A Study of Comparative Gàn

by

W. South Coblin

In Memory of Jerry Norman

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
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Preface

The Gàn dialect group is one of the major Sinitic language families of China. It was identified later than most of the other major Chinese dialect complexes and did not play a role in the philological work of earlier scholars such as Bernhard Karlgren and his epigones. Indeed, it was only in the final decades of the last century that enough detailed data on the group became available to support meaningful comparative research. Three book-length works of great importance that appeared in the 1990’s were the Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá bàoào of Lǐ Rúlóng and Song-Hing Chang (1992), Les Dialectes Gan (1993) by Laurent Sagart, and the Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiù of Liú Lúnxīn (1999). With these major contributions in hand, Sinological linguists at last began to grasp the full nature and extent of the Gàn family. Since the advent the new century, many more articles and several book-length works have appeared, dealing both with individual Gàn varieties and with entire groups of these dialects. Indeed, our ever-growing corpus of Gàn material is now quite impressive. However, to the best of our knowledge, as of this writing no comparative phonological reconstruction covering the entire family has appeared in print. It is accordingly the primary goal of the present work to remedy this deficiency. To wit, we propose to reconstruct a Common Gàn phonological system and then to demonstrate how this reconstruction can be used as a tool for the study of lexical, taxonomic, and historical problems in comparative Gàn.

In order to undertake a comparative reconstruction, one must begin by deciding what to compare. In the case of Gàn, this proves to be a complex issue, for no cogent classificatory scheme for the family has so far been proposed. Indeed, the late Professor Jerry Norman once remarked that it is easier to say what Gàn is not than to say what it is. In confronting this conundrum, our initial approach will be to use in our comparative work only dialects that are universally recognized as Gàn, and to set aside for the nonce any whose assignment to the group is problematic or disputed. Then, once our common phonological system has been reconstructed, we shall return to the problem of taxonomy and, by comparing our new common system with others posited for contiguous dialect families, we shall attempt a delineation of the Gàn family as a whole. Finally, when these tasks have been completed, we shall be in a position to propound a set of guidelines for testing the affiliations of those dialects whose taxonomy is currently in question.

The first chapter of this monograph introduces the dialects to be compared and outlines methodological issues and procedures. The second, third, and fourth deal with the reconstruction of the Common Gàn syllable initials, syllable finals, and tones respectively. The fifth chapter is devoted to a set of experimental lexical studies, in which our reconstructed phonological system is brought to bear on seventy-eight salient words in the common Gàn lexicon. The sixth and final chapter outlines the demographic history of the Gàn-speaking area, identifies the major
lexical strata in Common Gân, and correlates these demographic and stratigraphic findings. It then presents a full historical hypothesis regarding the formation of the Gân family and, as mentioned above, addresses directly the problems of taxonomy and classification. A list of References follows Chapter Six. The Appendix lists all cognate sets used in the reconstructions. A short Index to the text of Chapters I–VI is included at the end.

The support and encouragement of many friends and colleagues has been essential for the completion of this work. Professor Jerry Norman, to whose memory the book is dedicated, read the entire manuscript, and I was able to discuss the first five chapters with him. Sadly, his death brought our exchanges to a close only three days before we were scheduled to meet and deal with the sixth chapter. Since he was particularly interested in dialect classification and the taxonomy of the Gân family, that chapter would have benefitted immeasurably from his insights. That these are now irretrievably lost is a grave misfortune not only for me but also for the entire field of Chinese dialectology. Professor Pang-Hsin Ting, my close friend, senior classmate, colleague, and mentor of nearly half a century, read and commented extensively on the entire manuscript during a period when he was actively engaged in his own work and also frequently travelling between Asia and North America. His friendship and dedication, from which I have benefitted without interruption for so many decades, were in this case characteristically selfless. Over the past three decades I have also enjoyed extensive exchanges, both written and oral, with Dr. Laurent Sagart, whose major contributions to the field of Gân dialect studies have been my guide and vade mecum since the beginning of this project. My loyal and long-suffering friend, Professor Axel Schuessler, who has read literally everything I have written since the 1970’s, has remained a stalwart source of advice and encouragement throughout the present enterprise. Professor Zev Handel has, as always, been a perceptive and incisive reader who has offered me much food for thought. And finally, I have benefitted in countless ways from the corrections, suggestions, and thought-provoking comments of three anonymous readers of the preliminary manuscript. Though the suggestions and criticisms of these and many other individuals have saved me from innumerable errors and missteps, weaknesses unfortunately remain; and these are of course entirely my own responsibility. Had I heeded the cautions of all these well-meaning individuals rather than obtusely following my own lights in various instances, I should undoubtedly have been the better served by the goodwill of those whose guidance I have eschewed.

The future of Chinese comparative and historical dialectology is bright, and we may expect that it will achieve increasingly significant results as the new century advances. If the present work in some small measure helps to pave the way for these salutary developments, then it will have served its purpose.

W. South Coblin
Coralville, Iowa
April 2013
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<td>CDC</td>
<td>Common Dialectal Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>Common Gàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Cháling 茶陵 (Lǐ &amp; Chang 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYWM</td>
<td>Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>Dūchāng-1 都昌 (Chén 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>Dūchāng-2 (Lǐ &amp; Chang 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCBG</td>
<td>Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá báogào 客贛方言調查報告</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Early Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>Fènxīn 奉新 (Yú 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FYCH</td>
<td>Hányǔ fāngyán cíhuì 漢語方言詞匯</td>
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<tr>
<td>FYGY</td>
<td>Gàn fāngyán gàiyào 贛方言概要</td>
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<tr>
<td>FYZH</td>
<td>Hányǔ fāngyín zìhuì 漢語方言字匯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Gāo'ān 高安 (Liú 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HFDT</td>
<td>Hányǔ fāngyán ditújí 漢語方言地圖集 (Cáo &amp; Zhào 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>Jíān-1 吉安 (Chāng Méixiāng, unpublished field data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>Jíān-2 (Wáng 1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JXFY</td>
<td>Jiāngxīshēng fāngyánzhì 江西省方言志</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Líchuān 黎川 (Yán 1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1</td>
<td>Liánhuā-1 蓮花 (Chén et al. 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH2</td>
<td>Liánhuā-2 (Chāng Méixiāng, unpublished field data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>LnC</td>
<td>Linchuān 臨川 (Luó 1940)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>Nánchāng 南昌 Hányǔ fāngyīn zìhuì 漢語方言字匯; Hányǔ fāngyán cíhuì 漢語方言詞匯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>Nánchéng-1 南城 (Chèn 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>Nánchéng-2 (LI &amp; Chang 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td>Oxford English Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>Pingxiāng 萍鄉 (Wèi 1990; Liú 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PYJ Chinese</td>
<td>Pre-Yǒngjiā Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>Qièyùn 切韻 System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Suìchuān 遂川 (Chén et al. 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Tōngchéng 通城 (Liú 1991 and Liú et al. 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Tōngshān 通山 (Huáng 1994; Chén &amp; Yóu et al. 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>Wǔníng-1 武寧 (Sagart 1990, 1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>Wǔníng-2 (Chén et al. 2005; JXFY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>Wǔníng-3 (Anonymous 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>Xīngzǐ 星子 (Liú 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>Yǒngxiū 永修 (Liú 1999)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 The Gàn dialect family of China takes its name from that of the Gàn 赣 River, which, together with its tributaries drains much of the province of Jiāngxī 江西. Though the northern and central parts of this province may be considered the homeland of these languages, their distribution is by no means limited to Jiāngxī. Indeed, it is generally agreed that a number of them are also found in eastern Húnán 湖南, southeastern Húběi 湖北, southern Ānhuī 安徽, and according to some authorities also in western Fújiān 福建.

Map I: Geographical and Topographical Setting of the Gàn Dialects
Let us now examine the geographical and topographical setting of the Gàn dialects. Referring to Map I, we begin by noting that their heartland is the broad Póyáng 鄱陽 Plain in northern Jiāngxī. The flatlands of this plain extend southwestward along the Gàn River drainage, until uplands are reached two thirds of the way towards the southern borders of the province. The distribution of Gàn dialects tends to follow the lowlands. Farther to the east, a smaller riparian basin, that of the Fǔ River 撫河, extends southeastward towards a mountain range that separates the provinces of Jiāngxī and Fǔjìān. Gàn dialects follow this valley up to its source. Beyond the mountains mainly non-Gàn dialects are spoken. (Regarding these, cf. Map III in Chapter VI.) The northernmost transition area from the uplands into the Póyáng Plain slants from northeast to southwest on the map, and this transitional region roughly marks the boundary between the Gàn and Hakka dialects, remembering however that the Fǔ valley constitutes a southeastwardly protruding Gàn “spike”. In northeast Jiāngxī we again find highlands, riven by an intricate network of stream valleys. In this area Gàn dialects are interspersed with other dialect types, forming a complex dialectal configuration. To the northward the flat Póyáng Plain abuts on the the Yangtze River, which can be, and in Míng times was, crossed there by Gàn speakers seeking to relocate north of the river in Ânhūi. To the northwest, a mountain massif, the Mùfūshān 幕阜山 range, marks the boundary between Jiāngxī and Húběi. Just south of, and parallel to, this range is the Xiūshuǐ 修水, whose south bank is marked by the Jiǔlǐngshān 九嶺山 range. Gàn dialects are found all around the lower slopes of the Mùfūshān range, both in the Xiūshuǐ valley and on the northern or Húběi flank of the range, in the valley of the Fūshuǐ 富水. And from there they have moved even farther into southeast Húběi. The Jiǔlǐngshān itself is inhabited by Hakka speakers whose forebears came there in Míng or early Qīng times (Leong 1997:111 et sq.). To the South of the Jiǔlǐng are more mountains, straddling the border of Jiāngxī and Húnán. They are penetrated by several fairly flat corridors, through which modern roads now pass. Gàn speakers entered these mountains in Míng times, as part of the “Jiāngxī Fan” migrations (see Coblin 2005), settling as far west as the topographical onset of the east bank flatlands of the Xiāng 湘 River valley. Gàn-speaking towns are found at the western termini of each of the transmontane corridors. The Gàn speaking area of eastern Húnán reaches rather far southward, but its exact extent is somewhat uncertain because of the problem of distinguishing Gàn from Hakka and other dialect types in this area.

In 1988, in his well-known book, *Chinese*, Professor Jerry Norman remarked that the Gàn group was “known only in a sketchy fashion” (1988:204). Since these comments were written, there have been many salutary developments in the field of Gàn studies. Firstly, many new data have been published. Particularly notable are two monumental compendia, the *Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá bàogào 客贛方言調查報告* (Lǐ & Chang 1992) and the *Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiū 客贛方言比較研究* (Liú 1999). And in addition there have also appeared numerous articles and monographs on individual dialects. Then, there have been two major general studies of the entire Gàn family, both of which also incorporate original data (Chén 1991; Sagart 1993). Finally, new publications on many aspects of Gàn studies continue to
appear with gratifying regularity. We can therefore say that this field is today on a much firmer footing than it was nearly a quarter of a century ago when Norman’s first assessment appeared.

Nevertheless, significant difficulties remain. Perhaps the most fundamental and serious of these is the taxonomic status of the group as a whole. For, to date at least, no one has succeeded in uniquely characterizing the Gàn family with respect to other dialect types. Put in another way, no one has told us in clear and succinct terms what a Gàn dialect is or is not. In principle, there are, in science, and more specifically in the field of linguistics, two ways of doing this. The first and best known uses the Stammbaum model of the Neogrammarians to arrange related linguistic branches in derivational trees. The languages belonging to a certain branch should be identifiable in terms of uniquely shared innovations vis-à-vis some more general or earlier system, normally an ancestral or proto-language. The second method, most notably applied by the “Norman School” of Chinese dialectologists, is to identify the smallest possible number of necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in a particular dialect group. A necessary condition is one that any dialect must have in order to belong to the group, while a sufficient condition is adequate alone to ensure membership in the group. The “Holy Grail” for practitioners of this method is a condition that is concurrently both necessary and sufficient, an entity that is in reality seldom discoverable. Neither approach has to our knowledge ever been successfully used to uniquely characterize a cohesive and exclusive Gàn dialect family. And yet, the existence of the family as such is widely accepted as a given in most published sources today and is by most authorities not considered a controversial question in Chinese dialectology. This rather incongruous state of affairs is both surprising and problematic.¹

A closely related conundrum in Gàn studies is the historical relationship of the group to other dialect families. Though this problem is multifarious, its best-known facet is the question of a possible relationship between the Gàn and Hakka families. Without going into this issue in undue detail in this general introduction, we can discern within it two major positions in the field. The first is that Hakka is intimately and genetically related to at least some Gàn dialects (e.g., Luó 1940; Sagart 1988, 1993, 2002), with differences of opinion among authorities on the precise extent and nature of the connections. The opposing view (e.g., Ho 1987; Norman 1988) is that Gàn and Hakka are not related in a deep or fundamental way and that their well-known shared characteristics are superficial and due to non-genetic factors such as borrowing and convergence. Three further, and similar, questions of historical relationship that, in our view at least, require exploration are the nature of possible Gàn connections with the Xiāng 湘, Wū 吳, and Huī 徽 dialect groups.

¹ The existence of the Gàn family was noted in print as part of a Gàn-Hakka complex by Li (1973[1937]). The concept was later embraced in Luó (1940). By the time of Yuán (1960) the existence of a discrete Gàn family seems to have been tacitly accepted in China. Outside China, however, it has been specifically questioned, particularly by Sagart (1988, 1993, 2002). An excellent recent summary of the entire issue, along with an outline of its history, is Liú (2005:1–2).
Other problems which are ancillary to those raised above concern individual dialects found on the periphery of the generally recognized Gàn-speaking area, and in particular those in the Gàn/Hakka borderlands, whose assignment to Gàn or neighboring groups is uncertain and disputed.

Though all these questions will ultimately require intensive and continuing attention in the future, it is not our immediate purpose in the present study to resolve any of them. Instead, our intent is to use the now copious and ever-increasing corpus of Gàn dialect data to create a research tool which may aid all investigators in confronting them. To this end, we propose to employ the traditional comparative method to construct (or reconstruct) a general Gàn phonological system or proto-system, which we shall call “Common Gàn” (CG). There are of course other approaches to comparative phonology. Cf., for example Sun (2007). Our hope is that ours, which has to our knowledge not hitherto been applied in the Gàn field, will prove fruitful in various ways. And, with the information so gleaned, we shall indeed attempt to address in some measure the taxonomic problems described above.

At this point it is necessary to clarify the basic import of the term “Common Gàn” and also to identify and explain certain related concepts that will be of use to us in our work. To begin, we hold that the reconstructive exercise, as a methodology, requires us to compare and reconstruct proto-forms for all comparanda which show regular sound correspondences, regardless of their real or suspected age or origin. Where doublets or other such variants in cognate sets are present in individual dialects, and comparable variational sets are found from dialect to dialect, then we believe that such variation must be projected back to the common system. This will then result in a restored entity comprised of multiple lexical layers. That this is so is because of the complex and pervasive nature of lexical stratification in Chinese. Only after this exercise has been completed are we in a position to identify and chronologize the various strata. The common system we shall reconstruct here, called “Common Gàn” (suggested Chinese equivalent: Gòngtóng Gànyǔ 共同贛語), will thus be a multi-stratal entity. Within the specific context of this definition, we view the term “Common Gàn” as semantically synonymous with, and methodologically congruent with, “Proto-Gàn”, a term which will not be used in the present work.

2 That the feature as so characterized may be unique to Chinese has been suggested by Chén (2013a). Whether or not he is correct in this is something of which we remain for the nonce uncertain. But he is certainly justified in emphasizing the importance of recognizing it and taking it into account in all historical and comparative work on the major modern Chinese dialect families now known to us.

3 The customary Chinese translation for “Proto-Gàn” today would presumably be Yuǎnshí Gànyǔ 原始贛語, which literally means “Primitive Gàn”. This usage derives from Chinese translations of Leonard Bloomfield’s Language (Bloomfield 1933), where proto-languages are denoted with the modifier “primitive”, e.g., “Primitive Germanic” (ibid., p.299), for which the Chinese rendering in all translations known to us is: Yuánshí Rièrmángyǔ 原始日耳曼語. In the West, the modifier “proto-” was substituted for “primitive” after about 1950; but no corresponding change occurred in Chinese usage. Our preferred translation for Proto-Gàn would simply be Gǔ Gànyǔ 古贛語; cf. F. K. Li’s use in the
Chapter I: Introduction

Certain linguists who apply the comparative method to Chinese dialects hold that a reconstructed common or proto-system should represent explicitly and exclusively the oldest identifiable popular lexical layer of the dialect group’s common ancestor, without inclusion of any later layers. It follows from the remarks in the preceding paragraph that we do not accept this view. Indeed, we hold that only when multi-stratal reconstruction has been completed are we in a position to seriate the layers in the reconstructed system chronologically and/or according to stylistic register. To select among individual comparanda as candidates for such “primeval” status before full-scale comparison has been completed puts us in grave danger of cherry-picking particular forms according to our own biases and preconceptions regarding which data are “true proto-forms” or “true popular forms” and which are not. And this exposes us to the further danger that we will choose wrongly and end up erroneously “cross-comparing” material from different layers. We are strongly opposed to this approach in both principle and practice. For no one should be trusted to decide willy-nilly and without further ado which regular correspondence sets derive from the putative earliest, most basic, or “truly popular” layers of the language and which are strataly later. Such judgments must be postponed until after the basic work of comparison has been completed. When this has been done, and the nature and content of all reconstructed layers have been clarified, then and only then it is possible, to single out and identify the oldest layer(s) of the popular lexical system. When the need for this arises in the present work (as it actually very seldom does), we shall denote the earliest linguistic stage(s) in question as “Primitive Gàn” Strictly speaking, this should be translated as Yuánshǐ Gànyǔ 原始贛語. However, to avoid confusion with current Chinese usage, our suggested translation is instead Yuánzǔ Gànyǔ 原祖贛語, lit., “Ancestral Gàn”.

The position we have taken here involves more than a purely theoretical or ideological concern with methodology. On the contrary, the question is concrete and salient, in that it has crucial implications for historical accuracy. We shall now illustrate this with a hypothetical example. Let us say that we wished to compare modern English dialects in order to reconstruct the lexical corpus of an earlier, i.e., Middle English stage of the language. If in so doing we selected only those lexemes which we for some reason considered to be older, or autochthonous, and denoted what today is called in English “Proto-Tai”. However, we shall not belabor the point here, since it is not relevant to our own English terminology. Here again, see Chén (2013a) who devotes significant portions of his book to this problem and discusses various types of errors which can result from failure to take it into account.

It is worth noting that other scholars active in comparative reconstruction have followed similar lines. For example, Akitani (2003:4), after having reconstructed competing forms *ɡiŋ² and *ɡyiŋ² for the word 裙 “skirt” in Proto-Chùqū, remarks, “This phenomenon, wherein doublet pronunciations for the same etymon occur in a proto-dialect, can only be explained as stratification of layers.” (Emphasis added; WSC). In other words, a dialect proto-system not only can, but very often must, be conceptualized as having more than one layer. With Akitani we are in complete agreement that this approach, and only this approach, will lead us to an accurate understanding of dialect proto-systems.
or representative of “primeval” English, then we might indeed arrive at forms that were in some sense “pure” or “original”. However, by excluding all loan material that was borrowed from Norman French, Latin, Northumbrian, East Anglian, or Scandinavian, etc. after the Old English stage but before the Middle English one, we will not arrive at a realistic reconstructed lexicon for Middle English. This is because Middle English was lexically highly stratified, and its lexicon contained many words that were not inherited from Old English. We cannot accurately reconstruct that lexicon by cherry-picking only forms we suppose for some reason or another are historically inherited from the earliest stages of English. That method would unalterably skew our view of what Middle English was really like.

Our conviction is that Common Gàn was a lexically complex and layered system like Middle English.6 And we believe that the data we have from the modern dialects can help us elucidate this early complexity. These views inform the reconstructive methodology used here on virtually every page. The ultimate importance and efficaciousness of this approach for endeavors such as lexical seriation, wider dialect comparison, and taxonomy will be given practical illustration in Chapter VI, particularly in §6.2 and §6.3.

Finally, let us introduce yet another concept that will be useful to us. In Common Gàn, as manifested in modern dialects, we find certain layers that are “thicker” or more copious than others. These relatively “thick” layers tend to be viewed both by native speakers and dialectologists alike as prototypically Gàn, or “real Gàn” as it were, not because of their antiquity, for they are often not the oldest strata of the lexicon, but because of their relative size. It is useful in dealing with the Gàn dialects to have a way of referring to these lexically “thick” strata. Accordingly, the term we shall adopt for them is “Core Common Gàn” (Chinese: Héxīn Gòngtóng Gànyǔ 核心共同贛語), or, where expedient, simply “Core Gàn” (Chinese: Héxīn Gànyǔ 核心贛語).7

It should be noted here that the issues raised in the preceding remarks have recently been central to an ongoing discussion between three specialists in Chinese historical dialectology (Akitani & Handel 2012; Chén 2013a; Handel 2015). In our view, the positions we have adopted in the present work lie somewhere between the two sides in the said debate and attempt to address and, to some extent, resolve their differences in a novel way. Our stance, briefly put, is 1) that the method of comparative reconstruction is essential for a clear understanding of the history of Chinese dialects (Akitani & Handel), 2) that identification and seriation of lexical strata constitutes a fundamental part of that reconstructive enterprise (Chén), and 3) that analysis of lexical strata should be incorporated into the ongoing process of comparison itself, rather than separated from it and dealt with beforehand (this work). In this way, our approach takes cognizance of the major issues raised by our colleagues in the

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6 The importance of lexical layering in Gàn has of course been widely recognized heretofore. Compare, for example, Liú (2005) and Wàn (2009).

7 Such lexically “thick” layers are well known to dialectologists. For example, in Liú (2005:147) they are called zhǔ tǐ céngcì 主體層次 “main strata”.

6

7
articles cited here, but it deals with them in ways that differ to one extent or another from those suggested by the either side in the debate.

1.2 If we wish to undertake a comparative reconstruction, we must first decide what to compare. This immediately presents a problem, for, as noted above, there is less than total agreement regarding which dialects belong to the Gàn group. Yet, without a fully reconstructed common system in hand, we are hard put to decide in a coherent way what is Gàn and what is not. In the present work, we shall cut this Gordian knot in an admittedly rather unsophisticated way. To wit, we shall exclude from our work all dialects whose assignment to the Gàn family is currently disputed, and admit for possible consideration all those regarding which, to the best of our knowledge, there is unanimity regarding inclusion in the group. Thus, for our purposes, a Gàn dialect is any dialect that is currently held by all authorities to be Gàn, whereas any dialect whose admission to the family is questioned or denied by anyone is a priori to be excluded. To take some specific cases as examples, the Shàowǔ 邵武 dialect of western Fújiàn is variously classified today as Mǐn 閩 or Gàn, while the Jiànníng 建寧 dialect of the same province is described as Hakka, Gàn, or some sort of transitional “Gakka” (Jerry Norman, p.c.). Without taking a firm position of our own in these controversies, it is clear that, applying the above stated criterion, these dialects should not form part of our comparative material. Likewise, the Ān仁 安仁 dialect of Húnán, which appears to be in some way transitional between Gàn and Hakka, should also be excluded. A special case is the Lěiyáng 萊陽 dialect of Húnán, which is about fifty kilometers southwest of Ān仁. The standard source for this language for many years was Zhōng 仲 (1987), which identifies the dialect as Gàn. But more recently the same author, working with a collaborator, has published a full monograph on Lěiyáng, and here this dialect is, without comment on the taxonomic stance of the earlier article, unequivocally said to be Hakka (Wáng & Zhōng 2008). Clearly, then, we cannot include this dialect in our comparisons. Some forty kilometers upstream from Lěiyáng on the Lěi River is Yǒngxīng 永興, which Hú (2009) identifies as Gàn, but without specific discussion of taxonomy. Yǒngxīng is quite different both from Lěiyáng and from the other Gàn dialects with which we have personally worked and in fact has certain Xiāng-like and Mandarin-like features. Whatever it is, our view is that it should be excluded from the present comparative study of Common Gàn, pending more detailed analysis of it. Eventually, the classification of all these dialects must of course be tackled and their peculiarities accounted for; but it is our belief that work of this sort should not form part of the present undertaking.

We now come to the matter of dialects that are unanimously considered to be Gàn but which for various reasons we have not included in our work. The first of these is a northward extrusion of Gàn dialects into southwestern Ānhuī. This is the only appreciable trans-Yangtze subgroup of Gàn dialects. Data from it are available in the dialect volume of the Ānhuī shèngzhì 安徽省志・方言志 (Anonymous 1997:195–286). This material suggests that these dialects are rather similar to a number of those found in the Póyáng 鄱陽 Plain; and this coincides well with the oral history of this part of Ānhuī, which relates that the ancestors of its
inhabitants migrated from an area somewhat northeast of Nánchāng 南昌 in early Míng 明 times (Ibid., p.5). Since our material already includes dialects of essentially this type, we have not used data from this “Ānhū extrusion” area. The northeastern Gàn region was not thoroughly surveyed until recently, when studies done there resulted in the publication of a lengthy monograph, the Gàn dōngběi fāngyán diàochá yánjiù 赣東北方言調查研究 (Hú et al. 2009). This valuable contribution gives us a much clearer picture of the dialects of this area. However, preliminary examination of the data presented in this study seems to indicate that their inclusion in our comparisons would not necessitate changes in our reconstructions. The Common Gàn system we posit appears to account for the data found in these languages. For this reason, we have not included dialect points covered there, though we shall now and again cite individual forms from them where this seems helpful in some way. Finally, we should take some note of the broader Jí'ān 吉安 dialect area of west-central Jiāngxī. As has been pointed out by Dr. Laurent Sagart (2002:135), the Jí'ān dialects, which actually comprise a sizable group, promise to be of singular importance for our understanding of early Gàn history. And, as it turns out, we are singularly fortunate that the entire group is currently under study by Professor Chāng Méixiāng 昌梅香, who plans to publish field data on a considerable number of them, together with a comparative phonological reconstruction. Also to be compared in this connection is her doctoral dissertation (Chāng 2008). In the present work, we have benefitted greatly from the kindness of Professor Chāng, who has allowed us to use data from three of the points she has surveyed, and also given us permission to cite forms from other points that further elucidate matters raised by Sagart in his 2002 article. It is necessary to note in this connection that Chāng’s future findings may ultimately require revisions in the reconstructions to be proposed here. We shall therefore look forward to the full publication of her materials.

1.3 Our Common Gàn system is based on comparison of data from twenty-six dialect points. In the present section we shall begin by listing these points and our sources for each of them and then outline the rationale for considering our selection adequately representative of the family as a whole.


16. Ānfú-1 安福 (AF1). Location: south central Jiāngxī. Source: Chén et al. (2005), *Jīāngxīshēng fāngyánzhi*.

17. Ānfú-2 (AF2). Location: south central Jiāngxī. Source: Chāng Méixiāng, unpublished field data, made available through the good offices of Professor Chāng. Also consulted: Wang et al. (1995), *Ānfú xiànzī*. The Ānfú subtype reported in this source is very similar to that surveyed by Professor Chāng and can be used in conjunction with it.

18. Liánhuā-1 蓮花 (LH1). Location: west central Jiāngxī. Source: Liú (1999), *Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjū*. Also consulted: Chén et al. (2005), *Jīāngxīshēng fāngyánzhi*. The two types are very similar and can be used together.


Exact details regarding elicitation methods for the data in these sources are seldom given in the works themselves. We simply do not know in many cases how the data were gathered and selected. Exceptional, however, are the Ji’an area materials compiled by Chang Meixiang, with whom we were able to consult directly concerning this question. She is a bilingual native speaker of two dialects of this type. In eliciting data, she worked at least in part from character lists; but, basing herself on her own native competence in the speech of the area, she was able to probe and assess problematic cases where forms not in actual spoken use might have slipped in. According to her account, inadvertent elicitation of purely artificial text-based literary “character readings” was not usually a problem in this dialect region. If informants knew a written character but did not know the underlying linguistic form in their own dialect, their only way of verbalizing it would normally be in Standard Mandarin. Traditional techniques for deriving *Qièyùn* 切韻 System (QYS) readings based on fǎnqiè formulae have essentially been lost among the present day non-specialist literate population, and have of course never been known to those who were not literate.

As will be noted in subsequent chapters, the dialect points in our data sets are arranged in five rows or “tiers”. These move roughly from north to south and west to east. Thus, they are basically geographic in nature and do not represent any sort of genetic subgrouping. However, by the same token, they do reflect certain internally consistent concerns with which we plan to deal. The first row, which is also the most northerly, has been assembled in order that we may focus on the issue of a third or zhuó 濁 phonation type in the Common Gan initial system. Three different Wuqing subtypes have been included in order to deal adequately with this matter. The second row, representing dialects lying on a slightly more southerly west-east axis, illustrates merger of traditional or *Qièyùn* 切韻 System (QYS) cìqīng 次清 and zhuó initials as modern voiced or murmured sounds. The third row, which is again more southerly than the preceding two, illustrates the same merger, realized as modern voiceless aspirated sounds. The fourth row deals with the next more southerly tier of points. It includes a number of dialects, some of which throw light on the residual survival of an independent yángshǎng 陽上 tone in the popular layer of the Common Gan lexicon. And, finally, the fifth row includes Suichuan, which is typologically related in various ways to the Ji’an-type dialects of...
the fourth row but is more southerly in location. Also assigned to this southernmost row are
the very interesting east central and southeastern dialects.

The locations of our twenty-six dialect points are indicated in Map II. To aid in
geographical orientation, full names of certain well-known Jiāngxī cities are added.

Map II: Geographical Locations of Gàn Dialect Points
(Abbreviations are as Indicated in §1.3.)
1.4 In the present study we adopt as a working hypothesis the assumption that the Gân dialects constitute a valid genetic or taxonomic unit, even though, as pointed out above, this has never to date been rigorously or conclusively demonstrated according to the canons of historical or comparative linguistics. For the moment it is, then, a convenient and necessary fiction. In Chapter VI below we shall attempt to deal more cogently with the entire question of Gân history and taxonomy. In the interim, and in the body of the present work, the sound systems of our representative set of Gân dialects will, as indicated in §1.1 above, be analyzed using the comparative method, in order to construct or reconstruct a common or proto-system from which the individual modern systems can be systematically derived. The common system arrived at here will, as noted earlier, be called “Common Gân” (CG). For each cognate set cited in the discussion, a Modern Standard Chinese form will be given in pinyin romanization, followed by a Chinese character. After this we shall supply a QYS form in the orthography of Bernhard Karlgren (1954), as emended by F. K. Li (1971). The numbers “3” and “4” are redundantly added to Division III and Division IV Chóngniǔ 重纽 finals respectively, as reminder notations. These QYS forms are given for ease of reference to the traditional philological framework, and no assumption is made regarding their historical validity or phonological correctness for any actual earlier form of Chinese. They are not starred. In addition to the QYS forms, we give for each cognate set Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC) forms in Jerry Norman’s CDC system (Norman 2006). This system was developed by comparing representative dialects from the major modern dialect families, exclusive of Mǐn, and is much simpler than the QYS. In our view, it may to a certain extent represent, typologically at least, something similar to the ancestral type of common Chinese from which the modern non-Mǐn dialects have evolved. It can be profitably compared here with the QYS forms and the Common Gân ones. Following Norman’s practice, the CDC forms are starred. Relatively few modern Chinese dialects preserve the difference between CDC *-ie (= QYS -jwo) and *-iu (= QYS -ju). As a reminder notation, we shall signal this fact by adding round-bracketed forms in CDC *-iu after those having CDC *-ie. In addition to CDC reconstructions, we also at certain points add Norman’s “Early Chinese” (EC) forms, as initially introduced by him in Norman (1994) and further elaborated in Norman (2014, Ms. 1). These reconstructions represent Chinese of a chronologically indeterminate stage earlier than that of CDC and are specifically designed for use in the historical and comparative study of Chinese dialects, including Mǐn. They will be of use to us at certain points in our work. Modern Gân dialect forms are cited from the points listed in the preceding section, and in the order followed in that list. As already noted, that order follows a roughly north to south and west to east trajectory. A “list format” for the data is chosen here in preference to a tabular one because the individual items of data are often too long to fit conveniently into the cells of a conventional comparative table. For each cognate set, starred common or proto-forms are given at the end. Starred forms are bracketed when their inclusion in the proto-system is deemed problematic or otherwise subsidiary, due to paucity of supporting evidence or other inhibiting factors such as late borrowing, etc. Dialect forms are taken first of all from syllable lists in the sources, and then, where available in those
sources, also from lexical inventories, text samples, etc. Where supported by multiple parallel alternate readings in the data, common or reconstructed variant forms are posited for the pertinent sets, for the reasons outlined in §1.1 above. Stylistic register for reconstructed variants is identified as wén 文 “literary” or bái 白 “vernacular” if this information is supplied in the data sources for the relevant modern cognate forms. Variants and alternant forms are separated by the conventional sine wave, “~”. Variants that are less well supported or questionable are enclosed in brackets. We assume that stylistic register doublets represent competing variants in the common or proto-system, ultimately indicative of lexical layering in that system. However, where variants occur at only one dialect point, we do not usually posit such multiple competing proto-forms, because the comparative method is not applicable in such instances. In some cases, multiple etyma appear in a single cognate set. This is because in the sources different etyma occasionally happen to be written with the same Chinese graph. And the lexical material we have used is of necessity tied to graphs in the sources. In cases such as these, the utmost caution must be exercised in order not to compare different etyma with one another during the reconstructive process, for this would of course produce skewed results. If the correct corresponding etyma are compared, on the other hand, no harm is done by leaving multiple etyma in place in their common sets.

Arguments on which the initials, finals, and tones of the reconstructed forms are based will be found in the pertinent chapters of the study, as follows: syllable initials: Chapter II, syllable finals: Chapter III, tones: Chapter IV. A full set of all 1,077 cognate sets used in the analysis will be found in the Appendix.

The citation of data given in the cognate sets requires some further explanation. For each example syllable a tone class, as indicated in the pertinent source, is supplied. In order to save space while remaining faithful to the source citations, these classes are identified by their Chinese names, as given in the sources. For those who do not read Chinese or who prefer to use the eight number identification system popular among some dialectologists, the following conversion chart will hopefully be useful:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yīnpíng 陰平} & \quad \text{yīnshǎng 陰上} \quad \text{yīnqù 陰去} \quad \text{yīnrù 陰入} \\
\text{yángpíng 陽平} & \quad \text{yángshǎng 陽上} \quad \text{yángqù 陽去} \quad \text{yángrù 陽入}
\end{align*}
\]

The designation dī 低, added to certain tone names, means “low” and refers to subtypes of the tones to whose names it is added. The significance of this term will be dealt with at the appropriate points in Chapter IV.

In addition to the tone names, sociolinguistic or stylistic register is indicated in the data sources for certain forms, as follows:

bái 白 “vernacular”. In the discussion such forms will be alternately referred to either as “bái” or “vernacular”, for the sake of English stylistic variation.
wén 文 “literary”. These will be called either “wén” or “literary”.

sú 俗 “vulgo”. This designation, is in fact somewhat ambiguous, and also very rare in our data. Exactly what it means is not made clear in the pertinent sources. The probable sense is “highly vernacular or informal”. But in some sources it also means that the Chinese graph customarily used to write the syllable is false or etymologizing.

Finally, with regard to the representation of aspiration in the data, the transcriptional conventions found in the original sources have been retained unchanged. Thus, aspiration is indicated by an apostrophe for some data points, and by a plain letter “h” or a raised “h” i.e., \([^h]\) in others.

1.5 We conclude this chapter with summaries of the sound systems of our twenty-six Gän dialect varieties. Transcriptions are those used in the original sources. Tone designations are also those of the sources, along with the numerical pitch values reported there.

1.5.1 The Tōngshān 通山 (TS) sound system.

Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>p'</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>v</th>
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<td>k'</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Finals

<table>
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<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ɔe</th>
<th>əi</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>e[u]</th>
<th>ê</th>
<th>ê̌</th>
<th>ê̋</th>
<th>ê̊</th>
<th>ɐ</th>
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<td>uæe</td>
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<td>yen</td>
<td>yɔ</td>
<td>yɐ</td>
<td>yŋ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 213 yànpíng 阳平 (2) 21
Chapter I: Introduction

1.5.2 The Wùnìng-1 武寧 (WN1) sound system.

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Finals

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<td>waæ</td>
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<td>yan</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>æŋ</td>
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Tones

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<td>yángqù 陽去 (6) 223</td>
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<tr>
<td>yīnrú 隱入 (7) 42</td>
<td>yángrú 陽入 (8) 223</td>
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### 1.5.3 The Wùníng-2 (WN2) sound system.

**Initials**

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<td>kʰ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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**Finals**

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**Tones**

- yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 24
- yángpíng 陽平 (2) 211
- shàngshēng 上聲 (3) 41
- yīnqù 陰去 (5) 45
- yángqù 陽去 (6) 22
- yīnrú 陰入 (7) 5
- yángrù 陽入 (8) 1

### 1.5.4 The Wùníng-3 (WN3) sound system.

**Initials**

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<th>b</th>
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<td>t'</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I: Introduction

Initials

p b m f
t d n
ts dz s
tɕ dʑ nɕ
k k' g h
Ø

Finals

ʝ i u y

a ia ua ai uai an uan ak iak ɑŋ iŋ uŋ æt æt
o on uon ok iok ɑŋ iŋ uŋ
ɛ iɛ iɛn iɛn iɛt iɛt uɛt uɛt yet
ai ui æn in uæn yn æŋ æŋ yt uyt t yt
eu iu ieu iuk uk
ŋ ŋ ɢ

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 24 yángpíng 陽平 (2) 21
shāngshēng 上聲 (3) 42
yīnqu 陰去 (5) 45 yángqù 陽去 (6) 33
yīnrú 陰入 (7) 5 yángrù 陽入 (8) 2

1.5.5 The Tōngchéng 通城 (TC) sound system.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

a ia ua ya an uan a? ia? ua? ya? aʔ aʔ uaʔ ai uai ai? au iau yau an ian uan
o io uo o? io? uo? oʔ uoʔ ou iou on oŋ iŋ uŋ e ie ue e? ie? ue?
ən in uən əʔ iʔ uəʔ yʔ ən iən ən iən eʔ eʔ iʔ yʔ ən iən ən iən

Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 212 yángpíng 陽平 (2) 22
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 31
yǐnqù 陰去 (5) 24 yángqù 陽去 (6) 33
rùshēng 入聲 (7) 55

1.5.6 The Xīngzǐ 星子 (XZ) sound system.

Initials

p b m f
t d n l
ts dz s (z)*
tʂ dzʐ s (ʐ)*
te dzʐ ʅ ɕ
tɕ
t k g ŋ h
Ø
*Bracketed initials do not actually occur in our data.

Finals

i i ɨ i ui ɨ i uie
ən in un uin
ε iε uε eu iεu en iεn
i i o ı i o ı i o ı
a ia uai ai au iui an uan aŋ ian uan
əŋ iən uən
ŋ ŋ m
Chapter I: Introduction

Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 33  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 31
yīnqù-1 陰去 1 (5a) 55  yīnqù-2 陰去 2 (5b) 214  yángqù 陽去 (6) 11
rǔshēng 入聲(7) 35

1.5.7 The Yǒngxiū 永修 (YX) sound system.

Initials

p  bʰ  m  f  v
 t  dʰ  l
ts  dzʰ  s
tɕ  dzʰ  š
tɕ  dz  ȵ  c
k  gʰ  ŋ
Ø

Finals

i  ɿ  i  u  iu  ui
ɛ  iɛ  eu  ieu  en  ien  uen  en  in  un  uin
o  uo  on  uon
a  ia  ua  au  ai  uai  an  aŋ  uaŋ
ə  iə  uən  ŋən
ɔŋ
m

Tones

yīnpíng-1 阴平 (1a) 35  yīnpíng-2 阴平 (1b) 24  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 21
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 42
yīnqù 陰去-1 (5) 45  yīnqù 陰去-2 (5a) 445  yángqù 陽去 (6) 33
yīnrù 陰入-1 (7a) 5  yīnrù 陰入-2 (7b) 45  yángrù 陽入 (8) 2
1.5.8  The Dūchāng-1 都昌 (DC1) sound system.

Initials

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & b & m & \phi \\
t & d & n & l \\
ns & dz & s & \\
t² & dz²* & s & \\
te & dz & é & \\
k & g & ŋ & x \\
\emptyset & \\
\end{array}
\]

*This initial is sometimes written dz² in the source, for unspecified reasons.

