in which tonal categories are designated etymologically by superscript numerals. In this system, 1 is *inpyng*, 2 *yangpyng*, 3 *inshaang*, 4 *yangshaang*, etc.; 9 is used for any tonal category which has a complex mixed origin. Middle Chinese forms are given in F.K. Li's revision of Karlgren's Ancient Chinese (Li 1971).
4. Pan (1963) has a *v* initial for Shaowu. I heard these initials as a rather strongly fricated high front rounded semivowel; I have chosen to write this as *y* rather than *v*. It may be that some speakers have a more strongly consonantal onset in the words in question.

- phié-nīn 別人 'someone else'.
- m miáng 命 'life', máu-ə 帽兒 'hat', mǎ-niong 娘 'wife', mû-sióng 木匠 'carpenter', máu 不 'doesn't have'.
- f fiàng-thi 兄弟 'brothers', fiê 血 'blood', fǔ-thèn 門限 'threshold', fùng 烘 'dries by a fire'.
- t tiàu-khê 雕刻 'carves', tǔ-pô 賭博 'gambles', tiâ kuǒ-tsə 摘果子 'picks fruit', tŷ-phiē-ə 竹筏兒 'raft', tǔ-thəu 晝頭 'afternoon'.
- th thiên-phēi 疊被 'folds quilts', thoi-ə 袋兒 'bag', thiē-thuēi 鐵錘 'hammer', thó 直 'straight', thiēn-sìn-khǒ 轉身去 'goes home'.
- n nīn-ə 仁兒 'seed, kernel', nién-uǒn 硯碗 'inkstone', niâ-thəu 額頭 'forehead', nó-mǐ 糯米 'glutinous rice', nōng-si-kai 哪個 'who?'
- l lōu-kô 樓閣 'stairs', lâi sŷ 刺粟 'harvests rice', lô-hŷ 落雨 'it's raining', lǎu-sā-kai 老個 'old man'.
- ts tsǒu 酒 'wine', tsəu-ə 鳥兒 'bird', tsiǎ-fù 姐夫 'son-in-law', tsǔ 竈 'stove'.
- tsh tshí-kà 自家 'oneself', tshé 字 'word', tshuēi-hón 出汗 'perspires', tshó-mo 昨個 'yesterday'.
- s sá-fà 柿花 'persimmon', sən-ə 孫兒 'grandson', sòn-těn 山頂 'mountain peak', sā-nīn 男人 'male person', sǎu 找 'looks for'.
- tš tšŷ 粥 'congee', tšŷ-nīn 主人 'host', tšŷn-thəu 枕頭 'pillow', tšōng-thi 這樣 'in this way, thus', tšōng-si-kai 這個 'this one'.
- tšh tšhŷ-lēn 樹林 'forest', tšhâ 赤 'red', tšhōng-kò 唱歌 'sings', tšhiŷ 臭 'smells bad, stinks'.
- š šī 蛇 'snake', šé-thiēn 舌 頭 'tongue', šou-si-mā 手 指 'thumb', šá-tsiēn 射箭 'shoots an arrow', šâ-kə 什麼 'what?'
- k kiǎng-ə 鏡兒 'mirror', kuēi-suēi 骨髓 'bone marrow', kiòng 薑 'ginger', kài-in 雞胗 'chicken gizzard'.
- kh khŷ-ə 舅兒 'maternal uncle', khau-in-ǎ 跤印兒 'foot print', khiō-ə 茄兒 'eggplant', khâ-mən 睡覺 'sleeps'.
- ng ngō 鵞 'goose', ng-kǎi 五個 'five', ng-khǒ 不去 'doesn't go', ng-ə 魚兒

- 'fish', ngǝu 藕 'lotus root', ngā-tshǐ 牙齒 'tooth'.
- h hǝu 嗅 'smells (v. t.)', hāng-thió 行□ 'walks', hiē-ka 歇□ 'rests', hǝu-lūng-kuǎng 喉嚨□ 'throat', hiǎu-tie 曉得 'knows'.
- O iǝng-tỳ 養豬 'raises pigs', uái-thəu 外頭 'outside', à-niǝng 阿娘 'woman', yīn 雲 'cloud', ông-šǐ-kai □□ 個 'that one'.

Table II is a listing of the Shaowu finals.

Table II. Shaowu Finals

a	ai	au	ia	ua	iau	uai	
	an	ang		uang	iang	uan	yang
e	ei		ie			uei	ye
	en		ien				yen
ə	əi	əu		uə			
	ən					uən	
o	oi	ou	io	uo	iou		
	on	ong		uong	iong	uon	
i		iu					yi
	in						yīn
u	ung				iung		
y	u	ng					

Finals containing the medials *u* and *y* are limited to velar and laryngeal initials. The final *ei*, on the other hand, never occurs with velar initials. Labial initials do not occur before *oi* and *iong*; *oi* and *əi* are actually in complementary distribution, *əi* occurring solely with labial initials and *oi* only with the other initials; historically no doubt syllables like *fəi* come from an earlier **foi*. The final *e* occurs only with the alveo-palatal initials and results from the loss of medial *i* after these consonants. The final *u* is very restricted, occurring only in a handful of very colloquial words; after the alveolar sibilant initials it tends to become an apical vowel like the vowel in the standard Chinese word *sy* 絲. The only syllabic consonant in Shaowu is *ng*.

Examples of the finals:

- a tshā 茶 'tea', mǎ 馬 'horse', hǎ-ti 下底 'underneath', ǎ-tsə 啞子 'mute',
tǎ-khài 打開 'opens', mā-tshī 蔞 'water chestnut'.
- ai phǎi 破 'broken', kài-kû 雞角 'rooster', tshái 𪛗 'cockroach', kǐ-tài 幾
多 'how many?', khài 溪 'river', fâi-ngā 發芽 'sprouts'.
- au lǎu-tsə 老子 'husband', kǎu 教 'teaches', ǎ-pǎu-ə 食飽 𪛗 'ate to one's
fill', tǔu-tsàng 肘 𪛗 'elbow', mǎu-ə 貓兒 'cat'.
- ia kiā-piā 隔壁 'next door', tshiā 斜 'oblique', siǎ-tshó 寫字 'writes', tò-
tshiá 多謝 'thanks', liá 𪛗 'large flat basket'.
- ua uǎ 瓦 'tile', kuà 瓜 'melon', kuǎ-khu-li 掛起來 'hangs up', uá ǎu-ǔ-sə
話邵武事 'speaks Shaowu dialect'.
- iau khiāu 橋 'bridge', thiáu 趙 'a surname', thiǎu 糶 'sells rice', niáu 尿
'urine'.
- uai khuāi 闊 'wide', uǎi 夥 'many' kuāi 刮 'scrapes', uái-thəu 外頭 'out-
side', khuǎi-uái 快悅 'happy'.
- an lān 藍 'blue', ān-ə 鴨兒 'duck', hān 含 'holds in the mouth', tǎn-ǎn
答應 'replies', kǎn 繭 'cocoon', mǐ-kàn 米泔 'swill for pigs'.
- ang phǎng-kai 𪛗個 'hollow (adj.)', tshàng-thài 青苔 'moss', tsàng 𪛗 'pulls
(weeds)', mǎng-nín 明年 'next year'.
- uang khuǎng-mā 𪛗麻 'ramie', hǎu-lūng-kuǎng 喉嚨 𪛗 'throat'.
- iang piāng-ə 餅兒 'cake, pastry', thiāng 程 'a surname', liǎng 領 'collar',
phiāng-ə 坪兒 'threshing yard'.
- uan kuàn khiên-mən 關 𪛗門 'closes the window', ǎ-kuǎn-ə 食慣 𪛗 'became
used to eating'.
- yang yāng 贏 'wins', yāng-yāng-yǐ 螢螢 𪛗 'firefly' (B).
- e ǎ-phán 食飯 'eats', ǎ-pǎn 折本 'loses capital'.
- ei pǎi-i 背 𪛗 'behind', siā-phêi 削皮 'pares off skin', mǎi-pa 尾巴 'tail',
thiēn-phêi 疊被 'folds quilts', pǎi-tǎi 背脊 'spine'.
- ie niē-thəu 熱頭 'sun', tiē 得 'gives', khiē 𪛗 'wing', niē 泥 'mud', miē
賣 'sells', tiē-hǎ 底下 'bottom'.