Finals

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
a & ia & ua & ai & au & an & aŋ & iaŋ & uaŋ & at & uat & ak & iak & uak \\
e & ie & ue & eu & ieu & ueu & en & ien & et & iet & uet & ek & iek & uek \\
o & uo & on & oŋ & iŋ & uoŋ & ot & uot & ok & iok & uok & \\
u & ui & un & iuŋ & un & ut & iuk & uk & \\
au & iau & aŋ & at & ak & \\
ï (= Ĩ) & i & in & iŋ & it & ik \\
\í & ŋ & ŋ & m & \\
\end{array}
\]

Tones

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 33} & \text{yángpíng 陽平 (2) 35} \\
\text{shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 351} \\
\text{yīnqù 陰去 (5) 15} & \text{yángqù 陽去 (6) 313} \\
\text{yīnrù 陰入 (7a) 5} & \text{dīrù 低入 (7b) 1} & \text{yángrù 陽入 (8) 3} \\
\end{array}
\]

1.5.9  The Dūchāng-2 (DC) sound system.

Initials

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & b & m & \phi \\
t & l & n & \\
\end{array}
\]
Chapter I: Introduction

Finals

 Finals

1 \ ər
a ia ua ai uai au an uan an əŋ uəŋ aŋ al ual iak ak uak
ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ
e ieu en ien əŋ uəŋ el iel ek uek
u ui iu in un iuŋ uŋ iuk uk
au uau an aŋ al uəl ak
i iŋ il ik
ŋ nú ñ m

Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 332       yángping 1 陽平 1 (2) 334     yángping 2 陽平 2 (2) 113
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 352
yīnqù 隱去 (5) 325       yángqù 陽去 (6) 213
yínrú 1 隱入 1 (7a) 45    yínrú 2 隱入 2 (7b) 24
yángrú 1 陽入 1 (8a) 3    yángrú 2 陽入 2 (8b) 21

1.5.10 The Ānyì 安義 (AY) sound system.

Initials

p  p’  m  f
k  k’  h
Ø

Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 332       yángping 1 陽平 1 (2) 334     yángping 2 陽平 2 (2) 113
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 352
yīnqù 隱去 (5) 325       yángqù 陽去 (6) 213
yínrú 1 隱入 1 (7a) 45    yínrú 2 隱入 2 (7b) 24
yángrú 1 陽入 1 (8a) 3    yángrú 2 陽入 2 (8b) 21

1.5.10 The Ānyì 安義 (AY) sound system.

Initials

p  p’  m  f
k  k’  h
Ø
A Study of Comparative Gàn

Finals

a ia ua ai uai au an an an aŋ ian ian uan uaŋ at uat a? ia? ε ie ue em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em ε? ue?
c ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou? un ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou?
ɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ u0250;ø

Tones

yīnpīng 阴平 (1) 11   yángpīng 陽平 (2) 21
shàngshēng 上聲 (3) 214
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55   yángqù 陽去 (6) 24
yīnrù 陰入 (7) 5   yángrù 陽入 (8) 2

1.5.11 The Nánchāng 南昌 (NC) sound system.

Initials

p p' m f
t t' l
ts ts' s
tē te' η ɛ
k k' η h
Ø

Finals

ɿ
a ia ua ai uai au an an an aŋ ian ian uan uaŋ at uat a? ia? ε ie ue em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em em ε? ue?
c ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou? un ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou ou?
ɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ uɔ u0250;
Chapter I: Introduction

i in it
y yn yt
ŋ n m

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 42     yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 213
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 45     yángqù 陽去 (6) 21
yīnrú 陰入 (7) 5       yángrú 陽入 (8) 21

1.5.12 The Fènxīn 奉新 (FX) sound system.

Initials

p p' m
t t' l
ts ts' s
te dz ŋ e
k k' ŋ h
Ø

Finals

u a e ə o ai au eu am em òm om an en ən on ōn an ŏn ao
i i e iau iau iem iem ien ien iəŋ iəŋ iəŋ
u ua ue ou uai ui uəu uən uən uəŋ uəŋ
ap ep əp op at et ot aʔ eʔ əʔ oʔ
iəp iəp iet iət iaʔ ioʔ iʔ iəuʔ
uat uet uət uaʔ ueʔ uəʔ uʔ

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 41     yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 35
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 33     yángqù 陽去 (6) 21
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yīnrù 陰入 (7) 44  yángrù 陽入 (8) 21

1.5.13 The Gāo'ān 高安 (GA) sound system.

Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th></th>
<th>Finals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>teʰ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ  ɳ  h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 24  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 31
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55  yángqù 陽去 (6) 22
yīnrù 陰入 (7) 4  yángrù 陽入 (8) 1

1.5.14 The Chálíng 茶陵 (CL) sound system.

Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th></th>
<th>Finals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f  v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'  l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24
Chapter I: Introduction

Finals

ȥ 'ils ɨ i u y
a ia ua ya
ɔ io uo
e ie ue ye
æ uæ
ɔ io
əŋ ʰŋ
азвание yā ʰā yà ē ɨ uə ē ɨ ŏ ʰ ŏ ɨ
ŋ ʰŋ

Tones

yínpíng 陰平 (1) 35           yângpíng 陽平 (2) 13
shângshêng 上聲 (3) 53
qūshêng 去聲 (5) 55

1.5.15 The Pingxiâng 萍乡 (PX) sound system.

Initials

p  p'  m  f
 t  t'  l
 ts  ts'  s
tʂ  dʐ  ŋ  ş  ź
te  te'  ŋ  ê
k  k'  ŋ  h
Ø
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Finals

ɿ i u ɿ
a ia ua ai uai au iau
ɛ iɛ uɛ ɿɛ
ɔ io uɔ
œ uœœ
ui iu
ə iə uə ə iɛ œ uɛ
əŋ iŋ uŋ əŋ
ŋ̩ m

Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 13       yángpíng 陽平 (2) 44
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 35
qùshēng 去聲 (5) 11

1.5.16 The Ānfú-1 安福 (AF1) sound system.

Initials

p pʰ m f n
 t tʰ l
 ts tsʰ s
 te teʰ ŋ e
 k kʰ ŋ h
 Ø

Finals

ɿ i u ɿ ɿ
a ia ua ai uai au iau
ɛ iɛ uɛ
ə iə ei uə

Chapter I: Introduction

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平  (1) 44  yángpíng 陽平  (2) 21?12
yīnhàng 陰上  (3) 53  yángshàng 陽上  (4) 31?13
qūshēng 去聲  (5) 22

1.5.17   The Ānfú-2 (AF2) sound system.

Initials

p  pʰ  m  f
 t  tʰ  n  l
 ts  tsʰ  s
tɕ  tɕʰ ŋ  c
k  kʰ ŋ  h
Ø

Finals

ğ  i  u  y  ui  iu
a  ia  uai  ai  uai  ā  iā  uā  āŋ  iāŋ  uāŋ
o  io  uo
ɛ  uɛ  eü  ieu  en  ien  uen  yen
e  ie  en  in
ø  yø
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Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 44        yángpíng 陽平 (2) 214
yīnshǎng 隱上 (3) 42        yángshǎng 陽上 (4) 225
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22

1.5.18 The Liánhuā-1 蓮花 (LH1) sound system.

Initials

p  pʰ  m
t  tʰ  n  l
ts  tsʰ  s
tɛ  tɛʰ  ç
tʃ  k  kʰ  h
Ø

Finals

ɪ  i  u  y  ui  iu
œ  ue
ɔ  io  uo  yo
ɔɛ  ie  ue  ye
ɒ  ia  ua  ya  ao  iaō  ai  uai
ɛ  iɛ  uɛ  yɛ
ɔ̃  iɔ̃  uɔ̃
ɑ̃  iɑ̃  uɑ̃  yɑ̃
æŋ  iæŋ  yæŋ
ŋ
Chapter I: Introduction

Tones

yīnpīng 陰平 (1) 44        yángpīng 陽平 (2) 13
yīnshàng 陰上 (3) 53        yángshàng 陽上 (4) 35
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22

1.5.19 The Liánhuā-2 (LH2) sound system.

Initials

p  pʰ  m  f
 t  tʰ  n  l
ts  tsʰ  s
te  teʰ  ê
k  kʰ  ê  h
Ø

Finals

ɿ  i  u  y
a  ia  ua  ya  ai  uai  au  iau  an  uan
o  io  uo
ɛ  iɛ  uɛ  yɛ
ci
oi  uoi
iu
en  in  uen
uøn  yøn
ɔŋ  uŋ  yŋ
iə  iɛ
ŋ

Tones

yīnpīng 陰平 (1) 55        yángpīng 陽平 (2) 324
A Study of Comparative Gân

shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 42
yīnqù 隱去 (5) 33           yánqù 陽去 (6) 214

1.5.20 The Jìān-1 吉安 (JA1) sound system.

Initials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>pʰ</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɹ</td>
<td>tɹʰ</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>teʰ</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The retroflex stops have interesting alternations in dental stops and retroflex affricates. They will be treated by Professor Chāng in her own descriptive and comparative studies of this and other Jīān varieties. Cf. also Chāng (2008).

Finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>uai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɪ</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>aui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>iɛ</td>
<td>ʊɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>iɔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>yn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>eɪ</td>
<td>uɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>io</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tones

píngshēng 平聲 (1) 35
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 31
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22
1.5.21 The Jiān-2 (JA2) sound system.

Initials

p    pʰ    m    f
 t    tʰ    n    l
 ts   tsʰ   s
 tɕ   tɕʰ   nɕ   e
 k    kʰ   nɕ   x
 Ø

Finals

a    o   œ  e  ɛ  ə
i   ia  iɛ
u   ua  uo  uɛ  uai  ui
y    yo  ye  yo
ai  iɑ  au  eu
iau  iu  ian  in
an  on  en  øn
uan  uɔn  un  uen
yɔn  yan  iɛn  iɛn

Tones

yǐnpíng 隱平 (1) 35  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 12
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 5
yīnquì 陰去 (5) 33  yángqù 陽去 (6) 214

1.5.22 The Suìchuān 遂川 (SC) sound system.

Initials

p    pʰ    m    f
 t    tʰ    n    l
 ts   tsʰ   s
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te teʰ ɲ e
k kʰ ɲ h
Ø

Finals

ɿ i u y ə
a ia ua ai uai au iau
o io uo
ɛ ie ye
ɔ uo oi
ei uei
ɔu iə u i
ãn uän ā iā uā
ðn uōn yōn ō iō uō
ë iē uēn
ǔn ǔn
строитель
i ə
ŋ

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 53  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 33*
yīnshǎng 陰上 (3) 33*  yángshǎng 陽上 (4) 35
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55  yángqù 陽去 (6) 213

*The source has apparently misprinted the value of one of these two tones. We are unable to determine which is correct.

1.5.23  The Linchuān 臨川 (LnC) sound system.

Initials

p pʰ m f
t tʰ n l
ts  tsʰ  s
tɕ  tɕʰ  η  c
k  kʰ  η  h
Ø

Finals

γ  i  u  ŋ
o  uo  yo  oi  uoi  on  uon  om  oŋ  uoŋ  ionŋ  op  ot  uot  o?  uo?  io?
a  ua  ia  ai  uai  au  iau  an  uan  am  aŋ  uanŋ  ianŋ  ap  at  uat  a?  ia?
e  ie  eːn  ueːn  eːm  ep  et  eʔ  ueʔ?
ɛːu  iu  ien  yen  iem  iet  yet  iep
un  yn  ut  yŋ  iŋ  uŋ  iŋu  iŋuʔ
in  im  ip  it  iʔ
ai  ui  an
ŋ

Tones

yīnpíng 隱平 (1) 32  yángpíng 阳平 (2) 25
shàngshēng 上聲 (3) 45
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 51  yángqù 陽去 (6) 23
yīnrù 陰入 (7) 32  yángrù 陽入 (8) 5

1.5.24  The Nánchéng-1 南城 (NnC1) sound system.

Initials

p  pʰ  m  f
t  tʰ  n  l
ts  tsʰ  s
tɕ  tɕʰ  c
k  kʰ  η  h
Ø
A Study of Comparative Gân

Finals

\[\begin{align*}
&1 \quad \text{i} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{y} \\
&a \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{ua} \quad \text{ai} \quad \text{au} \quad \text{iau} \quad \text{ian} \quad \text{uan} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{at} \\
o \quad \text{uo} \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{io} \quad \text{uo} \\
e \quad \text{ie} \quad \text{ieu} \quad \text{ue} \quad \text{uei} \\
\text{o} \quad \text{uo} \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{o} \\
\text{o} \quad \text{ion} \quad \text{ion} \\
\text{ø} \quad \text{øy} \quad \text{øn} \quad \text{øy} \quad \text{ø}
\end{align*}\]

Tones

\[\begin{align*}
yīnpīng & \text{陰平 (1) 32} \\
yángpīng & \text{陽平 (2) 35} \\
shǎngshēng & \text{上聲 (3) 41} \\
yīnqu & \text{陰去 (5) 3} \\
yángqù & \text{陽去 (6) 13} \\
rúshēng & \text{入聲 (7) 5}
\end{align*}\]

1.5.25 The Nánchéng-2 (NnC2) sound system.

Initials

\[\begin{align*}
p & \quad p' & \quad m & \quad f \\
t & \quad t' & \quad n & \quad l \\
ts & \quad ts' & \quad s \\
te & \quad te' & \quad c \\
k & \quad k' & \quad ṭ & \quad h \\
Ø & 
\end{align*}\]

Finals

\[\begin{align*}
&1 \quad \text{i} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{y} \\
&a \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{ua} \quad \text{ai} \quad \text{au} \quad \text{iau} \quad \text{ian} \quad \text{uan} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{œn} \quad \text{œc} \quad \text{œn} \quad \text{œc}
\end{align*}\]
Chapter I: Introduction

ε ie ue ieu ei en
ø on oy
ui iu ou
øn uøn yøn
in uin yn
iuŋ uŋ
iʔ uʔ yʔ
aʔ iaʔ uaʔ
oʔ ioʔ uoʔ
eʔ ieʔ yeʔ eiʔ ueʔ
aiʔ uaiʔ
øyʔ uiʔ auʔ iuʔ
ŋ m

Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 11       yánpíng 陽平 (2) 45
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 53
yīnqu 陰去 (5) 3          yángqu 陽去 (6) 12
rùshēng 入聲 (7) 5

1.5.26 The Lìchuān 黎川 (LC) sound system.

Initials

p p' m f v
t t' n l
ts ts' s
te te' e
k k' ŋ h
ku k'u u*
Ø

*A separate series of what appear to be described as labiovelars is posited by the source.
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Finals

\[ \text{a} \text{ ia} \text{ ai} \text{ au} \text{ iau} \text{ am} \text{ an} \text{ aŋ} \text{ iŋ} \]
\[ \varepsilon \text{ ie} \text{ eu} \text{ em} \text{ en} \text{ ien} \text{ ei} \text{ eŋ} \]
\[ \text{oi} \text{ ou} \text{ om} \text{ on} \]
\[ \text{ia} \text{ ia} \text{ iŋ} \]
\[ \text{an} \text{ yn} \]
\[ \text{aŋ} \text{ iŋ} \]
\[ \text{iuŋ} \text{ uŋ} \]
\[ \text{ap} \text{ iap} \text{ aŋ} \text{ iŋ} \]
\[ \text{op} \text{ oiŋ} \]
\[ \varepsilon p \text{ eŋ} \text{ ieŋ} \]
\[ \text{aiŋ} \text{ iŋ} \text{ ip} \]
\[ \text{aŋ} \text{ iŋ} \text{ iŋ} \]
\[ \text{iuŋ} \text{ uŋ} \]
\[ \eta \text{ m} \]

Tones

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 22
shǎngshēng 上声 (3) 44
yīnqù 阴去 (5) 53
yīnrù 阴入 (7) 3
yángping 陽平 (2) 35
yángqù 陽去 (6) 13
yángrù 陽入 (8) 5
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Gàn

The syllable initials reconstructed for Common Gàn are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & p' & b & m \\
t & t' & d & n \\
ts & ts & dz & s \\
ts & ts' & dz & s (\ddagger) \\
k & k' & g & ŋ \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Ø

In all, twenty-five initials are reconstructed. The bracketed form (\ddagger) is viewed as non-native and peripheral and is reconstructed for what we believe are late loan forms, perhaps derived from north Chinese dialects or koines.

2.1 The Labials and Labiodental

2.1.1 CG *p-. This initial survives unchanged in all the dialects. The following are exemplary cognate sets for it. As indicated in Chapter I, Common Gàn reconstructions are given at the end of each set. For the finals and tones of these sets, see the relevant sections of Chapters III and IV.

bào 飽 QYS pau: CDC *pau³
TS [pau³]; WN1 [pau¹]; WN2 [pau¹]; WN3 [pau¹];
TC [pau³]; XZ [pau¹]; YX [pau¹]; DC1 [pau¹]; DC2 [pau¹];
AY [pau¹]; NC [pau¹]; FX [pau¹]; GA [pau¹];
CL [po¹]; PX [pau¹]; AF1 [pau¹]; AF2 [pao¹]; LH1 [pao¹]; LH2 [pau¹]; JA1 [pau¹]; JA2 [pau¹];
SC [pau¹]; LnC [pau¹]; NnC1 [pau¹]; NnC2 [pau¹]; LC [pau¹] CG *pau³

bǐ 筆 QYS pjet³ CDC *pit⁷
TS [pjet³]; WN1 [piti²]; WN2 [piti²]; WN3 [piti²];
TC [piti²]; XZ [piti²]; YX [piti²]; DC1 [piti²]; DC2 [piti²];
AY [piti²]; NC [piti²]; FX [piat²]; GA [piti²];
CL [piti²]; PX [piti²]; AF1 [piti²]; AF2 [piti²]; LH1 [piti²]; LH2 [piti²]; JA1 [piti²]; JA2 [piti²];
2.1.2  CG *p’. This initial survives unchanged in all dialects except those of our second tier. Here it becomes modern b- except in Yongxiu, where it yields murmured bʰ-. This in effect means that in these dialects it merges with the reflexes of CG *b-. The following are examples:

Several entries in the table are marked with an “~” or “…” indicating that they are not uniformly attested.

This shift of voiceless aspirated to voiced (or murmured) initials in the second tier dialects is, while incontrovertible, nonetheless not common in Chinese dialects as a whole. The issue of how it could have come about has been addressed by Sagart (1984), who suggests that it was the result of hypercorrection (or, in more recent sociolinguistic parlance, hyperaccommodation), when persons whose dialects had lost original voicing in favor of voiceless aspiration attempted to restore the former by inserting it across the board in place of the latter. This hypothesis is ingenious and worthy of consideration. However, other interpretations are also possible. See, for example Chiang (2003:62–64). In our view, the matter remains uncertain. A very recent review of the entire problem is Xiàng (2013), which also gives a good summary of earlier literature on it.¹

¹ I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this reference, and to Dr. Shàn Xiùbō and Prof. Zēng Li for obtaining it for me on very short notice.
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2.1.3 CG *b-. The following sets exemplify this initial:

pán 盤 QYS bànu ČDC *bon\(^2\)
TS [pən]; WN1 [pōn]; WN2 [pʰon\(^2\)]; WN3 [bon\(^1\)];
TC [bon\(^1\)]; XZ [bon\(^1\)]; YX [b⁰on\(^1\)]; DC1 [bon\(^1\)]; DC2 [bon\(^1\)];
AY [pʰən\(^3\)]; NC [pʰən\(^3\)]; FX [pʰən\(^3\)]; GA [pʰən\(^3\)];
CL [pʰən\(^3\)]; PX [pʰən\(^3\)]; AF1 [pʰən]; AF2 [pʰən]; LH1 [pʰən\(^2\)]; LH2 [pʰən];
JA1 [pʰən\(^2\)]; JA2 [pʰən];
SC [pʰən]; LnC [pʰən]; NnC1 [pʰən\(^3\)]; NnC2 [pʰən]; LC [pʰən\(^2\)] ČDC *bon\(^1\)

bèi 被 QYS bje:\(^3\) “blanket, coverlet” ČDC *bi⁴
TS [pəi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [p'i]; WN3 [p'i];
TC [bi]; XZ [bi]; YX [bi]; DC1 [bi]; DC2 [bi];
AY [p'i]; NC [p'i]; FX [p'i]; GA [p'i];
CL [—]; PX [p'i]; AF1 [p'i]; AF2 [p'i]; LH1 [p'i]; LH2 [p'i]; JA1 [p'i]; JA2 [p'i];
SC [p'i]; LnC [p'i]; NnC1 [p'i]; NnC2 [p'i]; LC [p'i] ČDC *bi⁴ (~ *bi⁴)

The LH1 tone is irregular.

biàn 便 QYS bjián⁴ ČDC *bian\(^6\)
TS [p'i]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [p'ien]; WN3 [p'ien];
TC [bien]; XZ [—]; YX [bien]; DC1 [bien]; DC2 [bien];
AY [p'ien]; NC [p'ien]; FX [p'ien]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [p'ien]; AF1 [p'ien]; AF2 [p'ien]; LH1 [p'ien]; LH2 [p'ien]; JA1 [p'ien]; JA2 [p'ien];
SC [p'ien]; LnC [p'ien]; NnC1 [p'ien]; NnC2 [—]; LC [p'ien] ČDC *bi⁴

The LH1 tone is irregular.

bù 步 QYS buo- ČDC *bu⁶
TS [pu]; WN1 [pu]; WN2 [bu]; WN3 [pu];
TC [bu]; XZ [bu]; YX [bu]; DC1 [bu]; DC2 [bu];
AY [p'u]; NC [p'u]; FX [p'u]; GA [p'u];
CL [p'u]; PX [p'u]; AF1 [p'u]; AF2 [p'u]; LH1 [p'u]; LH2 [p'u]; JA1 [p'u]; JA2 [p'u];
SC [p'u]; LnC [p'u]; NnC1 [p'u]; NnC2 [p'u]; LC [p'u] ČDC *bu⁶

The LH2 form is irregular in its initial. The tone of the NnC1 for is irregular.

bái 白 QYS bok ČDC *bak\(^8\)
TS [p'e]; WN1 [p'o]; WN2 [boa]; WN3 [bak];
TC [boe]; XZ [be]; YX [b'a⁰]; DC1 [pek]; DC2 [bak];
AY [p'a⁰]; NC [p'et]; FX [p'e]; GA [p'a⁰];

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The initial of the NnC2 form is irregular.

bò QYS bâk CDC *bok

Common Gân *b- is unchanged in Tôngchéng, Xíngzǐ, and both Dùchāng varieties. In Yǒngxiū it yields murmured bʰ-. In Wūníng-3 it is retained under the yángpíng and rú tones but becomes p- under the yángqù tone. In Tôngshān and Wūníng-1 it yields p- in all environments. In Wūníng-2 it promiscuously becomes p-, b-, or p- und 下 discernable sociolinguistic conditions, a matter which we must presently consider at greater length. The Tôngchéng and Wūníng-1 forms in p- are of great importance, because, when compared with the p'- initial forms in third, fourth, and fifth tier dialects, they show that the Common Gân initial represented in these sets cannot earlier have been either *p- or *p', but must have been a third, independent entity. The phonetic nature of this third initial class is not revealed by our Tôngchéng and Wūníng-1 correspondences. Only its existence can be confirmed by the way their reflexes pattern with those of the other dialects. However, the tier two dialects do suggest that the unknown class was probably voiced. Fortunately, we can confirm this surmise. For in Wūníng-3 the voiced reflexes of our Common Gân initial are in direct phonemic contrast with p- (< *p-) and p'- (< *p') under the yángpíng and rú tones. This bears out our suspicion that the unknown initial was voiced and allows us reconstruct it as *b-.

With this point established, we may now return to the enigmatic configuration in Wūníng-2. Unfortunately, our source for this dialect does not provide any information on how its data were elicited. Thus, we do not know how many informants were consulted, what their ages were, or precisely where they were from. But we are nonetheless not without recourse here. For we have in hand a recent article which is specifically devoted to the problem of differing reflexes of QYS zhuó initials in Wūníng (Wáng 2010). The author finds that in the

2 Evidence of a very similar sort is found in several Gân dialects spoken northwest of the Mùfūshān range in Húběi (Huáng 1994:24, 1995:23). In these languages, all QYS zhuó stops and affricates are realized as voiceless unaspirated.
city of Wǔníng, elderly speakers among his informants usually have voiced stops and affricates, while younger speakers have plain voiceless ones. To this, we may add that Zhāng (2011:118), in a paper devoted to the wider Tōngshān dialect region, also notes that within the neighboring Wǔníng area, northern subtypes tend to have voiceless plain initials, while the central area is more likely to preserve voicing. From these facts we may derive a satisfactory solution to our original puzzle. To wit, it seems probable that, within the city of Wǔníng, there is a certain degree of dialect mixture, due both to sociolinguistic factors such as age and demographic ones such as the movement into the city from surrounding areas of speakers with different pronunciations. And, though neither of our two authorities has recorded voiceless aspirated realizations of zhuó initials, it would perhaps not be surprising if speakers with this pronunciation had found their way into the general population mix of the city.

In closing this section, it is worthwhile noting again that our data indicate for Common Gàn a three-way system of stops (and, as we shall see, affricates), i.e., voiceless plain, voiceless aspirated, and voiced. This fact, to which Wáng (2010) and Chiang (2003) have also specifically drawn attention, will in future be important for the taxonomy of the Gàn family as a whole. For, in the past, a shift of QYS zhuó stops and affricates to modern voiceless aspirates has been considered diagnostic for this family and has regularly been used to distinguish it from the Wú and the Xiāng dialects. But our current findings indicate that this characterization of Gàn lacks diachronic validity, because we must now recognize that Common Gàn actually shared with various other families the feature of a zhuó series in stops and affricates. If Gàn is to be seen as distinct, then its independent status must be based on other criteria than the behavior of the QYS zhuó class of initials.

2.1.4 CG *m-. This initial is retained in all the dialects, e.g.,

mǎi 買 QYS mai:  CDC *mai
TS [ma𝒊]; WN1 [mai]; WN2 [mai]; WN3 [mai];
TC [mai]; XZ [mai]; YX [mai]; DC1 [mai]; DC2 [mai];
AY [mai]; NC [mai]; FX [mai]; GA [mai];
CL [maei]; PX [maei]; AF1 [mai]; AF2 [mai]; LH1 [mai]; LH2 [mai]; JA1 [mai]; JA2 [mai];
SC [mai]; LnC [mai]; NnC1 [mai]; NnC2 [mai]; LC [mai]  CG *mai

mù 木 QYS muk  CDC *muk
TS [mu\1]; WN1 [mu\2]; WN2 [mu]; WN3 [mu];
TC [mo]; XZ [mu]; YX [mu]; DC1 [mu]; DC2 [mu];
AY [mu]; NC [mu]; FX [mu]; GA [mu];
CL [mu]; PX [mu]; AF1 [mo]; AF2 [mo]; LH1 [mo]; LH2 [mo]; JA1 [mo]; JA2 [mo];
SC [mu]; LnC [mu]; NnC1 [mu]; NnC2 [mu]; LC [mu]  CG *muk
Common Gàn *m- is also found in the bái readings of a number of popular words reflecting an undentalilabialized *m- opposite a literary initial zero. Two examples are:

wǎng 網 QYS mjwang: CDC *mvong⁴/EC *mangx
TS [uɔŋ⁴]; WN1 [uɔŋ¹]; WN2 [uɔŋ¹]; WN3 [uɔŋ¹];
TC [uɔŋ⁴]; XZ [uɔŋ¹]; YX [mɔŋ¹]; DC1 [——]; DC2 [uɔŋ¹];
AY [uɔŋ⁴]; NC [uɔŋ¹]; FX [uɔŋ¹]; GA [uɔŋ¹];
CL [vɔŋ⁴]; PX [mɔŋ⁴]; AF1 [mɔŋ¹]; AF2 [mɔŋ¹]; LH1 [mɔŋ⁴]; LH2 [mɔŋ¹];
JA1 [mɔŋ¹]; JA2 [uɔŋ¹];
SC [mɔŋ⁴]; Lnc [mɔŋ¹]; Nnc1 [uɔŋ¹]; Nnc2 [vɔŋ⁴]; LC [mɔŋ¹];
CG *mɔŋ⁴

wèi 味 QYS mjwei-: CDC *mvui⁶/EC *muth
TS [u̯i⁶]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [u̯i⁶];
TC [u̯i⁶]; XZ [u̯i⁶]; YX [v̯i⁶]; DC1 [——]; DC2 [u̯i⁶];
AY [u̯i⁶]; NC [u̯i⁶]; FX [u̯i⁶]; GA [u̯i⁶];
CL [v̯i⁶]; PX [u̯i⁶]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [u̯i⁶]; LH1 [u̯i⁶]; LH2 [u̯i⁶]; JA1 [uei⁶]; JA2 [u̯i⁶];
SC [——]; LnC [u̯i⁶]; Nnc1 [u̯i⁶]; Nnc2 [v̯i⁶]; LC [u̯i⁶]; CG *myi⁶

These two sets may serve as examples of our reconstructive procedure regarding variant forms that represent different lexical layers in the proto-system. In the first example, wǎng 網 “net”, competing variants are found at a number of different points. The variants, when present, show regular sound correspondences from dialect to dialect, supporting reconstructed variants in the common system. In the second example, wèi 味 “flavor”, competing variants are not present at any particular point, but two quite different forms are present in the set as a whole; and the type of variation between them is the same as that seen between the variants in the wǎng 網 set. Thus, in the first set we have reconstructed competing variant forms corresponding to the doublets in the modern dialects. In the second set we have again posited competing forms, this time because of phonetic patterning that is identical to that seen in the first set. These reconstructions, when taken together, reveal lexical layering in the system as a whole. However, in and of themselves, they tell us nothing of substance about the relative chronology of the said layers. In order to chronologize these, a procedure known as “seriation”, we must bring to bear historical information of various kinds, a task which lies beyond the immediate sphere of the dialect data per se. In the present work, we have postponed this task until Chapter VI, where it is dealt with in §6.1 and §6.2. Readers who are troubled by, or curious about, the problem of seriation in connection with particular reconstructions, may wish to jump ahead and read these two sections of Chapter VI. Once seriation has been successfully completed, and the oldest layers have been identified, it is then these that should be compared with reconstructed forms in other dialect families. If, however, we should
discover parallel earlier and later layers in other families, then this fact will convey information about possible long-term interaction and connections between the said families. This matter too will be taken up in greater detail in §6.2 of Chapter VI.

2.1.5 CG *f-. This initial remains unchanged in many dialects. In both Dūchāng varieties it is realized as ɸ-. In Wǔnìng-1, Fènxīn, and Liánhuā-1, *f- changes to h-, usually followed by a rounded vocalic element, which is almost certainly original in some finals but may or may not be so in others (see the appropriate sections in Chapter III for discussion of this question). Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fā} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{pjwot} \quad \text{CDC} \quad *\text{fat}^7 \\
\text{TS} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{WN1} \quad [\text{hwæ}]; \quad \text{WN2} \quad [\text{fe}]; \quad \text{WN3} \quad [\text{fe}]; \\
\text{TC} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{XZ} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{YX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{DC1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{DC2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{AY} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{NC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{FX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{GA} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{CL} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{PX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{AF1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{AF2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LH1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LH2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{JX} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{SC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LNC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{NnC1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{NnC2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{CG} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\end{align*}
\]

Whether medial [u] in syllables of this type is original or has arisen secondarily is uncertain. In the present study, we have chosen to restore it where it is present in the dialects. For further discussion of our decision, see §3.1.11 of Chapter III.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fàn} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{bjwot} \quad \text{CDC} \quad *\text{fù}^6 \\
\text{TS} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{WN1} \quad [\text{hwa}]; \quad \text{WN2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{WN3} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{TC} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{XZ} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{YX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{DC1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{DC2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{AY} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{NC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{FX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{GA} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{CL} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{PX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{AF1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{AF2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LH1} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{LH2} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{JX} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{JA} \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{SC} \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\text{CG} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the presence of Common Gàn final *-uŋ, Wǔnìng-2 and Wǔnìng-3 develop h-, and all three Wǔnìng varieties unround the following vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fēng} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{pjwot} \quad \text{CDC} \quad *\text{fù}^1 \\
\text{TS} & \quad [\text{fa}]; \quad \text{WN1} \quad [\text{haŋ}]; \quad \text{WN2} \quad [\text{hauŋ}]; \quad \text{WN3} \quad [\text{hauŋ}]; \\
\text{TC} & \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{XZ} \quad [\text{haŋ}]; \quad \text{YX} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{DC1} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{DC2} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \\
\text{AY} & \quad [\text{haŋ}]; \quad \text{NC} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{FX} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{GA} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \\
\text{CL} & \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{PX} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{AF1} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{AF2} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{LH1} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{LH2} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{JX} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{JA} \quad [\text{faŋ}]; \quad \text{SC} \quad [\text{haŋ}]; \\
\text{CG} & \quad [\text{faŋ}]. \\
\end{align*}
\]
In Tōngshān, there is some variation between modern f- and h- before finals ending in -ŋ.

Compare the following:

**fang 蝂 QYS bjwang** CDC *fung¹
TS [fon̩ ]; WN1 [hon̩ ]; WN2 [fon̩ ]; WN3 [fon̩ ];
TC [fon̩ ]; XZ [fon̩ ]; YX [fon̩ ]; DC1 [fʊn̩ ]; DC2 [fʊn̩ ];
AY [hən̩ ]; NC [fʊn̩ ]; FX [hʊn̩ ]; GA [ — ];
CL [fon̩ ]; PX [fon̩ ]; AF1 [fon̩ ]; AF2 [fʊn̩ ]; LH1 [fon̩ ]; LH2 [fon̩ ]; JA1 [fon̩ ]; JA2 [fʊn̩ ];
SC [hə ]; LnC [fʊn̩ ]; NnC1 [fʊn̩ ]; NnC2 [fʊn̩ ]; LC [fʊn̩ ] CG *fʊn̩ *JXY.

**fang 方 QYS pjwang** CDC *fong¹
TS [fon̩ ]; WN1 [hwən̩ ]; WN2 [fon̩ ]; WN3 [fon̩ ];
TC [fon̩ ]; XZ [fon̩ ]; YX [fon̩ ]; DC1 [fʊn̩ ]; DC2 [fʊn̩ ];
AY [fon̩ ]; NC [fon̩ ]; FX [hʊn̩ ]; GA [fon̩ ];
CL [fon̩ ]; PX [fon̩ ]; AF1 [fon̩ ]; AF2 [fon̩ ]; LH1 [hʊn̩ ]; LH2 [fon̩ ]; JA1 [fon̩ ]; JA2 [fon̩ ];
SC [hə ]; LnC [fon̩ ]; NnC1 [fon̩ ]; NnC2 [fon̩ ]; LC [fon̩ ] CG *fon̩ 

**feng 纱 QYS bjwong** CDC *fung²
TS [xon̩ ]; WN1 [xon̩ ]; WN2 [fon̩ ]; WN3 [xon̩ ];
TC [fon̩ ]; XZ [hon̩ ]; YX [fon̩ ]; DC1 [fʊn̩ ]; DC2 [fʊn̩ ];
AY [hən̩ ]; NC [fʊn̩ ]; FX [hʊn̩ ]; GA [fʊn̩ ];
CL [fon̩ ]; PX [fon̩ ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [fʊn̩ ]; LH1 [hʊn̩ ]; LH2 [fon̩ ]; JA1 [fon̩ ]; JA2 [fʊn̩ ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [fʊn̩ ]; NnC1 [fʊn̩ ]; NnC2 [fʊn̩ ]; LC [fʊn̩ ] CG *fʊn̩ 

**feng 奉 QYS bjwong:** CDC *vung⁴
TS [fon̩ ]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ — ]; WN3 [xon̩ ];
TC [fon̩ ]; XZ [ — ]; YX [ — ]; DC1 [ — ]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [hən̩ ]; NC [fʊn̩ ]; FX [hʊn̩ ]; GA [ — ];
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CL [—]; PX [fəŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [fəŋ]; JA1 [fəŋ]; JA2 [fəŋ]; SC [—]; LnC [fəŋ]; NnC1 [fəŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fəŋ] CG *fəŋ

A possibility here is that Tóngshān originally had reflexes in h- and that intrusive f- forms were then borrowed from elsewhere. More detailed study of the dialects of this area, such as that conducted by Zhāng (2011), may shed further light on this problem.

Finally, we should note the following sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>CL</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>AF2</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fϿ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[huœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fu]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>[fə]</td>
<td>[fɛ]</td>
<td>[fə]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>*feu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>*p'au</td>
<td>[p'ɛu]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>[fə]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[p'œu]</td>
<td>*feu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>[p'œu]</td>
<td>[p'œ]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[feu]</td>
<td>[fə]</td>
<td>[fœ]</td>
<td>[p'œu]</td>
<td>*feu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first variant forms in each of these sets have undentilabialized stop initials which point to an early, pre-Common Dialectal Chinese origin. There are only two examples of this type in our data. In the first case, i.e., fú 浮, it is interesting that the Jìyùn 集韻 gives a QYS reading in phəu, which seems to be connected with the Gàn form in some way. In the case of fǔ 辅, which is a rather literary word, one may wonder if a secondary reading has arisen through the influence of readings of characters such as pǔ 浦, which have the same phonetic. In any case, it is noteworthy that Sagart (2002:133–134) cites several more such undentilabialized forms from various Gàn dialects he has studied, as does Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) from several of the Jī'ān area dialects for which she plans to publish data in the near future. Such cases, which are sporadic in the material, appear to represent a fragmentary substratum that underlies a larger, more general Core Common Gàn layer of lexical material showing Common Gàn *f-. See Chapter VI, §6.2.1.1 for discussion.
2.2 The Dentals

2.2.1 CG *t-. The reconstruction of this initial, which is the dental analogue of CG *p-, is generally unproblematic. The following are example sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Example Sets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dān</td>
<td>QYS tan CDC *tan¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS [tæn¹]; WN1 [tan¹]; WN2 [tan¹]; WN3 [tan¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [tan¹]; XZ [tan¹]; YX [tan¹]; DC1 [tan¹]; DC2 [tan¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [tan¹]; NC [tan¹]; FX [tan¹]; GA [tan¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [tän¹]; PX [tän¹]; AF1 [tän¹]; AF2 [tän¹]; LH1 [tän¹]; LH2 [tän¹]; JA1 [tan¹]; JA2 [tan¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [tän¹]; LnC [tan¹]; NnC1 [tan¹]; NnC2 [tan¹]; LC [tan¹]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>di</th>
<th>QYS tiei CDC *tiai¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [tæi¹]; WN1 [tï¹]; WN2 [tï¹]; WN3 [tï¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [tï¹]; XZ [tï¹]; YX [tï¹]; DC1 [tï¹]; DC2 [tï¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [tï¹]; NC [tï¹]; FX [tï¹]; GA [tï¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [tï¹]; PX [tï¹]; AF1 [tï¹]; AF2 [tï¹]; LH1 [tï¹]; LH2 [tï¹]; JA1 [tei¹]; JA2 [tï¹];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [tï¹]; LnC [tï¹]; NnC1 [tï¹]; NnC2 [tï¹]; LC [tï¹]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 CG *t'. In the dialects of the second tier, this initial becomes d- in Tōngchéng, Xīngzǐ, and Dūchāng-1. In Yòngxǐ it yields dʰ-, while in Dūchāng-2 its modern reflex is l-. In Gāo'an, both types of Nánchéng, and both types of Liánhuā, Common Gàn *t'- becomes h- before non-high vowels, except in words of upper or literary register. This phenomenon is also seen in Jǐ'ān-1 in a small number of popular words. In Líchuan, *t' yields h- in all environments in popular words. In cases where a word has both a popular and a literary reading, Líchuan will show doublets in modern h- and t'. We may assume here that in these dialects *t' -> h- was the earlier 'native' development, while high register modern readings in t' were subsequently borrowed from elsewhere. The preceding points are illustrated in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Example Sets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tǎ</td>
<td>QYS thâp CDC *thap²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS [tʰap²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰap²]; WN3 [tʰap²];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [daʔ²]; XZ [daʔ²]; YX [dʰaʔ²]; DC1 [dat²]; DC2 [lal²];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [—]; NC [tʰal²]; FX [tʰal²]; GA [tʰal²];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [tʰa²]; PX [tʰa²]; AF1 [tʰa²]; AF2 [tʰa²]; LH1 [he²]; LH2 [tʰa²]; JA1 [he²]; JA2 [tʰa²];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [tʰa²]; LnC [tʰap²]; NnC1 [hai²]; NnC2 [hai²]; LC [hap²]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CG *t'ap
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tān :request  QYS  thám  CDC  *thom¹
TS  [tʰəŋ];  WN1  [tʰəŋ];  WN2  [tʰəŋ];  WN3  [tʰəŋ];
TC  [do];  XZ  [do];  YX  [dʰəŋ];  DC1  [dəŋ];  DC2  [ləŋ];
AY  [tʰəŋ];  NC  [tʰəŋ];  FX  [tʰəŋ];  GA  [tʰəŋ];
CL  [tʰəŋ];  PX  [tʰəŋ];  AF1  [tʰəŋ];  AF2  [tʰəŋ];  LH1  [tʰəŋ];  LH2  [əŋ];  JA1  [tʰəŋ];  JA2  [tʰəŋ];
SC  [tʰəŋ];  LN  [tʰəŋ];  NnC1  [əŋ];  NnC2  [əŋ];  LC  [əŋ]  CG  *tʰəŋ

tāng  湯  QYS  thàng  CDC  *thong¹
TS  [tʰəŋ];  WN1  [tʰəŋ];  WN2  [tʰəŋ];  WN3  [tʰəŋ];
TC  [do];  XZ  [do];  YX  [dʰəŋ];  DC1  [dəŋ];  DC2  [ləŋ];
AY  [tʰəŋ];  NC  [tʰəŋ];  FX  [tʰəŋ];  GA  [tʰəŋ];
CL  [tʰəŋ];  PX  [tʰəŋ];  AF1  [tʰəŋ];  AF2  [tʰəŋ];  LH1  [həŋ];  LH2  [həŋ];  JA1  [tʰəŋ];  JA2  [tʰəŋ];
SC  [tʰəŋ];  LN  [tʰəŋ];  NnC1  [hąŋ];  NnC2  [həŋ];  LC  [həŋ]  CG  *tʰəŋ

tūn  吞 QYS  thun  CDC  *then¹
TS  [tʰəŋ];  WN1  [tʰəŋ];  WN2  [tʰəŋ];  WN3  [tʰəŋ];
TC  [do];  XZ  [do];  YX  [dʰəŋ];  DC1  [dəŋ];  DC2  [ləŋ];
AY  [tʰəŋ];  NC  [tʰəŋ];  FX  [tʰəŋ];  GA  [tʰəŋ];
CL  [tʰəŋ];  PX  [tʰəŋ];  AF1  [tʰəŋ];  AF2  [tʰəŋ];  LH1  [həŋ];  LH2  [həŋ];  JA1  [tʰəŋ];  JA2  [tʰəŋ];
SC  [tʰəŋ];  LN  [tʰəŋ];  NnC1  [həŋ];  NnC2  [həŋ];  LC  [həŋ]  CG  *tʰəŋ

tō̂ng  吞 QYS  thun  CDC  *thug¹
TS  [tʰəŋ];  WN1  [tʰəŋ];  WN2  [tʰəŋ];  WN3  [tʰəŋ];
TC  [do];  XZ  [do];  YX  [dʰəŋ];  DC1  [dəŋ];  DC2  [ləŋ];
AY  [tʰəŋ];  NC  [tʰəŋ];  FX  [tʰəŋ];  GA  [tʰəŋ];
CL  [tʰəŋ];  PX  [tʰəŋ];  AF1  [tʰəŋ];  AF2  [tʰəŋ];  LH1  [həŋ];  LH2  [həŋ];  JA1  [tʰəŋ];  JA2  [tʰəŋ];
SC  [tʰəŋ];  LN  [tʰəŋ];  NnC1  [həŋ];  NnC2  [həŋ];  LC  [həŋ]  CG  *tʰəŋ
Examples having the vowel -i-, which do not show the special developments outlined above, are of the following type:

tí 體 QYS thiei: CDC *thiai³
TS [t'æi³ ]; WN1 [thi阴上 ]; WN2 [tʰi阴上 ]; WN3 [tʰi阴上 ];
TC [di阴平 ]; XZ [di阴平 ]; YX [dʰi阴平 ]; DC1 [— ]; DC2 [li阴上 ];
AY [li阴上 ]; NC [tʰi阴上 ]; FX [tʰi阴上 ]; GA [tʰi阴上 ];
CL [tʰi阴上 ]; PX [tʰi阴上 ]; AF1 [tʰi阴上 ]; AF2 [tʰi阴上 ]; LH1 [tʰi阴上 ]; LH2 [tʰi阴上 ]; JA1 [tʰi阴上 ]; JA2 [tʰi阴上 ];
SC [tʰi阴上 ]; LnC [tʰi阴上 ]; NnC1 [tʰi阴上 ]; NnC2 [tʰi阴上 ]; LC [tʰi阴上 ~ hi阴上 ] CG *tʰi阴上

The final of the WN1 form is irregular.

ti 替 QYS thiei- CDC *thiai⁵
TS [t'æi ]; WN1 [thy阴去 ]; WN2 [— ]; WN3 [tʰi阴去 ];
TC [di阴去 ]; XZ [di阴去 ]; YX [dʰi阴去 ]; DC1 [— ]; DC2 [li阴去 ];
AY [li阴去 ]; NC [tʰi阴去 ]; FX [tʰi阴去 ]; GA [hai阴去 ];
CL [tʰi阴去 ]; PX [tʰi阴去 ]; AF1 [— ]; AF2 [tʰi阴去 ]; LH1 [tʰi阴去 ]; LH2 [tʰi阴去 ]; JA1 [tʰi阴去 ]; JA2 [tʰi阴去 ];
SC [— ]; LnC [tʰi阴去 ]; NnC1 [tʰi阴去 ]; NnC2 [tʰi阴去 ]; LC [tʰi阴去 ~ hi阴上 ] CG *tʰi阴去 (~ t'ei阴去 )

The final of the WN1 form is irregular.

2.2.3 CG *d-. As was the case with Common Gàn *b-, Wūning-3 preserves original *d-intact except under the yángqù tone, where it yields modern t-. There is, however, one curious exception to this. In the presence of Common Gàn final *-oi, devoicing under the yángqù tone fails in Wūning-3, and the Common Gàn configuration is preserved entirely intact. Elsewhere, in Tōngshān and Wūning-1 the regular reflex is t-, while Wūning-2 shows a mixture of forms in t-, tʰ-, and d-, parallel to the amorphous configuration observed earlier for the reflexes of *b- in this dialect. In the second tier dialects, the reflexes of *d- are precisely the same as those observed for *t- in the preceding section, and the same parallelism is found in the remaining dialects, where reflexes in modern t- and h- are variously observed. That h- is thusly found as a reflex of *d- as well as *t- suggests that in the pertinent dialects *d-originally first merged with *t- and then moved on to h- where the appropriate conditioning factors and circumstances were present. The following examples illustrate all these points:
The tone of the AF2 form is irregular.

Informant vacillates between dental and retroflex before -i.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

*Informant oscillates between dental and retroflex before -i.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.
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AY [tʰan]; NC [tʰun]; FX [tʰun]; GA [tʰun];
CL [tʰan]; PX [tʰan]; AF1 [tʰan]; AF2 [tʰan]; LH1 [tʰan ~ hən ~ hən]; LH2 [hən]; JA1 [tʰan]; JA2 [tʰun];
SC [tʰan]; LNc [tʰun]; NnC1 [tʰun]; NnC2 [tʰun ~ hən]; LC [tʰun ~ hən]
CG *duŋ

The tone of the AF2 form is irregular. Those of the DC2 and the NnC2 bái forms are, on the other hand regular and are diagnostic for an earlier Common Gàn yángshǎng tone. Dual reconstructions are set up because forms such as the NnC1 yángqù form and the NnC2 wén form suggest both yángshǎng and yángqù readings existed in competition in the proto-language. For detailed discussion, see Chapter VI, §6.2.3.2.

tóu 頭 QYS āu; CDC *deu²
TS [tʰəu]; WC1 [tʰəu]; WC2 [tʰəu]; WC3 [tʰəu];
TC [tʰəu]; XZ [tʰəu]; YX [tʰəu]; DC1 [tʰəu]; DC2 [tʰəu];
AY [tʰəu]; NC [tʰəu]; FX [tʰəu]; GA [tʰəu];
CL [tʰəu]; PX [tʰəu]; AF1 [tʰəu]; AF2 [tʰəu]; LH1 [tʰəu]; LH2 [tʰəu]; JA1 [tʰəu ~ həu]; JA2 [tʰəu];
SC [tʰəu]; LNc [tʰəu]; NnC1 [tʰəu]; NnC2 [tʰəu]; LC [tʰəu]
CG *deu

tuán 団 QYS āu; CDC *don²
TS [tʰəu]; WC1 [tʰəu]; WC2 [tʰəu]; WC3 [tʰəu];
TC [tʰəu]; XZ [tʰəu]; YX [tʰəu]; DC1 [tʰəu]; DC2 [tʰəu];
AY [tʰəu]; NC [tʰəu]; FX [tʰəu]; GA [tʰəu];
CL [tʰəu]; PX [tʰəu]; AF1 [tʰəu]; AF2 [tʰəu]; LH1 [tʰəu]; LH2 [tʰəu]; JA1 [tʰəu]; JA2 [tʰəu];
SC [tʰəu]; LNc [tʰəu]; NnC1 [tʰəu]; NnC2 [tʰəu]; LC [tʰəu]
CG *don

The NnC2 and LC wén forms appear to be post-Common Gàn loans from some other Gàn dialect, such as that of Nánchāng.

2.2.4 CG *n-. This initial develops in intricate ways in the dialects, depending on the elements that follow it. To begin, when followed by vowels other than -i- it is retained as such in Tōngshān, Tōngchéng, Xīngzī, Dūchāng, Jīān, and Nánchāng. In Liánhū it is retained in nasal final syllables but becomes l- elsewhere. In Líchuān it is retained except before the vowel -u-, where it becomes l-. In the remaining dialects it uniformly becomes l-. These points are illustrated in the following examples:
nán 難 QYS nān; CDC *nan²
TS [nān]; WC1 [nān]; WC2 [nān]; WC3 [nān];

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TC [nan]; XZ [nan]; YX [lan]; DC1 [nan]; DC2 [nan];
AY [lan]; NC [lan]; FX [lan]; GA [lan];
CL [lã]; PX [lã]; AF1 [lã]; AF2 [lã]; LH1 [nã]; LH2 [nan]; JA1 [nan];
JA2 [nan];
SC [lãn]; LnC [lan]; NnC1 [nan]; NnC2 [nan]; LC [nan] CG *nan

The tone of the LH2 form is irregular for the sense “difficult”.

The first form appears to represent a native, or at least very old, Gàn etymon, while the second, whose tone agrees with the QYS reading, must be an importation. The third form, whose reconstruction is problematic, is unique and may in fact represent an entirely different etymon from that embodied in the first two forms.

nà 拿 QYS na (CDC *na)
TS [na]; WN1 [lon]; WN2 [lon]; WN3 [lon];
TC [na]; XZ [na]; YX [la]; DC1 [na] DC2 [na];
AY [la]; NC [la]; FX [la]; GA [la];
CL [la]; PX [la]; AF1 [la]; AF2 [la]; LH1 [la] LH2 [la]; JA1 [na];
JA2 [na];
SC [la]; LnC [la]; NnC1 [na]; NnC2 [na]; LC [na] CG *na (~ *nak?)

ná 納 QYS ná (CDC *na)
TS [ná]; WN1 [lon]; WN2 [lon]; WN3 [lon];
TC [na]; XZ [na]; YX [la]; DC1 [na] DC2 [na];
AY [la]; NC [la]; FX [la]; GA [la];
CL [la]; PX [la]; AF1 [la]; AF2 [la]; LH1 [la] LH2 [la]; JA1 [na];
JA2 [na];
SC [la]; LnC [la]; NnC1 [na]; NnC2 [na]; LC [na] CG *na (~ *nap?)

nú 奴 QYS nü CDC *nu
TS [nu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lu]; WN3 [lu];
TC [nu]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nu]; DC2 [—];
AY [lu]; NC [lu]; FX [lu]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lu]; AF1 [lu]; AF2 [lu]; LH1 [lu*]; LH2 [lu*]; JA1 [lu ]; JA2 [nu ]; SC [lu]; LnC [lu ]; NnC1 [nu ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lu*] CG *nu *JXY.

In complex syllables whose finals have the medial vowel -i- as onset followed by other elements, *n- is retained unchanged in Dūchāng-1, Ānfū-2, Jīān-1, and Nánchéng-1. In both Liánhuā varieties it is lost in this environment in native words, but in loans of literary register it appears as ni-. This is because such borrowings postdate and therefore escape the native loss of the initial. In Gǎoán *n- is lost entirely in this environment. In the remaining dialects, it uniformly becomes ni-. These developments are illustrated in the following examples:

nián 年 QYS nien CDC *nian²
TS [niè ]; WN1 [nien ]; WN2 [nien ]; WN3 [nien ];
TC [nien ]; XZ [nien ]; YX [nien ]; DC1 [nien ]; DC2 [nien ];
AY [nien ]; NC [nien ]; FX [—]; GA [ien ];
CL [nè ]; PX [nè ]; AF1 [nè ]; AF2 [nè ]; LH1 [iè ]; LH2 [iè ]; JA1 [nien ]; JA2 [nian ];
SC [niè ]; LnC [nien ]; NnC1 [— ]; NnC2 [nian ]; LC [nien ] CG *nien

niáng 娘 QYS njang CDC *niong²
TS [niøŋ ]; WN1 [niøŋ ]; WN2 [niøŋ ]; WN3 [niøŋ ];
TC [niøŋ ]; XZ [niøŋ ]; YX [niøŋ ]; DC1 [niøŋ ]; DC2 [niøŋ ];
AY [niøŋ ]; NC [niøŋ ]; FX [niøŋ ]; GA [iø ];
CL [niø ]; PX [niø ]; AF1 [niø ]; AF2 [niø ]; LH1 [iø ]; LH2 [iø ]; JA1 [niø ]; JA2 [niø ];
SC [niø ]; LnC [niø ]; NnC1 [nø ]; NnC2 [nø ]; LC [niø ] CG *niong

niào 尿 QYS nieu- CDC *niau⁶
TS [niuai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [niuai]; WN3 [niuai];
TC [niuai ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nieu ]; DC2 [niuai ];
AY [niuai ]; NC [nieu ]; FX [niuai ]; GA [—];
CL [nä ]; PX [niuai ]; AF1 [niuai ]; AF2 [niuai ]; LH1 [iau ]; LH2 [iau ]; JA1 [niuai ]; JA2 [niuai ];
SC [niuai ]; LnC [niuai ]; NnC1 [niau ]; NnC2 [niau ]; LC [niau ] CG *niau *JXY.

The TS bài form is a different etymon from that found elsewhere in the set. It may be related in some way to the form suī “urine”, which is found in various dialect families. In Nánchéng,
Common Gân final *-iau looses its medial in the popular layer. The wén form, which is borrowed, retains the medial.

In syllables having the simple final *-i, the correspondence pattern is slightly different from the above. Here, Gāo’an, Ānfù-1, both Liànhuá varieties, and Jiān-1 have l-. Tōngchéng, on the other hand, develops ŋ-. The following are examples:

### ni 泥

- QYS: nǐ
- CDC: *niɛ²
- TS: [nǐ]
- WN1: [-]
- WN2: [ni²] 陽平
- WN3: [nǐ] 陽平
- TC: [nǐ] 陽平
- XZ: [nǐ] 陽平
- YX: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC1: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC2: [nǐ] 陽平
- AY: [nǐ]
- NC: [nǐ] 陽平
- FX: [nǐ] 陽平
- GA: [lai²]
- CL: [nǐ]
- PX: [nǐ]
- AF1: [nǐ]
- AF2: [nǐ] 陽平
- LH1: [lǐ]
- LH2: [lǐ] 陽平
- JA1: [něi²]
- JA2: [nǐ]
- SC: [nǐ]
- LnC: [-]
- NnC1: [nǐ]
- NnC2: [nǐ]
- LC: [nǐ] 陽平

(Note here that the Jiān-1 form derives from Common Gân *nǐ rather than *ni 陽平.)

### nǐ 尼

- QYS: nǐ
- CDC: *ni²
- TS: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN1: [—]
- WN2: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN3: [nǐ] 陽平
- TC: [nǐ] 陽平
- XZ: [—]
- YX: [—]
- DC1: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC2: [—]
- AY: [—]
- NC: [nǐ] 陽平
- FX: [nǐ] 陽平
- GA: [—]
- CL: [—]
- PX: [nǐ]
- AF1: [nǐ]
- AF2: [lǐ] 陽平
- LH1: [lǐ]
- LH2: [lǐ] 陽平
- JA1: [lǐ]
- JA2: [nǐ]
- SC: [—]
- LnC: [nǐ]
- NnC1: [nǐ]
- NnC2: [nǐ]
- LC: [nǐ] 陽平

It is noteworthy that Tōngchéng also shows this development in the following set:

### ni 润

- QYS: nǐ
- CDC: *niɛ⁸ (~ *nik⁸ ?)
- TS: [—]
- WN1: [—]
- WN2: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN3: [nǐ] 陽平
- TC: [nǐ] 陽平
- XZ: [—]
- YX: [—]
- DC1: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC2: [—]
- AY: [—]
- NC: [nǐ] 陽平
- FX: [nǐ] 陽平
- GA: [—]
- CL: [—]
- PX: [—]
- AF1: [—]
- AF2: [—]
- LH1: [—]
- LH2: [—]
- JA1: [—]
- JA2: [—]
- SC: [—]
- LnC: [nǐ] 陽平
- NnC1: [nǐ] 陽平
- NnC2: [—]
- LC: [—]

However, in loans of literary register, the Tōngchéng shift to ŋ- does not occur, presumably because the borrowings have postdated and escaped it. The following illustrates this:

### nǐ 你

- QYS: nǐ
- CDC: *niɛ⁴
- TS: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN1: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN2: [nǐ] 陽平
- WN3: [nǐ] 陽平
- TC: [nǐ] 陽平
- XZ: [nǐ] 陽平
- YX: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC1: [nǐ] 陽平
- DC2: [nǐ] 陽平

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AY [lĩ̯ 上文 ~ n̄ 阳去]; NC [ŋ̃ 上文 ~ n̄ 阳上]; FX [ŋ̃ 上]; GA [ŋ̃ 阴去]; CL [ŋ̃ 阳平]; PX [hɛ̃ 去 ~ n̄ 阳上]; AF1 [ŋ̃ 阳上]; AF2 [n̄ 阳下]; LH1 [ŋ̃ 阴平]; LH2 [in 上]; JA1 [ni 上]; JA2 [n̄ 阳平]; SC [ŋ̃ 阳平]; LnC [li 上文]; NnC1 [ni 上 ~ ne 上]; NnC2 [n̄ 上]; LC [n̄ 上];  CG *nie (Tone ?) ~ *ni 阳上;

Syllabic nasal forms, together with those ending in modern -e, -ẽ, and -ĩ, derive from a Common Gàn 汝 *nie, whose tone is indeterminate. Other forms derive from 你 *ni 阳上, which was borrowed from some late r, probably northern, source. The PX form hɛ̃ 去 and the LH2 form are of uncertain origin. Certain forms in this set, both bái and wén, point to earlier píngshēng or qūshēng readings. Their origins are obscure.

In this example, the Tōngchéng form [ni 上文] is a literary word rather than the popular register Gàn second person pronoun used in actual speech.

Finally, in the word for “female; daughter”, which has a unique syllabic shape, the correspondence pattern for *n- is in its own right also unique:

nǚ 女 QYS ɲjwo: CDC *nie⁴ (~ *niu³)
TS [ɲ̃]; WN1 [ɲ̃]; WN2 [ɲ̃]; WN3 [ɲ̃];
TC [ɲ̃]; XZ [ɲ̃]; YX [ɲ̃]; DC1 [ɲ̃]; DC2 [ɲ̃];
AY [ɲ̃]; NC [ɲ̃ ~ ɲn̄]; FX [ɲ̃]; GA [ɲ̃];
CL [ɲ̃]; PX [ɲ̃ 阳平]; AF1 [ɲ̃ 阴上]; AF2 [ɲ̃ 阴上]; LH1 [ɲ̃ 阴平]; LH2 [ɲ̃ 阴平]; JA1 [ɲ̃]; JA2 [ɲ̃];
SC [ɲ̃ 阳平]; LnC [ɲ̃ 上 ~ ɲie 上白]; NnC1 [ɲ̃ 阳上 ~ ɲie 上]; NnC2 [ɲ̃ 阳上 ~ ɲie 上]; LC [ɲ̃ 阳上 ~ ɲie 上];

*Sense of “daughter”.

This set is particularly complex, in that it comprises early popular and late loan layers. On the development of the relevant finals, see §3.3.1 and §3.6.1 in Chapter III below.

2.2.5 CG *l-. This initial, like Common Gàn *n-, undergoes various different developments depending on the elements that follow it. Before non-high-front vowels, its reflex in Tōngchéng is n-. In the same environment, but when the final additionally ends in a nasal, both Liánhúā varieties also develop n-. All other dialects consistently preserve *l- in both these environments. These points are illustrated in the following examples:

lǎo 老 QYS ɿâu: CDC *lou⁴
TS [lau]; WN1 [lau]; WN2 [lau]; WN3 [lau];
TC [nau]; XZ [lau]; YX [lau]; DC1 [lau]; DC2 [lau];
AY [lau]; NC [lau ~ ɲn̄]; FX [lau]; GA [lau];
CL [lau]; PX [lau]; AF1 [lau 阴上]; AF2 [lau 阴上]; LH1 [lau 阴平]; LH2 [lau 阴平]; JA1 [lau 阴平]; JA2 [lau];
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SC [lau]; LnC [lau]; NnC1 [lou]; NnC2 [lou]; LC [lou] CG *lou

láng 郎 QYS lâng CDC *long

TS [loŋ]; WN1 [loŋ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [loŋ];
TC [noŋ]; XZ [loŋ]; YX [loŋ]; DC1 [loŋ]; DC2 [loŋ1];
AY [loŋ]; NC [loŋ]; FX [loŋ]; GA [loŋ];
CL [loŋ]; PX [loŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [loŋ]; LH1 [nɔŋ]; LH2 [nɔŋ]; JA1 [loŋ];
JA2 [loŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [loŋ]; NnC1 [loŋ]; NnC2 [loŋ]; LC [loŋ] CG *loŋ

Before finals having the vowels -i- and -y- as onsets, five different correspondence patterns can be identified, each of which we shall now examine. The first pattern is found in syllables with either the absolute final -i, or the vowel -i- followed by a Common Gàn stop. In this pattern, *l- becomes d- in Tōngchéng, Xīngzī, and Dūchāng-1, while yielding t- in the entire fifth tier of dialects, i.e., Suìchān, Línnchān, both Nánchéng types, and Líchuān. The remaining points normally retain *l- unchanged, but Ānfú (types 1 or 2) occasionally have t-instead. The following exemplify this:

li 梨 QYS lji CDC *li

TS [di]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [li]; WN3 [li];
TC [li]; XZ [li]; YX [li]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [li1];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
CL [li]; PX [li]; AF1 [li]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [li];
JA2 [li];
SC [li]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [li]; NnC2 [li]; LC [li] CG *li

The tone of the JA1 form is irregular.

We may note in particular the following example:

lì 力 QYS ljì: CDC *lik

TS [læi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [li]; WN3 [li];
TC [li]; XZ [li]; YX [li]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [li];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
CL [li]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ti]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [li];
JA2 [li];
SC [li]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [li]; NnC2 [li]; LC [li] CG *li

The tone of the JA1 form is irregular.

We may note in particular the following example:
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AY [li²]; NC [li³]; FX [li³]; GA [li³];
CL [li¹]; PX [li²]; AF1 [tie²]; AF2 [lie³]; LH1 [lie³]; LH2 [lie³]; JA1 [lei¹ ~ tie³];
JA2 [li³];
SC [tie³]; LnC [ti³]; NnC1 [ti³]; NnC2 [ti³]; LC [ti³] CG *lik³

In this set, Anfú-1 shows a reading in initial t-. But of even more interest is JA1, which has variant readings in l- and t-. This suggests that competing variants were present in this dialect, and the same was probably also true in AF1 and AF2, accounting for the variation between l- and t- there. In fact, in the course of our work we shall find that there appears to be considerable mixing and exchange of lexical material in what we may call a “greater Jī‘ān area”, which includes not only Jī‘ān and its environs but also Liánhū and Suíchuān. These places are found in a system of interconnected valleys, with their nucleus at the town of Jī‘ān itself, which probably ensured trade and other contacts, leading to linguistic interaction (Chāng Méixiāng, p.c.).

The second pattern is found in sets whose members have Common Gàn final *-y, and perhaps also *-yt. It differs from the first pattern only in that Suíchuān will normally have initial l- rather than t-. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ëú 驫</th>
<th>QYS ljwo</th>
<th>CDC *lie² (~ *liu³)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[lou¹]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>[ly 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[li 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>[di 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[li 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[li 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[li 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>[li 陰平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF1</td>
<td>[ly 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF2</td>
<td>[lu 陰平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1</td>
<td>[ly 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH2</td>
<td>[lu 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[ly 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[ly 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[luei¹]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LnC</td>
<td>[tyt 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[ty 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>[ty 陰平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>*ly 陽平 ~ *lu 陽平</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JXFY.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the TC form has initial n- because it derives from Common Gàn *lu 陽平 rather than *ly 陽平.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ëú 驫</th>
<th>QYS ljwet</th>
<th>CDC *liut⁸</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[læi¹]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>[li²]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[di 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>[di 陽平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>[li³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF1</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF2</td>
<td>[lo 陰平]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1</td>
<td>[lie³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH2</td>
<td>[lie³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[lo 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[—]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LnC</td>
<td>[ty 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[ty 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>[ty 陰入]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>[toi³]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>*lyt 陰入</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The DC1 final is irregular. The expected coda would be -t.

Here, since no Suíchuān form is available in our source, we cannot be certain of the fate of *l- in this environment. In Suíchuān field data kindly made available to us by Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.), the reading for this word is [lio³].
Also perhaps to be included here is the following word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC *liok⁸</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lüè</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TS [liø⁹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liok⁸];
TC [dio⁷]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [diok⁸]; DC2 [—];
AY [liø⁹]; NC [liok⁸]; FX [liø⁹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [liø⁹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lio⁹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [li⁸]; JA1 [li⁸]; JA2 [li⁸];
SC [—]; LnC [liø⁹]; NnC1 [liø⁹]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lio⁹] CG *liok⁸ *liok⁸

The matter is uncertain, since we have no Suìchuān form. The word could also presumably be assigned to pattern one.

In the third pattern, the Ānyí reflex of *l- is consistently the aspirated initial t'-. Suìchuān may have either l- or t- perhaps due to the contact-induced mixing of lexical material alluded to above. Syllables that take this pattern have the Common Gàn finals *-im, *-iu, *-iuk, and *-iet. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC *lim²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lín</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TS [lin¹]; WN1 [lin¹]; WN2 [lin¹]; WN3 [lin¹];
TC [din¹]; XZ [lin¹]; YX [lin¹]; DC1 [lin¹]; DC2 [lin¹];
AY [t’im ]; NC [lin¹]; FX [liam]; GA [lin¹];
CL [li¹]; PX [lin¹]; AF1 [lin¹]; AF2 [lin¹]; LH1 [li¹]; LH2 [li¹]; JA1 [lin¹];
JA2 [lin¹];
SC [lin¹]; LnC [tim ]; NnC1 [tin ]; NnC2 [tin ]; LC [tim ] CG *lim

The XZ tone is irregular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC *lim²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lín</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TS [lin¹]; WN1 [lin¹]; WN2 [lin¹]; WN3 [lin¹];
TC [din¹]; XZ [lin¹]; YX [lin¹]; DC1 [din¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [t’im ]; NC [lin¹]; FX [liam]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lin¹]; AF1 [lin¹]; AF2 [lin¹]; LH1 [li¹]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [lin¹];
JA2 [lin¹];
SC [lin¹]; LnC [tim ]; NnC1 [tin ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tim ] CG *lim

*JXFY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC *liu²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liú</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TS [liu¹]; WN1 [liu¹]; WN2 [liu¹]; WN3 [liu¹];
TC [diou⁷]; XZ [diu⁷]; YX [liu¹]; DC1 [diu⁷]; DC2 [liu¹];
AY [t’iu¹]; NC [liu¹]; FX [liou¹]; GA [—];
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The fourth pattern is very similar to the third, except that either or both Liánhuā varieties usually have initial n- rather than l-. This pattern occurs before the Common Gàn finals *-ien, *-ioŋ, and *iaŋ, and perhaps *-iŋ. Examples are:

lián 连 QYS lían CDC *lian²
TS [liən ]; WN1 [− ]; WN2 [liən ]; WN3 [liən ];
TC [diən ]; XZ [diən ]; YX [liən ]; DC1 [diən ]; DC2 [liən ];
AY [t′iən ]; NC [liən ]; FX [liən ]; GA [liən ];
CL [liən ]; PX [liən ]; AF1 [liən ]; AF2 [liən ]; LH1 [liən ]; LH2 [liən ]; JA1 [liən ];
JA2 [liən ];
SC [− ]; LnC [tiən ]; NnC1 [tiən ]; NnC2 [tiən ]; LC [tiən ] CG *liu²

liè 裂 QYS liè CDC *liet⁸
TS [liet ]; WN1 [− ]; WN2 [liet ]; WN3 [liet ];
TC [diən ]; XZ [diən ]; YX [liən ]; DC1 [diən ]; DC2 [liən ];
AY [t′iən ]; NC [liən ]; FX [liən ]; GA [liən ];
CL [liən ]; PX [liən ]; AF1 [liən ]; AF2 [liən ]; LH1 [liən ]; LH2 [liən ]; JA1 [liən ];
JA2 [liən ];
SC [− ]; LnC [tiən ]; NnC1 [tiən ]; NnC2 [tiən ]; LC [tiən ] CG *liu⁸ ~ *liuk⁸

Châng’s Suichüan reading for this word is [lięʔ¹] (Châng Méixiāng, p.c.).
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SC [liēn]; LnC [tiēn]; NnC1 [tiān]; NnC2 [tiān]; LC [tiēn] CG *liēn

liāng 兩 QYS ljāng: CDC *liang

The fifth and final pattern occurs exclusively before Common Gàn *-iau and is unique in that in this environment *l- becomes *n- in Tōngchéng. Examples are:

liáu 燎 QYS ljāu CDC *liau

The AF2 tone is irregular.

liāo 燕 QYS liāu: CDC *liau

The SC tone is probably a misprint in the source for yángshǎng.

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In closing this section we may note the following example, which fits none of the above patterns and has dental stops for *l- in dialects that do not otherwise exhibit this phenomenon.

| li粒 QYS ljäp CDC *lip⁸ |
|---|---|
| TS [tæi¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lit]; |
| TC [diʔ]; XZ [diʔ]; YX [dᵢʔ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [liʔ]; |
| AY [—]; NC [t'it]; FX [liæp]; GA [li]; |
| CL [li ]; PX [li̯]; AF1 [tiæ]; AF2 [ti]; LH1 [ti*]; LH2 [ti*]; JA1 [tie]; JA2 [li ]; |
| SC [ti]; LnC [tiæ]; NnC1 [ti]; NnC2 [ti]; LC [—] CG *lip; |

*JXFY: [lie].

The second and third LnC forms are irregular.

As a solitary example, this set remains anomalous. It does, however, lead us to wonder whether at some time in the past the shift of earlier *l- to dental stops was more widespread in the Gàn-speaking area than current evidence would indicate. If that were the case, then one would have to assume that this type of language was ultimately replaced in many parts of the area by the spread of other speech types that have retained lateral initials where the hypothetical original type developed dental stops. Such a scenario might ultimately account for what appears to be the sporadic appearance of dental stops in certain of our sample dialects.

2.3 The Sibilants

2.3.1 CG *ts-. This initial undergoes palatalization before high front vowels in many dialects but is well maintained in a number of others. In Linchuān modern reflexes of Common Gàn sibilants in this environment may be either dental or palatal. The reason for this vacillation is that according to its author the data in the source derive from several different informants whose pronunciations differed on this point.

| jiē 接 QYS tsjäp CDC *tsiap⁷ |
|---|---|
| TS [ts]; WN1 [teje ]; WN2 [teie ]; WN3 [teiet ]; |
| TC [teie ]; XZ [teie ]; YX [teie ]; DC1 [teiet ]; DC2 [tsiel ]; |
| AY [teiet ]; NC [teiet ]; FX [teiet ]; GA [tsiel ]; |
| CL [teie ]; PX [teie ]; AF1 [teie ]; AF2 [teie ]; LH1 [teie ]; LH2 [teie ]; JA1 [tie]; JA2 [tie ]; |
| SC [teie ]; LnC [teie ]; NnC1 [teie ]; NnC2 [teie ]; LC [teiap] CG *tsiep; |

*JXFY: [tei].

| jīng 精 QYS tsjäŋ CDC *tsiang¹ |
|---|---|
| TS [tsin]; WN1 [tejär ]; WN2 [tein ]; WN3 [tein ]; |

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TC [tei¹]; XZ [tsin¹ ~ tsiá̋]; YX [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; DC1 [tsin¹ ~ tsiá̋]; DC2 [tsin¹ ~ tsiá̋]; AY [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; NC [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; FX [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; GA [tsiá̋]; CL [tsiá̋]; PX [tsiá̋]; AF1 [tei¹]; AF2 [tei¹]; LH1 [tsiá̋ ~ tsiá̋]; LH2 [tsiá̋ ~ tsiá̋]; JA1 [tsiá̋]; JA2 [tei¹]; SC [tsiá̋]; LnC [tsiá̋ ~ tsiá̋]; NnC1 [tei¹]; NnC2 [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; LC [tei¹ ~ tsiá̋]; GA [tsiá̋]; JC *tsią̋ ~ *tsiá̋

The initial of the AF2 form is irregular. We should expect no aspiration.

In other environments *ts- is normally maintained in all dialects, e.g.,

zui 酔 QYS tswi- CDC *tsui⁵
TS [ts weaponry]; WN1 [tse⁵]; WN2 [tse⁸]; WN3 [tse⁵]; TC [tei¹]; XZ [tsai¹]; YX [tei¹]; DC1 [tsai¹]; DC2 [tsai¹]; AY [tei¹]; NC [tsai¹]; FX [tsai¹]; GA [tsai¹]; CL [tsai¹]; PX [tsai¹]; AF1 [tsai¹]; AF2 [tsai¹]; LH1 [tsui¹]; LH2 [tsui¹]; JA1 [tsui¹]; JA2 [tsai¹]; SC [tsai¹]; LnC [tsai¹]; NnC1 [tei¹]; NnC2 [tei¹]; LC [tei¹] CG *tsyi²

The initial of the AF2 form is irregular. We should expect no aspiration.

zāo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou³
TS [tsou³]; WN1 [tsou³]; WN2 [tsou³]; WN3 [tsou³]; TC [tsou³]; XZ [tsau³]; YX [tsau³]; DC1 [tsou³]; DC2 [tsou³]; AY [tsou³]; NC [tsou³]; FX [tsou³]; GA [tsou³]; CL [tsou³]; PX [tsou³]; AF1 [tsou³]; AF2 [tsou³]; LH1 [tsou³]; LH2 [tsou³]; JA1 [tsou³]; JA2 [tsou³]; SC [tsou³]; LnC [tsou³]; NnC1 [tsou³]; NnC2 [tsou³]; LC [tsou³] CG *tsou⁴

zǐ 子 QYS tsǐ: CDC *tsi³
TS [tsi³]; WN1 [tsi³]; WN2 [tsi³]; WN3 [tsi³]; TC [tsi³]; XZ [tsi³]; YX [tsi³]; DC1 [tsi³]; DC2 [tsi³]; AY [tsi³]; NC [tsi³]; FX [tsi³]; GA [tsi³]; CL [tsi³]; PX [tsi³]; AF1 [tsi³]; AF2 [tsi³]; LH1 [tsi³]; LH2 [tsi³]; JA1 [tsi³]; JA2 [tsi³]; SC [tsi³]; LnC [tsi³]; NnC1 [tsi³]; NnC2 [tsi³]; LC [tsi³] CG tsǐ³

zōng 宗 QYS tsuông CDC *tsung¹
TS [tsuông¹]; WN1 [tsuông¹]; WN2 [tsuông¹]; WN3 [tsuông¹]; TC [tsuông¹]; XZ [tsuông¹]; YX [tsuông¹]; DC1 [tsuông¹]; DC2 [tsuông¹]; AY [tsuông¹]; NC [tsuông¹]; FX [tsuông¹]; GA [tsuông¹];
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However, it is noteworthy that, if a particular Common Gàn final evolves in such a way as to produce a high front onset, as does happen in certain instances, this re-formed final will induce palatalization of the initial in the palatalizing dialects, e.g.,

zǒu 走 QYS tsəu: CDC *tseu
TS [tsəu]; WN1 [tɕiau]; WN2 [tɕiau]; WN3 [teiu];
TC [tsəu]; XZ [tɕiu]; YX [tɕiu]; DC1 [tɕiu]; DC2 [tɕiu]
AY [tɕəu]; NC [tɕəu]; FX [tɕəu]; GA [tɕəu];
CL [tɕəu]; PX [tɕəu]; AF1 [tɕəu]; AF2 [tɕəu]; LH1 [tɕəu]; LH2 [tɕəu]; JA1 [tɕəu]; JA2 [tɕəu];
SC [tɕəu]; LnC [tɕəu]; NnC1 [tɕəu]; NnC2 [tɕəu]; LC [tɕəu] CG *tseu

zūn 尊 QYS tsən CDC *tsun
TS [tsən]; WN1 [tɕən]; WN2 [tɕən]; WN3 [tɕən];
TC [tɕən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tɕən]; DC2 [tɕən];
AY [tɕən]; NC [tɕən]; FX [tɕən]; GA [—];
CL [tɕən]; PX [tɕən]; AF1 [tɕən]; AF2 [tɕən]; LH1 [tɕən]; LH2 [tɕən]; JA1 [tɕən]; JA2 [tɕən];
SC [tɕən]; LnC [tɕən]; NnC1 [tɕən]; NnC2 [tɕən]; LC [tɕən] CG *tseu

We shall refer to this phenomenon as “secondary palatalization” to distinguish it from changes induced directly by inherited Common Gàn features, which we shall when necessary call “primary palatalization”.

Finally, we may note that in Common Gàn there is a class of dental sibilants that derives from earlier initials that are thought not to have been dental. From the standpoint of the Common Gàn system as a whole these initials are unremarkable and are simply to be considered part of the general class of dental sibilants. However, since they are of some historical interest, we shall cite several examples here:

zhà 诈 QYS tɕa- CDC *ca
TS [tɕə]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tɕə];
TC [tɕə]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tɕə]; DC2 [—];
AY [tɕə]; NC [tɕə]; FX [tɕə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tɕə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tɕə]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tɕə]; JA1 [tɕə]; JA2 [tɕə];
2.3.2 CG *ts'-. The development of this initial has certain parallels with those of *p'- and *t'-, but it also exhibits its own peculiarities. We can begin with syllables in which it is followed by non-high-front vowels. Here, as we would expect, *ts'- becomes voiced or murmured in the dialects of the second tier, yielding dzʰ in Yǒngxiū and dz- in the other dialects of the tier.

In the remaining dialects it is retained as such, until we reach the far southeast. Here, in both Nánchéng types and in Líchuān, the modern reflex is t'-. Processes of this type are variously called strengthening, fortition, occlusivization, or hardening. We shall adopt the last of these in the present study.3 The following are examples for all these developments:

cān 参 QYS tshām CDC *tshom\(^1\)
| SC | SC | SC | SC |
| SC | SC | SC | SC |
| SC | SC | SC | SC |
| SC | SC | SC | SC |

3 There is quite an extensive literature on hardening in Chinese dialects. Several useful studies dealing specifically with Gàn cases are Sagart (1993:204, 243–244), Chiang (2003), Liu (2005:43–47) and Chang (2010). Cf. also Chang & Wân (2002), and Coblin (2011:211–217) for a discussion of related issues in other dialects.
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The final set is interesting for its competing forms in Líchuăn, which show that hardening is a native process in this dialect and that forms that do not show it are borrowed.

Finally, however, we should note that hardening fails completely in the presence of Common Gàn *-ŋ, as exemplified in the following sets:

\[ \text{cǐ 此 QYS tshje: } \text{CDC *ts'i}^3 \]

\[ \text{TS } [\text{ts'ǐ}]; \text{WN1 } [\text{—}]; \text{WN2 } [\text{—}]; \text{WN3 } [\text{ts'ǐ}]; \]
\[ \text{TC } [\text{dzǐ}]; \text{XZ } [\text{—}]; \text{YX } [\text{—}]; \text{DC1 } [\text{—}]; \text{DC2 } [\text{dzǐ}]; \]
\[ \text{AY } [\text{ts'ɔ}]; \text{NC } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{FX } [\text{ts'uĩ}]; \text{GA } [\text{—}]; \]
\[ \text{CL } [\text{ts'ǐ}]; \text{PX } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \text{AF1 } [\text{—}]; \text{AF2 } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{LH1 } [\text{—}]; \text{LH2 } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \]
\[ \text{JA1 } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{JA2 } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \]
\[ \text{SC } [\text{—}]; \text{LN } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{NNC1 } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{NNC2 } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{LC } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{CG } [\text{ts'ã}] \]

The final set is interesting for its competing forms in Líchuăn, which show that hardening is a native process in this dialect and that forms that do not show it are borrowed.

Finally, however, we should note that hardening fails completely in the presence of Common Gàn *-ŋ, as exemplified in the following sets:

\[ \text{cǐ 此 QYS tshje: } \text{CDC *ts'i}^3 \]

\[ \text{TS } [\text{ts'ǐ}]; \text{WN1 } [\text{—}]; \text{WN2 } [\text{—}]; \text{WN3 } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \]
\[ \text{TC } [\text{dzǐ}]; \text{XZ } [\text{—}]; \text{YX } [\text{—}]; \text{DC1 } [\text{—}]; \text{DC2 } [\text{dzǐ}]; \]
\[ \text{AY } [\text{ts'ɔ}]; \text{NC } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{FX } [\text{ts'uĩ}]; \text{GA } [\text{—}]; \]
\[ \text{CL } [\text{ts'ǐ}]; \text{PX } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \text{AF1 } [\text{—}]; \text{AF2 } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{LH1 } [\text{—}]; \text{LH2 } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \]
\[ \text{JA1 } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{JA2 } [\text{ts'ĩ}]; \]
\[ \text{SC } [\text{—}]; \text{LN } [\text{ts'ã}]; \text{NNC1 } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{NNC2 } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{LC } [\text{t'ã}]; \text{CG } [\text{ts'ã}] \]
Indeed, in place of hardening, what we find in this environment is loss of aspiration in Nánchéng and then a further reduction to s- in Líchuān.

We must now move to occurrences of *ts'- before high front vowels. In sets of this type, the expected voicing occurs in the second tier dialects. And palatalization is found freely among Nánchéng dialects that regularly evince this process. However, it is notable that there is no hardening in the two Nánchéng varieties. Instead, we find palatals there, leaving Líchuān as the only dialect that hardens in this environment. The following sets exemplify these features:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qǐ} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{tshiē} & \quad \text{CDC} & \quad \text{ts'hi}^5 \\
\text{qiān} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{tshien} & \quad \text{CDC} & \quad \text{ts'hi}^1 \\
\text{qù} & \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{tshju} & \quad \text{CDC} & \quad \text{ts'iu}^3
\end{align*}
\]
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SC [tʰɛŋ 陰上 ]; LnC [tsʰ 陰文 ~ tsʰ 陰平 ]; NnC1 [tsʰ 陰平 ]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [ tʰ 陽平 ] CG *tsʰ 陰上 *JXFY.

qǔ 妻 QYS tshju-, (tshju:) CDC *tshiu3 ~ *tshiu5
TS [tʰɛŋ 陰上 ~ tsʰei 陰平 ]; WN1 [tʰɛŋ 陰平 ]; WN2 [ — ]; WN3 [tʰɛŋ 陰平 ];
TC [dza 陽去 ]; XZ [dzɨ 陽去 ]; YX [dzɨ 陽去 ]; DC1 [dzɨ 陽去 ]; DC2 [dzɨ 陽去 ];
AY [tᵉi ]; NC [tᵉŋ ]; FX [ tᵉi ]; GA [tsʰi ];
CL [tᵉŋ ]; PX [tsʰi ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [tʰɛŋ ]; LH1 [tʰɛŋ ]; LH2 [tʰɛŋ ]; JA1 [tʰɛŋ ];
JA2 [tᵉŋ ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [tsʰ 陰去 ~ tsʰei 陰平 ]; NnC1 [tᵉŋ ]; NnC2 [tᵉŋ ]; LC [ tᵉŋ ] CG *tᵉŋ 陰上
The final of the LH1 form is irregular. The word is perhaps a loan from some other Gàn
dialect, or even from the modern standard koiné.

2.3.3 CG *dz-. Before non-high-front vowels this initial behaves in familiar ways. The first
tier dialects confirm that it was independent and voiced. In the second tier it is realized as
voiced, except in Nánchéng and Líchuān, where it is murmured. Elsewhere it is voiceless aspirated. In
Nánchéng and Líchuān it hardens to t’. Before the apical vowel *, there is no hardening,
but instead deaspiration in Nánchéng and softening to s- in Líchuān. These observations are
illustrated in the following:

céng 層 QYS dzeng CDC *dzeng2
TS [tsʰ 陽平 ]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [dzieŋ 陽平 ]; WN3 [dzeŋ 陽平 ];
TC [dzeŋ 陽平 ]; XZ [dzieŋ 陽平 ]; YX [dzieŋ 陽平 ]; DC1 [dzieŋ 陽平 ]; DC2 [dzieŋ 陽平 ];
AY [tsʰen 陽平 ]; NC [tsʰen 陽平 ]; FX [tsʰen 陽平 ]; GA [tsʰen 陽平 ];
CL [tsʰen 陽平 ]; PX [tsʰen 陽平 ]; AF1 [tsʰen 陽平 ]; AF2 [tsʰen 陽平 ]; LH1 [tsʰen 陽平 ]; LH2 [tsʰen 陽平 ];
JA1 [tsʰen 陽平 ]; JA2 [tsʰen 陽平 ];
SC [tsʰen 陽平 ]; LnC [tsʰen 陽平 ]; NnC1 [tʰen 陽平 ]; NnC2 [tʰen 陽平 ]; LC [tʰen 陽平 ] CG *dzeŋ 陽平
The SC tone is irregular.

chá 茶 QYS đa CDC *ja2
TS [tsə 陽去 ]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [dza 陽平 ]; WN3 [dza 陽平 ];
TC [dza 陽平 ]; XZ [dza 陽平 ]; YX [dza 陽平 ]; DC1 [dza 陽平 ]; DC2 [dza 陽平 ];
AY [tsʰə ]; NC [tsʰə ]; FX [tsʰə ]; GA [tsʰə ];
CL [tsʰə 陽平 ]; PX [tsʰə 陽平 ]; AF1 [tsʰə 陽平 ]; AF2 [tsʰə 陽平 ]; LH1 [tsʰə 陽平 ]; LH2 [tsʰə 陽平 ]; JA1
[tʰə 陽平 ]; JA2 [tsʰə 陽平 ];
SC [tsʰə 陽平 ]; LnC [tsʰə 陽平 ]; NnC1 [tʰə 陽平 ]; NnC2 [tʰə 陽平 ]; LC [tʰə 陽平 ] CG *dza 陽平

zhù 助 QYS dzjwo- CDC *je6 (~ *ju6)
TS [tsau 陽去 ]; WN1 [tsu 陽去 ]; WN2 [dzu 陽去 ]; WN3 [tsu 陽去 ];
TC [dzu 陽去 ]; XZ [dzu 陽去 ]; YX [dzə 陽去 ]; DC1 [dzu 陽去 ]; DC2 [dzu 陽去 ];
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AY [tsʰu ]; NC [tsʰu ]; FX [tsʰu ]; GA [tsʰu ];
CL [tsʰu ]; PX [tsʰu ]; AF1 [tʰu ]; AF2 [tsʰu ]; LH1 [tsʰu ]; LH2 [tsʰu ]; JA1 [tsʰu ]; JA2 [tsʰu ];
SC [tsʰu ]; LnC [tsʰu ]; NnC1 [tʰu ]; NnC2 [tʰu ]; LC [tʰu ] CG *dzü

The final and tone of the WN1 form are irregular.

zi 字 QYS dzï- CDC *dzi6
TS [ts]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [tsb ]; WN3 [ts ];
TC [dz ]; XZ [dz ]; YX [dz ]; DC1 [dz ]; DC2 [dz ];
AY [tsʰ ]; NC [ts ]; FX [tsʰ ]; GA [tsʰ ];
CL [ts ]; PX [ts ]; AF1 [tsb ]; AF2 [tsb ]; LH1 [ts ]; LH2 [ts ];
JA1 [su ]; JA2 [ts ];
SC [ts ]; LnC [ts ]; NnC1 [ts ]; NnC2 [ts ]; LC [ts ]; CG *dzï|s

The AF2 tone is irregular.