- uei kuèi-khǒ 歸去 'enters, goes in', suēi 水 'water', khuéi 櫃 'cabinet', tsuēi 嘴 'mouth', suèi □ 'skinny', suēi-ə 刷兒 'brush'.
- ye yé 月 'moon', khyê-khǎu 缺口 'crack, gap', khyê 蕨 'bracken'.
- en tēn 等 'waits', phēn-ə 瓶兒 'vase', šén-nǝ 鱧魚 'yellow eel'.
- ien piēn-ə 板兒 'board, plank', thiēn 甜 'sweet', liēn-ə 簾兒 'curtain', mién 麵 'noodles'.
- yen kyèn 筋 'sinew', khyēn 近 'near', kyēn 卷 'rolls up', khyēn 勸 'advises', yén 縣 'county', yēn 軟 'soft'.
- ə sá 事 'matter, affair; speech', tshě 菜 'vegetable', tsə 栽 'plants, sets out', sě 使 'uses', mó 密 'dense, close together'.
- əi fái-kə 活個 'alive', phǎi-fǎi 發火 'gets angry', phái 焙 'roasts (on top of the stove)', fài 灰 'ashes'.
- əu əu-ə 甌兒 'cup, glass', hōu-ə 猴兒 'monkey', thǎu-sǐ □死 'poisons'.
- uə tiùng-kuə 中國 'China'.
- ən kèn-ə 金兒 'gold', sèn 新 'new', khǎn-ə 姪兒 'mother's brother's wife', khèn 輕 'light (in weight)', tshǎn 灑 'cold'.
- uən uón-thī 問題 'question', uēn 圓 'round', kuǎn-suǎi 滾水 'boiling water'.
- o khǒ 去 'goes', hó-šy 學書 'studies', kô-šong 角上 'corner', tshó-ə 鑿兒 'chisel', pû-šy ngó-ə 腹□餓□ 'is hungry'.
- oi thǒi 唾 'saliva', sô-i-nīn 殺人 'kills a person', thói 地 'earth', nǐ-ǎi 溺愛 'dotes on (a child)', tiǎng-phiēn-kǒi 鼎□蓋 'lid for a pot'.
- ou khōu-ə 球兒 'ball', thǒu 柱 'pillar', tshòu-thiēn 秋天 'autumn', hǎn-kǒu 很久 'a long time'.
- io kiô-thəu 鋤頭 'hoe', khâ-mən-thiô-lə □□着了 'fell asleep', khiô-ə 茄兒 'eggplant'.
- uo kuô 郭 'a surname', kuǒ-tsə 果子 'fruit'.
- iou iōu 油 'oil', iǒu 有 'has', phēn-iǒu 朋友 'friend'.
- on kòn-ə 柑兒 'tangerine, orange', tsòn-ə 簪兒 'hairpin', ǒn-thəu 暗頭 'evening', thón-ha-li □下來 'falls down', hón-ə 盒兒 'box', tiǎng-tshǒn 鼎鏟 'spatula'.

- ong nǎ-mǒng 魚網 'fishnet', sòng-tsə 桑子 'mulberry (fruit)', thōng 腸 'intestine', sòng 霜 'frost', khòng 糠 'chaff, bran'.
- uong kuòng 光 'light (n.)', uōng 黃 'yellow', uōng-fiēn □□ 'earthworm'.
- iong iōng-ə 溶□ 'melted', liōng-kai 兩個 'two', iōng-ə 影兒 'shadow', tshiōng 牆 'wall', tshiōng 癢 'itches'.
- uon kuòn 官 'official', uǒn 碗 'bowl', kai-khuǒn 個□ 'a step (on a stairway)'.
- i há-khī 下棋 'plays chess', nǎ 艾 'artemisia', lí-nǎ 鯉魚 'carp', sǐ 死 'dies', pī 筆 'writing instrument'.
- iu šiǔ 手 'hand', tshiǔ 臭 'stinks', šiǔ □ 'carries hanging at the side'.
- in tshín 深 'deep', tshín 蒸 'steams', mǐn-tsuēi 面嘴 'face', mǐn-kàng 閩江 'the Min river'.
- yi yi 畏 'fears', uèn-yi 瘟疫 'epidemic' (B).
- yin khyīn-ə 裙兒 'skirt', yīn 雲 'cloud', yín-yé 閏月 'intercalary month'.
- u ù-mī 烏□ 'fly (insect)', tsù tshên 租□ 'rents land', fū 湖 'lake', khǔ-ə 褲兒 'trousers', sù 梳 'combs'.
- ung thǔng 重 'heavy', tǔng-thièn 冬天 'winter', fùng 烘 'dries by the fire', thiǎu-thǔng 跳□ 'shaman, spirit healer', thúng 動 'moves'.
- iung liung 龍 'dragon', tshiung-tshǎ 松樹 'pine tree', iung 虹 'rainbow', piung 風 'wind', tshiung-tshín 從前 'formerly'.
- y thý 住 'resides', khý-tsə 臼子 'mortar', ný 牛 'cow', thý-tshá 箸隻 'chopsticks'.
- ui kǔ 鋸 'saw', tshú 疾 'aches, is sore', ú-ə 栗兒 'chestnut', tshǔ 刺 'thorn', kǔ-tiē-tǎu 記得倒 'remembers'.
- ng nǎ 五 'five', nǎ 吳 'a surname', nǎ-ə 魚兒 'fish', ng-lí □來 'doesn't come'.

The Shaowu dialect has six tones as shown below. Tones will be indicated with the diacritics given in the examples.

1. *inpyng*; very low, slightly falling, [21]: tièn 癲 'crazy', sèn-ə 星兒 'star', tsòi-tsə □子 'penis', kùng-tsə 公子 'male (animal)'.

2. *yangpyng*; low level, [22]: thōng 腸 'intestines', mā-tsə 𠂔子 'female (animal)', tshiēn 泉 'a (water) spring', piē-sāng 八成 '80 percent'.
3. *shaangsheng*; high level, [55]: siōng 想 'thinks', šǝng 上 'ascends', tshiāng 請 'invites', tsī-lau 姊老 'elder sister', lău-pa 老巴 'elder brother'.
5. *inchiuh*; low rising, [213]: tšă 蔗 'sugarcane', pǎng 柄 'handle', siēn 線 'thread', piě-piē 𠂔𠂔 'vulva', niǎng 𠂔 'looks'.
6. *yangchiuh*; high rising, [35]: ní 二 'two', lán 爛 'rotten', šín 十 'ten', lăi-niáu 拉尿 'urinates'.
7. *inruh*; high falling, [52]: piē 八 'eight', ô 惡 'well-behaved (of children)', pâ 百 'hundred', tshiē 啜 'sips', tsiēn 接 'receives'.

Note that the numbering of the tones is etymological: 1 is *inpyng*, 2 is *yangpyng*, 3 is *shaangsheng*, 5 is *inchiuh*, etc. The numbers of missing categories (like the *yangshaang* and *yangruh*) are simply not used. Atonic or so-called neutral tone syllables are a prominent feature of Shaowu; such syllables usually occur in non-initial syllables of words, but in a small number of cases they may occur in initial syllables as well: *kə-kùng* 個工 'one day'. Shaowu possesses one case of tone sandhi. The *inshaang* tone is high level when pronounced in isolation; before the suffixes *-ə* and *-tsə* (corresponding to standard Chinese *-l* 兒 and *-tz* 子 respectively), the *inshaang* commonly (but not always) takes on a falling contour: *tsəu-ə~tsəu-ə* 鳥兒 'bird'. An early description of the Shaowu tones describes the *inshaang* as high falling in all positions, so the present sandhi form would appear to be the older value of the tone (Walker 1878: 349).

3. THE SHAOWU DIALECT AS A PROBLEM IN CLASSIFICATION

The generally accepted classification of Chinese dialects proposed by F. K. Li in 1939 takes as its chief criterion the development of the voiced stops of an earlier stage of Chinese. While this works relatively well for most major dialects, it does present problems when applied to a wide range of non-metropolitan forms of speech. For example, Hakka is commonly said to be characterized by the shift of the old voiced stops to voiceless aspirates in all four tonal categories.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, while this may be a necessary condition for classifying a dialect as Hakka, it is not a sufficient condition since there are Yueh, Mandarin and (as I shall attempt to demonstrate) Min dialects which also exhibit this feature (Norman 1974). Actually, in Li's 1939 article other features were used in classifying various dialects—such things as the retention or loss of final stops, the number of tones, and the development of certain other phonological categories. In my own experience, I have found that no single feature is sufficient in the classification of Chinese dialects into their respective groups.

Pan (1963) listed eight criteria for distinguishing Min and Hakka dialects in Fukien: (1) The number of initials; Min dialects have on the average 15 initials while Hakka dialects have 19 or 20. (2) The development of the old voiced stops and affricates; they become voiceless aspirates in all tones in Hakka, both voiceless aspirates and nonaspirates in Min. (3) Middle Chinese γ becomes a fricative in Hakka dialects (x , h , f) but a stop (k) or zero initial in Min. (4) The labiodentals of other dialect groups such as Mandarin and Wu appear as labiodentals in Hakka but are velar or laryngeal fricatives in Min. (5) The combination of h (or x) plus a rounded medial becomes f in Hakka but retains its original form in Min. (6) Middle Chinese laryngeal initials (喉音) before *herkoo* initials have zero initial in Min but frequently have v in Hakka. (7) After the dental and alveolar sibilant initials the Middle Chinese finals *au* and *əu* have merged in many words in Min but this feature is absent in Hakka dialects (see the examples on p. 478 of Pan's article). (8) Differences in vocabulary.

This classification employs both synchronic (criterion 1) and diachronic criteria (the remaining criteria). In my opinion, synchronic criteria are not significant because such similarities often are due to very recent local areal diffusion and reveal nothing about the deeper historical relations of the dialects in question. For example, it would be very misleading from a historical point of view to group together in a single classification all dialects which have final p , t , and k ; the result of doing this would be to classify together dialects from several dialect groups which otherwise show little in common. The historical criteria in the above

list (with the exception of 7 and 8) have to do with particular modern manifestations of older phonological categories and fail to take into account some of the more peculiar features of Min, features which precisely because of their peculiarity are much more important in classification. Pan's criteria, in the final analysis, seem to be more typological than genetic.

I would like to examine in the following sections how certain peculiarly Min features are revealed in the Shaowu dialect; these same features are in most cases either very rare or lacking in Hakka.