Quite curious are the following sets:

chái 柴 QYS dzai CDC *jai2
TS [ts ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ts ]; WN3 [ts ];
TC [dzai ]; XZ [dzai ]; YX [dzai ]; DC1 [dzai ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts ]; NC [ts ]; FX [ts ]; GA [ts ];
CL [ts ]; PX [ts ]; AF1 [ts ]; AF2 [ts ]; LH1 [ts ]; LH2 [ts ];
JA1 [ts ]; JA2 [ts ];
SC [ts ]; LnC [ts ]; NnC1 [ts ]; NnC2 [ts ]; LC [ts ]; CG *dzai|s

The WN2 tone is irregular.

chóu 愁 QYS dzau CDC *jau2
TS [ts ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [dzau ];
TC [dzau ]; XZ [dzau ]; YX [dzau ]; DC1 [dzau ]; DC2 [dzau ];
AY [ts ]; NC [ts ]; FX [ts ]; GA [ts ];
CL [ts ]; PX [ts ]; AF1 [ts ]; AF2 [ts ]; LH1 [ts ]; LH2 [ts ];
JA1 [ts ]; JA2 [ts ];
SC [ts ]; LnC [ts ]; NnC1 [ts ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ts ]; CG *dzau|s

The AF2 tone is irregular.

Here, the Nánchéng and Líchüān forms have not hardened to t- but rather become initial s- (with secondary palatalization in Nánchéng in the second example). And Linchüān also shows a variant reading of this type. All this seems to indicate that there was a competing
process here, perhaps reflecting interference from a different dialect type that has taken precedence over the expected hardening effect. It is especially interesting that both of these syllables derive from QYS and CDC forms that are not thought to have originally had dental sibilant initials. It would seem, then, that the “interfering dialect” had evolved differently from those that underlie Common Gàn in most cases. Exactly what this dialect was and where it came from is not determinable on the basis of such scant data. However, it is noteworthy that the word chái 柴 “firewood” is widely read with initial s- in Hakka. Perhaps it is in this direction that the source of this anomaly should be sought.

Before high front vowels *dz- undergoes the usual palatalization in the pertinent dialects and is hardened in Líchuán. The following are examples:

\[
\text{qián 前 QYS dzien } \quad \text{CDC *dzian}^2
\]

TS [tsiu\ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teʰjien\ ]; WN3 [dzien\ ];
TC [dzien\ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzien\ ]; DC2 [dzien\ ];
AY [teʰjien\ ]; NC [teʰjien\ ]; FX [teʰjien\ ]; GA [—];
CL [teʰjien\ ]; PX [tsʰjien\ ]; AF1 [teʰyien\ ]; AF2 [teʰyien\ ]; LH1 [teʰiəŋ\ ]; LH2 [teʰiəŋ\ ];
JA1 [teʰiəŋ\ ]; JA2 [teʰiəŋ\ ];
SC [teʰiəŋ\ ]; LnC [teʰiəŋ\ ]; NnC1 [teʰiəŋ\ ]; NnC2 [teʰiəŋ\ ]; LC [tʰiəŋ\ ] CG *dzien
*JXFY.

\[
\text{quán 全 QYS dzjwān } \quad \text{CDC *dzion}^2
\]

TS [tsiu\ ]; WN1 [tejwōn\ ]; WN2 [teʰyōn\ ]; WN3 [dzyen\ ];
TC [dzien\ ]; XZ [dzien\ ]; YX [dzien\ ]; DC1 [dzien\ ]; DC2 [dzien\ ];
AY [teʰjien\ ]; NC [teʰyōn\ ]; FX [teʰiəŋ\ ]; GA [tsʰiəŋ\ ];
CL [teʰjien\ ]; PX [tsʰiəŋ\ ]; AF1 [tsʰyien\ ]; AF2 [teʰyien\ ]; LH1 [teʰiəŋ\ ]; LH2 [tsʰiəŋ\ ];
JA1 [teʰyōn\ ]; JA2 [teʰyōn\ ];
SC [teʰyōn\ ]; LnC [teʰyōn\ ]; NnC1 [teʰyōn\ ]; NnC2 [teʰyōn\ ]; LC [tʰiəŋ\ ] CG *dzion

In the following curious example, Nánchéng-2 has a hardened bái form:

\[
\text{jiù 就 QYS dzjau } \quad \text{CDC *dieu}^6
\]

TS [tsiu\ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teiu\ ];
TC [dziu\ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dziau\ ]; DC2 [dziau\ ];
AY [tei\ ]; NC [tei\ ]; FX [tei\ ]; GA [—];
CL [tei\ ]; PX [tsi\ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei\ ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tei\ ]; JA1 [tei\ ]; JA2 [tei\ ];
SC [—]; LnC [tei\ ]; NnC1 [tei\ ]; NnC2 [tei\ ]; LC [tiau\ ] CG *dziu
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The CL tone is irregular.

The presence of variant readings here may be evidence of dialect mixture of some sort. However, an anonymous reviewer suggests that the phenomenon may actually be due to irregularities when this syllable is used as a function word. The matter remains for the present indeterminate.

Finally, in the following set we see evidence of the curious variant reading in c- (< *s-) in the southeastern dialects:

jiàng 匠 QYS dzjang- CDC *dziong⁶
TS [tsion]®; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teion];
TC [dzion]®; XZ [dzion]®; YX [dzion]; DC1 [dzion]; DC2 [—];
AY [te'ion]; NC [te'ion]; FX [te'ion]; GA [ts'ion];
CL [—]; PX [ts'i'ion]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'i'ion]; LH1 [te'i'ion]; LH2 [te'i'ion]; JA1 [te'i'ion]; JA2 [te'i'ion];
SC [—]; LnC [cion]; NnC1 [cion]; NnC2 [—]; LC [eion]®; CG *dzion ~ *sion

The AY tone is irregular.

And again we note that this word for “carpenter” is widely read with initial s- in Hakka, suggesting possible influence from or connection with this family of dialects.

Such influence may be due to travel by itinerant Hakka tradesmen and other workers down into the Fǔhé valley from the highlands of neighboring Fújiàn.

2.3.4 CG *s-. In certain respects the development of this initial is quite simple. Before non-high-front vowels, it remains unchanged at all points, as illustrated in the following:

sè 色 QYS sjok CDC *shek⁷
TS [se]; WN1 [e]; WN2 [iec]; WN3 [set];
TC [se]; XZ [se]; YX [se]; DC1 [sec]; DC2 [sec];
AY [se]; NC [set]; FX [se]; GA [se];
CL [se]; PX [se]; AF1 [se]; AF2 [se]; LH1 [se]; LH2 [se]; JA1 [se]; JA2 [se];
SC [se]; LnC [e]; NnC1 [ei]; NnC2 [ei]; LC [e]; CG *sek

sì 四 QYS si- CDC *st⁵
TS [s]; WN1 [s]; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
TC [s]; XZ [s]; YX [s]; DC1 [s]; DC2 [s];
AY [so]; NC [s]; FX [so]; GA [s];
CL [s]; PX [s]; AF1 [s]; AF2 [s]; LH1 [s]; LH2 [s]; JA1 [so]; JA2 [s];
SC [s]; LnC [s]; NnC1 [s]; NnC2 [s]; LC [s]; CG *s
Before high front vowels, the expected palatalizations occur, as illustrated below:

\[\text{xiǎo ~ QYS sjāu:} \quad \text{CDC *siau}^3\]

TS [sieu\(^1\)]; WN1 [siau\(^1\)]; WN2 [siau\(^1\)]; WN3 [siau\(^1\)];

TC [siau\(^1\)]; XZ [sieu\(^1\)]; YX [sieu\(^1\)]; DC1 [siau\(^1\)]; DC2 [siau\(^1\)];

AY [siau\(^1\)]; NC [siau\(^1\)]; FX [siau\(^1\)]; GA [siau\(^1\)];

CL [siau\(^1\)]; PX [siau\(^1\)]; AF1 [siau\(^1\)]; AF2 [siau\(^1\)]; LH1 [siau\(^1\)]; LH2 [siau\(^1\)]; JA1 [siau\(^1\)]; JA2 [siau\(^1\)];

SC [siau\(^1\)]; LnC [siau\(^1\) ~ siau\(^1\)]; NnC1 [siau\(^1\)]; NnC2 [siau\(^1\)]; LC [siau\(^1\)] CG *siau


The DC2 tone is irregular.

\[\text{xīn ~ QYS sjām} \quad \text{CDC *sim}^1\]

TS [sin\(^1\)]; WN1 [sin\(^1\)]; WN2 [sin\(^1\)]; WN3 [sin\(^1\)];

TC [sin\(^1\)]; XZ [sin\(^1\)]; YX [sin\(^1\)]; DC1 [sin\(^1\)]; DC2 [sin\(^1\)];

AY [sin\(^1\)]; NC [s\(^1\)]; FX [sin\(^1\)]; GA [sin\(^1\)];

CL [sin\(^1\)]; PX [sin\(^1\)]; AF1 [sin\(^1\)]; AF2 [sin\(^1\)]; LH1 [sin\(^1\)]; LH2 [sin\(^1\)]; JA1 [sin\(^1\)]; JA2 [sin\(^1\)];

SC [sin\(^1\)]; LnC [sin\(^1\)]; NnC1 [sin\(^1\)]; NnC2 [sin\(^1\)]; LC [sin\(^1\)] CG *sim

The TS bái form is the regular reflex of CG *sy\(^1\). The wén form has probably been borrowed from elsewhere in fairly recent times.

\[\text{xùn ~ QYS zjuen} \quad \text{CDC *ziun}^2\]

TS [s\(^1\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [s\(^1\)];

TC [s\(^1\)]; XZ [s\(^1\)]; YX [s\(^1\)]; DC1 [s\(^1\)]; DC2 [—];

AY [—]; NC [s\(^1\)]; FX [s\(^1\)]; GA [s\(^1\)];

CL [—]; PX [s\(^1\)]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [s\(^1\)]; LH1 [s\(^1\)]; LH2 [s\(^1\)]; JA1 [s\(^1\)]; JA2 [s\(^1\)];

SC [—]; LnC [s\(^1\)]; NnC1 [s\(^1\)]; NnC2 [—]; LC [s\(^1\)] CG *syn

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The DC2 tone is irregular.

The TS bái form is the regular reflex of CG *sy\(^1\). The wén form has probably been borrowed from elsewhere in fairly recent times.

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The DC2 tone is irregular.
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There is, however, one phenomenon that is of considerable interest. It is illustrated below in two groups of examples:

Group I

si  巳  QYS zǐ:  CDC *zǐ²
TS [tsi];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [ei];  WN3 [ei];
TC [dzia];  XZ [—];  YX [—];  DC1 [—];  DC2 [—];
AY [tsa];  NC [eia];  FX [tsi];  GA [—];
CL [—];  PX [ts];  AF1 [—];  AF2 [—];  LH1 [—];  LH2 [si];  JA1 [su];  JA2 [ts];
SC [—];  LnC [ts];  NnC1 [ts];  NnC2 [—];  LC [si]  CG *dzia  "si"  "si"

xiáng  詳  QYS zhang  CDC *züng²
TS [tsion];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [ei];  WN3 [ei];
TC [dzion];  XZ [—];  YX [—];  DC1 [dzion];  DC2 [—];
AY [eia];  NC [eia];  FX [eia];  GA [—];
CL [—];  PX [tsi];  AF1 [eia];  AF2 [eia];  LH1 [eia];  LH2 [eia];  JA1 [eia];  JA2 [eia];
SC [eia];  LnC [eia];  NnC1 [eia];  NnC2 [—];  LC [eia]  CG *dzion  "sion*  "sion*

xié  跳  QYS zja  CDC *zia²
TS [si];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [eia];  WN3 [eia];
TC [eia];  XZ [eia];  YX [eia];  DC1 [—];  DC2 [eia];
AY [eia];  NC [eia];  FX [eia];  GA [eia];
CL [eia];  PX [eia];  AF1 [eia];  AF2 [eia];  LH1 [eia];  LH2 [eia];  JA1 [eia];  JA2 [—];
SC [eia];  LnC [eia];  NnC1 [eia];  NnC2 [eia];  LC [eia]  CG *zia  "sia"  "sia"

xiè  躍  QYS zja~  CDC *zia²
TS [si];  WN1 [teja];  WN2 [dzia];  WN3 [dzia];
TC [dzia];  XZ [sia];  YX [eia];  DC1 [—];  DC2 [dzia];
AY [eia];  NC [sia];  FX [eia];  GA [sia];
CL [sia];  PX [sia];  AF1 [eia];  AF2 [eia];  LH1 [eia];  LH2 [eia];  JA1 [eia];  JA2 [—];
SC [eia];  LnC [eia];  NnC1 [eia];  NnC2 [eia];  LC [eia]  CG *zia  "sia"  "sia"
A Study of Comparative Gàn

The bái form is probably the archaic, native Gàn etymon. The first wén form corresponds directly to the QYS reading and is probably an early loan from some medieval koine. The third reconstructed form is clearly a late loan from the north. The initial of the TC wén reading may be a contamination from the bái form.

The tone of the TC form is irregular.

The LnC bái form is problematic and requires further study. It is possible that early *-ie was reduced to -e after sibilants in LnC. The TS bái form must derive from an earlier *si
陽平
, which is the regular reflex of *-y in this environment. The wén form presumably derives from a very late loan form, *sy
陽平
. The AF1 form is anomalous. Its final -ʯ requires derivation from a Common Gàn initial *ʂ- syllable (i.e., *sy
陽平
), for which there is no evidence in the other representative dialects.

Group II

The LnC bái form is problematic and requires further study. It is possible that early *-ie was reduced to -e after sibilants in LnC. The TS bái form must derive from an earlier *si
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陽平
), for which there is no evidence in the other representative dialects.

Group II
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Gàn

The GA tone is irregularly of higher register.

\[
\text{sòng 誦 QYS zjwong- CDC *ziung}^6 \\
\text{TS [sør音]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sør音];} \\
\text{TC [sør音]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [søn音]; DC2 [—];} \\
\text{AY [søn音]; NC [søn音]; FX [sïuŋ音]; GA [—];} \\
\text{CL [—]; PX [sør音]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sør音]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [sør音]; JA1 [sør音]; JA2 [søŋ音];} \\
\text{SC [—]; LnC [sïuŋ音]; NnC1 [sïuŋ音]; NnC2 [—]; LC [sïuŋ音] CG *siuŋ音 ~ *suŋ音} \\
\]

\[
\text{xùn 巡 QYS zjwen CDC *ziun}^2 \\
\text{TS [sin音]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ey音];} \\
\text{TC [sí音]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sin音]; DC2 [—];} \\
\text{AY [sí音]; NC [ey音]; FX [siŋ音]; GA [—];} \\
\text{CL [—]; PX [siŋ音]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ey音]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ey音]; JA1 [sy音]; JA2 [ey音];} \\
\text{SC [—]; LnC [siŋ音]; NnC1 [ey音]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ey音] CG *sy音} \\
\]

The LH2 final is irregular, for we would expect final -iu here. The form is probably borrowed from some other Gàn dialect, or even from the modern standard koiné.

\[
\text{xù 序 QYS zjwen CDC *zie}^4 (~ *ziu^4) \\
\text{TS [sæi音]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];} \\
\text{TC [ɕi音]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ɕi音]; DC2 [—];} \\
\text{AY [ɕi音]; NC [ɕy音]; FX [ɕiŋ音]; GA [—];} \\
\text{CL [—]; PX [ɕiŋ音]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕy音]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ɕy音]; JA1 [sy音]; JA2 [ɕy音];} \\
\text{SC [—]; LnC [ɕiy音]; NnC1 [ɕiy音]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ɕiy音] CG *syn音} \\
\]

To begin, it will be noted that all etyma in these sets are reconstructed with Common Dialectal Chinese *z- and also belong to the QYS z-initial group. However, it is significant that all sets belonging to the first group must be reconstructed with doublets in Common Gàn *dz- and *s-, while the initials of those in the second group can be derived entirely from *s-. In the first group, the forms that support the reconstruction of *dz- are exclusively bái in register, while those underlying *s- are of the wén layer. In Group II, all words are of higher or literary register. From this we can draw a useful inference about the history of the Gàn family as a whole. To wit, we may conclude that in the Common Gàn proto-language the reflex of CDC *z was *dz-, merging completely with original *dz-, while higher stylistic register reflexes in *s- derive directly from an earlier *z- and reflect later borrowing from some prestigious donor language. This fact should be borne in mind when comparing Primitive Gàn with other dialect families.
2.4 The Retroflexes

2.4.1 CG *tʂ-. In the Common Gàn system the retroflexes occur only before high front vowels.\(^4\) Initial *tʂ- is preserved unchanged in Xīngzī, Yōngxī, Dūchāng (both types), and Pingxiāng, with concomitant loss or defronting of the following vowel (concerning which processes, see the pertinent sections of Chapter III). In Wūning (all three types) *tʂ- consistently palatalizes, and the following high front vowel is retained.\(^5\) However, if the following modern vowel is ɿ, the retroflex will shift to ts-. In Ānyì, Fēngxīn, Gāoān, Ānfū (both types), Jīān-2, and Līnchuān, initial *tʂ- hardens to t-. In Jīān-1 *tʂ- hardens to retroflex ʈ-, except before final *-iu, where the hardened consonant is simply t-. At all remaining points except our two Nánchéng varieties it becomes ts-, or tɕ- if followed by a high front vowel. In the hardening dialects, cases where *tʂ- irregularly fails to hard en and yields ts- or tɕ- (as the case may be) are probably due to borrowing of the irregular forms from intrusive language varieties. These exceptions usually occur in literary or non-popular words. Nánchéng is a special and somewhat complex case. Here, where high front vowels survive immediately following the initial, palatalization occurs. This happens in the presence of Common Gàn *-i, *-in, *-iŋ, *-iem, *-y, and *-yn. Where a following high front vowel is lost, bringing the initial into contact with a non-high-front vowel, hardening occurs. This happens in the presence of the following Common Gàn finals: *-ien, *-iŋ, *-iaŋ, *-iŋ, *-yon, *-iuk, *-ia, *-iau. If a word of this type is a late loan, it escapes hardening and undergoes palatalization. These developments are illustrated in the following examples:

zhào 照 QYS tɕjäu- CDC *ciau\(^5\)
TS [tɕau\(\text{陰去}\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕiau\(\text{陰去}\)]; WN3 [tɕiau\(\text{陰去}\)];
TC [tɕau\(\text{陰去}\)]; XZ [tɕeə\(\text{陰去}\)]; YX [tɕeə\(\text{陰去}\)]; DC1 [tɕe\(\text{陰去}\)]; DC2 [tɕau\(\text{陰去}\)];

\(^4\) This, at least, is their distribution in the common system. If they occurred in other environments, this state of affairs is not recoverable comparatively.

\(^5\) At this point, lest it be thought that the co-occurrence of retroflexes and high front vowels cannot occur in the Gàn dialects, we should note that the Common Gàn retroflex *-tɕ is preserved as such before CG *-in and *-iŋ in the unique Jīān-1 syllable type [ɕin] (< CG *śin, *śiŋ). Cf. §2.4.4 below. Additionally, Chāng (2008:45) reports that the high front vowel [y] occurs after retroflexes in the pronunciation of elderly speakers of the Guāntián lǎojié 官田老街 dialect of the Jīān area. Younger speakers have changed [y] to [u] in this environment. For example: zhū 朱 (< CG *tʂū\(\text{陽平}\)) yields Guāntián lǎojié [tʂū\(\text{陽平}\)] (old pronunciation) and [tʂu\(\text{陽平}\)] (younger pronunciation). She also reports (p.c.) that both [y] and [i] occur after retroflexes in Yōngyángzhēn, Shūihuōn 永陽鎮水澗村. However, in this dialect, the retroflex affricates are realized allophonically as stop/affricate free variants, transcribed in her descriptive section as [i] (tʂ), etc. Data for this dialect are as yet unpublished. Retroflex affricates are reported to occur before the vowel [i] in certain Hakka dialects of north central Guǎngdōng (e.g., Wèi 1997). In a recent paper (Wān & Zhūāng 2014), the Hakka initials in question have been analyzed both articulatorily and instrumentally; and the authors conclude that they are not true retroflexes in the classic sense but instead lamino-post-alveolars (舌葉齦後音).
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Gàn

AY [tau]; NC [tsu]; FX [tau]; GA [tsu];
CL [ts’]; PX [tsau]; AF1 [tsw]; AF2 [tau]; LH1 [tsao]; LH2 [tsau]; JA1 [tau]; JA2 [tau];
SC [tsau]; Lnc [te:u ~ tau]; Nnc1 [tau]; Nnc2 [tau]; LC [tau] CG *tsiau
The tone of the SC form is unexpected.

zhēn 真 QYS tśjen CDC *cin
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsen]; XZ [tsan]; YX [tsen]; DC1 [tsen]; DC2 [tsen];
AY [ton]; NC [tsan]; FX [ton]; GA [ton];
CL [tsen]; PX [tsan]; AF1 [tën]; AF2 [tin]; LH1 [tse]; LH2 [tsen];
JA1 [tin]; JA2 [tin];
SC [tei]; LnC [tin]; Nnc1 [tein]; Nnc2 [tein]; LC [tein] CG *tsxī

zhǔ 主 QYS tśju: CDC *ciu
TS [tei]; WN1 [tei]; WN2 [tei]; WN3 [tei];
TC [tei]; XZ [tsu]; YX [tsu]; DC1 [tsu]; DC2 [tsu];
AY [tu]; NC [tei]; FX [tu]; GA [to];
CL [tei]; PX [tsu]; AF1 [ty]; AF2 [ty]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei];
JA1 [ty]; JA2 [ty];
SC [tei]; LnC [tu]; Nnc1 [tei]; Nnc2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tgy

zhuan 磚 QYS tśwān CDC *cion
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tey]; WN3 [tey];
TC [tei]; XZ [tsu]; YX [—]; DC1 [tse]; DC2 [tse];
AY [ten]; NC [tsen]; FX [ton ~ ten]; GA [—];
CL [tei]; PX [tsu]; AF1 [tën]; AF2 [ten]; LH1 [teyi]; LH2 [tey];
JA1 [ty]; JA2 [ty];
SC [tsun]; LnC [ton]; Nnc1 [ten]; Nnc2 [ton]; LC [teien] CG *tṣyon
*JXFY

zhàn 戰 QYS tśiàn- CDC *cian
TS [tsë]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsen]; WN3 [teien];
TC [tsen]; XZ [tsen]; YX [tsen]; DC1 [tsen]; DC2 [tsen];
AY [ten]; NC [tsen]; FX [ten]; GA [ten];
CL [tsa]; PX [tsë]; AF1 [tën]; AF2 [ten]; LH1 [tsë]; LH2 [tsen];
JA1 [ten]; JA2 [ten];
SC [tsan]; LnC [ten]; Nnc1 [ton]; Nnc2 [ton]; LC [teien] CG *tsiên
The WN2 form appears to be a loan, probably from southern Mandarin.
With the preceding set, in which Nánchéng shows hardening, we may compare the following example:

zhǎn 展 QYS ʒѣn:  CDC *cian³
TS [tsɛ̃]; WN1 [tʃen¹]; WN2 [tʃen¹]; WN3 [tʃen¹];
TC [tsen¹]; XZ [tʂən¹]; YX [tʂən¹]; DC1 [tʂen¹]; DC2 [tʂen¹];
AY [tən¹]; NC [tʂən¹]; FX [tən¹]; GA [tən¹];
CL [tʃən¹]; PX [tʂən¹]; AF1 [tən¹]; AF2 [tən¹]; LH1 [tʃən¹]; LH2 [tʃən¹]; JA1 [tən¹];
JA2 [tən¹];
SC [tʂən¹]; LnC [tən¹]; NnC1 [tʃiən¹]; NnC2 [tʃiən¹]; LC [tʃiən¹] CG *tʂien³

Here Nánchéng palatalizes the initial, and our assumption is that zhǎn 展 is a literary word that has been borrowed at some time later than the hardening period.

We shall close this section by considering the following four sets:

zhū 猪 QYS ʒtʃou  CDC *cie¹ (~ *ciu¹)/EC *tra
TS [tʃei²]; WN1 [tʃei²]; WN2 [tʃei²]; WN3 [tʃei²];
TC [tʃei²]; XZ [tɕui²]; YX [tɕui²]; DC1 [tɕui²]; DC2 [tɕui²];
AY [tɕi²]; NC [tɕei²]; FX [tɕi²]; GA [tɕi²];
CL [tɕei²]; PX [tɕui²]; AF1 [tɕi²]; AF2 [tɕi²]; LH1 [tɕi²]; LH2 [tɕi²]; JA1 [tɕi²];
JA2 [tɕi²];
SC [tɕei²]; LnC [tɕi²] ~ tɕi²; NnC1 [tɕiəi²]; NnC2 [tɕiəi²]; LC [tɕiəi²] CG *tɕie² ~ *tɕi³

The third reconstructed form shows an archaic retention of an initial dental stop. It is supported by the LH1, LH2 and SC forms.

zhāng 長 QYS ʒtʃaŋ:  CDC *ciong³/EC *trangx
TS [tʂoŋ¹]; WN1 [tʂoŋ¹]; WN2 [tʂoŋ¹]; WN3 [tʂoŋ¹];
TC [tʂoŋ¹]; XZ [tʂoŋ¹]; YX [tʂoŋ¹]; DC1 [tʂoŋ¹]; DC2 [tʂoŋ¹];
AY [tʂoŋ¹]; NC [tʂoŋ¹]; FX [tʂoŋ¹]; GA [tʂoŋ¹];
CL [tʂoŋ¹]; PX [tʂoŋ¹]; AF1 [tʂoŋ¹]; AF2 [tʂoŋ¹]; LH1 [tʂoŋ¹]; LH2 [tʂoŋ¹]; JA1 [tʂoŋ¹];
JA2 [tʂoŋ¹];
SC [tʂoŋ¹]; LnC [tʂoŋ¹]; NnC1 [tʂoŋ¹]; NnC2 [tʂoŋ¹]; LC [tʂoŋ¹] CG *tʂiong³ (~ *tʃiong³)

The LH1 bái form appears to derive from an archaic substrate form *tʃiong³.
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The LH1 and JA1 forms derive from an archaic dental stop initial realization of this word.

The second reconstructed form is based on the readings found in AF1 and 2, LH2, JA1 and 2, and SC. This appears to be an archaic substrate survival in these dialects.

Each of these sets contains archaic substrate forms which preserve earlier dental stops. The first two involve forms from Liánhuā, while the third has forms from both Liánhuā-1 and Jiān-1. The fourth has forms from Ānfū, Liánhuā, Jiān, and Suichuān. Now, as Sagart (2002: 136–137, note 7) quite aptly observes, cases of this sort produce a conundrum in hardening dialects such as Ānfū and Jiān, for how are we to know in such instances which dentals are substrate survivals of an archaic *t- and which have resulted from the later hardening of tʂ-?

That this problem may exist, and indeed prove intractable in some Gàn dialects, is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with. But, providentially, in those with which we are dealing in the present study it can be quickly and easily resolved. For the fact is that in these dialects, medial -i- can in most cases not stand after a dental resulting from the hardening of a retroflex. The reason for this seems to be that, before the hardening stage, earlier *tʂ- deletes or “swallows” a following medial -i-, leaving only the main vowel in place. Then the retroflex is hardened to its corresponding stop. As illustrations, compare with the sets for zhàng 掌 “netting” and zhú 竹 “bamboo” above, the following examples having the Common Gàn reconstructed forms *tʂioŋ 陰上 and *tʂiuk 陰入 respectively:

zhú 竹 QYS ṭiuk       CDC *ciuk⁷/EC *truk
TS [tsau⁵]; WN1 [tɕiou⁷]; WN2 [tɕiu⁷]; WN3 [tɕiuk⁷];
TC [tɕy³]; XZ [tʂ⁵u]; YX [tʂu⁷]; DC1 [tʂuk⁷]; DC2 [tʂuk⁷];
AY [tɕy³]; NC [tɕuk⁷]; FX [tɕ⁵u]; GA [tɕu⁷];
CL [tɕ⁵u]; PX [tʂu]; AF1 [tio⁷]; AF2 [tio⁷]; LH1 [t[e]y⁷]; LH2 [tio⁷]; JA1 [tio⁷]; JA2 [t[e]y⁷];
SC [tɕio⁷]; LnC [tɕu⁷]; NnC1 [tɕu⁷]; NnC2 [tɕu⁷]; LC [tʂu⁷]; CG *tʂiuk⁷ (~ *tiuk⁷)

The LH1 and JA1 forms derive from an archaic dental stop initial realization of this word.

zhú 竹 QYS ṭiuk       CDC *ciuk⁷/EC *truk
TS [tsau⁵]; WN1 [tɕiou⁷]; WN2 [tɕiu⁷]; WN3 [tɕiuk⁷];
TC [tɕy³]; XZ [tʂ⁵u]; YX [tʂu⁷]; DC1 [tʂuk⁷]; DC2 [tʂuk⁷];
AY [tɕy³]; NC [tɕuk⁷]; FX [tɕ⁵u]; GA [tɕu⁷];
CL [tɕ⁵u]; PX [tʂu]; AF1 [tio⁷]; AF2 [tio⁷]; LH1 [t[e]y⁷]; LH2 [tio⁷]; JA1 [tio⁷]; JA2 [t[e]y⁷];
SC [tɕio⁷]; LnC [tɕu⁷]; NnC1 [tɕu⁷]; NnC2 [tɕu⁷]; LC [tʂu⁷]; CG *tʂiuk⁷ (~ *tiuk⁷)

The second reconstructed form is based on the readings found in AF1 and 2, LH2, JA1 and 2, and SC. This appears to be an archaic substrate survival in these dialects.

Each of these sets contains archaic substrate forms which preserve earlier dental stops. The first two involve forms from Liánhuā, while the third has forms from both Liánhuā-1 and Jiān-1. The fourth has forms from Ānfū, Liánhuā, Jiān, and Suichuān. Now, as Sagart (2002: 136–137, note 7) quite aptly observes, cases of this sort produce a conundrum in hardening dialects such as Ānfū and Jiān, for how are we to know in such instances which dentals are substrate survivals of an archaic *t- and which have resulted from the later hardening of tʂ-?

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zhāng 掌 QYS ṭiogn:       CDC *ciong³
TS [tsɔŋ]; WN1 [tɕioŋ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tɕioŋ];
TC [tɕŋ³]; XZ [tɕŋ³]; YX [tɕŋ³]; DC1 [tɕŋ³]; DC2 [tɕŋ³];
AY [tɕŋ³]; NC [tɕŋ³]; FX [tŋ³]; GA [tŋ³];
CL [tś³]; PX [tś³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tŋ³]; LH1 [tś³]; LH2 [tŋ³]; JA1 [tŋ³];

6 This rule does not hold true in Ānfū, Jiān-1 or Linchuān for the Common Gàn final *-iu, for these dialects all retain this final unchanged after initial t- (< *tʂ-). See, for example, the cognate sets for zhōu 周 and zhōu 州 in the Appendix. It seems possible that in these dialects this final is treated syllabically as /iwa/ in which -i- plays the role of main vowel rather than medial. The matter deserves further detailed study.
Note in particular the Ānfú and Jí’ān forms here. These all have readings beginning with stops, followed by non-high-front vowels. This is a positive and reliable indication in such cases that the initials have resulted from hardening and are fundamentally different in origin from our archaic forms for “netting” and “bamboo”, which have the shapes [tioŋ] and [tio].

2.4.2 CG *tʂ-. The correspondence patterns for this initial are very similar to those for *tʂ-, with the expected exception that the second tier dialects show voicing/murmur.
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Although these examples are generally unremarkable, one point deserves special mention, for we should note that in the hardening dialects the reflex of *tʃ- is indeed t'- (or tʰ-), as we would expect here. The importance of this observation is as follows. In the past there has been a school of Gàn specialists who maintained that our hardened initials are all actually retentions of archaic dental stops, dating from as early as the Zhōu period. Examples such as those we have just seen above enabled Sagart (1993:205) to refute conclusively and incontestably this older view. For as he points out, Common Gàn *t'-, which should surely post-date the Zhōu period by many centuries, regularly yields h- in hardening dialects such as our Línchuān. Had our hardened *t'- in these dialects descended directly from Zhōu times, it would have become h-, not t'-.

2.4.3 CG *dzʃ-. The correspondence patterns for this initial, which are unproblematic, are illustrated in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chū</th>
<th>QYS tʃhjet</th>
<th>CDC *chiut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[te'y ən]</td>
<td>WN1 [tehj ən]; WN2 [teby ən]; WN3 [te'y ən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[dzɔ́q̃]</td>
<td>XZ [dzɔ́]; YX [dzɔ́yn]; DC1 [dzɔ́n]; DC2 [dzɔ́n];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[tʰæn]</td>
<td>NC [tsʰən]; FX [tʰən]; GA [tʰən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[te'y ən]</td>
<td>PX [tsʰe θən]; AF1 [tʰæn]; AF2 [tʰən]; LH1 [tebyən]; LH2 [tebyən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[tʰu]</td>
<td>JA2 [tʰæ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[tsʰən]</td>
<td>LnC [tut]; NnC1 [t'yu]; NnC2 [t'yu]; LC [t'yu] CG *tʃ'y ən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chuán</th>
<th>QYS tʃhjwān</th>
<th>CDC *chion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[te'yən]</td>
<td>WN1 [—]; WN2 [tebyən]; WN3 [te'yən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[dzən]</td>
<td>XZ [dzən]; YX [dzən]; DC1 [dzən]; DC2 [dzən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[t'en]</td>
<td>NC [tsən]; FX [t'on]; GA [tsən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[te'yən]</td>
<td>PX [ts'ug]; AF1 [t'on]; AF2 [t'oŋ]; LH1 [tebyən]; LH2 [tebyən];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[t'uaŋ]</td>
<td>JA2 [t'oun];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[ts'öŋ]</td>
<td>LnC [t'on]; NnC1 [t'ön]; NnC2 [t'ön]; LC [—] CG *tʃ'yən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although these examples are generally unremarkable, one point deserves special mention, for we should note that in the hardening dialects the reflex of *tʃ- is indeed t'- (or tʰ-), as we would expect here. The importance of this observation is as follows. In the past there has been a school of Gàn specialists who maintained that our hardened initials are all actually retentions of archaic dental stops, dating from as early as the Zhōu period. Examples such as those we have just seen above enabled Sagart (1993:205) to refute conclusively and incontestably this older view. For as he points out, Common Gàn *t'-, which should surely post-date the Zhōu period by many centuries, regularly yields h- in hardening dialects such as our Línchuān and Nánchéng (see §2.2.2 above). Had our hardened *t'- in these dialects descended directly from Zhōu times, it would have become h-, not t'.

7 Sagart’s original arguments, which are in French, have been quoted in full and translated into English in Coblin (2011:216), q.v.
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2.4.4  CG *ʃ-. This initial is preserved unchanged in all those dialects that retain retroflexes, i.e., Xingzí, Yòngxiù, Dùchāng (both types), and Píngxiàng. There is no hardening of *ʃ- in any dialect, perhaps because it is fundamentally lacking in any type of occlusion. In general, the remaining dialects have c- before high front vowels and s- elsewhere. This is illustrated in the following examples:

shàng ediator QYS ʒiang:, ʒąŋ-  CDC *zhiong 4 ~ *zhiong 6
TS [ʂɔ̃ŋ]; WN1 [ɕiŋ]; WN2 [ʑiŋ]; WN3 [ɕiŋ];
TC [ʈʰ]; XZ [ɗʐ]; VX [ʣʰ]; DC1 [ʂɔ̃ŋ]; DC2 [ʂɔ̃ŋ];
AY [ʈʃ]; NC [ʦʰ]; FX [ʈʃ]; GA [ʦʰ];
CL [tsʰ]; PX [ʦʰ]; AF1 [ʦʰ]; AF2 [ʦʰ]; LH1 [ʦʰ]; LH2 [ʦʰ];
JA1 [ʈʰ]; JA2 [ʈʰ];
SC [ʦʰ]; LnC [ʦʰ]; NnC1 [ʦʰ]; NnC2 [ʦʰ]; LC [ʦʰ] CG *ʥʒ̄ng ~ *

zhì ediator QYS djok  CDC *jɪŋ 8
TS [ʦʰ]; WN1 [ʦʰ]; WN2 [ʣiŋ]; WN3 [ʣiŋ];
TC [ʣiŋ]; XZ [ʣiŋ]; VX [ʣiŋ]; DC1 [ʣiŋ]; DC2 [ʣiŋ];
AY [ʈʰ]; NC [ʦʰ]; FX [ʈʰ]; GA [ʈʰ];
CL [ʦʰ]; PX [ʦʰ]; AF1 [ʦʰ]; AF2 [ʦʰ]; LH1 [ʦʰ]; LH2 [ʦʰ];
JA1 [ʈʰ]; JA2 [ʈʰ];
SC [ʦʰ]; LnC [ʈʰ]; NnC1 [ʈʰ]; NnC2 [ʈʰ]; LC [ʈʰ] CG *ʥʒ̄km ~ *

*Vowel corrected from Ɂ, which is a misprint in the source.
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LC [saŋ] ~ [səŋ]  CG *ɕiong  

shé  蛇  QYS  dzja  
CDC *zhia²

TS [saŋ]; WN1 [ɕia¹]; WN2 [ɕia¹]; WN3 [ɕia¹];  
TC [saŋ]; XZ [saŋ]; YX [saŋ]; DC1 [saŋ¹]; DC2 [saŋ¹];  
AY [saŋ¹]; NC [saŋ]; FX [saŋ¹]; GA [saŋ¹];  
CL [seŋ]; PX [saŋ¹]; AF1 [saŋ¹]; AF2 [saŋ¹]; LH1 [saŋ¹]; LH2 [saŋ¹];  
JA1 [saŋ¹]; JA2 [saŋ¹];  
SC [saŋ¹]; LnC [saŋ¹]; NnC1 [saŋ¹]; NnC2 [saŋ¹]; LC [saŋ¹]  CG *ɕia¹  

The CL wén form is surely a loan from some northern or northern-like language. It is not reflected at other points.

shé  舌  QYS  dzjat  
CDC *zhiat⁸

TS [seŋ¹]; WN1 [ɕieʔ¹]; WN2 [ɕieʔ¹]; WN3 [ɕieʔ¹];  
TC [seŋ¹]; XZ [seŋ¹]; YX [seŋ¹]; DC1 [set¹]; DC2 [se¹];  
AY [seŋ¹]; NC [set¹]; FX [se¹]; GA [se¹];  
CL [seŋ¹]; PX [seŋ¹]; AF1 [seŋ¹]; AF2 [seŋ¹]; LH1 [seŋ¹]; LH2 [seŋ¹]; JA1 [seŋ¹]; JA2 [seŋ¹];  
SC [seŋ¹]; LnC [set¹]; NnC1 [ɕieʔ¹]; NnC2 [ɕieʔ¹]; LC [ɕieʔ¹]  CG *ɕiet¹  

There are, however, several interesting exceptions to this general correspondence pattern, and we shall now review these. First, in the presence of a following Common Gàn *y, Găoven changes *s- to h-. (Note that Common Gàn *y regularly becomes [o] in this dialect.) The following are examples:

shū  書  QYS  sjwo  
CDC *shie¹ (~ *shiu¹)

TS [eʃ]; WN1 [ʃu¹]; WN2 [ʃu¹]; WN3 [ʃu¹];  
TC [eʃ]; XZ [ʃu¹]; YX [ʃu¹]; DC1 [ʃu¹]; DC2 [ʃu¹];  
AY [ʃu¹]; NC [ey¹]; FX [ʃu¹]; GA [he¹];  
CL [ey¹]; PX [ʃu¹]; AF1 [ʃu¹]; AF2 [ey¹]; LH1 [ey¹]; LH2 [ey¹]; JA1 [ey¹]; JA2 [ey¹];  
SC [ey¹]; LnC [ʃu¹]; NnC1 [ʃu¹] ~ [ɕie¹]; NnC2 [ɕie¹]; LC [ʃu¹] ~ [ɕie¹]  CG *ɕie¹  

shuì  水  QYS  swi  
CDC *shui³

TS [eʃui¹ ~ ey¹]; WN1 [eʃi¹]; WN2 [eʃi¹]; WN3 [eʃi¹];  
TC [eʃi¹]; XZ [ʃui¹]; YX [ʃui¹]; DC1 [ʃui¹]; DC2 [ʃui¹];  
AY [ei¹]; NC [su¹]; FX [ʃui¹]; GA [ho¹];  
CL [eʃi¹]; PX [ʃui¹]; AF1 [ʃui¹]; AF2 [ʃui¹]; LH1 [eʃi¹]; LH2 [eʃi¹]; JA1 [gy¹]; JA2 [su¹];
SC [sy]; LN C [sui]; NnC1 [sy]; NnC2 [sy]; LC [sy] CG *sy

The AF forms may be borrowed, since the expected reflexes would have final -y here. The initial of the YX form is irregular.

shùn 順 QYS dzjien- CDC *zhien⁶
TS [eyen ]; WN1 [eyen ]; WN2 [eyen ]; WN3 [eyen ];
TC [san]; XZ [san]; YX [san]; DC1 [san]; DC2 [san];
AY [san]; NC [sun]; FX [san]; GA [hon];
CL [eyen ]; PX [sun]; AF1 [sen ]; AF2 [sun ]; LH1 [eyen ]; LH2 [eyen ]; JA1 [sun ]; JA2 [sen ]; SC [eyen ]; LnC [suen ]; NnC1 [eyen ]; NnC2 [eyen ]; LC [san] CG *syn⁶

Secondly, in Ānfū-1 *ğ- is regularly retained as such before Common Gàn *-ien and *-iem, e.g.,

shān 扇 QYS şjän- CDC *shian⁵
TS [se]; WN1 [ejien ]; WN2 [ejien ]; WN3 [ejien ];
TC [sen ]; XZ [sen ]; YX [sen ]; DC1 [sen ]; DC2 [sen ];
AY [sen ]; NC [sen ]; FX [sen ]; GA [sen ];
CL [sa]; PX [she ]; AF1 [she ]; AF2 [she ]; LH1 [se ]; LH2 [she ]; JA1 [she ]; JA2 [she ];
SC [san]; LnC [she ]; NnC1 [eian ]; NnC2 [eian ]; LC [eian ] CG *shien

shān 閃 QYS şjam- şjam- CDC *shiam³
TS [se]; WN1 [ejien ]; WN2 [ejien ]; WN3 [ejien ];
TC [sen ]; XZ [sen ]; YX [sen ]; DC1 [sen ]; DC2 [sen ];
AY [sen ]; NC [sen ]; FX [sen ]; GA [sen ];
CL [eie ]; PX [she ]; AF1 [she ]; AF2 [she ]; LH1 [se ]; LH2 [she ]; JA1 [she ]; JA2 [she ];
SC [senn]; LnC [shen ]; NnC1 [eian ]; NnC2 [eian ]; LC [sam] CG *shiem⁶ *JXFY.