One difficulty which always confronts someone engaged in classifying Chinese dialects is their mixed nature. This is especially evident in the case of southern Chinese dialects which are the product of several waves of northern migration at different periods and show in addition the influence of different literary reading traditions. This makes it very difficult at times to sort out what is original and what is a later accretion. In general, however, the oldest material must be sought in the most basic colloquial vocabulary—things like pronouns, demonstratives, words for body parts and motions, names of natural phenomena, the nomenclature of the most common household and farming tools, plant and animal names, and in general all terms that have to do with everyday life and the rural economy. In the past dialect surveys were often based almost exclusively on eliciting the readings of characters; while this method gave good results for purely phonological research and was a fast and efficient way to form a very general overview of a large dialect area, the sort of material obtained in this way often fails to reveal deeper historical roots of dialects and their interrelations. That is why in the present discussion I have attempted to employ very common words from the spoken language and have not been overly concerned with character readings which so often can be shown to be relatively recent additions to the dialect.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD VOICED STOPS AND AFFRICATES IN SHAOWU

Among students of Chinese historical linguistics there is unanimous agreement

that at an earlier stage of its development Chinese distinguished three series of stops and affricates: unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, and a third set usually thought to be voiced. The *Chiehyunn* rime dictionary reveals such a stage of the language as do certain modern dialects of the Wu and Hsiang groups. In Min and Hakka, however, only two series of stops and affricates exist. In Hakka dialects, as already indicated, the old voiced stops uniformly correspond to modern voiceless aspirates; tonally they have produced a lower or *yang* register in contrast to an upper or *in* register in words with original voiceless initials. In Min the situation is much more complicated. I have argued elsewhere that the ancestor of the Min dialects cannot be viewed as having had only three series of stops and affricates; the Min protolanguage was more complex and six series of stops and affricates must be reconstructed (Norman 1973). Table III shows the obstruents of Proto-Min.

Table III. Proto-Min Obstruents

1. *voiceless aspirates	ph	th	tsh	tšh	kh	s	x
2. *voiceless non-aspirates	p	t	ts	tš	k		
3. *voiceless lenited stops	-p	-t	-ts	-tš	-k		
4. *voiced aspirates	bh	dh	dzh	džh	gh	z	h
5. *voiced non-aspirates	b	d	dz	dž	g	ž	
6. *voiced lenited stops	-b	-d	-dz	-dž	-g		

A Min dialect can be defined as a dialect which reflects at least four of the above sets of obstruents. Especially important is the distinction between the voiced aspirates and nonaspirates since this is a feature that pervades the Min dialects and distinguishes them from all other dialect groups. An inspection of the Shaowu dialect shows that it retains evidence for all but one of the Proto-Min distinctions. In this section, the crucial distinction between series 4 and series 5 will be examined. In Shaowu the distinction between the two series is not reflected in the initials themselves (they are all aspirated and voiceless) but in different tonal behavior between words having one or the other initial type. Proto-Min had four

tones, A, B, C, and D, which correspond to the *pyng*, *shaang*, *chiuh*, and *ruh* categories of Middle Chinese. Table IV illustrates the development of these four tonal categories in Shaowu with the two sets of initials in question.

Table IV. Shaowu Tones with Proto-Min Initials of Series 4 and 5

	A	B	C	D
4. (*bh, *dh, etc.)	7	3	5	7
5. (*b, *d, etc.)	2	3	6	6

Only tonal category B fails to show a tonal difference based on the two series of initials. The following examples illustrate this Shaowu tonal development. For comparison, forms in four Min dialects, Kienyang 建陽, Yungan 永安, Foochow 福州, and Amoy 廈門, are given; in addition, Meih sien 梅縣 and Middle Chinese forms are also given. In the case of Shaowu, the full forms as I recorded them are given, but for the other dialects only the relevant morpheme is cited.

Proto-Min *bh

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
電 phâu 'hail'	pho ⁸	pho ⁴	phoik ⁸	phau? ⁸	phok ⁸	bāk
皮 phêi 'skin'	phui ²	phue ²	phui ²	phe ²	phi ²	bje
鼻 phĩ-khuei ~ 窟 'nose'	phoi ⁶	phi ⁵	phei ⁵	phĩ ⁶	phi ⁵	bji-
藻 phiâu 'duckweed'	phio ²	phiu ²	phiu ²	phio ²	phiau ²	bjiâu
縫 phiũng-ə ~ 兒 'crack, seam'	phon ⁶	phāu ⁵	phoun ⁵	phan ⁶	phun ⁵	bjung-
曝 phû 'exposes to the sun, dries in the sun'	—	phu ⁴	phuo? ⁸	phak ⁸	—	buk

篷 phũng	phoŋ ²	phāu ²	phuŋ ²	phaŋ ²	phuŋ ²	bung
‘awning, sail’						

Proto-Min *dh

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
桃 thâu-ə~兒	hau ²	thau ²	tho ²	tho ²	thau ²	dâu
‘peach’						
頭 thêu	heu ²	thø ²	thau ²	thau ²	theu ²	dêu
‘head’						
啼 thi	hie ²	the ²	thie ²	thi ²	thai ²	diei
‘cries, weeps’						
□ thiên	—	—	thien ⁵	thĩ ⁶	—	—
‘sews’						
蠶 thôn-ə~兒	than ²	tham ²	tshein ²	tshen ²	tsham ²	dzâm
‘silkworm’						
糖 thông	hoŋ ²	tham ²	thouŋ ²	thŋ ²	thoŋ ²	dâng
‘sugar’						
蟲 thũng	hoŋ ²	thāu ²	thoŋ ²	than ²	tshuŋ ²	djung
‘insect’						

Proto-Min *dzh

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
□ tshâu	thau ²	tsho ²	tsha ²	tsha ²	tshiau ²	—
‘wood, firewood’						
□ tshên	thain ²	tshĩ ²	tshein ²	tshan ²	—	—
‘rice field’						
賊 tshê	the ⁸	tsha ⁴	tsheik ⁸	tshat ⁸	tshet ⁸	dzæk
‘thief’						
前 tshîn-thêu~頭	tshien ²	tshê ²	sein ²	tseŋ ²	tshien ²	dzien
‘front’						

床 tshông	thoŋ ²	tsham ²	tshouŋ ²	tshŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	dzjang
‘bed’						
Proto-Min *džh						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
樹 tšhŷ	tshiu ⁶	tšhy ⁵	tshiu ⁵	tshiu ⁶	su ⁵	zju-
‘tree’						
席 šô	sio ⁸	tšhu ⁴	tshio ⁸	tshio ⁸	tshiak ⁸	zjak
‘straw mat’						
Proto-Min *h						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
橫 fâng	xuaŋ ²	hũm ²	huaŋ ²	huāi ²	vaŋ ²	Ŷwəŋ
‘horizontal’						
園 fiên	xyeŋ ²	—	huoŋ ²	hŋ ²	ien ²	jiuən
‘garden’						
巷 fũŋ	xoŋ ⁶	hāu ⁵	hoiŋ ⁵	haŋ ⁶	hoŋ ⁵	Ŷāŋ-
‘lane, alley’						
蝦 hâ	xa ²	ho ²	ha ²	he ²	ha ²	Ŷa
‘shrimp’						
莧 hiên-tshě~菜	xaiŋ ⁶	hĩ ⁵	haiŋ ⁵	heŋ ⁶	han ⁵	Ŷăn-
‘amaranth’						

The following examples of words with series 5 initials are given to show the contrast in tonal behavior in the two series of initials.

Proto-Min *b						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
爬 phā	pa ²	po ²	pa ²	pe ²	pha ²	ba
‘crawls, climbs’						
白 phá	pa ⁸	po ⁴	pa ² ⁸	pe ² ⁸	phak ⁸	bək
‘white’						
飯 phén	puŋ ⁶	pũm ⁵	puoŋ ⁶	pŋ ⁶	fan ⁵	bjuən-
‘cooked rice’						

肥 p̄hī	py ²	puei ²	pui ²	pui ²	phi ²	bjwei
‘fat (adjective)’						
平 phiāng	pian ²	piō ²	pan ²	pī ²	phian ²	bjeng
‘level, flat’						
縛 phú	po ⁸	pu ⁴	puo ² ⁸	pak ⁸	—	bjwak
‘ties, binds’						

Proto-Min *d

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
大 thái	tue ⁶	tō ⁵	tuai ⁶	tua ⁶	thai ⁵	dā-
‘big, large’						
藤 thēn	tain ²	tī ²	tiŋ ²	tin ²	then ²	dəng
‘rattan’						
直 thó	te ⁸	tī ⁴	tik ⁸	tit ⁸	tshit ⁸	ḍjək
‘straight’						
豆 thóu-ə~兒	teu ⁶	tō ⁵	tau ⁶	tau ⁶	thau ⁵	dəu-
‘bean’						
腸 thōng	tōŋ ²	tam ²	touŋ ²	tŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	ḍjang
‘intestine’						

Proto-Min *dz

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
槽 tshāu	tsau ²	tsau ²	so ²	tso ²	tshau ²	dzāu
‘trough’						
糍 tshī	tsoi ²	tsi ²	si ²	tsi ²	tshi ²	dzi
‘glutinous rice cakes’						
泉 tshiēn	tsyen ²	tsē ²	tsion ²	tsuā ²	tshan ²	dzjwän
‘water spring’						

Proto-Min *dž

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
石 šó-thəu~頭	tsio ⁸	šw ⁴	sio ² ⁸	tsio ² ⁸	sak ⁸	žjak
‘stone, rock’						

上 šóng	tsion ⁶	šam ⁵	sion ⁶	tsiũ ⁶	son ⁵	žjang-
'on top, above'						

Series 6 initials (the voiced lenited stops) are not reflected by any distinction in Shaowu, either in the initial or tone as the following examples show.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
(*d) 長 thōng	lɔŋ ⁹	tam ²	touŋ ²	tŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	ɖjang
(*d) 腸 thōng	tɔŋ ²	tam ²	touŋ ²	tŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	ɖjang
(*b) 薄 phó	vɔ ²	pau ⁴	po ² ⁸	po ² ⁸	phok ⁸	bâk
(*b) 白 phá	pa ⁸	pɔ ⁴	pa ² ⁸	pa ² ⁸	phak ⁸	bək

It is evident from the above examples that tonal development in Shaowu cannot be fully explained on the basis of the *Chieh-yunn* phonological system alone; the initials of Proto-Min must be taken into account. Since the words involved are some of the most common and basic words in the Shaowu dialect, it seems very unlikely that these phenomena could be attributed to some kind of early dialect mixture. The material in this section alone is strong evidence that Shaowu should be considered a type of Min dialect. Moreover, the Meih sien examples demonstrate that Hakka shows no trace of a development similar to that found in Shaowu. There is in fact no difficulty whatsoever in deriving the Hakka stops and affricates from the threeway series of obstruents found in Middle Chinese.

5. THE MIN VOICELESS LENITED STOPS IN SHAOWU

Although the voiced lenited (or "softened") stops have left no trace in Shaowu, the situation is different with the voiceless lenited stops (series three in Table III). In Shaowu these stops develop into voiceless *aspirates* and also condition different tonal reflexes than those associated with the plain voiceless unaspirated stops (series 2). Table V shows the different tonal developments caused by the lenited and plain voiceless stops.

Table V. Shaowu Tonal Behavior with Plain and Lenited Voiceless Stops

	A	B	C	D
2. (*p, *t, etc.)	1	3	5	7
3. (*-p, *-t, etc.)	3	3	6	3

Below is a complete listing of Min lenited stops which are found in the Shaowu dialect.

Proto-Min *-p

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
飛 phěi 'flies (verb)'	ye ⁹	pue ¹	pui ¹	pe ¹	pui ¹	pjwei
發 phǎi 'emits, produces'	voi ³	pue ⁷	puok ⁷	pu ²⁷	pot ⁷	pjwət
楓 phiŭng-ə~兒 'Chinese sweet gum (tree)'	ion ⁹	pam ¹	—	pn ¹	fun ¹	pjung
補 phǎ 'mends, sews (SW)'	vio ³	pu ³	puo ³	pɔ ³	pu ³	puo:

Proto-Min *-t

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
戴 thó 'wears (a hat)'	le ⁹	tuei ²	tai ⁵	ti ⁵	tai ⁵	tâi-
轉 thiěn 'returns (home)'	lyen ³	tě ³	tion ³	tŋ ³	tson ³	tjwän:

Proto-Min *-ts

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
早 tshǎu 'early'	lau ³	tsau ³	tša ³	tša ³	tsau ³	tsâu:

□ tshǎn	loiŋ ⁹	tsĕ ¹	—	—	tsin ¹	—
'thin (of liquids), watery'						
𪛗 tshiĕn	lian ³	tsiō ³	tsian ³	tsiā ³	—	tsjäm:
'not salty, insipid'						

The word *phỹ-thau* 斧頭 'axe' would seem to belong to this set of words at first sight, but in fact there is no evidence for lenition in any of the relevant Northwestern Min dialects; moreover, this word also has an irregular aspirated initial in Foochow: *phuo³ thau²*. In general the word for 'axe' exhibits numerous irregularities in the Min dialects and is best treated as an anomalous form in Shaowu as well. It is evident that the above nine forms would be completely inexplicable apart from the Min data; again note that Hakka shows no trace of a like development.

6. VOICELESS NASALS AND PROTO-MIN *lh IN SHAOWU

A series of voiceless nasals as well as a voiceless *lh are reconstructed for Proto-Min. These are symbolized as *mh, *nh, and *ŋh because their tonal behavior is closely parallel to that of series 4 initials (*bh, *dh, etc.). Actually, the evidence for the voiceless nasals is chiefly found in the peripheral Min dialects of Shaowu and Tsianglo; it is only in tonal category C (*chiuhsheng*) that tonal evidence is also found in the Coastal Min dialects. In addition to tonal evidence, however, there is a strong tendency in Southern Min to preserve nasalization in syllables with voiceless nasal initials, while in comparable syllables which had Proto-Min voiced initials nasalization is lost altogether; the most striking evidence of this is seen in the following two words:

Table VI. Voiceless Nasals in the Min Dialects

PM	SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	CC	MH
*muâi	māi	moi ²	muo ²	muai ²	bua ²	bua ²	mo ²
'whets'							
*mhuâi	māi	moi ²	muo ²	muai ²	muā ²	muā ²	ma ²
'sesame'							

In addition, PM $*\eta h$ becomes Southern Min h , whereas $*\eta$ becomes g (Norman 1973).

In Shaowu, a particular tonal development characterizes syllables with voiceless nasal and lateral initials. Moreover, the voiceless lateral $*lh$ becomes s in Shaowu as it does in all Western Min dialects.⁵ Shaowu tonal development with syllables having nasal and lateral initials is shown in Table VII.

Table VII. Shaowu Tonal Development in Syllables with Nasal and Lateral Initials

	A	B	C	D
$*m, *n, *\eta, *l$	2	3	6	6
$*mh, *nh, *\eta h, *lh$	7	3	5	7

Listed below are the Shaowu forms which derive from voiceless nasals and laterals.

Proto-Min $*mh$

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
麻 $m\dot{a}i-\dot{a}\sim$ 兒 'sesame'	moi^2	muo^2	$muai^2$	$mu\ddot{a}^2$	ma^2	ma
貓 $m\dot{a}u-\dot{a}\sim$ 兒 'cat'	mau^2	mo^2	ma^2	—	$miau^5$	mau
蚊 $m\dot{e}n-\dot{a}\sim$ 兒 'mosquito'	—	—	$muo\eta^2$	—	mun^1	$mju\dot{e}n$
名 $mi\dot{a}ng$ 'name'	$mian\eta^2$	$mi\ddot{o}^2$	$mian\eta^2$	$mi\ddot{a}^2$	$mian\eta^2$	$mj\ddot{a}ng$
夢 $m\ddot{e}n$ 'dream' ⁶	$mo\eta^6$	$m\ddot{a}u^5$	$moi\eta^5$	$ba\eta^6$	$mu\eta^5$	$mju\dot{e}ng-$

5. In fact this development ($*lh > s$) is the major isogloss separating the Western from the Eastern Min dialects. If Shaowu were a Hakka dialect, it would be peculiar to find it participating in this feature which is so important in the classification of the Min dialects.

6. Mr. Jang's B dialect has $m\ddot{u}ng$ for 'dream'.

問 mǎn 'asks'	mun ⁶	mũi ⁵	muon ⁵	mŋ ⁶	mun ⁵	mjuən-
面 mǎn 'face'	mien ⁶	mě ⁵	mein ⁵	bin ⁶	mien ⁵	mjiän-
墓 miǒ 'grave'	—	—	muo ⁵	boŋ ⁶	mu ⁵	muo-
襪 mèi-ə~兒 'sock, stocking'	moi ⁸	muo ⁴	—	be? ⁸	mat ⁷	mjwtet
目 mù-tšy~□ 'eye'	mo ⁸	mu ⁴	møk ⁸	bak ⁸	muk ⁷	mjuk
Proto-Min *nh						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
年 nín 'year'	nien ²	ŋiẽ ²	nien ²	nĩ ²	nien ²	nien
瓢 nōng 'pulp of a melon'	nɔŋ ²	nam ²	nouŋ ²	nŋ ²	noŋ ²	ńzjang
膿 nūng 'pus'	noŋ ⁶	nāu ²	nøiŋ ²	laŋ ²	nuŋ ²	nuòng
讓 niǒng 'allow, want' ⁷	nioŋ ⁶	ŋiam ⁵	nioŋ ⁵	niũ ⁶	ioŋ ⁵	ńzjang
箬 niô 'leaf'	nio ⁸	ŋiu ⁴	nio? ⁸	hio? ⁸	niok ⁷	ńzjak
肉 nŷ 'meat, flesh'	ny ⁸	ny ⁴	nyk ⁸	—	niuk ⁷	ńzjuk
Proto-Min *ŋh						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
艾 nǐ 'artemisia'	ŋye ⁶	ŋya ⁴	ŋie ⁵	hiã ⁶	ŋai ⁵	ngâi-