Thirdly, Jiān-1 regularly retains the retroflex in its unique syllable type [sin] (< *sin, *sin), e.g.,

shèn 神 QYS dzjen- CDC *zhin²
TS [sun]; WN1 [ein ]; WN2 [ein ]; WN3 [ein ];
TC [san]; XZ [san ]; YX [san ]; DC1 [san ]; DC2 [san ];
AY [san ]; NC [san ]; FX [san ]; GA [san ];
CL [se]; PX [she ]; AF1 [she ]; AF2 [ein ]; LH1 [se ]; LH2 [se ]; JA1
Fourthly, both Chálíng and Jiān-1 often (but not always) retain the retroflex initial for the Common Gàn syllable *ʂɨ, e.g.,

shí 時 QYS ʐɨ CDC *zhi³
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [ʂɨ]; WN2 [ʂɨ]; WN3 [ʂɨ];
TC [ʂɨ]; XZ [ʂɨ]; YX [ʂɨ]; DC1 [ʂɨ]; DC2 [ʂɨ];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂɨ]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
CL [ʂɨ]; PX [ʂɨ]; AF1 [ʂɨ]; AF2 [ʂɨ]; LH1 [ʂɨ]; LH2 [ʂɨ]; JA1 [ʂɨ]; JA2 [ʂɨ];
SC [ʂɨ]; LnC [ʂɨ]; NnC1 [ʂɨ]; NnC2 [ʂɨ]; LC [ʂɨ] CG *ʂɨ

Both Chálíng and Jiān-1 also sporadically preserve initial ʂ- in other syllable types corresponding to the Modern Standard Chinese syllable [ʂɨ], and in Jiān-1 in certain syllables which have other finals. Châng Méixiâng (p.c.), from whom our Jiān-1 data come, believes that such sporadic retroflex readings in this dialect may be due to the influence of the standard language. She will in future treat this matter in detail. The following are illustrative examples:

shí 適 QYS ʂjäk CDC *shiak⁵
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [ʂɨ]; WN2 [ʂɨ]; WN3 [ʂɨ];
TC [ʂɨ]; XZ [ʂɨ]; YX [ʂɨ]; DC1 [ʂɨ]; DC2 [ʂɨ];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂɨ]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
CL [ʂɨ]; PX [ʂɨ]; AF1 [ʂɨ]; AF2 [ʂɨ]; LH1 [ʂɨ]; LH2 [ʂɨ]; JA1 [ʂɨ]; JA2 [ʂɨ];
SC [ʂɨ]; LnC [ʂɨ]; NnC1 [ʂɨ]; NnC2 [ʂɨ]; LC [ʂɨ] CG *ʂɨ

The AY final and tone are irregular.

Both Chálíng and Jiān-1 also sporadically preserve initial ʂ- in other syllable types corresponding to the Modern Standard Chinese syllable [ʂɨ], and in Jiān-1 in certain syllables which have other finals. Châng Méixiâng (p.c.), from whom our Jiān-1 data come, believes that such sporadic retroflex readings in this dialect may be due to the influence of the standard language. She will in future treat this matter in detail. The following are illustrative examples:

shí 適 QYS ʂjäk CDC *shiak⁵
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [ʂɨ]; WN2 [ʂɨ]; WN3 [ʂɨ];
As mentioned in the introductory remarks to the present chapter, this initial is peripheral in the Common Gàn system and is limited to loanwords and borrowed character readings that almost certainly postdate the formation of the Core Common Gàn lexicon. However, from the standpoint of the comparative method it can be regularly reconstructed, and for this reason we have assigned it a secondary place in the Common initial system. It is found in syllables having the QYS rìm rì initial, whose history and position in Common Gàn is complex. Since this entire problem will be taken up in detail in §2.7 below, in the present section we shall merely note the correspondence patterns that specifically support the reconstruction of *ɻ-.

To begin, we should note that loan forms having this initial were borrowed at two different periods in the history of the language. The first loan stage is probably datable to the 8

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8 As pointed out in Chapter I, §1.1, by the term “Core Common Gàn” we mean the numerically largest or “thickest” layer among a particular set of correlatable strata in the common lexicon of the dialect. Such a layer may not be the historically oldest layer in the set. But it will be “thick” enough that it will generally be felt to typify the family. It is not to be confused with “Primitive Gàn” (see, again, Chap. 1, §1.1), which does refer to the chronologically earliest stages of the language.

9 Which is to say there are regular sound correspondences that support it.
Late Song 宋 / Yuan 元 / Early Ming 明 period. In loanwords and readings of this period, this retroflex initial was followed by high front vowels in the donor language(s), and it was then entirely lost in Gàn (though leaving a trace in certain finals in Tōngchéng), either during the actual borrowing process itself or very soon thereafter. Such syllables will of course all have the zero initial in the modern dialects. In this stage, borrowed *ł- is retained as z- in Chálíng before Common Gàn *-i- when not followed by a nasal. Otherwise, *ł- becomes z- in Tōngshān, and is replaced by l- in the remaining dialects. And, again, it is conceivable that the shifts to z- or l- respectively occurred (or are occurring) during the time of borrowing, rather than after it. Common Gàn *ł- occurs together with other reconstructed initials in many sets where popular and literary forms are mixed, but citation of these will be deferred to §2.7. The examples given here will accordingly be limited for the most part to cases where only *ł- is restored, and these will of necessity all be of elevated or literary register.

rèn 刃 QYS ńźjen- CDC *nhin⁶
TS [jen⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [in阳去]; TC [yn]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [iän阳去]; DC2 [—];
AY [läm⁴]; NC [iän阳去]; FX [läm阳去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [in①]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lin阳去]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [in阴去]; JA1 [lin阴去]; JA2 [len阳去];
SC [—]; LnC [lin阴去]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *ńin阳去 ~ *ńen阳去
The second reconstructed form has unetymological modern readings in shǎngshēng and the coda -m at some points. The LH2 form irregularly has an upper register tone. The word, meaning “blade of a weapon or tool”, is learned and bookish, and perhaps consequently particularly susceptible to such anomalies.

róu 柔 QYS ńźjau CDC *nhieu²
TS [zuän阴平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lu阳平]; WN3 [iu阳平];
TC [iou⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [leu阴平]; DC2 [—];
AY [lu阳平]; NC [leu阴平]; FX [lu阳平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [iu⁵]; AF1 [leœ⁴]; AF2 [lieu⁴]; LH1 [iu阳平]; LH2 [löi阴平]; JA1 [lau阴平]; JA2 [liu阴平];
SC [liau]; LnC [liu阳平]; NnC1 [iu阴平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lau⁴] CG *ńiu阳平 ~ *ńu阳平

ri 日 QYS ńźjet CDC *nhit⁸
TS [zi]; WN1 [ni]; WN2 [ni]; WN3 [ni ~ niε];
TC [yœ阴入]; XZ [le]; YX [ni]; DC1 [le阴入 ~ ni阴入]; DC2 [ni阴入];
AY [lat阴入 ~ ni阴入]; NC [lat阴入 ~ ni阴入]; FX [lat ~ ni阳入]; GA [it ~ lœ阳入];
CL [zœ]; PX [ni]; AF1 [nie⁵]; AF2 [lo阴入 ~ nie⁵]; LH1 [le阳入]; LH2 [ie阳入]; JA1 [lei阴入 ~ nie阴入]; JA2 [le阳入];
The coda of [it] in the first GA form appears to be a misprint for [il] in the source.

Note by way of example the Tōngshān forms in the preceding sets. In the first three sets Tōngshān has replaced *t- with a late layer initial z-. In the final two sets, the initial has been lost, yielding Tōngshān zero initial forms. In the third set, Cháling shows survival as z- of original *t-.

2.5 The Gutturals

2.5.1 CG *k-. Before Common Gàn non-high-front vowels which are unmodified in the modern dialects this initial remains unchanged. Examples are:
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Where Common Gàn vowels break to yield later high front vowels as final onsets, secondary palatalization occurs in Fènxīn, Ānfū-1, and sporadically in Ānfū-2, e.g.,

gǒu 狗 QYS kāu: CDC *kēu³
TS [keu³]; WN1 [tejau³]; WN2 [kiau³]; WN3 [keu³];
TC [kiau³]; XZ [keu³]; YX [keu³]; DC1 [keu³]; DC2 [kāu³ ~ kāu³];
AY [kiau³]; NC [kieu³]; FX [keu³ ~ tiem³]; GA [kieu³];
CL [kœ³]; PX [kœ³]; AF1 [teiæu³]; AF2 [kieu³]; LH1 [kœ³]; LH2 [kœ³]; JA1 [kiau³]; JA2 [keu³];
SC [kiau³]; LnC [kœu³]; NnC1 [kieu³]; NnC2 [kieu³]; LC [keu³] CG *keu³

gēn 根 QYS kān CDC *ken¹
TS [kœ³]; WN1 [kæn³]; WN2 [kien³]; WN3 [kæn³];
TC [kien³]; XZ [kæn³]; YX [kæn³]; DC1 [kær³]; DC2 [kœn³];
AY [kien³]; NC [kien³]; FX [kæn³ ~ teiæn³]; GA [kien³];
CL [kœ³]; PX [kœ³]; AF1 [teiæn³]; AF2 [kien³]; LH1 [kœ³]; LH2 [kœ³]; JA1 [kien³]; JA2 [kæn³];
SC [kæn³]; LnC [kœ³]; NnC1 [kær³]; NnC2 [kær³]; LC [kœn³] CG *ken³

gēng 更 QYS kōng “to change” CDC *kəŋ¹
TS [kœ³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [kien³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kær³]; DC2 [—];
AY [kien³]; NC [kien³]; FX [kær³ ~ kær³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kœ³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teiæn³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [kœ³]; JA1 [kien³]; JA2 [kær³];
SC [—]; LnC [kær³ ~ kær³]; NnC1 [kær³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kær³] CG *kær³ ~ *kæŋ³

The apparently promiscuous palatalization in Ānfū-2 seems clearly to be due to dialect mixture, since competing velar/palatal doublets sometimes occur in the dialect. Consider the following examples:

gēng 耕 QYS kēng CDC *kæŋ¹
TS [kær³]; WN1 [tejen³]; WN2 [kær³]; WN3 [kær³ ~ kær³];
Primary palatalization before original Common Gân high front vowels occurs in all dialects except Lichuân, where original gutturals are retained. In this respect, the difference between primary and secondary palatalization is of great importance in comparative Gân phonology, for the former type palatalizes gutturals far more generally than the latter. Examples of primary palatalization are as follows.

jī 雞 QYS kiei CDC *kiai¹
TS [tei¹]; WN1 [tei¹]; WN2 [tei¹]; WN3 [tei¹];
TC [tei¹]; XZ [tei¹]; YX [tei¹]; DC1 [tei¹]; DC2 [tei¹];
AY [tei¹]; NC [tei¹]; FX [tei¹]; GA [kai¹];
CL [tei¹]; PX [tei¹]; AF1 [tei¹]; AF2 [tei¹]; LH1 [tei¹]; LH2 [tei¹];
JA1 [tei¹]; JA2 [tei¹];
SC [tei¹]; LnC [tei¹]; NnC1 [tei¹]; NnC2 [tei¹];
LC [tei¹]; GC *ki¹ (~ *tei¹)

jù 句 QYS kjwān:³ CDC *kion³
TS [tey³]; WN1 [tey³]; WN2 [tey³]; WN3 [tey³];
TC [tey³]; XZ [kui³]; YX [kui³]; DC1 [tei³]; DC2 [tei³];
AY [tei³]; NC [tei³]; FX [tei³]; GA [kui³];
CL [tey³]; PX [tsu³]; AF1 [tey³]; AF2 [tey³]; LH1 [tey³]; LH2 [tey³];
JA1 [tey³]; JA2 [tey³];
SC [tey³]; LnC [tei³]; NnC1 [tei³]; NnC2 [tei³];
LC [kui³] GC *ky³
The wén and bái designations for the GA forms appear to have been reversed in the source.

juan 捲 QYS kjwān:³ CDC *kion³
TS [tey³]; WN1 [tejwən³]; WN2 —; WN3 [teyen³];
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TC [tsien²]; XZ [kuien³]; YX [kuen³]; DC1 [teien³]; DC2 [teion³];
AY [teien³]; NC [teyon³]; FX [—]; GA [teion³];
CL [teyän³]; PX [tʂüg³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teyen⁴]; LH1 [tey³]; LH2 [te³]; JA1 [teyan³]; JA2 [teyän³];
SC [—]; LnC [teyän³]; NnC1 [tey³]; NnC2 [kuan⁵]; LC [kuan⁵] CG *kyon⁵

A peculiarity of Gāo'an is that in this dialect Common Gàn *y as main vowel triggers dental sibilantization of preceding gutturals, rather than palatalization. This can be observed by comparing the preceding two examples, where the first shows this sibilantization, while the second, which has medial *-y-, undergoes simple palatalization.

Strictly speaking, a Líchuān form is necessary to support the reconstruction of initial gutturals in sets such as these. However, in actual fact, the general correspondence pattern for the remainder of such a set enables us to restore an original guttural, even in the absence of Líchuān evidence. The following is a set of this type:

jin 僅 QYS gjen³ CDC *kin⁵
TS [tein³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tein³];
TC [tein³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzin⁴]; DC2 [—];
AY [tein³]; NC [tein³]; FX [tein³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tein³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tein³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [te³]; JA1 [tein³]; JA2 [tein³];
SC [—]; LnC [tein⁵]; NnC1 [tein³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *kin⁵ 陰上 ~ *gin⁵

Another such example is the following set, where it is specifically the wén forms that are pertinent in the present context:

jiā 家 QYS ka CDC *ka¹
TS [ka¹ 陸平白 ~ teia 陸平文]; WN1 [ka¹ 陸平白 ~ teia 陸平文]; WN2 [teia] 陸平文; WN3 [ka¹ 陸平文];
TC [teia 陸平文 ~ ka¹ 陸平白]; XZ [ka¹ 陸平白]; YX [ka¹ 陸平白]; DC1 [teia 陸平白 ~ ka¹ 陸平白]; DC2 [ka¹ 陸平白];
AY [ka¹ 陸平白]; NC [ka¹ 陸平白]; FX [ka¹ 陸平白]; GA [ka¹ 陸平白];
CL [teia 陸平文 ~ ka¹ 陸平文]; PX [ka¹ 陸平白]; AF1 [ka¹ 陸平白]; AF2 [ka¹ 陸平白]; LH1 [ka¹ 陸平白]; LH2 [ka¹ 陸平白];
JA1 [ka¹ 陸平白]; JA2 [ka¹ 陸平白];
SC [ka¹ 陸平白]; LnC [ka¹ 陸平白]; NnC1 [ka¹ 陸平白]; NnC2 [ka¹ 陸平白]; LC [ka¹ 陸平白] CG *ka¹ 陸平白 ~ *kia¹ 陸平文

Only guttural initial syllables could yield modern correspondence patterns of these types. We can therefore confidently reconstruct velars in these sets.

2.5.2 CG *k-. Before non-high vowels this initial becomes g~/gʰ- as expected in Xīngzǐ, Yǒngxiū, Dūchāng; but, surprisingly, in Tōngchēng it becomes h-. Examples are:

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Before secondary -i-, initial *k'- palatalizes in Fènxīn and Ānfū-1 but behaves ambiguously in Ānfū-2, in a manner reminiscent of *k- in this environment, even in the matter of showing palatalized and unpalatalized doublets:

**kè 刻 QYS khak**  CDC *khek^7_
TS [k'è^] ; WN1 [k'è^]; WN2 [k'è^]; WN3 [k'è^];
TC [he?] ; XZ [ge^2]; YX [gè^2]; DC1 [gek^2]; DC2 [gek^2];
AY [k'è^]; NC [k'ë^]; FX [k'ë^]; GA [k'ë^];
CL [k'è^]; PX [k'ë^]; AF1 [k'ë^]; AF2 [k'ë^]; LH1 [k'è^]; LH2 [k'è^];
JA1 [k'è^]; JA2 [k'è^];
SC [k'è^]; LnC [k'è^]; NnC1 [k'è^]; NnC2 [k'è^]; LC [k'è^]  CG *k'è^

The word kòù □ “mouth, opening” is quite interesting, for it develops initial h- in a number of different dialects where this change is not otherwise seen. This may represent an old substrate form that was once more widespread in the Gàn-speaking area.
Particularly interesting is the Tōngchéng form of this word, for here this dialect uncharacteristically has not h- but dz-, an initial which has presumably developed through the secondary palatalization of an earlier *g- (< *k*-). The history of this word in Tōngchéng must therefore be rather complex. Compare the following, where the more predictable outcome obtains:

Before the vowel *u, *k'- is lost entirely in Tōngchéng, except before the final *-uŋ. Examples are:

Before the vowel *u, *k'- is lost entirely in Tōngchéng, except before the final *-uŋ. Examples are:
This phenomenon has also been noted for *k- in the preceding section. In Tōqì original *k’- survives unchanged. These processes are illustrated in the following sets:

Nánchéng -u-, presumably at some time before the onset of palatalization. In cases of this type, finals having low or back main vowels, except in cases where a medial *-y- has shifted to becomes modern dz-. Hardening of *tɕə following *y becomes modern -u-, the initial is lost. If *y becomes modern - remains as t[i], either as medial or in the absolute final -i. Before Common Gàn *y, on the other hand, it remains as teh- when the vowel functions as a syllabic medial (regardless of its outcome in modern Gào’an) and sibilantizes to tṣ- when *y functions as the main vowel of the syllable. This phenomenon has also been noted for *k- in the preceding section. In Tōngchéng, if a following *y becomes modern -u-, the initial is lost. If *y becomes modern -ə-, the initial becomes modern dz-. Hardening of *te'- (< *k'-) to modern t'- occurs in Nánchéng before finals having low or back main vowels, except in cases where a medial *-y- has shifted to Nánchéng -u-, presumably at some time before the onset of palatalization. In cases of this type, original *k'- survives unchanged. These processes are illustrated in the following sets:

qi 氣 QYS khjei- CDC *khi̯5
TS [tei;]; WN1 [tehi]; WN2 [tehi]; WN3 [tehi];
TC [dzi]; XZ [dzi]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [i];
AY [tei̯]; NC [tei̯]; FX [tei̯]; GA [ei];
CL [tei̯]; PX [tei̯]; AF1 [tei̯]; AF2 [tei̯]; LH1 [tei̯]; LH2 [tei̯]; JA1 [tei̯]; JA2 [tei̯];
SC [tei̯]; LnC [tei̯]; NnC1 [tei̯]; NnC2 [tei̯]; LC [k̯i̯]; CG *k̯i̯
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qìng 轻 QYS kḥiąṅ CDC *khìaŋ
TS [tʰiṅ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰiŋ]; WN3 [tʰiŋ]; TC [dzìṅ]; XZ [dzi̯ṅ]; YX [dzi̯ṅ]; DC1 [dzi̯ṅ]; DC2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; AY [tʰi̯ṅ]; NC [tʰiṅ]; FX [tʰi̯ṅ]; GA [tʰi̯ṅ]; CL [tʰi̯ṅ]; PX [tʰi̯ṅ]; AF1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; AF2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; JA1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; JA2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; SC [tʰi̯ṅ]; LnC [tʰi̯ṅ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; LC [kʰi̯ṅ] CG *kʰi̯ṅ

quàn 勸 QYS kʰjwɔn- CDC *khìaŋ
TS [tʰi̯ṅ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tʰi̯ṅ]; TC [dzìṅ]; XZ [gui̯ṅ]; YX [g̱u̯ṅ]; DC1 [dzi̯ṅ]; DC2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; AY [kʰi̯ṅ]; NC [tʰi̯ṅ]; FX [tʰi̯ṅ]; GA [tʰi̯ṅ]; CL [tʰi̯ṅ]; PX [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; JA1 [kʰi̯ṅ]; JA2 [kʰi̯ṅ]; SC [—]; LnC [kʰi̯ṅ]; NnC1 [kʰi̯ṅ]; NnC2 [kʰi̯ṅ]; LC [kʰi̯ṅ] CG *kʰy̯ṅ

qù 屈 QYS kʰjuat CDC *khìaŋ
TS [tʰi̯ṅ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tʰi̯ṅ]; TC [dzìṅ]; XZ [guĩ̯ṅ]; YX [g̱u̯ṅ]; DC1 [dzi̯ṅ]; DC2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; AY [tʰi̯ṅ]; NC [tʰi̯ṅ]; FX [tʰi̯ṅ]; GA [tʰi̯ṅ]; CL [tʰi̯ṅ]; PX [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; HL2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; JA1 [tʰi̯ṅ]; JA2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; SC [—]; LnC [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; NnC1 [kʰi̯ṅ]; NnC2 [kʰi̯ṅ]; LC [kʰi̯ṅ] CG *kʰy̯ṅ

què 却 QYS kʰjak CDC *kʰi̯aŋ
TS [tʰi̯ṅ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tʰi̯ṅ]; TC [dzìṅ]; XZ [gui̯ṅ]; YX [g̱u̯ṅ]; DC1 [dzi̯ṅ]; DC2 [tʰi̯ṅ]; AY [tʰi̯ṅ]; NC [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; FX [tʰi̯ṅ]; GA [tʰi̯ṅ]; CL [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; PX [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; HL1 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; HL2 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; JA1 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; JA2 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; SC [—]; LnC [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; NnC1 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; NnC2 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; LC [k³g̱i̯ṅ] CG *g̱yo̯ṅ (~ *kue̯ṅ)

què 却 QYS kʰjak CDC *kʰi̯aŋ
TS [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; TC [dzìṅ]; XZ [gui̯ṅ]; YX [g̱u̯ṅ]; DC1 [dzi̯ṅ]; DC2 [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; AY [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; NC [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; FX [t³g̱i̯ṅ]; GA [—];
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CL [tʰio]; PX [tʰio]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰio]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰio]; JA1 [tʰio]; JA2 [tʰyo]; SC [—]; LnC [tʰio]; NnC1 [t’oː]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k’io] CG *k’io

To complete the material encompassed in the above examples, we may note that in the following set the Dùchāng-2 form does not lose its initial because it is probably a loan from a neighboring dialect such as Dùchāng-1:

qiàn 起 qYS kj̃j̃: CDC *k’iam
TS [tʰie]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰiën]; WN3 [tʰiën]; TC [dziən]; XZ [dziən]; YX [dziən]; DC1 [dziən]; DC2 [dziən];
AY [tʰiem]; NC [tʰiën]; FX [tʰiem]; GA [ɕiën];
CL [tʰiem]; PX [tʰiem]; AF1 [tʰiɐn]; AF2 [tʰiën]; LH1 [tʰiɐn]; LH2 [ɕiɐn]; JA1 [tʰiɐn]; JA2 [tʰian];
SC [tʰiɐn]; LnC [tʰiem]; NnC1 [tʰian]; NnC2 [tʰian]; LC [ɕi’am] CG *k’iem

And in our final example we find the common word qǐ 起 “to rise”, which has a bái reading derived from *h- in a number of dialects. This may be an archaic substrate form that was once widespread in the Gàn-speaking area. Compare the set for “mouth” cited above.

qǐ 起 qYS kj̃j̃: CDC *k’iam
TS [tʰi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰi]; WN3 [tʰi];
TC [dzi]; XZ [dzi]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [i];
AY [tʰi]; NC [tʰi]; FX [tʰi]; GA [ɕi];
its presence, but occasional doublets suggest that this is due to borrowing from other dialects. In §2.6 below. The following are examples:

qiáng 强 QYS giang CDC *giong
TS [tɕʰiŋ]; WN1 [tɕʰiŋ]; WN3 [dʑiŋ];
TC [dʑiŋ]; XZ [dʑiŋ]; YX [dʑiŋ]; DC1 [dʑiŋ]; DC2 [iŋ];
AY [tɕʰiŋ]; NC [tɕʰiŋ]; FX [tɕʰiŋ]; GA [ɕiŋ];
CL [tɕʰiŋ]; PX [tɕʰiŋ]; AF1 [tɕʰiŋ]; AF2 [tɕʰiŋ]; LH1 [tɕʰiŋ]; LH2 [tɕʰiŋ];
JA1 [tɕʰiŋ]; JA2 [tɕʰiŋ];
SC [tɕʰiŋ]; LnC [tɕʰiŋ]; NnC1 [tʰiŋ]; NnC2 [tʰiŋ]; LC [kʰiŋ] CG *giŋ

The LH1 initial is unexpected. The form given by JXFY is regular.

juàn 倦 QYS gjwân- CDC *gion
TS [tɕʰeŋ]; WN1 []; WN2 []; WN3 [tɕe̠ŋ];
TC []; XZ []; YX []; DC1 [dʑe̠ŋ]; DC2 [];
AY [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; NC [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; FX [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; GA [];
CL []; PX [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; AF1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; AF2 []; LH1 []; LH2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ];
JA1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; JA2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ];
SC []; LnC [tɕe̠ŋ]; NnC1 []; NnC2 [ ]; LC [k'uan] CG *gion

qún 裁 QYS giuân CDC *giun
TS [tɕe̠ŋ]; WN1 []; WN2 []; WN3 [dʑe̠ŋ];
TC [dʑe̠ŋ]; XZ [gɐ̠in]; YX [gɐ̠in]; DC1 [dʑe̠ŋ]; DC2 [in];
AY [tɕe̠ŋ]; NC [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; FX [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; GA [tsʰe̠ŋ];
CL [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; PX [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; AF1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; AF2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; LH1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; LH2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ];
JA1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; JA2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ];
SC [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; LnC [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; NnC1 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; NnC2 [tɕʰe̠ŋ]; LC [k'yan] CG *gyn

2.5.4 CG *ŋ-. Before non-high vowels this initial survives at most points except Liánhuā-1, where it is usually lost. In Ānfū-2 and both Liánhuā types there is some ambiguity regarding its presence, but occasional doublets suggest that this is due to borrowing from other dialects. Ānfū-1, Jǐān-1, and Lichūān are generally probative for contrast with proto-initial zero. Cf. §2.6 below. The following examples are:

ài 艾 QYS ngâi- CDC *ngoi
TS [ŋa]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [ŋai ];
TC [ŋai ]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [ŋai ]; DC2 [ ];
AY [ŋai ]; NC [ŋai ]; FX [ŋai ]; GA [ ];

SC [tɕʰiŋ]; LnC [tɕʰiŋ]; NnC1 [tɕʰiŋ]; NnC2 [tɕʰiŋ]; LC [k'yan] CG *gyn
The upper register tone in the JA2 form is irregular.

Before Common Gàn *-u, initial *ŋ- is reconstructable on the basis of Tōngshān, Línchuān, Nánchéng-1, and Líchuān, where it is fairly well preserved in this environment and contrasts with initial zero there. In Tōngshān, modern ŋ-initial forms are often found in competition with readings which lack this initial. These variants, which are clearly intrusive, appear to have been borrowed from some other dialect type. Examples are:

wù QYS ngu- CDC *nu
TS [nu]; WN1 [u]; WN2 [u]; WN3 [u]; TC [u]; XZ [u]; YX [u]; DC1 [u]; DC2 [u]; AY [u]; NC [u]; FX [u]; GA [u]; CL [u]; PX [u]; AF1 [u]; AF2 [u]; LH1 [u]; LH2 [u]; JA1 [u]; JA2 [u]; SC [u]; LnC [u]; NnC1 [u]; NnC2 [u]; LC [u]; CG *nu

The upper register tone in the JA2 form is irregular.

Before Common Gàn *-u, initial *ŋ- is reconstructable on the basis of Tōngshān, Línchuān, Nánchéng-1, and Líchuān, where it is fairly well preserved in this environment and contrasts with initial zero there. In Tōngshān, modern ŋ-initial forms are often found in competition with readings which lack this initial. These variants, which are clearly intrusive, appear to have been borrowed from some other dialect type. Examples are:

wù QYS ngu- CDC *nu
TS [nu]; WN1 [u]; WN2 [u]; WN3 [u]; TC [u]; XZ [u]; YX [u]; DC1 [u]; DC2 [u]; AY [u]; NC [u]; FX [u]; GA [u]; CL [u]; PX [u]; AF1 [u]; AF2 [u]; LH1 [u]; LH2 [u]; JA1 [u]; JA2 [u]; SC [u]; LnC [u]; NnC1 [u]; NnC2 [u]; LC [u]; CG *nu
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Before the vowel -i-, Common Gàn *ŋ- is reconstructable only where modern ŋ- is found in Líchuān in direct phonemic contrast with that dialect’s initial n- or ŋ-. Where no such contrast can be identified, sets having Líchuān ŋ can best be reconstructed with the default initial *n- (> LC ŋ-), since there is no motivation for doing otherwise. In broader historical terms, this means that Common Dialectal Chinese ng- (= QYS ng-) can yield either Common Gàn *ŋ- or *n-, with the alternate developments conditioned by the following final environments. It is exceedingly important that this peculiarity of Common Gàn be clearly understood, for it has a direct bearing on the developmental history of traditional rìm 日母 syllables in early layers of Common Gàn, as will be shown in §2.7 below (where further corroboration for our reconstructive approach here regarding *ŋ- vs. *n- will be given). The following are sets illustrating the reconstruction of Common Gàn *ŋ- before the vowel -i-:

 yi 疑 QYS njï CDC *ngi

Compare:

ni 尼 QYS ŋi CDC *ni

*JXFY.
The tone of the LH2 form is irregular.

Compare:

niáng 娘 QYS njang  CDC *niong
TS [ŋiœ̃]; WN1 [ŋiœ̃]; WN2 [ŋiœ̃]; WN3 [ŋiœ̃];
TC [ŋiœ̃]; XZ [ŋiœ̃]; YX [ŋiœ̃]; DC1 [ŋiœ̃]; DC2 [ŋiœ̃];
AY [ŋiœ̃]; NC [ŋiœ̃]; FX [ŋiœ̃]; GA [ŋiœ̃];
CL [ŋiœ̃]; PX [ŋiœ̃]; AF1 [ŋiœ̃]; AF2 [ŋiœ̃]; LH1 [ŋiœ̃]; LH2 [ŋiœ̃]; JA1 [ŋiœ̃]; JA2 [ŋiœ̃];
SC [ŋiœ̃]; LnC [ŋiœ̃]; NnC1 [ŋiœ̃]; NnC2 [ŋiœ̃];

Compare:

nián 年 QYS nien  CDC *nian
TS [ŋiœ̃]; WN1 [ŋiœ̃]; WN2 [ŋiœ̃]; WN3 [ŋiœ̃];
TC [ŋiœ̃]; XZ [ŋiœ̃]; YX [ŋiœ̃]; DC1 [ŋiœ̃]; DC2 [ŋiœ̃];
AY [ŋiœ̃]; NC [ŋiœ̃]; FX [ŋiœ̃]; GA [ŋiœ̃];
CL [ŋiœ̃]; PX [ŋiœ̃]; AF1 [ŋiœ̃]; AF2 [ŋiœ̃]; LH1 [ŋiœ̃]; LH2 [ŋiœ̃]; JA1 [ŋiœ̃]; JA2 [ŋiœ̃];
SC [ŋiœ̃]; LnC [ŋiœ̃]; NnC1 [ŋiœ̃]; NnC2 [ŋiœ̃];

The tone of the LH2 form is irregular.

With these three pairs, consider by way of comparison the following sets, where CG *n- should be posited, as already pointed out in §2.2.4:
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Gân

Common Dialectal Chinese *ng-. Common Gân *y

It should be noted that only *n- can be reconstructed before Common Gân *y as a reflex of *ng-. The following examples illustrate this:

Lichuân has a contrasting syllable-type [niʔ], but there is no syllable type *niaʔ in this variety of the dialect. Now compare the following set:

As regards the second reconstruction, Lichuân has no syllable type [niou]. The second form should accordingly be reconstructed with the default initial *n-

Finally in connection with the above and as a supplement to what we have said in §2.2.4, it should be noted that only *n- can be reconstructed before Common Gân *y as a reflex of *ng-. Common Gân *ŋ- cannot occur in this environment. The following examples illustrate this:

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the reconstruction of the syllable initials of Common Gân is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Initial</th>
<th>English Transcription</th>
<th>Traditional Chinese</th>
<th>Modern Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ny-</td>
<td>遇 (yu)</td>
<td>yú</td>
<td>QYS ngjwo: CDC *ngie⁴ (~ *ngiu⁴)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nyi-</td>
<td>雲 (yu)</td>
<td>yù</td>
<td>QYS ngjw- CDC *ngiu⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*niak</td>
<td>尼 (ni)</td>
<td>niū</td>
<td>QYS ngjok CDC *ngiak⁸</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TS [n̩i]; WN1 [ŋi]; WN2 [ŋi]; WN3 [ŋi]; TC [ŋi]; XZ [ŋi]; YX [ŋi]; DC1 [ŋi]; DC2 [ŋi]; AY [ŋi]; NC [ŋi]; FX [ŋi]; GA [ŋi]; CL [ŋi]; PX [ŋi]; AF1 [ŋi]; AF2 [ŋi]; LH1 [i]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [ŋi]; JA2 [ŋi]; SC [ŋi]; LnC [ŋi]; NnC1 [ŋi]; NnC2 [ŋi]; LC [ŋi]; NnC1 [ŋi]; NnC2 [ŋi]; DC2 [ŋi]; HC [ŋi]; PX [ŋi]; FX [ŋi]; GA [ŋi];
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yuán QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie^2 (~ *ngiu^2)
In this set, we assume that the bái form *ngie^2 has been reduced to ngie in PX, and further to a syllabic nasal in most of its neighboring dialects except JA2, where the wén form has been adopted for the word “fish”. In most other dialects that retain Common Gàn *ngie, the initial becomes a coronal. NnC2 has, on the contrary, retained the Common Gàn form nearly unchanged, as its ordinary word for “fish”; but it has borrowed a bái-derived form ngie from some other Gàn dialect, probably Nánchāng, as its wén reading.

Finally, as a minor developmental oddity, we may note that, in words having the Common Gàn final *-y, Jiān-1 may take n- (< CDC *ng-) only under the shàng tone. Under other tones, only initial zero obtains.

2.5.5 CG *h-. Before non-high vowels this initial becomes modern h- or x-, except in Yǒngxiǔ, where it yields g^h-. It does not undergo secondary palatalization. The following are examples:
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Before non-final *-u-, *h- becomes f- in a number of dialects, and φ- in Dùchāng. Examples are:

hōng 紅 QYS yung  CDC *hung²
TS [xun¹]; WN1 [han²]; WN2 [han²]; WN3 [xun²];
TC [fəŋ̩ ]; XZ [han²]; YX [fəŋ̩ ]; DC1 [fəŋ̩ ]; DC2 [fəŋ̩ ];
AY [həŋ]; NC [fəŋ̩ ]; FX [həŋ]; GA [həŋ];
CL [xəŋ]; PX [həŋ]; AF1 [həŋ]; AF2 [həŋ]; LH1 [həŋ]; LH2 [həŋ]; JA1 [həŋ];
JA2 [xəŋ];
SC [həŋ]; LnC [həŋ]; NnC1 [həŋ]; NnC2 [həŋ]; LC [həŋ] CG *heu

hù 胡 QYS yu:  CDC *heu⁴
TS [xuто]; WN1 [hau²]; WN2 [hau²]; WN3 [xuто];
TC [hiau²]; XZ [hau²]; YX [gʰεu²]; DC1 [xuто]; DC2 [hau²];
AY [hau²]; NC [hau²]; FX [hau²]; GA [hau²];
CL [xəу]; PX [həу]; AF1 [həу]; AF2 [həу]; LH1 [həу]; LH2 [həу]; JA1 [həу];
JA2 [xəу];
SC [həу]; LnC [həу]; NnC1 [həу]; NnC2 [həу]; LC [həу] CG *heu

hū 夠 QYS xwa  CDC *xua¹
TS [xua]; WN1 [hwa¹]; WN2 [hwa¹]; WN3 [xua];
TC [fuа]; XZ [hwa¹]; YX [fuа]; DC1 [fuа]; DC2 [fuа];
AY [fuа]; NC [fuа]; FX [hwa¹]; GA [fuа];
CL [xəу]; PX [həу]; AF1 [həу]; AF2 [həу]; LH1 [həу]; LH2 [həу]; JA1 [həу];
JA2 [xəу];
SC [həу]; LnC [fux]; NnC1 [fux]; NnC2 [fux]; LC [fux] CG *xua
Tōngshān has the curious characteristic that before -uæi (< *-uoi, *-ui) *h- becomes f-specifically under the yīnpíng tone, with concomitant loss of medial -u-. Compare the following two sets:

This set is highly mixed, involving combinations of two sets of initials and finals. The derivation of the LC bái form is particularly uncertain, since it does not correspond regularly to any forms in the other dialects. In our view, the etymon represented here is actually xiè解(QYSɣaï:/CDC *hai⁴) “(to understand >) know how, be able to”.

Before final *-u, there is a slightly different initial correspondence pattern for *h-:
Common Gàn *h- before *-i- is generally retained as such in Líchuān and palatalized elsewhere. Where palatalized forms appear in Líchuān, they are usually identifiable as literary loans from other dialects. The following are examples:

\[ xì \quad QYS \quad xje^-3 \quad CDC \quad *xi^5 \]

TS [ei\h\]; WN1 [ei\h\]; WN2 [ei\h\]; WN3 [ei\h\];
TC [ei\h\]; XZ [ei\h\]; YX [ei\h\]; DC1 [ei\h\]; DC2 [ei\h\];
AY [ei\h\]; NC [ei\h\]; FX [ei\h\]; GA [ei\h\];
CL [ei\h\]; PX [tei\h\]; AF1 [ei\h\]; AF2 [tei\h\]; LH1 [ei\h\]; LH2 [ei\h\]; JA1 [tei\h\]; JA2 [ei\h\];
SC [ei\h\]; LnC [ei\h\]; NnC1 [ei\h\]; NnC2 [ei\h\];

The tone of the second reconstructed reading is unetymological but is clearly reflected in TS and LH2.

\[ xìng \quad QYS \quad yong \quad CDC \quad *hang^2 \]

TS [ei\h\]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ei\h\];
TC [ei\h\]; XZ [ei\h\]; YX [ei\h\]; DC1 [ei\h\]; DC2 [ei\h\];
AY [ei\h\]; NC [ei\h\]; FX [ei\h\]; GA [ei\h\];
CL [ei\h\]; PX [ha\h\;~ei\h\]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei\h\]; LH1 [ei\h\;~he\h\]; LH2 [ei\h\;~hen\h\];

SC [—]; LnC [hen\h\];

The CG form reconstructed for this set as *hen\h\ should perhaps really be restored as *he\h\, but this form is not reconstructable comparatively, because the appropriate reading does not happen to occur in the dialects that would support final *-e here. The second one, and perhaps also the third, represents a different etymon, meaning “to do, carry out”, whereas the first one means “to walk”.

Before final *-y, *h- is usually retained in Líchuān, Xīngzǐ, and Gāoān. In Pingxiāng it becomes ś- and in Anfù-ś-, due to conditioning by the special modern reflexes of following *-y in these dialects. In the word xǔ 許 “to allow”, Xīngzǐ has an odd and irregular initial f-form, which is also found in other parts of the north central Gàn area. Compare the following examples:

\[ xu \quad QYS \quad xjwo \quad CDC \quad *xie^1 (~ *xiu^1) \]

TS [ey\h\]; WN1 [ey\h\]; WN2 [ey\h\]; WN3 [ey\h\];
TC [ey\h\]; XZ [hui\h\]; YX [ei\h\]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ei\h\];
AY [ei\h\]; NC [ey\h\]; FX [ei\h\]; GA [ho\h\];
CL [ey\h\]; PX [su\h\]; AF1 [su\h\]; AF2 [ey\h\]; LH1 [ey\h\]; LH2 [ey\h\]; JA1 [ey\h\];

SC [ey\h\];

Before final *-y, *h- is usually retained in Líchuān, Xīngzǐ, and Gāoān. In Pingxiāng it becomes ś- and in Anfù-ś-, due to conditioning by the special modern reflexes of following *-y in these dialects. In the word xǔ 許 “to allow”, Xīngzǐ has an odd and irregular initial f-form, which is also found in other parts of the north central Gàn area. Compare the following examples:
The LC bái form may derive from an archaic form in *he⁵⁴. We unfortunately have nothing with which to compare it.

When *h- precedes *-y- in non-final position, it does not survive as such but is modified in various ways in all dialects. For this reason its reconstruction here must be done analogically by comparison with its development before *-y, and by a process of elimination, i.e., by determining that it could not in probability derive from any other reconstructed initial. In most dialects, it palatalizes to c-. In Pingxiang it becomes s-, and in Anfu-1 s-, or c- in probable borrowed readings. In Nanchang it also becomes s-; and, again, where c- obtains there, this appears to be due to borrowing from other dialects. In Lichuan it yields f-, and such forms also reappear in Tongcheng, Xingzhi, and Yongxiu. This development in these dialects is almost certainly related in some way to the odd reading of xù juvenɡ in Xingzhi, which we have noted above. If our data from Xingzhi and Yongxiu were not so scant, it might be possible to throw more light on the matter. For the nonce, we may surmise that the f-initial readings in this area are “native” or autochthonous developments, while competing forms in c- have been borrowed from more prestigious dialects or koines. Illustrative examples of the various points noted here are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>xù 許 QYS xjwo</strong></th>
<th>CDC *xie³ (~ *xiu³)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS     [ɕy̚⁶]</td>
<td>WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɕy̚⁶]; WN3 [ɕy̚⁶];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC     [ɕi̯⁶]; XZ [fi̯⁶]; YX [ɕi̯⁶]; DC1 [ɕi̯⁶]; DC2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY     [ɕi̯⁶]; NC [ɕi̯⁶]; FX [ɕi̯⁶]; GA [hø⁵⁵];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL     [ɕi̯⁶]; PX [ɕu⁶]; AF1 [ɕu⁶]; AF2 [ɕu⁶]; LH1 [ɕu⁶]; LH2 [ɕu⁶]; JA1 [sy⁵⁵]; JA2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC     [ɕy̚⁶]; LnC [ɕi̯⁶]; NnC1 [ɕi̯⁶]; NnC2 [ɕi̯⁶]; LC [ɕi̯⁶]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CG *hyun⁶ ~ *he⁵⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>xiàn 縣 QYS yïwen-</strong></th>
<th>CDC *hion⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS     [ɕi̯⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɕi̯⁶]; WN3 [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC     [ɕi̯⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ɕi̯⁶]; DC2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY     [ɕi̯⁶]; NC [ɕi̯⁶]; FX [ɕi̯⁶]; GA [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL     [ɕi̯⁶]; PX [—]; AF1 [ɕi̯⁶]; AF2 [ɕi̯⁶]; LH1 [ɕi̯⁶]; LH2 [ɕi̯⁶]; JA1 [ɕi̯⁶]; JA2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC     [ɕy̚⁶]; LnC [ɕi̯⁶]; NnC1 [ɕi̯⁶]; NnC2 [ɕi̯⁶]; LC [ɕi̯⁶]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CG *hyun⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>xiōng 兄 QYS xjwông</strong></th>
<th>CDC *xiang¹ ~ *xiung¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS     [ɕi̯⁶]; WN1 [ɕi̯⁶]; WN2 [ɕi̯⁶]; WN3 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC     [ɕi̯⁶]; XZ [ɕi̯⁶]; YX [ɕi̯⁶]; DC1 [ɕi̯⁶]; DC2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY     [ɕi̯⁶]; NC [ɕi̯⁶]; FX [ɕi̯⁶]; GA [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL     [ɕi̯⁶]; PX [ɕu⁶]; AF1 [ɕi̯⁶]; AF2 [ɕi̯⁶]; LH1 [ɕi̯⁶]; LH2 [ɕi̯⁶]; JA1 [ɕi̯⁶]; JA2 [ɕi̯⁶];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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SC [ɕia̯]; LnC [eiŋ]; NnC1 [saŋ]; NnC2 [eiŋ]; LC [fiaŋ] CG *hyən ~ *hiu

The wén and bái alternates for Pingxiāng are mistakenly inverted in the source, as can be determined by referring to the lexical section of the work. We have corrected this here.

xūn 湘 QYS xjuan CDC *xiun¹
TS [eiŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eiŋ];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [eiŋ]; DC2 [eiŋ];
AY [eiŋ]; NC [eiŋ]; FX [eiŋ]; GA [—];
CL [eyə]; PX [sɨŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [eiŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [eyə]; JA1 [eiŋ];
JA2 [eyə];
SC [—]; LnC [eiŋ]; NnC1 [eiŋ]; NnC2 [eiŋ]; LC [fiŋ] CG *hyn

In the following word for “boot”, Líchuān fails to develop f- and instead retains *h- unchanged. Since this syllable is unique in the system, it is difficult to throw more light on the seeming irregularity.

xuē 鞋 QYS xuâ CDC *xiu¹
TS [eiŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eiŋ];
TC [—]; XZ [fɨŋ]; YX [fɨŋ]; DC1 [eiŋ]; DC2 [eiŋ];
AY [eiŋ]; NC [eiŋ]; FX [eiŋ]; GA [hən];
CL [eyə]; PX [sɨŋ]; AF1 [səŋ]; AF2 [eiŋ]; LH1 [eyə]; LH2 [eyə]; JA1 [sun];
JA2 [eyə];
SC [eiŋ]; LnC [eiŋ]; NnC1 [eiŋ]; NnC2 [eiŋ]; LC [fiŋ] CG *hyn

It is possible that a Common Gàn form *hya should be reconstructed for the northern area. The syllable type is unique and difficult to reconstruct with confidence. The NC wén reading is clearly a late northern loan, probably from the modern koine or its immediate precursors.