7. In a number of Western Min dialects (including Shaowu) 讓 is used in the sense of 'wants, desires'.

額 niâ-thəu~頭 'forehead'	nia ⁸	—	ɲie? ⁸	hia? ⁸	niak ⁷	ngək
Proto-Min *lh						
SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
籬 sâi-ə~兒 'rice hamper'	sue ²	suo ²	lai ²	lua ²	lo ²	lâ
籃 sâi-tsə~子 'basket'	saŋ ²	sō ²	laŋ ²	nā ²	lam ¹	lâm
鱗 sên-ə~兒 'scale of a fish'	saiŋ ²	šī ²	liŋ ²	lan ²	lin ²	ljen
螺 sôl-ma~ <input type="checkbox"/> 'snail'	sui ²	sue ²	lœi ²	le ²	lo ²	luâ
李 sê-ə~兒 'plum'	se ⁵	ša ⁴	li ³	li ³	li ³	lī:
卵 sôn 'egg'	suŋ ⁵	sŭm ⁴	lauŋ ⁶	ŋŋ ⁶	lon ³	luân:
笠 sên-ə~兒 'rainhat'	se ⁸	sø ⁴	lik ⁸	lue? ⁸	lip ⁷	ljəp
六 sū 'six'	so ⁸	ly ⁴	lœik ⁸	lak ⁸	liuk ⁷	ljuk

There are two other words which, on the basis of their initial reflexes in Southern Min, would appear to have had voiceless nasal initials:

*nh

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
蟻 niè-niě-ma 'ant'~ <input type="checkbox"/>	ɲye ⁵	ɲya ³	ɲie ⁶	hia ⁶	nie ⁵	ngje:
耳 nîn-khuei 'ear'~窟	noŋ ⁵	nā ⁴	ɲei ⁶	hi ⁶	ni ³	ńzī:

7. THE MIDDLE CHINESE RETROFLEX STOPS IN SHAOWU

The preservation of the MC retroflex stops (知徹澄) as stops is generally taken to be a distinctive trait of Min dialects. The following listing of forms illustrates that Shaowu regularly preserves these initials as stops except in a few cases before MC second division finals. In Hakka there are only one or two cases of modern dental stops for these series of initials.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
摘 tiā 'picks fruit'	tia ⁷	—	tie? ⁷	tia? ⁷	tsak ⁷	tək
張 tiòng 'a surname'	tion ¹	tiam ¹	tion ¹	tiũ ¹	tsou ¹	tjang
漲 tiǒng 'rises (of water)'	—	tam ³	touŋ ³	tŋ ³	tsou ⁵	tjang:
帳 tiǒng 'net, curtain'	tion ⁵	tiam ⁵	tion ⁵	tiũ ⁵	tsou ⁵	tjang-
賬 tiǒng 'bill, account'	tion ⁵	tiam ⁵	tion ⁵	—	tsou ⁵	tjang-
晝 tǔ-thəu~頭 'noon'	to ⁵	tu ⁵	tau ⁵	tau ⁵	tsiu ⁵	tjəu-
豬 tỳ 'swine, pig'	—	—	ty ¹	ti ¹	tsu ¹	tjwo
竹 tỳ-tsə~子 'bamboo'	ty ⁷	ty ⁷	təik ⁷	tek ⁷	tsuk ⁷	tjuk
直 thó 'straight'	te ⁸	ti ⁴	tik ⁸	tit ⁴	tshit ⁸	djək
沉 thōn 'sinks'	toin ²	tiā ²	thein ²	tim ²	tshim ²	djəm
拆 thiā 'dismantles'	hia ⁷	thio ⁷	thie? ⁷	thia? ⁷	tshak ⁷	thək
程 thiāng 'a surname'	hian ²	thiō ²	thian ²	thiā ²	tshan ²	djäng

鄭	thiáng	tiaŋ ⁶	tiɿ ⁵	taŋ ⁶	tĩ ⁶	tshaŋ ⁵	ɖjaŋ-
	'a surname'						
趙	thiáu	lio ⁶	tiu ⁵	tiu ⁶	tio ⁶	tshau ⁵	ɖjäu:
	'a surname'						
轉	thiẽn	lyeŋ ³	tẽ ³	tioŋ ³	tŋ ³	tson ³	tjwän:
	'returns (home)'						
陳	thĩn	toĩŋ ²	tã ²	tiŋ ²	tan ²	tshin ²	ɖjen
	'a surname'						
丈	thiõŋ	tioŋ ⁵	tiam ⁴	tauŋ ⁶	tŋ ⁶	tshoŋ ⁵	ɖjaŋ:
	'ten feet'						
杖	thióŋ	hioŋ ⁵	thiam ⁴	thioŋ ⁶	thŋ ⁶	tshoŋ ⁵	ɖjaŋ:
	'staff, stick'						
長	thōŋ	loŋ ⁹	tam ²	touŋ ²	tŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	ɖjaŋ
	'long'						
腸	thōŋ	toŋ ²	tam ²	touŋ ²	tŋ ²	tshoŋ ²	ɖjaŋ
	'intestine'						
綢	thōu	tiu ²	tiau ²	tiu ²	tiu ²	tshiu ²	ɖjəu
	'silk'						
柱	thōu	hiu ⁵	thiau ⁴	thiu ⁶	thiau ⁶	tshu ¹	ɖju:
	'pillar'						
重	thũŋ	toŋ ⁵	tāu ⁴	toĩŋ ⁶	taŋ ⁶	tshuŋ ¹	ɖjwong:
	'heavy'						
蟲	thũŋ	hoŋ ²	thāu ²	thoĩŋ ²	thaŋ ²	tshuŋ ²	ɖjuŋ
	'insect'						
錘	thuēi	hy ²	thuei ²	thui ²	thui ²	tshui ²	ɖjwi
	'hammer'						
住	thý	tiu ⁶	ty ⁵	tiu ⁶	—	tshu ⁵	ɖju-
	'lives, resides'						
箸	thý-t̚sâ~隻	ty ⁶	ty ⁵	t̚oi ⁶	ti ⁶	tshu ⁵	ɖjwo-
	'chopsticks'						

Although one or two examples of this same development can be found in Hakka and the Yueh dialects, it is nowhere nearly so widespread as in Shaowu.⁸ This shows that Shaowu has much closer ties to Min than it has to either of these dialect groups. Shaowu as well as Yungan both have affricates for the MC retroflex stops in second division words:

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
茶 tshā 'tea'	ta ²	tsha ²	ta ²	te ²	tsha ²	ɖa
肘 tǒu-tsàng □~ 'elbow'	tian ¹	tī ¹	tan ¹	tī ¹	tsan ¹	—

8. BILABIALS AND LABIODENTALS

Although Shaowu has a rich inventory of words with labiodental initials, these may be explained either as literary character readings borrowed from some form of Northern Chinese or as internal developments of *h* plus a following rounded element. In the popular lexicon there are numerous words with bilabial initials which in Northern and Central Chinese dialects have labiodental initials. This shows that in the oldest and most native stratum of the Shaowu dialect labiodentals did not develop. This feature is typical of Min but it does not really serve to show that Shaowu is not a Hakka dialect, since Hakka also has many examples of unshifted bilabials in words which have labiodentals elsewhere. Here I list all the words in my material which exhibit the feature described above.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
分 pèn 'shares'	puŋ ¹	pŭm ¹	puoŋ ¹	pun ¹	pun ¹	pjuən
風 piùng 'wind'	pion ¹	hāu ¹	huŋ ¹	hoŋ ¹	fuŋ ¹	pjung

8. Hakka has a few examples: ti¹ 知 (MC tje) knows', tui¹ 追 (MC tjiwi) pursues', t̃hi¹ 黏 (MC t̃he) sticky', tuk⁷ 啄 (MC t̃āk) pecks'. A few similar examples can also be found in the Yueh dialects.

放 pǔng	poŋ ⁵	pāu ⁵	pouŋ ⁵	paŋ ⁵	pion ⁵	pjwang-
‘puts, places’						
腹 pŷ-šy~□	po ⁷	pu ⁷	pouk ⁷	pak ⁷	puk ⁷	pjuk
‘belly’						
飛 phēi	ye ⁹	pue ¹	pui ¹	pe ¹	pui ¹	pjwei
‘flies (verb)’						
吠 phéi	y ⁶	puei ⁵	pui ⁶	pui ⁶	phui ⁵	bjwēi-
‘barks (of dogs)’						
發 phǎi	voi ³	pue ⁷	puok ⁷	puʔ ⁷	pot ⁷	pjwət
‘emits, produces’						
飯 phán	puŋ ⁶	pŭm ⁵	puoŋ ⁶	pŋ ⁶	fan ⁵	bjwən-
‘cooked rice’						
肥 phī	py ²	puei ²	pui ²	pui ²	phi ²	bjwei
‘fat (adjective)’						
楓 phiŭng-ə~兒	ion ⁹	pam ¹	—	pŋ ¹	fuŋ ¹	pjung
‘sweet gum (tree)’						
蜂 phiŭng-ə~兒	phon ¹	phāu ¹	phuŋ ¹	phan ¹	phuŋ ¹	phjwong
‘bee’						
縫 phiŭng-ə~兒	phon ⁶	phāu ⁵	phouŋ ⁵	phan ⁶	phuŋ ⁵	bjwong-
‘crack, seam’						
縛 phú	po ⁸	pu ⁴	puoʔ ⁸	pak ⁸	—	bjwak
‘ties’						
扶 phŷ	pho ²	—	phuo ²	pho ²	phu ²	bju
‘lifts up, supports’						
婦 sèn-phy 新~	mo ⁵	pu ⁴	pou ⁶	pu ⁶	fu ⁵	bju:
‘daughter-in-law’						
尾 mēi-pa~巴	mui ³	mue ³	mui ³	be ³	mui ³	mjwei:
‘tail’						

襪 mēi-ə~兒	moi ⁸	muo ⁴	—	be? ⁸	mat ⁷	mjwət
‘socks, stockings’						
問 mǎn	mun ⁶	mũi ⁵	muon ⁵	mŋ ⁶	mun ⁵	mjuən-
‘asks’						
蚊 mēn-ə~兒	—	—	muon ²	—	mun ¹	mjuən
‘mosquito’						
網 mǒng	mon ⁵	ũm ³	moŋ ⁶	baŋ ⁶	mion ³	mjwang:
‘net’						

9. THE YANGSHAANG TONE IN SHAOWU

Popular words the of *yangshaang* category all merge with words of the *inshaang* category in Shaowu. This development is not found elsewhere in Min nor, to my knowledge, in other Chinese dialects. The merger of *yangshaang* words having sonorant initials with the *inshaang* is of course well known from many Mandarin dialects as well as numerous southern ones, but the distinctive thing about the Shaowu development is the uniform merger of the two tonal categories in popular words. (The widespread shift from *yangshaang* to *yangchiuh* in words with voiced obstruent initials is found in Shaowu literary readings, but this development is irrelevant to the purposes of the present paper.)

The tonal development in Shaowu is of the greatest importance when discussing Shaowu's affiliation with Hakka. As Hashimoto (1973) has pointed out, the merger of the *yangshaang* with the *inpyng* is the most distinctive trait of the Hakka dialects; this is especially important since the classical feature for defining Hakka, the unconditioned shift of the old voiced initials to voiceless aspirates, can be shown to be present in quite a number of dialects that clearly are not Hakka. Since the Shaowu development of the *yangshaang* tone is different from that of all the true Hakka dialects known to us, it is not possible to classify Shaowu as a Hakka dialect.

Below a representative sample of Shaowu *yangshaang* words is given.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
抱 phǎu 'embraces'	phau ⁵	phau ⁴	po ⁶	pho ⁶	phau ⁵	bâu:
被 phěi 'quilt'	phui ⁵	phue ⁴	phui ⁶	phe ⁶	phi ¹	bje:
遠 fiēn 'far'	—	šyē ⁴	huoŋ ⁶	hŋ ⁶	ien ³	jiwēn:
弟 thī-ə~兒 'younger brother'	tie ⁵	te ⁴	tie ⁶	ti ⁶	thai ¹	diei:
丈 thiōng 'ten feet'	tion ⁵	tiam ⁴	tauŋ ⁶	tŋ ⁶	tshoŋ ⁵	ɖjaŋ:
斷 thōn 'breaks (v. i.)'	tuŋ ⁵	tũm ⁵	touŋ ³	tŋ ⁶	thon ¹	duân:
柱 thǒu 'pillar'	hiu ⁵	thiau ⁴	thiu ⁶	thiau ⁶	tshu ¹	ɖju:
重 thũng 'heavy'	toŋ ⁵	tāu ⁴	toiŋ ⁶	taŋ ⁶	tshuŋ ¹	p̌jwong:
癢 tshiōng 'itches'	ioŋ ⁵	tsiam ⁴	sioŋ ⁶	tsiũ ⁶	ioŋ ¹	jaŋ:
坐 tshǒi 'sits'	tsue ⁸	tsue ⁴	soi ⁶	tse ⁶	tsho ¹	dzuâ:
卵 sǒn 'egg'	suŋ ⁵	sũm ⁴	lauŋ ⁶	nŋ ⁶	lon ³	luân:
像 tšhǒng 'resembles'	sioŋ ⁵	tšham ⁴	tshioŋ ⁶	tshiũ ⁶	tshioŋ ⁵	zjaŋ:
上 šǒng 'ascends'	ioŋ ⁵	šam ⁴	sioŋ ⁶	tsiũ ⁶	soŋ ¹	zjaŋ:
待 khǐ 'stands'	kye ⁵	khya ⁴	khie ⁶	khia ⁶	khi ¹	gje:
跪 khuēi 'kneels'	ky ⁶	kyi ⁴	kui ⁶	kui ⁶	khui ³	gjwe:

舅 khỹ-ə~兒 'maternal uncle'	kiu ⁵	kiau ⁴	kiu ⁶	ku ⁶	khiu ¹	gjəu:
臼 khỹ-tsə~子 'mortar'	khiu ⁵	khiu ⁴	khou ⁶	khu ⁶	khiu ¹	gjəu:
近 khyěn 'near'	kyeŋ ⁵	kuā ⁴	koiŋ ⁶	kun ⁶	khiun ¹	gjan:
下 hə 'descends'	ha ⁵	ɔ ⁴	a ⁶	e ⁶	ha ¹	ʔa:
解 hiě 'knows how to'	hai ⁵	e ⁴	a ⁶	ue ⁶	—	ʔai:
旱 hǒn 'drought'	ueŋ ⁵	ũm ⁴	aŋ ⁶	uā ⁶	hon ¹	ʔân:
雨 hỹ 'rain'	xy ⁵	hu ⁴	huo ⁶	ho ⁶	i ³	jiu:
瓦 uǎ 'tile'	ua ⁵	ũm ³	ua ⁶	hia ⁶	ŋa ³	ngwa:
馬 mǎ 'horse'	ma ³	mɔ ³	ma ³	be ³	ma ¹	ma:
尾 mǎi-pa 'tail'	mui ³	mue ³	mui ³	be ³	mi ³	mjwei:
米 mǐ 'hulled rice'	moi ⁵	mi ³	mi ³	bi ³	mi ³	miei:
買 miě 'buys'	mai ³	me ³	me ³	bue ³	mai ¹	mai:
滿 mǒn 'full'	moin ³	ũm ³	muan ³	muā ³	man ¹	muân:
網 mǒng 'net'	mon ⁵	ũm ³	moin ⁶	ban ⁶	mion ³	mjwang:
蟻 niè-niě-ma 'ant'~~~□	nye ⁵	ŋya ⁶	ŋie ⁶	hia ⁶	nie ⁵	ngje:

染 niĕn 'dyes'	nien ³	niĕ ³	nien ³	nĩ ³	niam ³	ńźjäm:
耳 nĩn-khuei~窟 'ear'	noin ⁵	nā ⁴	ŋei ⁶	hi ⁶	ni ³	ńźĩ:
暖 nǒn 'warm'	luŋ ⁵	nũm ³	nouŋ ³	—	non ¹	nuân:
五 nǚ 'five'	ŋo ⁵	ŋu ³	ŋou ⁶	gɔ ⁶	ŋ ³	nguo:
藕 ngəu 'lotus root'	ŋeu ³	ŋø ³	ŋau ⁶	ŋāu ⁶	nieu ³	ngəu:
老 lǎu 'old'	seu ⁵	lau ³	lau ⁶	lau ⁶	lau ³	lâu:
懶 lǎn 'lazy'	lyen ⁵	tě ⁴	—	tuā ⁶	lan ³	lân:

The list below is a sampling of *yangshaang* words of literary origin which have become *yangchiuh*. Note that in Shaowu there are no cases of words with sonorant initials exhibiting this development.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
後 həu 'after'	xeu ⁵	hø ⁴	au ⁶	au ⁶	heu ⁵	ǰəu:
厚 həu 'thick'	eu ⁵	kø ⁴	kau ⁶	kau ⁶	heu ⁵	ǰəu:
趙 thiáu 'a surname'	lio ⁵	tiu ⁴	tiu ⁶	tio ⁶	tshau ⁵	ǰjäu:
杖 thióng 'staff, stick'	hion ⁵	thiam ⁴	thion ⁶	thŋ ⁶	tshon ⁵	ǰjang:
罪 tshuěi 'crime, guilt'	lui ⁶	tsuei ⁶	tsoi ⁶	tse ³	tshui ⁵	dzuâi:
柿 sǎ-fa~花 'persimmon'	khi ⁵	khi ⁴	khei ⁶	khi ⁶	sai ³	dzi:

是 *ši* *si*⁵ *sī*⁴ *sei*⁶ *si*⁶ *si*⁵ *zje:*
‘copula—is, are’

To show how this Shaowu development differs from the Hakka pattern, the following examples are given:⁹

SW	Meih sien	Hailu	Huayang	Changting
買 <i>miě</i> ‘buys’	<i>mai</i> ¹	<i>mai</i> ¹	<i>mai</i> ¹	<i>me</i> ¹
懶 <i>lǎn</i> ‘lazy’	<i>lan</i> ¹	—	<i>nan</i> ¹	<i>lang</i> ¹
領 <i>liǎng</i> ‘collar’	<i>lian</i> ¹	<i>lian</i> ¹	<i>nian</i> ¹	<i>tiang</i> ¹
雨 <i>liǒng</i> ‘ounce’	<i>lion</i> ¹	—	<i>nion</i> ¹	<i>tion</i> ¹
下 <i>hǎ</i> ‘descends’	<i>ha</i> ¹	—	<i>xa</i> ¹	<i>ha</i> ¹
待 <i>khǐ</i> ‘stands’	<i>khi</i> ¹	<i>khi</i> ¹	<i>təhi</i> ¹	<i>chhi</i> ¹
近 <i>khyĕn</i> ‘near’	<i>khiun</i> ¹	<i>khiun</i> ¹	<i>təhun</i> ¹	<i>khaeng</i> ¹
上 <i>šǒng</i> ‘ascends’	<i>soŋ</i> ¹	—	<i>soŋ</i> ¹	<i>song</i> ¹
弟 <i>thī-ə</i> ‘younger brother’	<i>thai</i> ¹	<i>thai</i> ¹	<i>thai</i> ¹	<i>the</i> ¹

The fact that Shaowu lacks this most distinctive of Hakka features argues strongly against its being considered a Hakka dialect, particularly since this feature is found fully present in a sister Fukienese dialect, that of Changting.