2.6 CG *Ø-

Before non-high vowels, Common Gàn initial zero is maintained in Liánhuā (both types), Suichuān, Linchuān, and Líchuān. It is also usually retained in Ānfū-, but with some admixture
of ṇ-forms, probably as a result of borrowing. Elsewhere zero is regularly replaced by
excrescent ṇ-. Examples are:

![Image containing text from the document]

Where zero occurs before syllable final *-u, it is augmented by an excrecent v- in
Tōngshān and Nánchéng-2. This v- also seems to appear Chálíng, and in Ānfü-1 under the
yángpíng tone (though data for these points are unfortunately scant and the patterns are
difficult to discern definitively):

![Image containing text from the document]
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wu 無 QYS mju CDC *mvu²
TS [vu]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [u]; WN3 [u*];
TC [u*]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [u*]; DC2 [—];
AY [u]; NC [u*]; FX [u*]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [u*]; AF1 [vu*]; AF2 [u*]; LH1 [u*]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [u*]; JA2 [u*];
SC [u*]; LnC [u*]; NnC1 [u*]; NnC2 [—]; LC [u*] CG *u
*JXF.Y.
This syllable is a literary word. The WN1 form, perhaps derived from an earlier *
ŋ̩, appears to be an archaic existential negative rather than a direct cognate to the other forms in this set.

Where *u- is followed by other elements, in Wùnǐng-3 an excrescent v- arises before -u-, except in the syllable *uan where *u- is simply replaced by v-. Replacement of *u- by v- is also general in Chálíng and Nánchéng-2. Examples are:

wáng 王 QYS mjwang CDC *wong²
TS [uoŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [uoŋ];
TC [uoŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [uoŋ]; NC [uoŋ]; FX [uoŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [uoŋ]; AF1 [uøŋ]; AF2 [uøŋ]; LH1 [uøŋ]; LH2 [uøŋ]; JA1 [uøŋ*]; JA2 [uøŋ*];
SC [—]; LnC [uoŋ]; NnC1 [uoŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uoŋ] CG *uoŋ

wán 萬 QYS mjwøn- CDC *mvan⁶/EC *monh
TS [uœ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [uœ]; WN3 [uœ];
TC [uœ]; XZ [uœ]; YX [uœ]; DC1 [uœ]; DC2 [uœ];
AY [uœ]; NC [uœ]; FX [uœ]; GA [uœ];
CL [œ]; PX [uœ]; AF1 [vœ]; AF2 [uœ]; LH1 [uœ]; LH2 [uœ]; JA1 [uœ*]; JA2 [uœ*];
SC [uœ]; LnC [uœ]; NnC1 [uœ]; NnC2 [œ]; LC [œ] CG *œ
The AF1 tone is irregular.

wán 萬 QYS mjwøn- CDC *mvan⁶/EC *monh
TS [uœ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [uœ]; WN3 [uœ];
TC [uœ]; XZ [uœ]; YX [uœ]; DC1 [uœ]; DC2 [uœ];
AY [uœ]; NC [uœ]; FX [uœ]; GA [uœ];
CL [œ]; PX [uœ]; AF1 [vœ]; AF2 [uœ]; LH1 [uœ]; LH2 [uœ]; JA1 [uœ*]; JA2 [uœ*];
SC [uœ]; LnC [uœ]; NnC1 [uœ]; NnC2 [œ]; LC [œ] CG *œ
The tone in the AF2 form is anomalous.
wán 完 QYS yuán CDC *huon²
TS [uan 阳平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [uan 阴去];
TC [fon 阳平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [uan 阴去]; DC2 [—];
AY [uan 阳平]; NC [uan 偏去白]; FX [jon 去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [uan 阳平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [uan 阳平]; JA1 [uan 去]; JA2 [uan 阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [jon 去]; NnC1 [jon 阳平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *uan 阳平 ~ *jon 去

Where Tôngshān appears to vacillate between u- and v-, this is due to borrowing of u-forms as literary readings, as is indicated by the doublets in the set for wán 玩 above, and also in the following example:

Where zero occurs before *i, there are no special developments. Examples:

yī 一 QYS ?ji1t4 CDC *i¹
TS [i 阴平]; WN1 [ji 人]; WN2 [i 人]; WN3 [i 人];
TC [i 阴平]; XZ [i ]; YX [i ]; DC1 [i ]; DC2 [i ];
AY [i 人]; NC [i 去]; FX [i ]; GA [i ];
CL [i ]; PX [i ]; AF1 [i ]; AF2 [i ]; LH1 [i ]; LH2 [i ]; JA1 [i ]; JA2 [i ];
SC [i 去]; LnC [i ]; NnC1 [i ]; NnC2 [i ]; LC [i ]; CG *i 阴平

yāng 秧 QYS ?jiong CDC *iong¹
TS [io 去]; WN1 [io 去]; WN2 [io 阳平]; WN3 [—];
TC [ioŋ]; XZ [ioŋ]; YX [ioŋ]; DC1 [ioŋ]; DC2 [ioŋ];
AY [ioŋ]; NC [ioŋ]; FX [ioŋ]; GA [ioŋ];
CL [iɔ̃]; PX [iɔ̃]; AF1 [iɔŋ]; AF2 [iɔŋ]; LH1 [iɔ̃]; LH2 [iɔŋ]; JA1 [iɔŋ];
JA2 [iɔŋ];
SC [iɔ̃]; LnC [ioŋ]; NnC1 [ioŋ]; NnC2 [iɔŋ]; LC [iɔŋ] CG *ioŋ

When zero occurs before the syllable *y, no changes occur except in Yōngxiū, which develops initial v-, followed by -i. The probable path of the development here is *y > *ui > vi. In the syllable *yi, Tōngshān and Wūnīng-3 develop initial v- and lose the element *y-. The probable scenario for this process is: *yi > *ui > vi/væi. (Final *-i regularly breaks to -æi in Tōngshān. See Chapter III, §3.4.1 below.) Examples illustrating these observations are:

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu⁴
TS [y']; WN1 [jy']; WN2 [y']; WN3 [y'];
TC [y']; XZ [ui']; YX [vi']; DC1 [i']; DC2 [i'];
AY [ui']; NC [y']; FX [i' ~ u'i']; GA [o'];
CL [y']; PX [u']; AF1 [y]; AF2 [y]; LH1 [y]; LH2 [y]; JA1 [y]; JA2 [y];
SC [y]; LnC [i']; NnC1 [y']; NnC2 [y']; LC [y'] CG *y

wèi 位 QYS jwi- CDC *wi⁶
TS [væi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [vø];
TC [ui]; XZ [ui]; YX [vi]; DC1 [ui]; DC2 [ui];
AY [ui]; NC [y]; FX [ui]; GA [ui];
CL [ve]; PX [ui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ui]; LH1 [uæ]; LH2 [uøi]; JA1 [uεi];
JA2 [ui];
SC [—]; LnC [ui]; NnC1 [ui]; NnC2 [vi]; LC [ui] CG *yi

In syllables where *y- is followed by elements other than *-i, Yōngxiū again develops v- in place of *y-. Līchuān also develops v-, but following this initial it inserts a vowel -i-. The probable path of development here has been: *y- > *ui- > vi-. A special case is the Common Gān syllable *yn. Here, the typical Līchuān development just described occurs only under the yāngpíng and shāng tones, while under the yāngqū tone no change at all occurs. Examples illustrating these points are:
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yuán 圆 QYS juàn 陰平 CDC *yon²
TS [yən²]; WN1 [jwən¹]; WN2 [yon¹]; WN3 [yen¹];
TC [yen¹]; XZ [tien]; YX [yen¹]; DC1 [ien¹]; DC2 [iən¹];
AY [ien¹]; NC [yən⁰]; FX [ien¹]; GA [—];
CL [yən⁰]; PX [ɨŋ]; AF1 [yen¹]; AF2 [yen¹]; LH1 [ləyən⁰]*; LH2 [yən²];
JA1 [yen²]; JA2 [yən²];
SC [yen²]; LnC [yen²]; NnC1 [yen²]; NnC2 [yen²]; LC [yen²] CG *yon 陰平

The wén form in the LH1 is an etymon meaning “round”. It is not related to the other forms in this set. The YX tone is irregular.

yún 雲 QYS juan 陰平 CDC *yun²
TS [yen¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [yn]; WN3 [yn];
TC [yn]; XZ [uiə]; YX [yn]; DC1 [in]; DC2 [in];
AY [in]; NC [yn]; FX [iən⁰]; GA [on⁰];
CL [yeŋ]; PX [ʊŋ]; AF1 [in]; AF2 [in]; LH1 [yən⁰]; LH2 [yən¹]; JA1 [yn²];
JA2 [yn²];
SC [yn²]; LnC [yn²]; NnC1 [yn²]; NnC2 [yn²]; LC [yn²] CG *yn 陰平

yùn 运 QYS juan- 陽平 CDC *yun⁶
TS [yen⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [yn];
TC [yn]; XZ [uiə]; YX [yn]; DC1 [in]; DC2 [in];
AY [in]; NC [yn ~ 】]; FX [iən⁰];
CL [yeŋ]; PX [ʊŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [in]; LH1 [yən]; LH2 [yen⁶]; JA1 [yn²];
JA2 [yn²];
SC [—]; LnC [yn²]; NnC1 [yn²]; NnC2 [yn²]; LC [yn²] CG *yn 陰平

A special case is the following set:

yùn 晕 QYS juan- 陽平 CDC *yun⁶
TS [yen⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [yn];
TC [yn]; XZ [uiə]; YX [yn]; DC1 [in]; DC2 [—];
AY [in]; NC [yn ~ 】]; FX [iən⁰];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [in]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [yen⁶]; JA1 [yn²];
JA2 [yn²];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [yn²] CG *yn 陰平 ~ *yn 陰平

The Líchuān tone here belongs to the yīnpíng variant reading. However, the treatment of the syllable is, quite interestingly, that regularly expected under the yángqù tone in Líchuān.
2.7 The Traditional Rìm 日母 Initial Class\textsuperscript{10}

This initial class is of course integral to the QYS, where it is sometimes conventionally transcribed as ánž-. Its corresponding Common Dialectal Chinese form is *nh-, representing a palatal nasal. As mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter, and also in §2.4.5 above, this initial class does not constitute a discrete phonological component of the “native” Common Gàn system, being subsumed there under various other reconstructed initial classes. It is only in later loan forms that it can be restored as a unique initial, *ɻ-. Strictly speaking, then, it is unnecessary to discuss the rìm as such in a work such as the present one. However, from the standpoint of comparative dialectology, it would seem remiss to pass over in silence the peculiar position of this QYS/CDC initial class in comparative Gàn. We shall accordingly now examine a set of illustrative examples of it:

rén 人 QYS ńžjen 陽平 CDC *nin\textsuperscript{2}/EC *nin

The second LH2 form is tonally irregular.

We begin with the first reconstructed form, *nin\textsuperscript{11}. This in fact represents the ordinary word for “human being, person” in the majority of Gàn dialects. The reconstruction is identical with the Early Chinese form and also with the reconstructed shape this etymon assumes in the works of many specialists in pre-Hàn Chinese phonology. It may well survive from the earliest periods of Sinitic penetration into the Gàn-speaking homeland.

The first wén form is datable to the Late Sòng, Yuán, or early Míng period. This is confirmed by comparison with the corresponding 'Phags-pa Chinese orthographic form Zhin [rin], dating from the mid-thirteenth century (Coblin 2007a:139) and the early Míng Standard Reading form in Korean transcription, rin (Kim 1991:198), dating from the mid-fifteenth century. This pronunciation of the word rén 人 survived until at least as late as the late Míng and early

\textsuperscript{10} Readers may wish to compare our treatment of this traditional initial class with the somewhat different one of Liú (2005: Chap. 6). See also Chap. 6, §6.2.1.2 below.

\textsuperscript{11} Here, adopting the principle laid out in §2.5.4 above, we reconstruct *n- as our default initial, since no syllable [nin] occurs in Líchùn. Quite interestingly, in the closely related Líchùn variety reported in Liú (1999), one colloquial reading for the word “human being” is in fact [nin ŋin]. This appears to preserve the most archaic form of this etymon. Similar examples from this dialect will be discussed anon.
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Qīng 清 periods in standard Guānhuà, when it was still recorded by European missionaries as jìn [jin] (Coblin 2006). We assume that the initial *ɻ- was lost in spoken Gàn at some point during or soon after borrowing, resulting in later zero initial forms. However, it is essential to note here that this syllable cannot have been borrowed as a simple zero-initial form. This is indicated by the Tōngchéng wén reading in [yn阴平]. A zero initial form in *in would of necessity have yielded [in] in Tōngchéng rather than [yn]. Compare the following example:

yǐn ǐn QYS jien: CDC *yin⁴
TS [in]; WN1 [in]; WN2 [in]; WN3 [in];
TC [in]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [in]; DC2 [in];
AY [in]; NC [in]; FX [ian]; GA [—];
CL [in]; PX [in]; AF1 [in 阳平]; AF2 [in 阳平]; LH1 [in]; LH2 [in]; JA1 [in]; JA2 [in];
SC [in]; LnC [in]; NnC1 [in]; NnC2 [in]; LC [in]  CG *in

We therefore assume in our set for rén 人 that the Tōngchéng vowel underwent rounding due to the presence of the now lost initial *ɻ-.

The third reconstructed form for this set represents a very late borrowing of a reading in [ɻɛn] or [ɻən], which is essentially the same as the Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation of the character 人. Many of our dialect points substitute l- for the original retroflex initial, and in fact modern-day speakers of Gàn dialects often adopt this very strategy when speaking Modern Standard Chinese. Tōngshān has, however, taken an entirely different tack and rendered the “alien” or “un-Gàn-like” initial as [z], a unique consonant that it reserves entirely for this purpose. In conclusion, our cognate set for “human being” preserves evidence for three lexical layers, i.e., a very early one datable to Norman’s Early Chinese stage, a later one borrowed in the Yuán/Míng period, and a more recent one, probably borrowed from the Guānhuà koine of relatively recent times.

With these points in mind, let us now move to our second example:

ráo 饒 QYS ńʒäu CDC *nhiau²/EC *new
TS [zau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋiau];
TC [ya¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋiau];
AY [iau]; NC [ŋiau 言去去]; FX [lau]; GA [—];
CL [Łau]; PX [ŋiau]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ŋiau]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [iau]; JA1 [lau]; JA2 [lau];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋiau]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [ňau]; LC [ŋiau]  CG *ŋiau ~ *iau

Here, as pointed out in §2.5.4, the first Common Gàn reconstruction must, on the basis of the Líchuān form, be restored as *ŋiau 陽平. This is because the Líchuān reading contrasts with syllable type [niau] in that dialect, as revealed in the following example:
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niào 尿 QYS nieu- CDC *niau/EC *newh
TS [niu̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [niau]; WN3 [niau];
TC [niau]; ZX [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nieu]; DC2 [niau];
AY [niau]; NC [nieu]; FX [niau]; GA [—];
CL [niau]; PX [niau]; AF1 [niau]; AF2 [niau]; LH1 [iau]*; LH2 [iau]; JA1 [niau]; JA2 [niau];
SC [niau]; LnC [niau]; NnC1 [niau ~ nau]; NnC2 [niau]; LC [niau]
CG *niau *JXFY.

The TS bái form is a different etymon from that found elsewhere in the set. It may be related in some way to the form suī 尿 “urine”, which occurs in various dialects.

Words for “urine” having medial -i- in the modern dialects must derive from Common Gàn *niau. But by the same token the initial in the word ráo 饒 cannot have been earlier *n-, for the existence of the Líchuān form precludes this. The case is therefore fundamentally different from that we have observed for the word for “human being” above. On the contrary, ráo 饒 can and should be regularly reconstructed as *niau陽平 in the Common Gàn sound system as argued in §2.5.4. From the standpoint of Common Gàn as a whole this is in no sense remarkable. It is simply one of many cases where we posit CG *ŋ-. But when Common Gàn is compared with other forms of Chinese, or with Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese viewed as a summa of modern dialect phonology, it is clear that the initial of ráo 饒 must have been somehow unique at a point before or during the Common Gàn stage. In other words, it cannot have been either earlier *n- or earlier *ŋ- at the borrowing stage. It must have been something else. We can explain this by supposing that ráo 饒 had a form such as *niau陽平, corresponding to CDC nhiau in the donor language, before or during the time it was borrowed into Common Gàn. This state of affairs presumably also dated from a point anterior to the borrowing of forms like *iau陽平 but later than the most archaic lexical layer of Gàn, which should have had *n- here had the word descended from that period. And we may further suppose that, since the Common Gàn system had no palatal nasal at all, during the borrowing process, early Gàn speakers substituted their *ŋ- as the nearest available equivalent for non-native *ŋ-.

As regards the second form *iau陽平, we should note in passing the Tōngchéng form [yau]陽平. The vowel [y] here is again prima facie evidence that an earlier *ŋ- was present in this form at the loan stage, for if the syllable had been borrowed as a simple zero initial form, the Tōngchéng reading would have had the syllabic shape [iau] rather than [yau]. Compare the following set, which illustrates this:

yáo 搖 QYS jiâu CDC *yau2/EC *yaw
TS [ieu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ieu]; WN3 [ieu];
TC [iau]; ZX [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ieu]; DC2 [iau];
AY [iau]; NC [ieu]; FX [iau]; GA [—];
The third reconstructed form, *niet, is of course identical with the Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation and is clearly of very late provenance.

Finally, let us compare the following pair of examples:

|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------|----------|----------|----------|--------|--------|

The coda of [it] in the first GA form appears to be a misprint for [il] in the source.

In the first set we have at the outset an archaic form *niet, which is widely used as the common word for “hot”. And in the second we find a Common Gän *niet, “sun; day”, which we surmise was borrowed from a donor language that had *niet at the time of importation, corresponding to CDC nhit. This is because Líchuān [ni?] here contrasts in that dialect with another word ni [ȵi?]12. The word *niet for “hot” must be very old and may descend from the earliest form(s) of Chinese implanted in the Gän-speaking area. The oldest form for “day; sun”, in the medieval period, a matter we shall discuss in more detail in Chapter VI, §6.4.2. If a truly

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12 In citing this form, which is a literary word, it may seem that we have, in grasping at straws, seized a nettle. However, the purpose here is merely to illustrate that the syllable type in question is a possible one in the sound system of this dialect.
Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Gân

archaic form for this word survived in Common Gân, we would expect it to have the shape *nit. Quite interestingly, a direct reflex of this older form really does survive as a variant pronunciation in the variety of Lîchûân recorded in Lûî (1999), i.e., as [niʔ] (vs. [ŋiʔ]). In certain contexts, for example in the phrase [tʰiɛn ki niʔ] 前幾日 “the past several days”, [niʔ] (< CG *nit) is used. But in the word for “calendar”, [ŋiʔ tiʔ] 日曆, we find instead the reading [ŋiʔ] (< CG *ŋit). It is this latter form, we have suggested above, representing a medieval importation of an intrusive *ŋit, which early Gân speakers chose to render faute de mieux as *ŋit.

The case of the word for “sun” in Gân is both interesting and instructive. What has happened in a number of Gân dialects, including Lîchûân, is that a form descended from a readily reconstructable CG *niet is used in the sense “sun”, specifically as part of the binomial compound *niet deu, corresponding to the form rîtóu 日頭, which is very widely attested elsewhere. It seems likely that this *niet is actually a deformation of Primitive Gân *nit, through subliminal association with the word *niet [熱] “hot”. When this substitution occurred in the relevant dialects is of course uncertain. Perhaps it happened once the later borrowed form *ŋit (← *ŋit) had come into general use and was felt by some speakers to be the more elegant or “correct” pronunciation of ri 日.

With these points in mind, let us now return briefly to the case of the word rén “human being”, this time examining its behavior in the Lîchûân variety reported in Lûî (1999). In colloquial usage, the word has two different forms, as illustrated in the following:

a. [niʔ nin] 年青人 “young fellow”
   [tʰɔŋ nin kuŋ] 夫人公 “father-in-law”
b. [pʰiɛʔ hɛu nin] 別頭人 “outsider, person from somewhere else”

Here, Lîchûân [nin ~ nin] derives directly from CG *nin, while [pin] can be considered a reflex of CG *ŋin, as an autochthonous re-forming of a medieval importation: *ŋin.

In summary, our Common Gân reconstructions for the QYS rîmû initial class enable us to extract from the modern comparative data older forms dating from four different periods and belonging to successively younger lexical layers. And by comparison with material of other types we have succeeded in seriating these layers in the following way (tone designations suppressed):

13 See HFDT, Lexicon, Map 1.
14 It should be noted that in this Lîchûân variety the modern nasals [n] and [ŋ] are in free variation before the vowel [i]. Compare: [niaʔ ~ niaʔ] 頭 “forehead”.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archaic/EC</th>
<th>*nin</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>*niet</th>
<th>(*nit ≈) *niet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medieval/CDC</td>
<td>(*nin ← *nin)</td>
<td>*niau ← *niau</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>*nit ← *nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Táng to</td>
<td>*qin</td>
<td>*qiau</td>
<td>*qiet</td>
<td>*qit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuán/Míng</td>
<td>*qen</td>
<td>*qau</td>
<td>*qet</td>
<td>*qot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each column, the highest attested form is ordinarily the most common spoken Gàn word, while, moving downward, the others tend to be of successively more literary or higher stylistic register, often occurring mainly as character readings, etc. Initial *ɻ- of the latest stage is frequently replaced by l- today. Note that, where an archaic period etymon was preserved in common use, there may have been an inclination in some instances not to borrow a medieval form into the vernacular, the word for “hot” being a possible example. The standard Míng/Qīng Guānhuà forms for “hot” and “sun; day” ended in glottal stops rather than -t. The Gàn forms of the fourth layer may represent some sort of accommodative strategy in which -t was analogically introduced as coda in such cases, there being no glottal stop coda available in the receiving forms of Gàn. This type of analogical accommodation appears to still be active in early modern and present day loans into Gàn dialects that preserve final stops other than -ʔ in their syllable coda inventories. An interesting illustrative example where such accommodation has been erroneously carried out is seen in the following set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rù 入</th>
<th>QYS ńźjəp</th>
<th>CDC *nhiŋ^8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [z]</td>
<td>WN1 [jiʔ^8]</td>
<td>WC [z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ [ɻ]</td>
<td>YX [ɻ]</td>
<td>DC1 [ɻ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [ɻ]</td>
<td>NC [ɻ]</td>
<td>FX [ɻ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [z]</td>
<td>PX [ɻ]</td>
<td>AF1 [ɻ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1 [ɻ]</td>
<td>LH2 [ɻ]</td>
<td>JA1 [ɻ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [ɻ]</td>
<td>LnC [ɻ]</td>
<td>NnC1 [—]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both reconstructed forms here show by their initials that they are not inherited from the earliest stages of Common Gàn. Put another way, this word for “enter” was not a part of the Primitive Gàn lexicon. But what is of primary interest to us in the example is the fact that the wén layer reconstruction, as reflected in Wùníng-2/3 and Suìchuān, has an unetymological coda, for we would expect final *-p here if the dialectal forms underlying the reconstruction had been borrowed directly from an etymologically “correct” source. What has occurred, apparently, is that the donor forms of the syllable had the late final *-ʔ when borrowed, and Gàn speakers “unetymologically” accommodated by substituting their final -k or -ʔ/-Ø (< *-k) for the glottal stop.
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

The following syllable finals are reconstructed for Common Gàn:

a   ia   ua   (ya)   ai   uai   au   iau   an   ian   uan   a
  ŋa  ŋa  ŋa  ŋa  ŋi  ŋai  ŋau  ŋiau  ŋan  ŋian  ŋuan

 Bracketed finals are problematic in various ways, and some represent probable late loan forms. Including these, there are ninety-two in the common system.

3.1 CG Finals having the Main Vowel *a

3.1.1 CG *-a. This final is generally well preserved in the dialects and presents no special problems. Examples:

má 麻 QYS ma  CDC *ma²
TS [ma]; WN1 [ma]; WN2 [ma]; WN3 [ma];
TC [ma]; XZ [ma]; YX [ma]; DC1 [ma]; DC2 [ma];
AY [ma]; NC [ma]; FX [ma]; GA [ma];
CL [ma]; PX [ma]; AF1 [ma]; AF2 [ma]; LH1 [ma]; LH2 [ma];
JA1 [ma]; JA2 [ma];
SC [ma]; LnC [ma]; NnC1 [ma]; NnC2 [ma]; LC [ma] CG *ma³

chá 查 QYS dz[a]  CDC *ja²
TS [tsa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dz[a]]; WN3 [dz[a]];  
TC [dza]; XZ [dza]; YX [dza]; DC1 [dza]; DC2 [dza²];
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3.1.2 CG *-ia. After Common Gàn retroflexes, this final survives intact in Wùníng (all points), where it palatalizes the initial. In the remaining dialects it is generally reduced to a monovocalic final -a. In other environments it is unchanged. This final belongs to an early lexical layer of Common Gàn and consequently alternates with late layer readings in *-ie (concerning which see §3.3.1 below). Examples are:

chē 車 QYS tśhja CDC *chia¹
TS [ts'e] ~ ts'a³; WN1 [tch'a³]; WN2 [te'ia³]; WN3 [te'ia³];
TC [dz'a³]; XZ [dz'a³]; YX [dz'a³]; DC1 [dz'a³]; DC2 [dz'a³];
AY [t'a³]; NC [ts'a³]; FX [tei³ ~ te³]; GA [t'a³];
CL [ts'a³]; LH2 [ts'a³]; JA1 [t'a³]; JA2 [t'a³];
SC [ts'a³]; LnC [tei³ ~ t'a³]; NnC1 [t'a³]; NnC2 [t'a³]; LC [ts'a³] CG *tś'ia³ ~ *tś'ie³ ~ *ky³

shē 社 QYS žja; CDC *zhea³
TS [se³]; WN1 [sia³]; WN2 [sia³]; WN3 [sia³];
TC [se³ ~ sa³]; XZ [sa³]; YX [sa³]; DC1 [sa³]; DC2 [sa³];
AY [sa³]; NC [sa³]; FX [se³]; GA [sa³];
CL [sa³]; PX [sa³]; AF1 [sa³]; AF2 [sa³]; LH1 [sa³]; LH2 [sa³]; JA1 [sa³]; JA2 [sa³];
SC [sa³]; LnC [sa³]; NnC1 [sa³]; NnC2 [sa³ ~ sa³]; LC [sa³] CG *śia³ ~ *śie³

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya⁶
TS [ie³ ~ ia³]; WN1 [ia³]; WN2 [ia³]; WN3 [ia³];
TC [ie³ ~ ia³]; XZ [ia³]; YX [ia³]; DC1 [ia³]; DC2 [ia³];
AY [ia³]; NC [ia³]; FX [ie³]; GA [ia³];
CL [ia³]; PX [ia³]; AF1 [ia³]; AF2 [ia³]; LH1 [ia³]; LH2 [ia³]; JA1 [ia³]; JA2 [ia³];
SC [ia³]; LnC [ia³]; NnC1 [ia³]; NnC2 [ia³]; LC [ia³] CG *ia³ ~ *ie³

Final *-ia also regularly occurs after gutturals as a late layer wén variant of *-a, as illustrated in the following:
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gân

jiă 家 QYS ka CDC *ka₁
TS [ka₁]; WN1 [ka₁]; WN2 [ka₁]; WN3 [ka₁];
TC [teia₁]; XZ [ka₁]; YX [ka₁]; DC1 [teia₁]; DC2 [ka₁];
AY [ka₁]; NC [ka₁]; FX [ka₁]; GA [ka₁];
CL [teia₁]; PX [ka₁]; AF1 [ka₁]; AF2 [ka₁]; LH1 [ka₁]; LH2 [ka₁];
JA1 [ka₁]; JA2 [ka₁];
SC [ka₁]; LnC [ka₁]; NnC1 [ka₁]; NnC2 [ka₁]; LC [ka₁] CG *ka₁ ~ kia

yá 牙 QYS nga CDC *nga₂
TS [ia₁]; WN1 [ŋa₁]; WN2 [ŋa₁]; WN3 [ŋa₁];
TC [ia₁]; XZ [ŋa₁]; YX [ŋa₁]; DC1 [ŋa₁]; DC2 [ŋa₁];
AY [ŋa₁]; NC [ŋa₁]; FX [ŋa₁]; GA [ŋa₁];
CL [ia₁]; PX [ŋa₁]; AF1 [ŋa₁]; AF2 [ŋa₁]; LH1 [ŋa₁]; LH2 [ŋa₁];
JA1 [ŋa₁]; JA2 [ŋa₁];
SC [ŋa₁]; LnC [ŋa₁]; NnC1 [ŋa₁]; NnC2 [ŋa₁]; LC [ŋa₁] CG *ŋa₁ ~ ia

3.1.3 CG *-ua. This final is generally well preserved in the dialects, e.g.,

guā 瓜 QYS kwa CDC *kua₁
TS [kua₁]; WN1 [kua₁]; WN2 [kua₁]; WN3 [kua₁];
TC [kua₁]; XZ [kua₁]; YX [kua₁]; DC1 [kua₁]; DC2 [kua₁];
AY [kua₁]; NC [kua₁]; FX [kua₁]; GA [kua₁];
CL [kua₁]; PX [kua₁]; AF1 [kua₁]; AF2 [kua₁]; LH1 [kua₁]; LH2 [kua₁];
JA1 [kua₁]; JA2 [kua₁];
SC [kua₁]; LnC [kua₁]; NnC1 [kua₁]; NnC2 [kua₁]; LC [kua₁] CG *kua₁

However, changes in the initial can reduce the final to -a, as is illustrated in the following case, where initial *h as shifted to f-:

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua₁
TS [xua₁]; WN1 [hwa₁]; WN2 [fa₁]; WN3 [fa₁];
TC [fa₁]; XZ [hua₁]; YX [fa₁]; DC1 [hua₁]; DC2 [hua₁];
AY [fa₁]; NC [fa₁]; FX [hua₁]; GA [fa₁];
CL [xua₁]; PX [fa₁]; AF1 [fa₁]; AF2 [fa₁]; LH1 [hua₁]; LH2 [fa₁]; JA1 [fa₁];
JA2 [fa₁];
SC [hua₁]; LnC [fa₁]; NnC1 [fa₁]; NnC2 [fa₁]; LC [fa₁] CG *hua₁

Since initial f- is frequently inimical to medial -u- in the Gân dialects, *-ua becomes -a at all points that have developed modern f-. Note, however, that initial φ- in Dùchāng does not have this effect.
3.1.4 CG *-ya (?). It is theoretically possible that a Common Gàn final *-ya should be reconstructed as a variant of Common Gàn *-yo in the following word for “boot”:

\[ \text{xuē} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{xuà} \]  
\[ \text{CDC} *\text{xiuo}^1 \]

This syllable type is unique and difficult to reconstruct with confidence. The NC wén reading is clearly a late northern loan, probably from the modern koiné or its immediate precursors.

Also pertinent here is the following set:

\[ \text{qué} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{guà} \]  
\[ \text{CDC} *\text{giuo}^2 \]

The Dūchāng-1 form appears to reflect an earlier *gyǎ. Again, the matter is uncertain, due to the rarity of this syllable type.

3.1.5 CG *-ai. This final is reduced to -a in Tōngshān and changes to -æ in Chālíng. Elsewhere it remains unchanged. Examples:

\[ \text{bài} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{pái-, bǎi-} \]  
\[ \text{CDC} *\text{bai}^6 \]

The Dūchāng-1 form appears to reflect an earlier *gyǎ. Again, the matter is uncertain, due to the rarity of this syllable type.

\[ \text{dài} \quad \text{QYS} \quad \text{tái-} \]  
\[ \text{CDC} *\text{tai}^5 \]
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

AY [tai]; NC [tai]; FX [tai]; GA [tai];
CL [tei]; PX [tai]; AF1 [tai]; AF2 [tai]; LH1 [tai ~ tai]; LH2 [tai]; JA1 [tai]; JA2 [tai];
SC [tai]; LnC [tai]; NnC1 [tai]; NnC2 [tai]; LC [tai] CG *tai

jiē 街 QYS kai CDC *kai

In the third example the Tōngshān wén reading almost certainly represents a loan form *kiai, probably borrowed from standard Míng/Qīng Guānhuà. However, this form cannot be reconstructed comparatively for Common Gàn. The general Gàn proto-language apparently had no such literary form.

3.1.6 CG *-uai. This final undergoes changes similar to its unrounded analogue *-ai. Where preceded by *h-, changing to f-, the medial -u- is lost. Examples:

kuài 塊 QYS khuài- CDC *huoi

huái 淮 QYS ɣwái CDC *huai

Where preceded by *h-, changing to f-, the medial -u- is lost. Examples:
3.1.7 CG *

This final remains essentially stable, except in Chăling, where it is reduced to -n. Examples:

băo 饱 QYS pau: CDC *pau^3
TS [pau^]; WN1 [pau^]; WN2 [pau^]; WN3 [pau^];
TC [pau^]; XZ [pau^]; YX [pau^]; DC1 [pau^]; DC2 [pau^];
AY [pau^]; NC [pau^]; FX [pau^]; GA [pau^];
CL [pp^]; PX [pau^]; AF1 [pau^]; AF2 [pau^]; LH1 [pao^]; LH2 [pau^]; JA1 [pau^]; JA2 [pau^];
SC [pau^]; LnC [pau^]; NnC1 [pau^]; NnC2 [pau^]; LC [pau^] CG *pau^3

chăo 抄 QYS tsha: CDC *chau^1
TS [ts'au^]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts'au^];
TC [dzau^]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dzau^];
AY [ts'au^]; NC [ts'au^]; FX [ts'au^]; GA [—];
CL [ps^]; PX [ts'au^]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'au^]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'au^]; JA1 [ts'au^]; JA2 [ts'au^];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'au^]; NnC1 [ts'au^]; NnC2 [t'au^]; LC [t'au^] CG *ts'au^}

3.1.8 CG *-iau. This final has a generally parallel development to that of its close relative *

*-au. In addition, we should note that after Common Găn retroflexes it loses its medial -i- in all dialects except our three Wǔníng points. A further point of interest is that in this environment Suìchuān develops not -au but -əu, and Línchuān shows competing variants in -ɛau and -au, reflecting differing pronunciations of the informants consulted in compiling the source. Examples are:

xiăo 小 QYS sjäu: CDC *siau^3
TS [sieu^]; WN1 [eijau^]; WN2 [eijau^]; WN3 [eijau^];
TC [eijau^]; XZ [eijau^]; YX [eijau^]; DC1 [eijau^]; DC2 [eijau^];
AY [eijau^]; NC [eijau^]; FX [eijau^]; GA [—];
CL [eio^]; PX [siau^]; AF1 [eijau^]; AF2 [eijau^]; LH1 [eijau^]; LH2 [eijau^]; JA1 [eijau^]; JA2 [eijau^];
SC [eijau^]; LnC [eijau^]; NnC1 [eijau^]; NnC2 [eijau^]; LC [eijau^] CG *siau^3
The DC2 tone is irregular.

shăo 少 QYS sjäu: CDC *shiau^3
TS [seu^]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [eiau^]; WN3 [eiau^];
TC [saup^]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [šeup^]; DC2 [šeup^];
AY [saup^]; NC [seu^]; FX [saup^]; GA [—];
CL [sp^]; PX [saup^]; AF1 [seo^]; AF2 [saup^]; LH1 [saop^]; LH2 [saup^]; JA1 [saup^];

The DC2 tone is irregular.
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JA2 [sau];
SC [sau]; LnC [sɛːu ~ sau]; NnC1 [sau]; NnC2 [sau]; LC [sau] CG *ʃiau

The NnC2 tone is not congruent with those of the other dialects. But the meaning given in the source is “few”.

zhào 照 QYS tʃjәu- CDC *ciau
TS [tʃeu]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [tʃeiau]; WN3 [tʃeiau];
TC [tʃau]; XZ [tʃeu]; YX [tʃeu]; DC1 [tʃeu]; DC2 [tʃau];
AY [tʃau]; NC [tʃeu]; FX [tʃau]; GA [tʃau];
CL [tʃɔ]; PX [tʃau]; AF1 [tʃeiau]; AF2 [tʃau]; LH1 [tsəo]; LH2 [tsau]; JA1 [tʃau]; JA2 [tʃau];
SC [tʃau]; LnC [tɛ:u ~ tau]; NnC1 [tau]; NnC2 [tau]; LC [tsau] CG *ʃiau

The tone of the SC form is unexpected.

In the following nasal initial syllable, Common Gàn *-iau is reduced to -au after initial *n- in the popular layer in Nánchéng. The wén form, which is borrowed, retains its medial.

niào 尿 QYS nieu- CDC *niau/EC *newh
TS [njeu ~ sae]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [niau]; WN3 [niau];
TC [niau]; XZ [–]; YX [–]; DC1 [niau]; DC2 [niau];
AY [niau]; NC [niau]; FX [niau]; GA [–];
CL [niau]; PX [niau]; AF1 [niau]; AF2 [niau]; LH1 [niau]; LH2 [niau]; JA1 [niau]; JA2 [niau];
SC [niau]; LnC [niau]; NnC1 [niau ~ nau]; NnC2 [nau]; LC [niau] CG *niau

*JXFY.

The TS bái form is a different etymon from that found elsewhere in the set. It may be related in some way to the form su尿 “urine”, which is found in various dialect families.

This change, from *-iau to *-au, is reminiscent of a similar shift of CG *-ioŋ to Nánchéng -oŋ in the word niáng 娘 (CG *nioŋ). Cf. §3.2.12 below.

In addition to its independent existence in the Primitive Gàn system, Common Gàn *-iau also occurs as a wén layer variant of *-au, as in the following set:

jiào 教 QYS kau-
TS [tʃeiau ~ kau]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [tʃeiau]; WN3 [kau];
TC [tʃeiau ~ kau]; XZ [kau]; YX [kau]; DC1 [tʃeiau ~ kau]; DC2 [kau];
AY [kau]; NC [kau]; FX [kau]; GA [kau];
CL [tʃed ~ ko]; PX [kau]; AF1 [kau]; AF2 [kau]; LH1 [kao]; LH2 [kau];

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JA1 [kau]; JA2 [kau];
SC [kau]; LnC [kau]; NnC1 [kau]; NnC2 [kau]; LC [kau] CG *kau ~ *kiau

3.1.9 CG *-an. This final is well preserved at a number of points, while at others it is modified or reduced to -æ, -ã, or -âŋ. Reconstruction of it is generally straightforward. Examples:

bān 班 QYS pwan CDC *pan¹
TS [pæ̂]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pan]; WN3 [pan];
TC [pan]; XZ [pan]; YX [pan]; DC1 [pan]; DC2 [pan];
AY [pan]; NC [pan]; FX [pan]; GA [pan];
CL [pan]; PX [pan]; AF1 [pan]; AF2 [pan]; LH1 [pan]; LH2 [pan]; JA1 [pan]; JA2 [pan];
SC [pan]; LnC [pan]; NnC1 [pan]; NnC2 [pan]; LC [pan] CG *pan²

3.1.10 CG *-ian. This final occurs exclusively in wén layer readings of bái layer words having guttural initials and final *-an. Our examples are:

jiān 間 QYS kān CDC *kan¹
TS [tei̯; WN1 [kan]; WN2 [kan]; WN3 [kan];
TC [tei̯; XZ [kan]; YX [kan]; DC1 [kan]; DC2 [kan];
AY [kan]; NC [kan]; FX [kan]; GA [kan];
CL [tei̯]; PX [kɑ̃]; AF1 [kɑ̃]; AF2 [kɑ̃]; LH1 [kɑ̃]; LH2 [kan]; JA1 [kan]; JA2 [kan];
SC [—]; LnC [kan]; NnC1 [kan]; NnC2 [kan]; LC [kan] CG *kan *kian

xiān 閑 QYS yǎn CDC *han²
TS [si̯; WN1 [—]; WN2 [hɑ̃]; WN3 [xan];
TC [si̯; XZ [hɑ̃]; YX [ɡɑ̃]; DC1 [xan]; DC2 [hɑ̃];
AY [hɑ̃]; NC [hɑ̃]; FX [hɑ̃]; GA [hɑ̃];
CL [si̯; PX [hɑ̃]; AF1 [hɑ̃]; AF2 [hɑ̃]; LH1 [hɑ̃]; LH2 [hɑ̃];
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gân

This final is distinguished from Common Gân *-ien by the Tōngshān forms, which have final -iæ as reflex of *-ian and *-iɛ as reflex of *-ien (cf. §3.3.6 below).\(^1\)

3.1.11 CG *-uan. This final, which is relatively uncommon, is illustrated in the following examples, the second of which actually comprises two competing variants, only the first of which is relevant here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>guān</th>
<th>QYS kwan</th>
<th>CDC *kuan(^1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[kuæ³]</td>
<td>[kuæ³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[kuæ³]</td>
<td>[kuæ³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
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<tr>
<td>AF1</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF2</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH2</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LN</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
<td>[kuæ²]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated. The final is regular for this dialect. Cf. further examples below. It would be interesting to know if the surname Guān is unaspirated in this dialect, since a reviewer notes that this initial dichotomy for the character is present in some Hakka dialects.