9. Meih sien forms are from MacIver (1926); Hailu is from Yang (1957); the source for Huayang is Tung (1948); Changting forms were kindly supplied by Dr. Kevin O'Connor who gleaned them from the Changting translation of St. Matthew's Gospel (*Ma-thai' fū-yeng chhôn*, 1919).

10. DEVELOPMENT OF THE 歌部

The words belonging to the 歌部 of Old Chinese show a special development in the Min dialects. Many scholars believe that the 歌部 originally had a voiced sonorant ending, either *l* or *r*. F. K. Li reconstructs the OC group with a final *r*: 哥 *k* < **kar*. If this is so, then in many Min speaking areas, the final *r* (or *l*) vocalized to *-i*.¹⁰ Traces of this development can also be found in the most ancient Chinese loans in Vietnamese and the Tai languages; vestiges can also be found in Hakka and Yueh dialects. Shaowu belongs to the group of dialects which preserves a significant number of 歌部 words with a final palatal off-glide.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
個 <i>kǎi</i> 'measure word; one'	—	<i>kuo</i> ⁵	—	—	<i>kai</i> ⁵	<i>kâ-</i>
破 <i>phǎi</i> 'broken'	<i>phoi</i> ⁵	<i>phuo</i> ⁵	<i>phuai</i> ⁵	<i>phua</i> ⁵	<i>pho</i> ⁵	<i>phuâ-</i>
麻 <i>mâi-ə~兒</i> 'sesame'	<i>moi</i> ²	<i>muo</i> ²	<i>muai</i> ²	<i>muã</i> ²	<i>ma</i> ²	<i>ma</i>
磨 <i>māi</i> 'whets'	<i>moi</i> ²	<i>muo</i> ²	<i>muai</i> ²	<i>bua</i> ²	<i>mo</i> ²	<i>muâ</i>
火 <i>fǎi</i> 'fire'	<i>khui</i> ³	<i>hue</i> ³	<i>hui</i> ³	<i>he</i> ³	<i>fo</i> ³	<i>xuâ:</i>
大 <i>thái</i> 'big, large'	<i>tue</i> ⁶	—	<i>tuai</i> ⁶	<i>tua</i> ⁶	<i>thai</i> ⁵	<i>dâ-</i>
坐 <i>tshǎi</i> 'sits'	<i>tsue</i> ⁸	<i>tsue</i> ⁴	<i>soi</i> ⁶	<i>tse</i> ⁶	<i>tsho</i> ¹	<i>dzuâ:</i>
簑 <i>sò-i~衣</i> 'rain cape'	—	<i>sue</i> ¹	<i>soi</i> ¹	—	<i>so</i> ¹	<i>suâ</i>

10. In many Min dialects such as Amoy, Chaozhou and Fuzhou there is no trace of such a vocalization. Perhaps in these dialects the final consonant simply dropped. The problem of the development of this OC rime group deserves a detailed study.

螺 sôl-ma~□ 'snail'	sui ²	sue ²	loi ²	le ²	lo ²	luâ
多 kî-tài 幾~ 'many, much'	tue ¹	tuo ¹	—	—	—	tâ
唾 thôi 'saliva'	—	—	—	—	—	thuâ-
禾 uâi 'rice plant'	ui ²	ue ²	—	—	vo ²	ŷuâ
夥 uăi 'many, much'	—	—	uai ⁶	ua ⁶	—	ŷuâ:

Hakka, to my knowledge, retains only two words reflecting this sort of development: Meihsien 我 *ŋai*², 個 *kai*⁵. Shaowu's thirteen forms demonstrate that it is more archaic than Hakka in this respect and consequently more Min-like.

11. THE MC 喻三 INITIAL

The correspondence of certain 喻三 initials to Min *h-* is well known. Shaowu has three words which show the same development. Note that in Shaowu *h* becomes *f* before rounded medials and before the final *-u:* a syllable like *fien* comes from an earlier *hyen.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
園 fiên-ə~兒 'garden'	xyeŋ ²	yě ²	huoŋ ²	hŋ ²	ien ²	jwɛn
遠 fiĕn 'far'	—	ŷyĕ ⁴	huoŋ ⁶	hŋ ⁶	ien ³	jwɛn:
雨 hŷ 'rain'	xy ⁵	hu ⁴	huo ⁶	ho ⁶	i ³	ju:

There are no examples of this development known from any recorded Hakka dialect.

12. AFFRICATES AND FRICATIVES

One of the several features serving to distinguish Min from other dialect groups is a propensity for affricates where other dialects, including Middle Chinese, have sibilant fricatives. For example, where Middle Chinese and most dialects have a fricative *s* initial in the word for 'awake' 醒, Min dialects uniformly have an affricate; e. g., KY *than*³ (<**tshan*³), Ya *tshɔ̃*³, FC *tshan*³, AM *tshĩ*³. The distribution of these forms having affricates is quite uneven: one often encounters a situation where one Min dialect has an affricate but others have the more widespread fricative initial; for example, the word for 'book' 書 has an affricate initial in the Eastern Min dialects but a fricative initial in Western Min: KY *sy*¹, YA *sy*¹, FC *tsy*¹, AM *tsu*¹. I believe that the forms with affricates represent an older layer of the Min lexicon and that the forms with fricative initials are borrowings from later more standard forms of Chinese.

Shaowu has preserved a significant number of such words. Note that this phenomenon is found both in the upper and lower registers. Another noteworthy fact is that in Shaowu (but not in Min as a whole) all such forms are aspirated. The same propensity for affricates can be observed in Hakka but to a lesser degree.

SW	KY	YA	FC	AM	MH	MC
醒 <i>tshǎng</i> 'awakes'	<i>than</i> ³	<i>tshɔ̃</i> ³	<i>tshan</i> ³	<i>tshĩ</i> ³	<i>sian</i> ³	<i>sieng</i> :
試 <i>tshĩ</i> 'attempts, tries'	<i>si</i> ⁵	<i>tshĩ</i> ⁵	<i>tshei</i> ⁵	<i>tshi</i> ⁵	<i>tshi</i> ⁵	<i>śi</i> -
斜 <i>tshiā</i> 'oblique'	<i>lia</i> ⁹	<i>tsio</i> ²	<i>sia</i> ²	<i>tshia</i> ²	<i>tshia</i> ²	<i>zja</i>
謝 <i>tshiá</i> 'a surname'	<i>lia</i> ⁶	<i>tsio</i> ⁵	<i>sia</i> ⁶	<i>tsia</i> ⁶	<i>tshia</i> ⁵	<i>zja</i> -
癩 <i>tshiēn</i> 'ringworm'	<i>sien</i> ³	<i>tshē</i> ³	<i>tshian</i> ³	<i>tshuā</i> ³	<i>tshien</i> ³	<i>sjän</i> :
濕 <i>tshên</i> 'wet'	<i>tshie</i> ⁷	<i>tšhe</i> ⁷	—	—	<i>sip</i> ⁷	<i>śjəp</i>

深 tshìn 'deep'	tshin ¹	tshā ¹	tshin ¹	tshim ¹	tshim ¹	śjəm
篩 tshòì-ə~兒 'sieve'	sai ¹	thi ¹	thai ¹	thai ¹	tshe ¹	şai
像 tshǒng 'resembles'	sion ⁵	tsham ⁴	tshion ⁶	tshiũ ⁶	tshion ⁵	zjang:
鬚 ū-tshòu 鬚~ 'beard'	tshiu ¹	sy ¹	tshiu ¹	tshiu ¹	si ¹	sju
袖 sà̀n-tshóu 衫~ 'sleeve'	—	—	—	—	tshiu ⁵	zjəu-
燒 tshù 'burns, roasts'	tshio ¹	tshu ¹	siu ¹	sio ¹	sau ¹	śjäu
徐 tshȳ 'a surname'	ly ⁹	tsy ²	sy ²	tshi ²	tshi ²	zjwo
鼠 lǎu-tshy 老~ 'rat, mouse'	tshy ³	tshy ³	tshy ³	tshu ³	tshu ³	śjwo:
樹 tshȳ 'tree'	tshiu ⁶	tshy ⁵	tshiu ⁵	tshiu ⁵	su ⁵	zju-

13. LEXICON

When taken together with phonological traits, the lexicon is an important criterion in determining the classification of a dialect. The Min dialects particularly have a very distinctive vocabulary, much of which is also found in the Shaowu dialect. The following list of words is common to Shaowu and the other Min dialects.

1. 解¹¹ 'knows how' (equivalent to standard Chinese *huey* 會). SW hiě; YA

11. The Min forms correspond perfectly in form and meaning to the following *Goangyunn* entry: 解胡買切 (ǎi:), 曉也 'to know, to understand'. Note that this MC reading survives in the Beeijing dialect as well in the phrase *shiehbukai jehg dawlii* 解不開這個道理 'doesn't understand this principle' (*Shinhwa tzyhdean*, Beeijing, 1972).