With these we may now compare the following set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wān</th>
<th>QYS ngwān</th>
<th>CDC *nguan(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LN</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With these we may now compare the following set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>huān</th>
<th>QYS ywān</th>
<th>CDC *huan(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
<td>[uæ²]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An anonymous reviewer notes a literary reading [ɕian] for xián from another source. Examples of this sort can also be used to distinguish *-ian from *-ien.
This example also comprises two competing forms, the second of which has initial *h-.

In dialects where *h- becomes modern f-, medial -u- is then deleted, as is the general rule in these cases, for, as noted earlier, f- is often inimical to -u-. And, again as seen above, initial φ-, which appears here in *Dūchāng, does not have this effect, but rather tolerates -u-. This then brings us to our final and most problematical cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL</th>
<th>fâ</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>fã</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difficulty presented by these sets involves the historical status of medial -u-. Initial h- here is the reflex of earlier *f-, and after h- we find medial -u- (or -w- in Wûnìng-1). The same situation obtains in *Dūchāng, where the initial is φ- rather than h-. Now, it is well-known that in various Chinese dialect families initial *f- has shifted to hu-, Min and Xiâng being common exemplary families which happen to be contiguous to Gân-speaking areas, though there are of course many more cases elsewhere. Our problem is then to decide whether -u- in our modern Gân materials is original or secondary. And the question seems to be one of the chicken and the egg. To wit, is -u- present because it survived after having caused a change from *f- to h-, or did it arise as a result of *f- having changed to hu-? The choice would appear to be arbitrary. However, it is possible to throw further light on the matter. Let us compare the following forms from the *Yûnlóu 雲樓 sub-dialect of Jiān (Châng 2014:126):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL</th>
<th>fâ</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>fã</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>CG</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL</th>
<th>fâ</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>fã</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this dialect, and in this particular environment, initial f- tolerates a following medial -u-. Are we to assume, then, that -u- here is also secondary? For such a medial to arise after f- is far less usual in Chinese dialects than for f- to change to hu-. It is a rather more tenuous assumption. In our view at least, evidence of this type provides sound corroboration for the independent existence of medial *-u- in syllables of this particular type, and we shall therefore include it in our reconstructions. However, in other syllable types, where no such corroboration is available, we shall adopt a more cautious solution, as will become evident in subsequent sections of the present chapter.

3.1.12 CG *-aŋ. This final occurs in popular register words, and for nearly every etymon for which it is reconstructed there is also a literary reading in final *-eŋ (concerning which see §3.3.7). Examples are:

kēng 坑 QYS khng CDC *khang\(^1\)
TS [k\'æŋ\(^2\)]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; WN3 [k\(\text{h}\)en\(^2\) ~ k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)];
TC [han\(^2\)ŋ]; XZ [gaŋ\(^2\)]; YX [g\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; DC1 [geŋ\(^2\)]; DC2 [gaŋ\(^2\)];
AY [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; NC [k\(\text{i}\)en\(^2\) ~ k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; FX [k\(\text{h}\)en\(^2\) ~ k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; GA [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)];
CL [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; PX [k\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; AF1 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; AF2 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; LH1 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; LH2 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)];
JA1 [k\(\text{h}\)aŋ\(^2\)]; JA2 [k\(\text{i}\)en\(^2\) ~ k\(\text{e}\)ŋ\(^2\)];
SC [k\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; LnC [k\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; NnC1 [k\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; NnC2 [k\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)];

shēng 生 QYS şong CDC *shang\(^1\)
TS [s\(\text{æ}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; WN1 [e\(\text{m}\)en\(^2\)]; WN2 [s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; WN3 [ei\(\text{m}\)en\(^2\) ~ s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)];
TC [seŋ\(^2\) ~ s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; XZ [s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; YX [s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; DC1 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; DC2 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)];
AY [seŋ\(^2\)]; NC [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; FX [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; GA [san\(^2\) ~ sen\(^2\)];
CL [s\(\text{e}\)ŋ\(^2\) ~ s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; PX [s\(\text{e}\)ŋ\(^2\) ~ s\(\text{a}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; AF1 [s\(\text{e}\)ŋ\(^2\)]; AF2 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; LH1 [seŋ\(^2\) ~ saŋ\(^2\)]; LH2 [san\(^2\)];
JA1 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; JA2 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)]; NnC1 [sen\(^2\) ~ san\(^2\)];

We may suspect that for the GA form wén and bái designations have been reversed in the source.

3.1.13 CG *-iāŋ. This final, like its analogue *-aŋ, occurs in popular words, where in nearly every case it has a corresponding literary form in *-iŋ (cf. §3.4.5). In Common Gān retroflex initial syllables it regularly loses its medial -i- except in Wūning. Examples are:
3.1.14 CG *-uaŋ. This final is extremely rare and is reconstructed for a single etymon in our data. It is part of a popular layer pronunciation, whose corresponding literary reading has Common Gàn *-ueŋ (cf. §3.5.5).

3.1.15 CG *-yan. This again is a rather rare final, occurring in only two etyma in our data. It is a popular layer final, whose literary analogue is the rather common final *-iu (cf. §3.5.5).
The Cháling form in this set probably supports the first reconstruction. Examples of this syllable type are quite rare in the data, leading to some uncertainty in the matter.

3.1.16  CG *-am. This final is retained in Ányi, Fènxīn, Línchuān, and Líchuān, which are accordingly instrumental in reconstructing the original form. Elsewhere the final is variously reduced to -an, -ā, or -ã. Examples:

dàn  淡  QYS  dām:, dām-  CDC *dan^d_

sān  三  QYS  sām  CDC *sam^l_

The initial of the WN1 form is irregularly aspirated.
We should now consider the following example:

fán 凡 QYS bjwom CDC *vam²
TS [fæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fan ]; WN3 [fan ];
TC [fan ]; XZ [fan ]; YX [fan ]; DC1 [φau ]; DC2 [φau ];
AY [fan ]; NC [fan ]; FX [huan ]; GA [fan ];
CL [fæ]; PX [fan ]; AF1 [fan ]; AF2 [fan ]; LH1 [hua ]; LH2 [fan ]; JA1 [fan ];
JA2 [fan ];
SC [fæ ]; LnC [fan ]; NnC1 [fan ]; NnC2 [fan ];
LA [kã ]; NC [han ]; FX [ham ]; GA [—];
AY [han ]; NC [han ]; FX [ham ]; GA [—];
CL [han ]; PX [hã ]; AF1 [han ]; AF2 [hã ]; LH1 [hau ]; LH2 [han ]; JA1 [han ];
JA2 [han ];
SC [han ]; LnC [han ]; NnC1 [han ]; NnC2 [han ];
LA [ham ]; LC [han ] CG *f(u)am

Here we face a situation similar to that encountered in words like fǎn 反 and fàn 飯 in §3.1.11 above, namely, that we are hard put to determine whether medial -u- in dialects such as Dúchāng and Fèngxīn is original or secondary. In this case, however, we find no direct evidence anywhere which would unequivocally confirm the presence of *-u- in the proto-form. But such a presence is still a possibility. Our approach in such cases will accordingly be to posit medial -u- enclosed in brackets. Perhaps new data from as yet unsurveyed Gàn dialects will throw more light on the problem.

3.1.17 CG *-iam. This final occurs exclusively after gutturals, in wén register variants of syllables having Common Gàn final *-am. Note that it is to be distinguished from CG *-iem (see §3.3.10), which has a different Tōngshān reflex. Some examples are:

jiàn 陷 QYS ɣǎm- (kam) CDC *kam⁵
TS [tɕiæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kan ]; WN3 [kan ];
TC [tɕiæ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [kã ]; NC [kã ]; FX [kã ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kã ]; AF1 [kã ]; AF2 [kã ]; LH1 [kã ]; LH2 [kan ]; JA1 [kan ];
JA2 [kan ];
SC [kã ]; LnC [kã ]; NnC1 [kan ]; NnC2 [—];
LA [kã ]; LC [kã ] CG *kam

*JXFY.

xiàn 陷 QYS ɣǎm- CDC *ham⁶
TS [tɕiæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [tɕiæ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [han ]; DC2 [—];
AY [han ]; NC [han ]; FX [ham ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [hã ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [hã ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [han ]; JA1 [ɕiæ ]; JA2
3.1.18 CG *-at. This final is retained intact at a number of points. At others its coda is reduced to the glottal stop, while in Dūchāng-2 it becomes -l. In a number of dialects it is completely lost. In Tōngchéng a most interesting development occurs, resulting in a final glottal stop with a nasal offglide or echo, i.e., -ʔⁿ. The nasal element is clearly designated as having a dental point of articulation, thereby reflecting the origin of this coda in final *-t. The occurrence of this element is somewhat defective, in that one sometimes finds a plain glottal stop rather than the stop plus nasal configuration. This apparently indicates that -ʔⁿ is in the process of merging with -ʔ in the speech of the informant used by our Tōngchéng source. Interestingly, the Tōngchéng variety reported in Zhāng (2011) shows no such instability in the final. In the Tōngchéng data reported by this work, -ʔⁿ is consistently maintained in all pertinent etyma. Here we may note that in the Yùgān 余干 dialect, spoken southeast of Nánchāng and reported in Lǐ & Chang (1992), the corresponding coda is -tn, rather than -ʔⁿ. In subvarieties of this dialect, surface realizations take several different forms, one of which is similar to that seen in Tōngchéng. See in particular Li (2011). We may hypothesize that Tōngchéng originally had such a configuration as this, which was later reduced to the coda we find there today. Finally, we should note that in the southeastern dialects the vowel *a breaks to modern [ai] as *-at assumes its modern form, -aiʔ, there. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chá 察 QYS  tɕʰaʔ</th>
<th>CDC *chat⁹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [t'sʰaʔ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsʰet⁷]; TC [dzaʔ⁸]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzat⁷]; DC2 [dzal⁷]; AY [tsʰat⁷]; NC [tsʰet⁷]; FX [tsʰat⁷]; GA [—]; CL [tsʰaʔ]; PX [tsʰaʔ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsʰeʔ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsʰaʔ]; JA1 [tsʰa]; JA2 [tsʰe]; SC [—]; LnC [tsʰet⁷]; NnC1 [taiʔ]; NnC2 [taiʔ]; LC [taiʔ]; CG *tsʰat⁷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dá 達 QYS dát</th>
<th>CDC *dat⁸</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [tə]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dəʔ⁸]; WN3 [dət⁷]; TC [daʔ⁸]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ləʔ]; AY [tʰaʔ]; NC [tʰat]; FX [tʰat]; GA [—]; CL [—]; PX [tʰə]; AF1 [tʰə]; AF2 [tʰə]; LH1 [tʰaʔ]; LH2 [həʔ]; JA1 [tʰə]; JA2 [tʰe]; SC [tʰə]; LnC [tʰat]; NnC1 [haiʔ]; NnC2 [haiʔ]; LC [haiʔ]; CG *dat⁸</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*JXFY.

3.1.19 CG *-iat (?). Here we should consider the following set:
The wén reconstruction is conjectural, since it is supported only in TC.

As indicated in the second reconstruction, the Tŏngchéng wén form points to the existence of a final *-iat, as a literary equivalent of Common Gàn *-at. However, we are hard put to establish this comparatively in the absence of parallel forms in the other dialects. It must therefore remain highly tentative here. It may in fact be a very late loan, borrowed as *hiaʔ from some sort of Guānhuà.

3.1.20 CG *-uat. This final is the rounded medial analogue of *-at. Examples are:

We may conclude with the following set:
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AY [fə́]; NC [fa̰]; FX [huat]; GA [fa̰];
CL [fá]; PX [fa̱]; AF1 [fə́]; AF2 [fə́]; LH1 [huá]; LH2 [fá]; JA1 [fə́];
JA2 [fə́];
SC [fá]; LnC [fa̱]; NnC1 [fa̰]; NnC2 [faí]; LC [faí] CG *f(u)at

Here we again face the problem of whether to posit a medial -u- in the proto-form, and our solution is, as outlined above, to add it in brackets in the reconstruction.

3.1.21 CG *-ak. This final occurs in popular layer words. In most sets, it has *-ek as a literary layer equivalent. Examples:

bó 伯 QYS pək CDC *pak⁷
TS [pé]; WN1 [paʔ ~ paʔ]; WN2 [paʔ]; WN3 [pet ~ pak];
TC [peʔ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [pak];
AY [paʔ]; NC [pet ~ pak ]; FX [peʔ ~ paʔ]; GA [—];
CL [pé]; PX [pa̱ ~ pe ]; AF1 [pa̱]; AF2 [pa̱]; LH1 [pa]; LH2 [pe]; JA1 [pa];
JA2 [pe ];
SC [pa]+; LnC [peʔ ~ paʔ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [peiʔ ~ paʔ]; LC [paʔ] CG *pak ~ *pek

kè 客 QYS khənk CDC *kənk⁷
TS [kə́ ~ kə́]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kə́]; WN3 [kə́ ~ kə́];
TC [heʔ]; XZ [ge ]; YX [gə́]; DC1 [gə́]; DC2 [gə́];
AY [kə́ ~ kə́]; NC [kə́]; FX [kə́ ~ kə́]; GA [kə́];
CL [kə́]; PX [kə́ ~ kə́]; AF1 [kə́]; AF2 [kə́]; LH1 [kə́]; LH2 [kə́];
JA1 [kə́]; JA2 [kə́];
SC [kə́]; LnC [kə́ ~ kə́]; NnC1 [kə́ ~ kə́]; NnC2 [kə́]; LC [kə́] CG *kə́ ~ kə́

3.1.22 CG *-iak. This final occurs in popular layer words and is the equivalent of literary *-iek. Examples:

chí 尺 QYS tʃhə́ják CDC *chə́jak⁷
TS [tś]; WN1 [tʃə́]; WN2 [tʃə́]; WN3 [tʃə́];
TC [dz]; XZ [dz]; YX [dz]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [dz];
AY [tə́]; NC [ts̡]; FX [tə́]; GA [tə́];
CL [ts̡]; PX [t̡s̡]; AF1 [t̡s̡]; AF2 [t̡s̡]; LH1 [ts̡]; LH2 [ts̡]; JA1 [t̡s̡]; JA2 [t̡s̡];
SC [ts̡]; LnC [t̡s̡ ~ t̡s̡]; NnC1 [t̡s̡]; NnC2 [t̡s̡]; LC [t̡s̡] CG *t̡s̡iak ~ *t̡s̡iek

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The third reconstructed form appears to represent a loan from a language in which both voicing and aspiration have been lost. This borrowing may have been very late, when the phonetic form of the loanword was actually *tiʔ, rather than *tiek. The LnC bái form irregularly lacks aspiration. It may have been contaminated by the wén reading.

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular. It may have been borrowed from another dialect, such as DC2.

3.1.23 CG *-ap. The coda of this final is preserved in Fèngxīn, Linchuān, and Líchuān. In a number of other dialects it merges with *-t; and, most interestingly, as is the case for *-t in Tōngchēng, it yields -ʔⁿ or -ʔ, while in Dūchāng-2 it becomes -l. Elsewhere it becomes -ʔ or is lost altogether. Examples are:

châ 蒐 QYS tʂʰap CDC *chap

TS [tsʰap]; WN1 [tʂʰaʔ]; WN2 [tsʰaʔ]; WN3 [tsʰaʔ];
TC [dzaʔ]; XZ [dzaʔ]; YX [dzaʔ]; DC1 [dzaʔ]; DC2 [dzaʔ];
AY [tsʰaʔ]; NC [tsʰaʔ]; FX [tsʰap]; GA [tsʰap];
CL [tsʰaʔ]; PX [tsʰaʔ]; AF1 [tsʰaʔ]; AF2 [tsʰaʔ]; LH1 [tsʰaʔ]; LH2 [tsʰaʔ]; JA1 [tsʰaʔ]; JA2 [tsʰaʔ];
SC [tsʰaʔ]; LnC [tsʰap]; NnC1 [t'aiʔ]; NnC2 [t'aiʔ]; LC [t'aiʔ] CG *tsʰap

dâ 答 QYS tăp CDC *top

TS [təp]; WN1 [təp]; WN2 [təp]; WN3 [təp];
TC [taʔ]; XZ [taʔ]; YX [taʔ]; DC1 [taʔ]; DC2 [taʔ];
AY [taʔ]; NC [taʔ]; FX [tap]; GA [taʔ];
CL [taʔ]; PX [taʔ]; AF1 [teʔ]; AF2 [teʔ]; LH1 [taʔ]; LH2 [taʔ]; JA1 [teʔ]; JA2 [teʔ];
SC [taʔ]; LnC [tap]; NnC1 [t'aiʔ]; NnC2 [t'aiʔ]; LC [tap] CG *tap

We conclude with the following set, where reconstruction of medial -u- after f- is again uncertain:
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

3.1.24 CG *-iap. This final is the literary analogue to popular *-ap. Examples:

jiǎ 甲 QYS kap CDC *kap⁷
TS [ka³]; WN1 [ka³]; WN2 [ka³]; WN3 [ka³];
TC [ka³]; XZ [ka³]; YX [ka³]; DC1 [ka³]; DC2 [ka³];
AY [ka³]; NC [ka³]; FX [ka³]; GA [ka³];
CL [ka³]; PX [ka³]; AF1 [ka³]; AF2 [ka³]; LH1 [ka³]; LH2 [ka³]; JA1 [ka³]; JA2 [ka³];
SC [ka³]; LnC [ka³]; NnC1 [ka³]; NnC2 [ka³]; LC [ka³] CG *kap⁷ ~ *kiap⁷

yā 鴨 QYS ʔap CDC *ap⁷
TS [io¹]; WN1 [io¹]; WN2 [io¹]; WN3 [io¹];
TC [io¹]; XZ [io¹]; YX [io¹]; DC1 [io¹]; DC2 [io¹];
AY [io¹]; NC [io¹]; FX [io¹]; GA [io¹];
CL [io¹]; PX [io¹]; AF1 [io¹]; AF2 [io¹]; LH1 [io¹]; LH2 [io¹]; JA1 [io¹]; JA2 [io¹];
SC [io¹]; LnC [io¹]; NnC1 [io¹]; NnC2 [io¹]; LC [io¹] CG *ap⁷ ~ *iap⁷

3.2 CG Finals having the Main Vowel *o

3.2.1 CG *-o. In Tōngshān this final has the reflex -u after labials and -ø elsewhere. In the remaining dialects its correspondence patterns are unremarkable. Examples are:

bō 波 QYS puā CDC *po¹
TS [pu¹]; WN1 [pu¹]; WN2 [pu¹]; WN3 [pu¹];
TC [pu¹]; XZ [pu¹]; YX [pu¹]; DC1 [pu¹]; DC2 [pu¹];
AY [pu¹]; NC [pu¹]; FX [pu¹]; GA [pu¹];
CL [pu¹]; PX [pu¹]; AF1 [pu¹]; AF2 [pu¹]; LH1 [pu¹]; LH2 [pu¹]; JA1 [pu¹]; JA2 [pu¹];
SC [po]; LN [po]; NnC1 [po]; NnC2 [po]; LC [po] CG *po

ge 哥 QYS kâ CDC *ko
TS [ko]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ko]; WN3 [ko];
TC [ko]; XZ [ko]; YX [ko]; DC1 [ko]; DC2 [ko];
AY [ko]; NC [ko]; FX [ko]; GA [ko];
CL [ko]; PX [ko]; AF1 [ko]; AF2 [ko]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [ko]; JA1 [ko];
JA2 [ko];
SC [ko]; LN [ko]; NnC1 [ko]; NnC2 [ko]; LC [ko] CG *ko
The AF1 tone is irregular. The SC tone is an apparent misprint for yīnqu in the source.

3.2.2 CG *-uo. This final occurs exclusively after gutturals. Examples are:

quǒ 果 QYS kuâ: CDC *kuo
TS [kʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kuo]; WN3 [kuo];
TC [kuo]; XZ [kuo]; YX [kuo]; DC1 [kuo]; DC2 [kuo];
AY [kuo]; NC [kuo]; FX [kuo]; GA [kuo];
CL [kuo]; PX [kuo]; AF1 [kuo]; AF2 [kuo]; LH1 [kuo]; LH2 [kuo]; JA1 [kuo];
JA2 [kuo];
SC [kuo]; LN [kuo]; NnC1 [kuo]; NnC2 [kuo]; LC [kuo] CG *kuo

huǒ 火 QYS xuâ: CDC *xuo
TS [hʊ]; WN1 [hwo]; WN2 [fo]; WN3 [fo];
TC [fo]; XZ [hwo]; YX [fo]; DC1 [ϕuo]; DC2 [ϕuo];
AY [ϕo]; NC [ϕo]; FX [huo]; GA [fo];
CL [xuo]; PX [fo]; AF1 [fo]; AF2 [fo]; LH1 [hux]; LH2 [fo]; JA1 [fo];
JA2 [fo];
SC [xuo]; LN [fo]; NnC1 [fo]; NnC2 [fo]; LC [fo] CG *xuo

3.2.3 CG *-io. This final occurs in only one etymon, i.e., the ancient loanword for “eggplant”:

qié 茄 QYS gia CDC *gio
TS [tei]; WN1 [tei]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzia];
TC [tei]; XZ [guia]; YX [dzia]; DC1 [dzia]; DC2 [dzia];
AY [tei]; NC [tei]; FX [tei]; GA [tsi];
CL [tei]; PX [tei]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei];
JA2 [tei];
SC [tei]; LN [tei]; NnC1 [fo]; NnC2 [ts]; LC [kio] CG *gio
It is possible that a Common Gàn form *gia should be reconstructed for the northern area. The matter is very uncertain due to the rarity of this syllable type. The JA1 tone is unexpected.
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Note here the peculiar development of the Gāo'ān initial to a dental sibilant rather than a palatal. As we have seen above (Chapter II, §2.5.2 and §2.5.3), this phenomenon is normally triggered only by *y in main vowel position (but not when functioning as medial *-y-). Why it should happen in the presence of Common Gàn *-io is difficult to determine, since we are dealing here with a unique syllable type for which there is only one example.

3.2.4 CG *-yo. This again is a very rare final, which occurs in only two words in our data:

què瘸 QYS guâ CDC *gyo
tS [ɕiə⁵]; WN1 [ɛiə⁴]; WN2 [ɕia⁴]; WN3 [ɕia⁴];
TC [—]; XZ [huiə⁴]; YX [ʃia⁵]; DC1 [ɕia⁴]; DC2 [ɕia⁴];
AY [ɕia⁴]; NC [ɕye⁴]; FX [ɕie⁴]; GA [ɕio⁴];
CL [ɕya⁴]; PX [ɕμə⁴]; AF1 [ɕie⁴]; AF2 [ɕio⁴]; LH1 [ɕya⁴]; LH2 [ɕya⁴]; JA1 [ɕio⁴]; JA2 [ɕμə⁴];
SC [ɕio⁴]; LnC [ɕyə⁴]; NnC1 [ɕo⁴]; NnC2 [ɕo⁴]; LC [ɕio⁴]; CG *gyo⁴ (~ *hya⁴?)
It is possible that a Common Gàn form *hya⁴ should be reconstructed as a variant for the Gân-speaking area. The syllable type is unique and difficult to reconstruct with confidence. The NC wén reading is clearly a late northern loan, probably from the Modern Standard Chinese koiné or its immediate precursors.

Note that final *-yo conditions palatalization of the preceding guttural in Gāo'ān, as expected. This distinguishes it from *-io, which, as pointed out in the preceding section, triggers dental sibilantization instead.

3.2.5 CG *-oi. This final has slightly different correspondence patterns after velars, dental sibilants, dental stops, and sonorants. This is illustrated in the following examples:

kăi開 QYS khài CDC *khoi¹
tS [kʰi¹]; WN1 [kʰai¹]; WN2 [kʰoi¹]; WN3 [kʰai¹];
TC [hài¹]; XZ [ɡai¹]; YX [ɡʰai¹]; DC1 [ɡai¹]; DC2 [ɡai¹];
AY [kai¹]; NC [kʰai¹]; FX [kʰai¹]; GA [kʰoi¹];
CL [kʰə⁴]; PX [kʰə⁴]; AF1 [kʰəo⁴]; AF2 [kʰəi⁴]; LH1 [kʰəi⁴]; LH2 [kʰəi⁴];
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JA1 [huai]; JA2 [k'o'in]; SC [k'oi]; LnC [k'oi]; NnC1 [k'oi]; NnC2 [k'oi]; LC [k'oi]; CG *k'oi

zài 在 QYS dzài; dzài- CDC *dzoi

TS [ts.ai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dzoi]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzai]; XZ [dzai]; XY [dz'ai]; DC1 [dzai]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [ts'ai];
CL [ts'æ]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ts'œ]; AF2 [ts'œ]; LH1 [ts'œ]; LH2 [ts'œ];
JA1 [ts'œ]; JA2 [ts'œ];
SC [ts'œ]; LnC [ts'œ]; NnC1 [ts'œ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ts'œ];

The JA2 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

*Neutral tone. This syllable occurs only in compounds. It is not the ordinary locative verb in this dialect.

dài 待 QYS dêi: CDC *doi

TS [tei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [doi]; WN3 [doi];
TC [—]; XZ [dai]; XY [dai]; DC1 [dai]; DC2 [dai];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [ts'ai];
CL [ts'æ]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ts'œ]; AF2 [ts'œ]; LH1 [ts'œ]; LH2 [ts'œ];
JA1 [ts'œ]; JA2 [ts'œ];
SC [ts'œ]; LnC [ts'œ]; NnC1 [ts'œ]; NnC2 [ts'œ]; LC [ts'œ];

The YX tone is irregular.

lái 来 QYS lài: CDC *loi

TS [lai]; WN1 [loi]; WN2 [loi]; WN3 [loi];
TC [—]; XZ [lai]; XY [lai]; DC1 [lai]; DC2 [lai];
AY [lai]; NC [lai]; FX [lai]; GA [lai];
CL [la]; PX [la]; AF1 [la]; AF2 [na]; LH1 [œ]; LH2 [hœ];
JA1 [lai]; JA2 [lai];
SC [io]; LnC [lai]; NnC1 [lai]; NnC2 [lai]; LC [lai];

*The initial of AF2 is irregular.
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The second reconstructed form is based on modern forms with a unique correspondence pattern. It may in fact simply be a special development after *l-.

3.2.6 CG *-uoi. After labials this final can be regularly reconstructed on the basis of a consistent correspondence pattern, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beí</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>puài-</th>
<th>CDC *puoi⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[pɛi̯]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pœi̯]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [pœi̯ ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[pi̯]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pœi̯ ]; XZ [pi̯]; YX [pi̯ ]; DC1 [pi̯ ]; DC2 [pi̯ ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[pi̯]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pœi̯ ]; NC [pi̯ ]; FX [pi̯ ]; GA [pai̯ ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[pœi]+</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pœi̯ ]; PX [pi̯ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [puoi̯ ]; LH1 [pœi]; LH2 [pœi]; JA1 [pei];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[pui]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[pœi]; SC [—]; LnC [pi̯ ~ puoi̯ ~ poi̯ ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[pei]</td>
<td></td>
<td>NnC2 [pei];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>[mi]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[mœi];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>[mei]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[moi];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>*puoi</td>
<td></td>
<td>*puoi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Jiān-2 form irregularly takes the yǐnqù tone. This is oddly similar to Hakka, where the word usually also has this tone. There may be a connection that may ultimately prove to be of some importance to wider comparisons.

The second and third Linchuān forms in each of these examples appear to reflect slightly differing pronunciations in the speech of the two different informants represented in the source. The first reading in each set may be a loan form borrowed from some prestigious dialect such as that of Nánchéng.

In other environments, after coronal initials, CG *-uoi competes in the southern dialects with another final, *-ui. This is perhaps the only place in Common Gàn where *-ui is reconstructable comparatively. In fact, it may well have been borrowed into the south from some northern Gàn dialect, such as Nánchéng, where modern -ui is the regular reflex of CG *-uoi. Note that in Nánchéng this *-ui yields modern -y, while the regular reflex of CG *-uoi is -øy. A closely parallel situation is found in Líchuān. Linchuān, in the same vein, often has competing forms in -uoi and -ui. Compare the following examples, where these points are illustrated:
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duí  QYS tuāi-  CDC *tuoi
TS [tei-]; WN1 [ty-]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ty-];
TC [ti-]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ti-]; DC2 [ti-];
AY [ti-]; NC [tu-i-]; FX [ti-]; GA [—];
CL [te-]; PX [ti-]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tuoi-]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [toi-]; JA1 [tuoi-]; JA2 [tuoi-];
SC [—]; LnC [tu-]; NnC1 [tøy-]; NnC2 [tøy-]; LC [toi-] CG *tuoi- ~ *tuo-

nèi QYS nuāi-  CDC *nuoi
TS [naei-]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ny];
TC [ni-]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ni-]; DC2 [—];
AY [li-]; NC [lui-]; FX [li-]; GA [—];
CL [sœ-]; PX [si-]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [luoi-]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [soi-]; JA1 [nuoi-]; JA2 [nui-];
SC [—]; LnC [li-] ~ looi-]; NnC1 [ny-]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ly-] ~ noi-] CG *nuoi- ~ *nuoi-

sui 碎 QYS suāi-  CDC *suoi
TS [ts'ai-]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ey];
TC [dzi-]; XZ [si-]; YX [ei-]; DC1 [si-]; DC2 [si-];
AY [tɕi'-]; NC [su'i-]; FX [tɕi'-]; GA [su'i-];
CL [sœ-]; PX [si-]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [suoi-]; LH1 [sœ-]; LH2 [soi-]; JA1 [suoi-]; JA2 [suoi-];
SC [—]; LnC [sui-] ~ suoi-]; NnC1 [søy-]; NnC2 [søy-]; LC [søy-] CG *suoi- ~ *suoi-

The third reconstructed form is unetymological but is supported by the TS and TC forms. The tone of the CL form is unexpectedly of lower register.

Slightly different modern reflexes are found in the presence of initial *h-, e.g.,
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Finally, we may consider the following exceedingly complex set:

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *nguoi

TS [nua]; WN1 [nä]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [nai];
TC [uai]; XZ [uai]; YX [nai]; DC1 [nai]; DC2 [nai];
AY [nai]; NC [uai]; FX [nai]; GA [nai ~ noi];
CL [væ]; PX [uei ~ ioe]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [uai];
JA1 [uai]; JA2 [uai];
SC [—]; LnC [uai ~ i]; NnC1 [uai]; NnC2 [vaio];
LA [uai ~ *nui ~ *hua] ~ *(ŋ)uai

The first two CG forms are probably bái in register. The CG tone of the fourth form is indeterminate. The first PX and LH2 forms derive from CG *(ŋ)uai. The fifth form may either be a northern loanword or derive, together with the Tōngshān form, from yet another form, *(ŋ)uai.

It seems clear that this tangle can only be unraveled by further study of the pronunciations of this etymon in contiguous dialects, both Gàn and non-Gàn. It awaits further study.

We conclude with two more very problematical sets, for each of which it is difficult to arrive at satisfactory reconstructed forms. In each case, the forms found for points in the upper three tiers all point clearly to reconstructions having final *(ŋ)uai. But it is difficult to associate these forms with those of the lower tiers in recognizable correspondence patterns. Both words are literary in register, and it may therefore simply be the case that Common Gàn as a whole had no single reading form them. In any case, we give them here for reference and future consideration:

shuāi 衰 QYS swanai  CDC *shuei

TS [sa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sai];
TC [sai]; XZ [sai]; YX [sai]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [sai]; NC [sai]; FX [—]; GA [sai];
CL [—]; PX [sai]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sui];
JA1 [sui];
JA2 [sui];
SC [—]; LnC [su:] NnC1 [søy]; NnC2 [—]; LC [soi] CG *soi ~ *suoi ~ *syi (??)

The forms from TS through GA regularly point to the first reconstruction. The AF2 and LH1 forms should derive from a proto-form such as the third one, i.e., with retroflex initial and final *-yi. The remaining forms point to the second reconstruction as their origin.

shuài 帥 QYS șwi- CDC *shuei
TS [sa]; WN1 [soi]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sai];
TC [sai]; XZ [sai]; YX [sai]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [sai];
AY [sai]; NC [sai]; FX [sai]; GA [sai];
CL [sai]; PX [sai]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sai]; LH1 [sai]; LH2 [sai]; JA1 [sai]; JA2 [—]; SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [sai]; NnC2 [sai]; LC [sai] CG *sai ~ *sai (??)

3.2.7 CG *-ou. This final is best preserved in the southeast dialects. Elsewhere it merges with *-au. Examples:

hǎo 好 QYS șxâu: CDC *xou
TS [xau]; WN1 [hau]; WN2 [hau]; WN3 [xau];
TC [hau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xau]; DC2 [hau];
AY [hau]; NC [hau]; FX [hau]; GA [—];
CL [xau]; PX [hau]; AF1 [hau]; AF2 [hau]; LH1 [hau]; LH2 [hau]; JA1 [hau]; JA2 [xau]; SC [hau]; LnC [hau]; NnC1 [hou]; NnC2 [hou]; LC [hou] CG *hou *JXFY.

dào 道 QYS șdâu: “road, principle” CDC *dou
TS [tau]; WN1 [tau]; WN2 [tau]; WN3 [tau];
TC [dau]; XZ [dau]; YX [dau]; DC1 [dau]; DC2 [dau];
AY [tau]; NC [tau]; FX [tau]; GA [tau];
CL [tɛu]; PX [tɛu]; AF1 [tɛu]; AF2 [tɛu]; LH1 [hau]; LH2 [hau]; JA1 [tɛu]; JA2 [tɛu]; SC [tɛu]; LnC [tɛu]; NnC1 [hou]; NnC2 [hou]; LC [hou] CG *dou ~ *dou

3.2.8 CG *-on. The original rounding in this final is well preserved except in Cháling, where it has been lost except after labials. Minutely different correspondence patterns obtain after different initial types. Examples are:
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

3.2.9 CG *-uon. This final has different correspondence patterns after gutturals and coronals. In the latter position it does not contrast with CG *-on, opening the possibility that it could be restored as *-on rather than *-uon there. However we have chosen to be guided by the Jǐān and Suichuān forms, which suggest that *-uon is the more apt reconstruction. Our decision has been influenced by the as yet unpublished data of Chăng Méixiāng (p.c.), who has found more such diphthongal values at a number of dialect points she has surveyed in the greater southwestern Gàn area. Examples for this final are:

duān 短 QYS tuān; CDC *ton³
TS [tʊ̃³]; WN1 [tʊ̃³]; WN2 [tʊ̃³]; WN3 [tʊ̃³];
TC [tʊ̃³]; XZ [tʊ̃³]; YX [tʊ̃³]; DC1 [tʊ̃³]; DC2 [tʊ̃³];
AY [tʊ̃³]; NC [tʊ̃³]; FX [tʊ̃³]; GA [tʊ̃³];
CL [tʊ̃³]; PX [tʊ̃³]; AF1 [tʊ̃³]; AF2 [tʊ̃³]; LH1 [tʊ̃³]; LH2 [tʊ̃³]; JA1 [tʊ̃³];
JA2 [tʊ̃³];
SC [tʊ̃³]; LnC [tʊ̃³]; NnC1 [tʊ̃³]; NnC2 [tʊ̃³]; LC [tʊ̃³] CG *tʊ̃³

kàn 看 QYS kân; CDC *kʰon⁵
TS [kʰɑ̃⁵]; WN1 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; WN2 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; WN3 [kʰɑ̃⁵];
TC [kʰɑ̃⁵]; XZ [kʰɑ̃⁵]; YX [gʰɑ̃⁵]; DC1 [gʰɑ̃⁵]; DC2 [gʰɑ̃⁵];
AY [kʰɑ̃⁵]; NC [kʰɑ̃⁵]; FX [kʰɑ̃⁵]; GA [kʰɑ̃⁵];
CL [kʰɑ̃⁵]; PX [kʰɑ̃⁵]; AF1 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; AF2 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; LH1 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; LH2 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; JA1 [kʰɑ̃⁵];
JA2 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; SC [kʰɑ̃⁵]; LnC [kʰɑ̃⁵]; NnC1 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; NnC2 [kʰɑ̃⁵]; LC [kʰɑ̃⁵] CG *kʰɑ̃⁵

hàn 汗 QYS hân; CDC *hon⁶
TS [hɑ̃⁶]; WN1 [hɑ̃⁶]; WN2 [hɑ̃⁶]; WN3 [hɑ̃⁶];
TC [hɑ̃⁶]; XZ [hɑ̃⁶]; YX [gʰɑ̃⁶]; DC1 [gʰɑ̃⁶]; DC2 [hɑ̃⁶];
AY [hɑ̃⁶]; NC [hɑ̃⁶]; FX [hɑ̃⁶]; GA [hɑ̃⁶];
CL [hɑ̃⁶]; PX [hɑ̃⁶]; AF1 [hɑ̃⁶]; AF2 [hɑ̃⁶]; LH1 [hɑ̃⁶]; LH2 [hɑ̃⁶]; JA1 [hɑ̃⁶];
JA2 [xɑ̃⁶]; SC [hɑ̃⁶]; LnC [hɑ̃⁶]; NnC1 [hɑ̃⁶]; NnC2 [hɑ̃⁶]; LC [hɑ̃⁶] CG *hɑ̃⁶

Determining the correspondence patterns for CG *-uon is important for understanding the historical development of the Gàn language. This final is found in various dialects of the southwestern Gàn area, and its presence can provide insights into the linguistic relationships among these dialects. The correspondence patterns for CG *-uon can be used to trace the evolution of the Gàn language, as well as to understand the influences of neighboring languages on the development of the Gàn dialects.
CG *-yon. Examples of this final after different initial types are as follows:

### 3.2.10

**chuăn** 穿 QYSışhjwân CDC *chion¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Type</th>
<th>TS</th>
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<th>YX</th>
<th>DC1</th>
<th>DC2</th>
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<tr>
<td>[tʰe⁴y̥en¹]</td>
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<td>[dzê⁴n²]</td>
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<td>[dzê⁴n²]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tʰe⁴y̥en¹]</td>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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</table>

**guān** 官 QYS kuān CDC *kuon¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Type</th>
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<th>YX</th>
<th>DC1</th>
<th>DC2</th>
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<tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Initial Type</th>
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<th>YX</th>
<th>DC1</th>
<th>DC2</th>
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<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
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<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
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<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
<td>[ku̯œn¹]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**quàn** 勸 QYS khjwôn  CDC *khion⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Type</th>
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<th>XZ</th>
<th>YX</th>
<th>DC1</th>
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<tr>
<td>[te⁴y̥en¹]</td>
<td>[dze⁴n²]</td>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[te⁴y̥en¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[te⁴y̥en¹]</td>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[te⁴y̥en¹]</td>
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<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
<td>[te⁴yen¹]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: For a complete understanding, the above examples should be cross-referenced with the chart of initial-final combinations provided earlier in the text.
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

3.2.11 CG *-oŋ. Reconstruction of this final is generally unproblematic. Examples are:

bâng 幫 QYS pâng CDC *pong¹
TS [poŋ¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [poŋ²]; WN3 [poŋ³];
TC [poŋ¹]; XZ [poŋ¹]; YX [poŋ¹]; DC1 [poŋ¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [poŋ¹]; NC [poŋ¹]; FX [poŋ¹]; GA [poŋ¹];
CL [pɔ̃²]; PX [pɔ̃²]; AF1 [pɔŋ³]; AF2 [pɔŋ³]; LH1 [pɔŋ³]; LH2 [pɔŋ³]; JA1 [pɔŋ³]; JA2 [pɔŋ³];
SC [pɔŋ³]; LnC [pɔŋ³]; NnC1 [pɔŋ³]; NnC2 [pɔŋ³]; LC [pɔŋ³] CG *poŋ³

chûang 窗 QYS tshâng CDC *chong¹
TS [tsɔŋ¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsɔŋ¹]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzɔŋ¹]; XZ [dzɔŋ¹]; YX [dzɔŋ¹]; DC1 [dzɔŋ¹]; DC2 [dzɔŋ¹];
AY [tsɔŋ¹]; NC [tsɔŋ¹]; FX [tsɔŋ¹]; GA [tsɔŋ¹];
CL [tsɔŋ¹]; PX [tsɔŋ¹]; AF1 [tsɔŋ¹]; AF2 [tsɔŋ¹]; LH1 [tsɔŋ¹]; LH2 [tsɔŋ¹]; JA1 [tsɔŋ¹]; JA2 [tsɔŋ¹];
SC [tsɔŋ¹]; LnC [tsɔŋ¹]; NnC1 [t’oŋ¹]; NnC2 [t’oŋ¹]; LC [t’oŋ¹] CG *tsɔŋ¹

The wên form in the LH1 is an etymon meaning "round". It is not related to the other forms in this set. The YX tone is irregular.

The reconstruction of this final is generally unproblematic. Examples are:
3.2.12 CG *-ioŋ. The following are examples of this final showing, where pertinent, the loss of medial *-i- after retroflexes, and through the process of initial hardening:

liàng 兩 QYS liang: CDC *liong⁴
TS [liön¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liön¹];
TC [ dziön ]; XZ [ dziön ]; YX [ dziön ]; DC1 [ dziön ]; DC2 [ dziön ];
AY [ t'ião ]; NC [ liön ]; FX [ liön ]; GA [ liön ~ liön ];
CL [ liõ ]; PX [ liõ ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [ liõ ]; LH1 [ niõ ]; LH2 [ liön ];
JA1 [ liön ];
JA2 [ liön ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [ liön ]; NnC1 [ — ]; NnC2 [ tiø ]; LC [ tiø ] CG *liön

qiáng 強 QYS giang CDC *giông²
TS [ teiön ]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ teiön ]; WN3 [ dziön ];
TC [ dziön ]; XZ [ dziön ]; YX [ dziön ]; DC1 [ dziön ]; DC2 [ iøy ];
AY [ teiön ]; NC [ teiön ]; FX [ teiön ]; GA [ teiön ];
CL [ teiõ ]; PX [ teiõ ]; AF1 [ teiõ ]; AF2 [ teiõ ]; LH1 [ teiõ ]; LH2 [ teiõ ];
JA1 [ teiõ ]; JA2 [ teiõ ];
SC [ teiõ ]; LnC [ teioun ]; NnC1 [ t'œñ ]; NnC2 [ t'œñ ]; LC [ k'œñ ] CG *giön

The YX tone is irregular. It may be a misprint in the source.

zhàng 丈 QYS diang: CDC *diong⁴
TS [ tsöñ ]; WN1 [ tehüñ ]; WN2 [ dziön ]; WN3 [ teiɔŋ ];
TC [ dzön ]; XZ [ dzön ]; YX [ dzöñ ]; DC1 [ dzön ]; DC2 [ dzöñ ];
AY [ t'œñ ]; NC [ ts'œñ ]; FX [ tœñ ]; GA [ tœñ ];
CL [ ts5 ]; PX [ ts5 ]; AF1 [ t'œñ ]; AF2 [ — ]; LH1 [ ts5 ]; LH2 [ — ]; JA1 [ tœñ ];
JA2 [ tœñ ];
SC [ ts6 ]; LnC [ tœñ ]; NnC1 [ tœñ ]; NnC2 [ tœñ ]; LC [ ts'œñ ] CG *dzöñ ~

In the following example, which represents a unique syllable type in the system, Nánchéng reduces earlier *-ioŋ to *-øŋ:

niáng 娘 QYS niàng: CDC *niöŋ²
TS [ niöŋ ]; WN1 [ niœŋ ]; WN2 [ niœŋ ]; WN3 [ niœŋ ];
TC [ niœŋ ]; XZ [ niœŋ ]; YX [ niœŋ ]; DC1 [ niœŋ ]; DC2 [ niœŋ ];
AY [ niœŋ ]; NC [ niœŋ ]; FX [ niœŋ ]; GA [ œŋ ];
CL [ niœŋ ]; PX [ niœŋ ]; AF1 [ niœŋ ]; AF2 [ niœŋ ]; LH1 [ niœŋ ]; LH2 [ iœŋ ];
JA1 [ niœŋ ];
JA2 [ niœŋ ];
SC [ niœŋ ]; LnC [ niœŋ ]; NnC1 [ noŋ ]; NnC2 [ noŋ ]; LC [ niœŋ ] CG *niöŋ

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This is reminiscent of the shift of CG *-iau to Nánchéng -au in the word niào 尿 (CG *niau阳去). Cf. §3.1.8 above.