- e⁴; FC a⁶; AM ue⁶. Hakka uses voi⁵ 會 in this sense.
2. 子 'son, child'. SW kǐn-ə; KY kyeŋ³; YA kyẽ³ tsā³; FC kian³; AM kiā³. Hakka lai⁵ ə 'son' is etymologically obscure and apparently limited to the Hakka dialects: Hailu lai⁶ l̥²; Huayang nai⁵ tsī³.
 3. 跤 'foot'. SW khàu; KY khau¹; YA kho¹; FC kha¹; AM kha¹. Hakka has kiok⁷ 腳.
 4. 箬 'leaf'. SW niô; KY nio⁸; YA ɲiu⁴; FC nio²⁸; AM hio²⁸. Hakka iap⁸ 葉. The word 箬 apparently survives in Hakka only in the word niok⁷ lip⁷ 箬笠 'rainhat made of bamboo leaves'.
 5. □ 'one'. SW ší; KY tsi⁸; FC sio²⁸; AM tsit⁸. Hakka it⁷.
 6. 鼎 'pot, skillet'. SW tiǎng; KY tiaŋ³; YA tiǝ³; FC tiaŋ³; AM tiā³. Hakka vok⁸ theu² 鑊頭.
 7. □ 'falls, drops'. SW thón; KY nuŋ⁶; FC tauŋ⁶. Hakka tiet⁷ 跌.
 8. 鳥 'bird'. SW tsəu-ə; YA tso³; FC tseu³; AM tsiau³. Hakka tiaui¹ 鳥. The important thing to notice is that Shaowu shares with the other Min dialects an aberrant affricate in this word; cf. MC tieu.
 9. □ 'wood'. SW tshâu; KY thau²; YA tsho²; FC tsha²; AM tsha². Hakka muk⁷ theu² 木頭.
 10. □ 'rice field'. SW tshên; KY thair²; YA tshĩ²; FC tsheir²; AM tshan². Hakka thien² 田.
 11. 𩚑 'not salty, insipid'. SW tshiěn; KY liar⁹; YA tsiǝ³; FC tsiaŋ³; AM tsia³. Hakka tham¹ 淡.
 12. □ 'mouth(ful)'. SW tshuěi 'mouthful'; cf. SW tsuěi³ 'mouth' 嘴. KY tshy⁵ 'mouth'; FC tshui⁵ 'id.'; AM tshui⁵ 'id.'. Hakka tsoi³ 嘴. The usual Min word for 'mouth' survives in Shaowu as a measure word corresponding to *koou* 口 in the standard language.
 13. 戌 'house'. SW tshǒ; KY tshio⁵; YA tshu⁵; FC tshio⁵; AM tshu⁵. Hakka vuk⁷ 屋.
 14. □ 'wears, puts on'. SW šúŋ; KY tser⁶; YA tsem⁵; FC soir⁶; AM tsher⁶. Hakka tsok⁷ 著.

In some cases Shaowu shares words with the Northwestern dialects but not with the remaining Min dialects.

1. □ 'wing'. SW khiê; KY khe⁷ poŋ³. Yungan, Foochow, and Amoy all employ reflexes of 翼: YA sió⁴; FC sik⁸; AM sit⁸. Hakka likewise employs it⁸ 翼.
2. □ 'exchange'. SW pô; KY po⁷; YA pau⁷. Other Min dialects use 換: FC uan⁶, AM uā⁶. Hakka fon⁵ 換.
3. □ 'trips, falls down'. SW tǎn; KY tueŋ³. Cf. YA puo⁴; FC puak⁸; AM pua²⁸. Hakka tiet⁷ 跌.
4. 禾 'riceplant'. SW uāi; KY ui²; YA ue². Cf. FC tiu⁶; AM tiu⁶ a³ 糲. Hakka vo² 禾. Note the typical Min development of the 歌部 in the Shaowu word.

14. SOME SHAOWU PECULIARITIES

In general the Shaowu basic lexicon is very similar to that of the Min dialects and especially near to that of the other Western dialects. In view of this and the several important phonological convergences described above, there is no doubt that Shaowu should be viewed as a Min dialect. At the same time, it must be admitted that it is a rather atypical form of Min in a number of ways. The development of final stops, for example, is highly idiosyncratic: final *p* has become *n*, final *t* after low vowels has become *i*, and final *k* has dropped altogether. These developments are illustrated in Table VIII.

Table VIII. Development of Final Stops in Shaowu

	鴨	雜	辣	葛	百	學
MC	âp	dzâp	lât	kât	pek	ʃâk
SW	ân	tshón	lái	kôi	pâ	hó

A similar development has been reported for the dialect of the neighboring county of Kwangtseh (Shyong 1960).

In vocabulary Shaowu also shows a number of peculiarities. The Shaowu pronouns, for example, are not only different from those of all surrounding

dialects, they are totally obscure from an etymological point of view. These forms are shown in Table IX.

Table IX. Shaowu Pronouns

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First Person	hǎng	hǎng-tai, hang-tə (excl.) èn-tai, èn-tə (incl.)
Second Person	hiěn	hiěn-tai, hiěn-tə
Third Person	hǔ	hǔ-tai, hǔ-tə

A few other Shaowu lexical peculiarities are listed here: kǎu 窖 'buries', kuèi 歸 'enters', khuéi-ə 𠵿𠵿 'became ill', thǒi 唾 'saliva', thū 除 (?) 'takes off (clothing)', yǐ 畏 'fears', ù-mī 烏𠵿 'fly (the insect)', piěn-tsə 扁子 'money'.

15. SHAOWU'S PLACE AMONG THE MIN DIALECTS

The primary split within Min is between the Eastern or Coastal dialects and the Western or Interior dialects (Pan 1963). The major isogloss separating the two branches is the change of Proto-Min **lh* to *s* or *ʃ* in the west and the merger of **lh* and **l* in the east. According to this criterion Shaowu clearly belongs to the Western group. Due to its several phonological and lexical peculiarities, however, Shaowu clearly forms a subgroup within Western Min. Together with Tsianglo and other dialects which show many similar traits, Shaowu forms what we can call the Far Western branch of Min.

16. SUMMARY

Shaowu possesses several indisputably Min features: (1) It reflects the Proto-Min system of initials in its most basic vocabulary, especially the very important distinction between voiced aspirates and nonaspirates which is the most important defining feature for the Min group. (2) With few exceptions (mainly old second division type words) Shaowu preserves stops where Middle Chinese has retroflex stops (知徹澄) and all non-Min dialects have affricates of some sort. (3) Shaowu

distinguishes the voiceless lenited stops from the plain voiceless aspirated stops, a distinction otherwise limited to the Northwestern Min dialects.

In a number of other cases, Shaowu has features which, while present in Min, are also found in Hakka to some degree but absent in other dialect groups: (1) Shaowu supplies important evidence for voiceless nasals and laterals in Proto-Min; in a number of cases Hakka duplicates this evidence. (2) Both Min and Hakka have many examples of unshifted bilabial initials in words where other dialect groups uniformly have labiodentals. (3) Min and Hakka both show a propensity for affricate initials in words which in other dialects and even in Middle Chinese have fricative initials, but Shaowu and the other Min dialects have more examples of this than do the Hakka dialects.

The old *yangshaang* tone in Shaowu popular words merges with the *inshaang* tone. In all known Hakka dialects a large number of popular words from the *yangshaang* category merge with the *inpyng*. In view of this important difference in tonal development it would be very difficult to call Shaowu a Hakka dialect. In many respects, however, Shaowu does possess features in common with Hakka, features that are either unknown or very rare in the more typical Min dialects: (1) Both Shaowu and Hakka have changed the old voiced obstruent initials to voiceless aspirates in all tones. (2) Both Shaowu and Hakka have developed *f* from *h* plus a following rounded vowel or medial. (3) Both Shaowu and Hakka have a fricative corresponding to MC γ where Min dialects more commonly have a velar stop or zero. Actually all these features are very widespread in dialects outside the Hakka group and are quite clearly too general to permit their use as classificatory criteria.

The features shared by Min and Hakka which were described above suggest that these two dialect groups bear a closer relationship to one another than either does to any other dialect group. In the final analysis the difference between Min

and Hakka may be more a matter of degree than of kind.¹² If this is so, Shaowu and perhaps some of the other Far Western Min dialects may justly be viewed as transitional between the typical Min dialects and Hakka.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Amoy 廈門 dialect (cited from Douglas 1899)
CC	Chaochou 潮州 dialect (cited from Choy 1976)
FC	Foochow 福州 dialect (cited from Maclay and Baldwin 1870)
KY	Kienyang 建陽 dialect (cited from field notes)
MC	Middle Chinese 中古音
MH	Meih sien 梅縣 dialect (cited from MacIver 1962)
OC	Old Chinese 上古音
PM	Proto-Min
SW	Shaowu 邵武 dialect
YA	Yungan 永安 dialect (cited from field notes)

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12. The dialects of both groups are probably descended from an archaic variety of Southern Chinese. Min dialects are much more conservative than Hakka; they preserve a much larger quantity of material from this archaic source. Hakka, while retaining a significant number of words from the same source, has, due to its more exposed geographical location, been much more subject to the influence of standard forms of Northern Chinese. It is this northern influence that has given Hakka the overall impression of being more "Mandarin-like" than the Min dialects are.

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