### 3.2.13 CG *-uoŋ. The following are typical and unproblematic examples of this final:

| Character | QYS | CDC *uong¹ | TS | WN1 | WN2 | WN3 | TC | ZY | YX | DC1 | DC2 | AY | NC | FX | GA | CL | PX | AF1 | AF2 | LH1 | LH2 | JA1 | JA2 | SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG *uong³ |
|-----------|-----|-------------|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| guǎng 光 | QYS | kuâng       | CDC *uong¹ |
| TS   | [kuo] | [kuang]     | WN1 | [kwoŋ] | WN2 | [kwoŋ] | WN3 | [kwoŋ] |

| Wáng 王 | QYS | jwang      | CDC *wong² |
| TS   | [uoŋ] | WN1 | [—] | WN2 | [uŋ] | WN3 | [uoŋ] |

The AF1 tone is irregular.

In addition, we must note the following sets:

| Fáng 方 | QYS | bjwang   | CDC *fong¹ |

| Fáng 房 | QYS | bjwang   | CDC *vong² |
Here we again encounter the question of whether or not to reconstruct medial *-u- after initial *f-. And in this case we find firm corroborating evidence in Gàn dialects other than those represented in our data sets. The languages in question are Huángfēng 黃峰 in the northeastern Gàn area (Liú 1999), and Yìyáng 弋陽, located slightly west of Huángfēng (Lǐ & Chang 1992). Compare now their readings for the three sets cited above:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>房</th>
<th>放</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huángfēng</strong></td>
<td>fōn̄ 陰平</td>
<td>fōn̄ 陰平</td>
<td>fōn̄ 陰去</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yìyáng</strong></td>
<td>fuon 陰平</td>
<td>fuon 陰平</td>
<td>fuon 陰去</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data place the reconstruction of medial *-u- in Common Gàn on a firm footing for this syllable type.

### 3.2.14 CG *-om. The coda -m of this final is preserved at the same dialect points where we saw it in *-am, *-iam, etc. Vocalic rounding is totally lost in Cháling. In coronal initial syllables it is lost in Xīngzī of the second tier, in all fourth tier dialects, and in all fifth tier dialects except Linchūn, which often preserves it. In her survey of the broader Jīān area, Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) also finds general loss of rounding after coronals, except at Xīn’gān 新干, in the northern part of the region. There unrounding occurs mainly in popular words. The following are examples of the points outlined here:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gǎn 敢 QYS kām</strong>:</td>
<td>CDC *kom⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TS</strong></td>
<td>[kõn̄];</td>
<td><strong>WN1</strong> [kon]; <strong>WN2</strong> [kon]; <strong>WN3</strong> [kon];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TC</strong></td>
<td>[kon];</td>
<td><strong>XZ</strong> [kon]; <strong>YX</strong> [kom]; <strong>DC1</strong> [kom]; <strong>DC2</strong> [kom];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AY</strong></td>
<td>[kom];</td>
<td><strong>NC</strong> [kon]; <strong>FX</strong> [kom]; <strong>GA</strong> [kom];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CL</strong></td>
<td>[kɔ̃];</td>
<td><strong>PX</strong> [kom]; <strong>AF1</strong> [koŋ]; <strong>AF2</strong> [koŋ]; <strong>LH1</strong> [koŋ]; <strong>LH2</strong> [koŋ]; <strong>JA1</strong> [kuŋ];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JA2</strong></td>
<td>[koŋ];</td>
<td><strong>SC</strong> [kom]; <strong>LnC</strong> [kom]; <strong>NnC1</strong> [kon]; <strong>NnC2</strong> [kon]; <strong>LC</strong> [kom]; *<em>CG <em>kom</em></em></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>CDC *kom³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TS</strong></td>
<td>[ko̩];</td>
<td><strong>WN1</strong> [kon]; <strong>WN2</strong> [kon]; <strong>WN3</strong> [kon];</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TC [kon]; XZ [kɔn]; YX [kɔn]; DC1 [kon]; DC2 [kon];
AY [kɔn]; NC [kɔn]; FX [kɔm]; GA [kon];
CL [kã]; PX [kɔ]; AF1 [kɔŋ]; AF2 [kɔŋ]; LH1 [kʰɔŋ]; LH2 [kɔn]; JA1 [ku]; JA2 [kɔn];
SC [kɔn]; LnC [kɔn]; NnC1 [kɔn]; NnC2 [kɔn]; LC [kɔn]; CG *kɔm
*JXFY: [kɔ]. The initial in our source is irregular.

cán QYS dzâm CDC *dzom
TS [tsœ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzon];
TC [dzon]; XZ [dzan]; YX [dzɔn]; DC1 [dzon]; DC2 [dzon];
AY [tsɔm]; NC [tsɔn]; FX [tsɔm]; GA [tsɔn];
CL [tsa]; PX [tsa]; AF1 [tsa]; AF2 [tsa]; LH1 [tsa]; LH2 [tsa]; JA1 [tsan]; JA2 [tsan];
SC [—]; LnC [tsɔm]; NnC1 [t’an]; NnC2 [t’an]; LC [t’am] CG *dzom

3.2.15 CG *-ot. This final has slightly different correspondence patterns after coronals, gutturals, and labials. Examples are:

duó QYS duât CDC *dot
TS [tœ]; WN1 [tœ]; WN2 [dœ]; WN3 [t’œ];
TC [do?]; XZ [dɔ]; YX [dœ]; DC1 [dot]; DC2 [dœ];
AY [t’œ]; NC [t’œ]; FX [t’œ]; GA [t’œ];
CL [t’œ]; PX [t’œ]; AF1 [t’œ]; AF2 [t’œ]; LH1 [ho]; LH2 [ho]; JA1 [t’œ]; JA2 [t’œ];
SC [t’œ]; LnC [t’œ]; NnC1 [han]; NnC2 [han]; LC [han] CG *dot

*The coda of this form is anomalous. In Liú (1999) it is reported to be -t, which is expected.

gë QYS kât CDC *kot
TS [ko?]; WN1 [ko?]; WN2 [ko?]; WN3 [ko?];
TC [ko?]; XZ [kɔ]; YX [kɔ]; DC1 [kɔ]; DC2 [kɔ];
AY [kɔ]; NC [kɔ]; FX [kɔ]; GA [kɔ];
CL [ko]; PX [kɔ]; AF1 [kɔ]; AF2 [kɔ]; LH1 [kɔ]; LH2 [kɔ];
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JA1 [ko^{陽平}]; JA2 [kœ^{陰平}];
SC [ko^{阴平}]; LnC [ko^{陰入}]; NnC1 [køy^{入}]; NnC2 [køy^{入}]; LC [koi^{陰入}]; CG *kot

3.2.16 CG *-uot. This final is quite rare. When occurring after *h-, the medial -u- is deleted when in contact with the newly formed initial f- (see Chapter II, §2.5.4). Compare the following two examples:

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot

huó 活 QYS huât CDC *huot

3.2.17 CG *-yot. Correspondence sets for this final differ according to initial type. In the following four examples, we may note that Găo’an forms ending in -ol can be identified as belonging to the wén layer of this dialect, while -el is the native or bái pronunciation, as indicated in the variant readings for the word yuè 月 “moon”. Examples:

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät CDC *dziot

juá 7

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AJ [tə'ieʔ]; NC [tə'yœʔ]; FX [tə'iet]; GA [tsʰieʔ];
CL [teyeʔ]; PX [tsʰieʔ]; AF1 [tsʰəʔ]; AF2 [tə'yoʔ]; LH1 [tsʰieʔ]; LH2 [tsʰieʔ]; JA1 [tsʰyeʔ]; JA2 [—];
SC [tsʰyeʔ]; Lnc [teye't]; Nnc1 [ts'ɔyʔ]; Nnc2 [te'yœʔ]; LC [t'iʔ]; CG *dzyot

jué 決 QYS kiwet CDC *kiot7
TS [teyeʔ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teyeʔ];
TC [—]; XZ [kuieʔ]; YX [kuieʔ]; DC1 [teiət]; DC2 [teiəi];
AY [teiət]; NC [teiət]; FX [teiət]; GA [teiət];
CL [teyeʔ]; PX [tsueʔ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teyəʔ]; LH1 [teyeʔ]; LH2 [teyeʔ]; JA1 [teyeʔ]; JA2 [teyeʔ];
SC [—]; Lnc [teye'ɾ]; Nnc1 [kuaiʔ]; Nnc2 [teyəʔ]; LC [kuaiʔ] CG *kyot

shuó 說 QYS šwät CDC *shiot6
TS [eyeʔ]; WN1 [eyeʔ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eyeʔ];
TC [seʔ]; XZ [suə]; YX [seʔ]; DC1 [seʔ]; DC2 [sə];
AY [seʔ]; NC [sə]; FX [seʔ]; GA [sə];
CL [sə]; PX [sə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sə]; LH1 [sə]; LH2 [sə]; JA1 [sə]; JA2 [sə];
SC [—]; Lnc [suo]; Nnc1 [sə]; Nnc2 [sə]; LC [sə] CG *syo7

yuè 月 QYS ngjwot CDC *ngiot8
TS [yeʔ]; WN1 [nyoʔ]; WN2 [nyoʔ]; WN3 [nyet];
TC [neʔ]; XZ [uieʔ]; YX [neʔ]; DC1 [neʔ]; DC2 [neʔ];
AY [neʔ]; NC [nyo]; FX [nyeʔ]; GA [nyeʔ];
CL [yeʔ]; PX [nyuə]; AF1 [nyuə]; AF2 [nyəʔ]; LH1 [yeʔ]; LH2 [yeʔ]; JA1 [yeʔ]; JA2 [yeʔ];
SC [nyeʔ]; Lnc [nyet]; Nnc1 [uaiʔ]; Nnc2 [uaiʔ]; LC [uaiʔ] CG *nyot

The tone of the GA bái form is missing from the source.

3.2.18 CG *-ok. Reconstruction of this final is unproblematic. After labials, the Tôngshân reflex is -u, while elsewhere in this dialect it is -ø. Examples are:

bó 薄 QYS bâk CDC *bok8
TS [pʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [potaʔ]; WN3 [bok];
TC [boʔ]; XZ [boʔ]; YX [boʔ]; DC1 [bok]; DC2 [bok];
AY [pɔʔ]; NC [pɔk]; FX [pɔʔ]; GA [pɔʔ];
CL [pɔʔ]; PX [pɔʔ]; AF1 [pɔʔ]; AF2 [pɔʔ]; LH1 [pɔʔ]; LH2 [pɔʔ]; JA1 [pɔʔ]; JA2 [pɔʔ]
SC [pʰo]; LnC [p'ɔ]; NnC1 [p'ɔ]; NnC2 [p'ɔ]; LC [p'ɔ]; CG *bok

*Sense of “peppermint”. The form is given here merely for comparison.

gè 間 QYS kâk CDC *kok

3.2.19 CG *-iok. Examples:

què 鳥 QYS tsjak CDC *tsiok

yào 藥 QYS jiak CDC *yok

ruò 弱 QYS ńžjak CDC *niok

3.2.20 CG *-uok. This rare final is found in one example in our data:
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3.2.21 CG *-op. The following example illustrates this final:

hé 合 QYS ɣâp CDC *hop⁸ (~ kop⁷)

The second CDC form represents a word having the sense “unit of measure”. This form is represented in a number of the sources, where it is treated as a variant reading. This format is followed here for convenience.

Sets having final *-op sometimes have competing variant readings in *-ap, which appear to have been borrowed from other dialects, e.g.,

nà 納 QYS nâp CDC *nop⁸/*nap⁸

The second CDC form represents a word having the sense “unit of measure”. This form is represented in a number of the sources, where it is treated as a variant reading. This format is followed here for convenience.

3.3 Finals having the Main Vowel *e

3.3.1 CG *-e/*-ie. These two finals, which are paired here for convenience, actually include two quite different classes. The first of these is found only in archaic forms that belong to the oldest strata of the Common Gàn lexicon. In this class, popular *-e/*-ie occur in doublets where the corresponding wén final is *-y. The second class, which involves only final *-ie, comprises both early popular forms and others which belong to the most recent Gàn lexical strata. In these latter cases, the literary final *-ie stands opposite popular final *-ia.
We shall now examine several sample lexical sets from the first class:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
jù & QYS kjwo- \\
TS & [tɕi~ke]; WN1 [kə]; WN2 [kə]; WN3 [kə]; \\
TC & [tɕi~ke]; XZ [kə]; YX [kə]; DC1 [kə]; DC2 [kə]; \\
AY & [kə]; NC [tɕi~ke]; FX [kə]; GA [kə]; \\
CL & [tɕi~ke]; PX [kə]; AF1 [tɕi~ke]; AF2 [kə]; LH1 [kə]; LH2 [kə]; \\
JA1 & [kə]; JA2 [tɕi~ke]; \\
SC & [tɕi~ke]; LnC [tɕi~ke]; NnC1 [kə]; NnC2 [kə]; LC [kə] \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Here we reconstruct Common Gàn *-e and *-ie as variant popular forms. Palatalization before the latter final occurs in some dialects but not in others, for uncertain reasons. The syllable *ky regularly yields modern kɨ in XZ. The form *ky is the later literary or character reading of the word "saw (implement)."

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
nǐ & QYS nǐː \\
TS & [nie]; WN1 [nie]; WN2 [nie]; WN3 [nie]; \\
TC & [nie]; XZ [nie]; YX [nie]; DC1 [nie]; DC2 [nie]; \\
AY & [nie]; NC [nie]; FX [nie]; GA [nie]; \\
CL & [nie]; PX [nie]; AF1 [nie]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [nie]; LH2 [nie]; \\
JA1 & [nie]; JA2 [nie]; \\
SC & [nie]; LnC [nie]; NnC1 [nie]; NnC2 [nie]; LC [nie] \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Syllabic nasal forms in this set, together with those ending in modern -e, -e, and -ie, derive from from a Common Gàn *ne~nie, whose tone is indeterminate. Other forms derive from *ni, which has been borrowed from some later, probably northern, source. The PX form hɨ and the LH2 form are of uncertain provenance. Certain forms in this set, both bài and wén, point to earlier píngshēng or qūshēng readings. Their origins are obscure. The first PX form probably represents an entirely different etymon. Chăng Méixiāng (p.c.) has found it elsewhere in the greater Jī'ān area. Cf. also Sagart (2002:143–144, esp. Table 4).
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In this set, four points have the archaic word for “woman; daughter”, allowing us to reconstruct this form in Common Gàn. But all of them also have the later borrowed form, derived from earlier *ny^[阴上]*, and in fact most points use only this later form.

This example is very similar to the preceding one. The archaic word for “book” is preserved in the south, and in Nánchéng-2 it is in fact the only one attested. But most places have the later borrowed form, either as the literary member of a doublet or, more commonly, as the sole word for “book”.

Finally, we may consider the following set:

Here, the Líchuān bái form reflects an archaic Common Gàn *tʂ'ie^[阴去]*, for which we lack other comparative evidence in our data. We can speculate about the shape of the putative Common Gàn form, as we have done here; but we cannot reconstruct it comparatively.

In summary, our archaic final *-e/-ie, which probably belongs to the earliest stages of Sinitic implanted in the Gàn-speaking area, survives best today in the south, with occasional examples farther north. Elsewhere it has been supplanted by later forms in *-y, and this has penetrated even those dialects that use the archaic forms in speech, contributing literary readings there.
We shall now turn to our second class of examples, which involve only syllables having final *-ie alternating with *-ia. The following are illustrative:

**xiè** 謝 QYS jia- CDC *zia*

TS [siə]; WN1 [tejə]; WN2 [dzia~]; TC [dzia~]; XZ [sia~]; YX [zia~]; DC1 [dziə]; DC2 [dziə];

AY [sia~]; NC [zia~]; FX [dzie~]; GA [zia~]; CL [sia~]; PX [zia~]; AF1 [zia~]; AF2 [zia~]; LH1 [zia~]; LH2 [zia~]; JA1 [zia~]; JA2 [zia~];

SC [zia~]; LnC [zia~]; NnC1 [zia~]; NnC2 [zia~]; LC [zia~];

The bái form is probably the archaic, native Gàn etymon. The first wén form corresponds directly to the QYS reading and is probably an early loan from some medieval koine. The third reconstructed form is clearly a late loan from the north. The initial of the TC wén reading may be a contamination from the bái form.

**shè 社 QYS žja:**

TS [se]; WN1 [ejə]; WN2 [eia~]; WN3 [eia~]; TC [se~]; XZ [sa~]; YX [sa~]; DC1 [sa~]; DC2 [sa~];

AY [sa~]; NC [sa~]; FX [se~]; GA [sa~];

CL [se~]; PX [sa~]; AF1 [sa~]; AF2 [sa~]; LH1 [sa~]; LH2 [sa~]; JA1 [sa~];

JA2 [sa~];

SC [sa~]; LnC [sa~]; NnC1 [sa~]; NnC2 [sa~];

The bái form may be a contamination from the bái form.

**yè 夜 QYS jia-**

TS [ie~]; WN1 [iə]; WN2 [iə~]; WN3 [iə~]; TC [ie~]; XZ [iə~]; YX [iə~]; DC1 [iə~]; DC2 [iə~];

AY [iə~]; NC [iə~]; FX [ie~]; GA [iə~];

CL [iə~]; PX [iə~]; AF1 [iə~]; AF2 [iə~]; LH1 [iə~]; LH2 [iə~]; JA1 [iə~];

JA2 [iə~];

SC [iə~]; LnC [iə~]; NnC1 [iə~]; NnC2 [iə~];

In each of these sets, older forms, whose finals agree with those of the corresponding Common Dialectal Chinese reconstructions, are paired with literary readings in *-ie. These later forms agree in shape with those regularly found in 'Phags-pa Chinese and early Ming Guānhuà. They clearly represent a rather late loan layer in Common Gàn.

3.3.2 CG *-ue. This problematic final can be reconstructed as a possible variant of CG *-yo in the following set:

**yè 夜 QYS jia-**

TS [ie~]; WN1 [iə]; WN2 [iə~]; WN3 [iə~]; TC [ie~]; XZ [iə~]; YX [iə~]; DC1 [iə~]; DC2 [iə~];

AY [iə~]; NC [iə~]; FX [ie~]; GA [iə~];

CL [iə~]; PX [iə~]; AF1 [iə~]; AF2 [iə~]; LH1 [iə~]; LH2 [iə~]; JA1 [iə~];

JA2 [iə~];

SC [iə~]; LnC [iə~]; NnC1 [iə~]; NnC2 [iə~];

In each of these sets, older forms, whose finals agree with those of the corresponding Common Dialectal Chinese reconstructions, are paired with literary readings in *-ie. These later forms agree in shape with those regularly found in 'Phags-pa Chinese and early Ming Guānhuà. They clearly represent a rather late loan layer in Common Gàn.

3.3.2 CG *-ue. This problematic final can be reconstructed as a possible variant of CG *-yo in the following set:
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

It may represent a loan form of some sort in Common Gàn. The matter is uncertain.

3.3.3 CG *-ei. This final, which corresponds to CDC *-iai, is a residuum in the Common Gàn system. Traces of it are preserved in ma inly popular words, while elsewhere it has merged entirely with Common Gàn *-i (= CDC *-i). Dialects where both forms occur in contrast reveal the presence of the dichotomy. In most cases, it survives in only a single dialect (especially in Gāo’an), making it impossible to reconstruct it comparatively for the Common Gàn system. Examples where we in fact can do so are:

ji 雞 QYS kiei CDC *kiai¹
TS [tei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tei]; WN3 [tei];
TC [tei]; XZ [tei]; YX [tei]; DC1 [tei]; DC2 [tei];
AY [tei]; NC [tei]; FX [tei]; GA [tei];
CL [tei]; PX [tei]; AF1 [tei]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [tei]; LnC [tei]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei];

li 犁 QYS liei CDC *liai¹
TS [lai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [li]; WN3 [li];
TC [li]; XZ [li]; YX [li]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [li];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [lai];
CL [li]; PX [li]; AF1 [li]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [le]; JA2 [li];
SC [li]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [li]; NnC2 [li];

ni 泥 QYS niei CDC *niai²
TS [ni]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ni]; WN3 [ni];
TC [ni]; XZ [ni]; YX [ni]; DC1 [ni]; DC2 [ni];
AY [ni]; NC [ni]; FX [ni]; GA [lai];
CL [ni]; PX [ni]; AF1 [ni]; AF2 [ni]; LH1 [ni]; LH2 [ni]; JA1 [nei]; JA2 [ni];
SC [ni]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [ni]; NnC2 [ni];

CG *gyo (~ *kue)
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In the following example, “to pave with flat stones or bricks”, Ānfū-2 has a curious reading which might be a reflex of CG *-ei.

Other common words, for which only Găoān evidence provides support are dì 弟, tī 梯, and tì 替. Survival of CG *-ei probably reflects an early linguistic stratum in the Gàn-speaking area. In most places, it has been supplanted by a lexically thick Core Common Gàn stratum where CDC *-iai and *-i have merged completely. Finally, we should note that final -æi in Tōngshān cannot be viewed as evidence for earlier *-ei, because -æi is the regular reflex of CG *-i after coronals in this dialect. See §3.4.1 for details.

3.3.4 CG *-eu. Among the gutturals, this final has slightly different correspondence patterns after velars and the laryngeal *h-, but it is otherwise unremarkable. Examples of it in various environments are:

---

3 An anonymous reviewer remarks that the Găoān cognate for this word is [tsʰei⁵.]
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3.3.5 CG *en. With one exception, this final occurs exclusively after zero or gutturals. It is notable that the vowel *e breaks to -ie- or -i- in Wūning-2, Tōngchéng, Nánchāng,  Gǎoān, Jiān-1, Ānyì, and Ānfǔ (except after zero and *h-). Such breaking also occurs in popular layer words in Fèngxīn. Examples are:

ên  鍉 QYS ?en  CDC *en¹
TS [nɛ̃]; WN1 [ —]; WN2 [ niɛ̃]; WN3 [ nɛ̃];
TC [nien]; XZ [ nɛ̃]; YX [ niɛ̃]; DC1 [ nɛ̃]; DC2 [ nɛ̃];
AY [ hau]; NC [ heu]; FX [ hau]; GA [ heu];
CL [ nɛ̃]; PX [ heu]; AF1 [ nɛ̃]; AF2 [ nɛ̃]; LH1 [ hœ ]; LH2 [ hœ ]; JA1 [ hau ]; JA2 [ hau ];
SC [ nɛ̃]; LnC [ heu ]; NnC1 [ heu ]; NnC2 [ heu ]; LC [ heu ]; CG [ heu ]

The tone of the YX form is irregular.
The second LH2 form is tonally irregular.

Finally, it should be noted that *-en is reconstructable in very late loans, where it occurs after the late layer initial *tŋ, e.g.,

The second LH2 form is tonally irregular.
3.3.6 CG *-ien. Examples for this final before various initial types are as follows. Note that it loses medial -i- after Common Gân retroflexes in the same dialects where we have seen this phenomenon in other finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pian</td>
<td>bian QYS pien (CG *pian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kian</td>
<td>jiàn QYS kien- (CG *kian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhan</td>
<td>shàn QYS zhân- (CG *zhian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted in §3.1.10 above, this final is distinguished from CG *-ian in Tongshan, whose forms are determinative for the difference.

3.3.7 CG *-eŋ. This final consists of two types, “pure” and “mixed”. The pure type is an independent component of the Common Gân system, and is assumed to have evolved directly from some earlier stage, such as Common Dialectal Chinese. The mixed type (of which there are two sub-varieties) comprises literary readings which correspond to popular words having the Common Gân final *-aŋ (see §3.1.12 above) and popular words having literary readings in final *-iŋ (see §3.4.5 below). Vowel breaking in CG *-eŋ occurs after dental stops in all three Wûning types and in Tôngchêng. After sibilants, breaking is absent in Wûning-3. Examples
for words of the pure class are as follows:

dēng 燈 QYS [t̚əŋ]
     CDC *tēnɡ
TS [tən̚]; WN1 [tien̚]; WN2 [tien̚]; WN3 [tien̚];
TC [tien̚]; XZ [tə̃n̚]; YX [tə̃n̚]; DC1 [tə̃n̚]; DC2 [tə̃n̚]
AY [tən̚]; NC [tən̚]; FX [tə̃n̚]; GA [tən̚];
CL [tə̃]; PX [tə̃]; AF1 [tə̃ŋ]; AF2 [tə̃ŋ]; LH1 [tə̃]; LH2 [tə̃]; JA1 [tə̃];
JA2 [tə̃];
SC [tə̃]; LnC [tə̃]; NnC1 [tə̃]; NnC2 [tə̃]; LC [tə̃]  CG *tə̃n̚

zēng 增 QYS [tsəŋ]
     CDC *tsēn̚
TS [tsə̃]; WN1 [tɕiɛn̚]; WN2 [tɕiɛn̚]; WN3 [tsən̚];
TC [tsən̚]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsən̚]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsən̚]; NC [tsən̚]; FX [tsən̚]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsə̃]; AF1 [tsə̃ŋ]; AF2 [tsə̃ŋ]; LH1 [tsə̃]; LH2 [tsə̃]; JA1 [tsən̚];
JA2 [tsən̚];
SC [tsən̚]; LnC [tsən̚]; NnC1 [tsən̚]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsən̚]  CG *tsən̚
*JXFY.

A guttural initial example for this class is the following, for which Wūnīng-1 and
Wūnīng-2 forms are unfortunately lacking:

héng 恆 QYS [k̚əŋ]
     CDC *hēn̚
TS [k̚əŋ]; WN1 [k̚eîŋ]; WN2 [k̚eîŋ]; WN3 [k̚en̚];
TC [k̚en̚ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [k̚en̚ ]; DC2 [—];
AY [k̚en̚ ]; NC [k̚en̚ ]; FX [k̚en̚ ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [h̚en̚ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [h̚eŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [h̚eŋ]; JA1 [h̚en̚ ];
JA2 [h̚en̚ ];
SC [—]; LnC [h̚en̚ ]; NnC1 [h̚en̚ ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [h̚en̚ ]  CG *hēn̚

The following are examples of the first mixed class, for which two more sets have already
been cited in §3.1.12 above:

gēng 耕 QYS [k̃̚ŋ]
     CDC *k̚əŋ
TS [k̃̚ŋ]; WN1 [k̚eîŋ]; WN2 [k̚eîŋ]; WN3 [k̚en̚ ~ k̚əŋ];
TC [k̚en̚ ]; XZ [k̚ą̃ŋ]; YX [k̚ą̃ŋ]; DC1 [k̚ą̃ŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [k̚ą̃ŋ]; NC [k̚ę̃ŋ ~ k̚ą̃ŋ]; FX [k̚ę̃ŋ ~ k̚ą̃ŋ]; GA [k̚ą̃ŋ];
CL [—]; PX [k̃̚ŋ]; AF1 [tẽŋ]; AF2 [k̃̚ŋ ~ tẽŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [k̚ą̃ŋ];
JA1 [k̚ę̃ŋ]; JA2 [k̚ę̃ŋ];
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SC [kê̄n]; LnC [ken]; NnC1 [ken ~ kan]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *kan ~ *kei

zhêng 冰 QYS tsêng CDC *cang¹
TS [tsen]; WN1 [tejen]; WN2 [tsan¹]; WN3 [tsan²];
TC [tsen]; XZ [tsan ~ tsan¹]; YX [tsen ~ tsan¹]; DC1 [tsen ~ tsan¹];
DC2 [tsen ~ tsan¹];
AY [tsen ~ tsan¹]; NC [tsen ~ tsan¹]; FX [tsen ~ tsan¹]; GA [tsen ~ tsan¹];
CL [tsê¹]; PX [tsê¹]; AF1 [tsân¹]; AF2 [tsê¹]; LH1 [tsê¹]
SC [tsa]; LnC [tsen ~ tsan¹]; NnC1 [tsen ~ tsan¹]; NnC2 [tsen ~ tsan¹];
LC [tsen ~ tsan¹] CG *tsan ~ tsê¹

An example for the second mixed class is the following:

bêng 冰 QYS piêng CDC *ping¹
TS [pin]; WN1 [pin]; WN2 [pin]; WN3 [pin];
TC [—]; XZ [pin]; YX [pin]; DC1 [pin]; DC2 [pin];
AY [pin]; NC [pin]; FX [pin]; GA [pin];
CL [pi²]; PX [pin]; AF1 [pêng¹]; AF2 [pin]; LH1 [pi³]; LH2 [pin³];
SC [pi²]; LnC [pi²]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pin ~ pen³]; LC [pen³] CG *pen ~ *pin³

3.3.8 CG *-uen. This final occurs in a single example, where it serves as the literary correlate of CG *-uan:

hêng 冰 QYS yêng “horizontal” CDC *huang²
TS [xuê ~ xue ~ xue ~ xue ~ xue ~ xue]; WN1 [waŋ]; WN2 [vaŋ]; WN3 [uaŋ];
TC [fen ~ uan¹]; XZ [uan]; YX [vaŋ]; DC1 [fuen ~ uan¹]; DC2 [fuen ~ uan¹];
AY [uan¹]; NC [fen ~ uan ~ uan ~ uan]; FX [huen ~ uan]; GA [uan];
CL [xe³]; PX [fan ~ ua ~ ua]; AF1 [vaŋ]; AF2 [hêng ~ uan]; LH1 [hwe ~ ua];
SC [ua³]; LnC [fen ~ uan¹]; NnC1 [uaŋ]; NnC2 [vaŋ]; LC [uan¹] CG *uan ~ *huen
3.3.9  CG *-em. This very rare final occurs in only two words in our data:

sēn 汐  QYS sjem    CDC *shem
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [cien]; WN3 [cien];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sen]; DC2 [sen];
AY [sem]; NC [sen]; FX [sem]; GA [—];
CL [se]; PX [sen]; AF1 [sen]; AF2 [sen]; LH1 [se*]; LH2 [sen]; JA1 [sen];
JA2 [—];
SC [sēn]; LnC [sem]; NnC1 [sen]; NnC2 [sen]; LC [sem]  CG *sem

The tone of the AF1 form is irregular.

shèn 潤  QYS sjem-    CDC *shim
TS [sem]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sen]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [ts'an]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [se ~ ts'ā]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [sen]; JA1 [—];
JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [sem]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [sem]  CG *sem

The NC form and the second PX form may derive from an earlier *ts'am. The matter is very uncertain.

3.3.10  CG *-iem. This final has slightly different correspondence patterns depending on syllable initial types. Note that it differs from CG *-iam, as indicated by its post-guttural reflex in Tôngshān (cf. §3.1.17 above). Examples:

diǎn 點  QYS tjem:    CDC *tiam
TS [tī]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tien]; WN3 [tien];
TC [tien]; XZ [tien]; YX [tien]; DC1 [tien]; DC2 [tien];
AY [tǐm]; NC [tien]; FX [tiem]; GA [tien ~ liem];
CL [tie]; PX [tie]; AF1 [tiem]; AF2 [tie]; LH1 [tie]; LH2 [tie]; JA1 [tien];
JA2 [tian];
SC [tie]; LnC [tien]; NnC1 [tian]; NnC2 [tian]; LC [tiam]  CG *tiem

niàn 念  QYS niem-    CDC *niam
TS [nię]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [nię]; WN3 [nię];
TC [nię]; XZ [nię]; YX [nię]; DC1 [nię]; DC2 [nię];
AY [nię]; NC [nię]; FX [niem]; GA [nię];
CL [nię]; PX [nię]; AF1 [nię]; AF2 [nię]; LH1 [nie]; LH2 [ię]; JA1 [nię];
JA2 [nię];
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3.3.11 CG *-et. This final is rather rare. The following is an example:

sè 瑟 QYS sjät  CDC *shet
TS [seʔ]; WN1 [sjeʔ]; WN2 [sjeʔ]; WN3 [sjeʔ];
TC [səʔ]; XZ [səʔ]; YX [səʔ]; DC1 [səʔ]; DC2 [səʔ];
AY [səʔ]; NC [səʔ]; FX [səʔ]; GA [səʔ];
CL [səʔ]; PX [səʔ]; AF1 [səʔ]; AF2 [səʔ]; LH1 [səʔ]; LH2 [səʔ]; JA1 [səʔ]; JA2 [səʔ];
SC [səʔ]; LnC [səʔ]; NnC1 [səʔ]; NnC2 [səʔ]; LC [sam];

CG *-et is also to be reconstructed as a very late borrowed literary reading in the following set:

rè 熱 QYS ńžjät  CD *nhiat/EC *nat
TS [zəʔ]; WN1 [ńjeʔ]; WN2 [ńjeʔ]; WN3 [ńjeʔ];
TC [ńyeʔ]; XZ [ńyeʔ]; YX [ńyeʔ]; DC1 [ńyeʔ]; DC2 [ńyeʔ];
AY [ńlet]; NC [ńlet]; FX [ńlet]; GA [ńlet];
CL [ńlet]; PX [ńlet]; AF1 [ńlet]; AF2 [ńlet]; LH1 [ńlet]; LH2 [ńlet]; JA1 [ńlet]; JA2 [ńlet];
SC [ńjeʔ]; LnC [ńjeʔ]; NnC1 [ńjeʔ]; NnC2 [ńjeʔ]; LC [ńjeʔ];

CG *ńiet ~ *ńiet
3.3.12 CG *-iet. This final is exemplified in the following sets, as well as in the example in the preceding section immediately above. The second example below illustrates loss of medial -i- after initial retroflexes. Examples:

jié 竭 QYS tsiet  CDC *tsiat
TS [tsi]; WN1 [teje]; WN2 [teje]; WN3 [teje];
TC [teje]; XZ [sjie]; YX [teje]; DC1 [teje]; DC2 [teje];
AY [teje]; NC [teje]; FX [teje]; GA [teje];
CL [teje]; PX [tsie]; AF1 [teje]; AF2 [tehe]; LH1 [teje]; LH2 [teje]; JA1 [teje]; JA2 [teje];
SC [teje]; LnC [teie]; NnC1 [teie]; NnC2 [teie]; LC [teie] CG *tsiet

The initial of the AF2 for is unexpectedly aspirated.

shé 與 QYS dzjät  CDC *zhiat
TS [se]; WN1 [se]; WN2 [se]; WN3 [se];
TC [se]; XZ [se]; YX [se]; DC1 [set]; DC2 [set];
AY [se]; NC [set]; FX [set]; GA [set];
CL [se]; PX [se]; AF1 [se]; AF2 [se]; LH1 [se]; LH2 [se]; JA1 [se]; JA2 [se];
SC [se]; LnC [set]; NnC1 [se]; NnC2 [se]; LC [se] CG *siet

3.3.13 CG *-ek. This final comprises two occurrence types. The first is basic to Common Gàn. The second is made up of literary loan readings corresponding to native Common Gàn *-ak. Examples of the first type are:

bēi 北 QYS pak  CDC *pek
TS [pe]; WN1 [pe]; WN2 [pe]; WN3 [pe];
TC [pe]; XZ [pe]; YX [pe]; DC1 [pek]; DC2 [pek];
AY [pe]; NC [pek]; FX [pe]; GA [pek];
CL [pe]; PX [pe]; AF1 [pe]; AF2 [pe]; LH1 [pek]; LH2 [pek]; JA1 [pek]; JA2 [pek];
SC [pe]; LnC [pe]; NnC1 [pei]; NnC2 [pei]; LC [pei] CG *pek

hēi 黑 QYS xak  CDC *xek
TS [xe]; WN1 [he]; WN2 [he]; WN3 [xet];
TC [he]; XZ [he]; YX [ge]; DC1 [hek]; DC2 [hek];
AY [he]; NC [hek]; FX [he]; GA [hek];
CL [xe]; PX [he]; AF1 [he]; AF2 [he]; LH1 [he]; LH2 [he]; JA1 [he]; JA2 [he];
SC [he]; LnC [he]; NnC1 [hei]; NnC2 [hei]; LC [he] CG *hek
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3.3.14 CG *-iek. This final is the literary layer correlate of popular Common Gàn *-iak. It also exists independently (without a corresponding popular form) in words of exclusively high or literary register. Examples of the first type are:

li 曆 QYS liek  CDC *liak
TS [læi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lit];
TC [di]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dik]; DC2 [—];
AY [lit]; NC [lit]; FX [li]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [li]; JA2 [li];
SC [—]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [ti]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ti] CG (*liak ~)

The following are sets of the second type, of which two examples have already been given in §3.1.21 above:

bāi 百 QYS pok  CDC *pak
TS [pe]; WN1 [pa?]; WN2 [pa?]; WN3 [pa ~ pak];
TC [pa?]; XZ [pe]; YX [pa?]; DC1 [pak]; DC2 [pak];
AY [pa?]; NC [pa ~ pak]; FX [pa?]; GA [pa?];
CL [pe]; PX [pe]; AF1 [pa]; AF2 [pa]; LH1 [pa]; LH2 [pa]; JA1 [pa]; JA2 [pa];
SC [pa]; LnC [pe ~ pa]; NnC1 [pa]; NnC2 [pe ~ pa]; LC [pe ~ pa] CG *pak ~

zé 擇 QYS dək  CDC *jak
TS [tsʔ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzeʔ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dze]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts']; NC [ts' ~ t]; FX [pe]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts']; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts']; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts']; JA1 [ts']; JA2 [ts'];
SC [—]; LnC [ts' ~]; NnC1 [t;]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t;] CG *dək ~

3.3.14 CG *-iek. This final is the literary layer correlate of popular Common Gàn *-iak. It also exists independently (without a corresponding popular form) in words of exclusively high or literary register. Examples of the first type are:

li 曆 QYS liek  CDC *liak
TS [læi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lit];
TC [di]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dik]; DC2 [—];
AY [lit]; NC [lit]; FX [li]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [li]; JA2 [li];
SC [—]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [ti]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ti] CG (*liak ~)

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Examples of the purely literary type are:

3.3.15  CG *-uek. The following are examples for this rather rare final:

huò 或 QYS ywək  CDC *huek8
TS [xʊə́]; WN1 [xʊə́]; WN2 [xʊə́]; WN3 [fə́];
TC [fə́]; XZ [xʊə́]; YX [xʊə́]; DC1 [xʊə́]; DC2 [xʊə́];
AY [xʊə́]; NC [xʊə́]; FX [xʊə́]; GA [xʊə́];
CL [xʊə́]; PX [xʊə́]; AF1 [xʊə́]; AF2 [xʊə́]; LH1 [xʊə́]; LH2 [xʊə́]; JA1 [xʊə́]; JA2 [xʊə́];
SC [xʊə́]; LnC [xʊə́]; NnC1 [xʊə́]; NnC2 [xʊə́]; LC [xʊə́]  CG *huek

shì 石 QYS žjäk  CDC *shiak8
TS [ʃi]; WN1 [ʃiə́]; WN2 [ʃiə́]; WN3 [ʃiə́];
TC [ʃiə́]; XZ [ʃiə́]; YX [ʃiə́]; DC1 [ʃiə́]; DC2 [ʃiə́];
AY [ʃiə́]; NC [ʃiə́]; FX [ʃiə́]; GA [ʃiə́];
CL [ʃiə́]; PX [ʃiə́]; AF1 [ʃiə́]; AF2 [ʃiə́]; LH1 [ʃiə́]; LH2 [ʃiə́]; JA1 [ʃiə́]; JA2 [ʃiə́];
SC [ʃiə́]; LnC [ʃiə́]; NnC1 [ʃiə́]; NnC2 [ʃiə́]; LC [ʃiə́]  CG *shiak

xi 昔 QYS sjäk  CDC *siak7
TS [ʃi]; WN1 [ʃi]; WN2 [ʃi]; WN3 [ʃiə́];
TC [ʃiə́]; XZ [ʃi]; YX [ʃi]; DC1 [ʃiə́]; DC2 [ʃi];
AY [ʃiə́]; NC [ʃiə́]; FX [ʃiə́]; GA [ʃiə́];
CL [ʃiə́]; PX [ʃiə́]; AF1 [ʃiə́]; AF2 [ʃiə́]; LH1 [ʃiə́]; LH2 [ʃiə́]; JA1 [ʃiə́]; JA2 [ʃiə́];
TheSC [ʃi]; LnC [ʃiə́]; NnC1 [ʃiə́]; NnC2 [ʃiə́]; LC [ʃiə́]  CG *siak
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3.3.16 CG *-iap, regarding which see §3.1.24 above.

3.4 Finals having the Main Vowel *i

3.4.1 CG *-i. This final is preserved unchanged after Common Gàn zero and after oral gutturals. Examples are:

qì 氣 QYS khjei- CDC *khi
TS [te\textsubscript{1}], WN1 [te\textsubscript{1}], WN2 [te\textsubscript{1}], WN3 [te\textsubscript{1}];
TC [dz\textsubscript{1}], XZ [dz\textsubscript{1}], YX [dz\textsubscript{1}], DC1 [dzi], DC2 [i\textsubscript{1}];
AY [te\textsubscript{1}], NC [te\textsubscript{1}], FX [te\textsubscript{1}], GA [ci];
CL [te\textsubscript{1}], PX [te\textsubscript{1}], AF1 [te\textsubscript{1}], AF2 [te\textsubscript{1}], LH1 [te\textsubscript{1}], LH2 [te\textsubscript{1}], JA1 [te\textsubscript{1}], JA2 [te\textsubscript{1}];
SC [te\textsubscript{1}], LnC [te\textsubscript{1}], NnC1 [te\textsubscript{1}], NnC2 [te\textsubscript{1}], WA [te\textsubscript{1}], LC [te\textsubscript{1}] CG *khi

jì 雞 QYS kiei CDC *kia
TS [te\textsubscript{1}], WN1 [te\textsubscript{1}], WN2 [te\textsubscript{1}], WN3 [te\textsubscript{1}];
TC [te\textsubscript{1}], XZ [te\textsubscript{1}], YX [te\textsubscript{1}], DC1 [te\textsubscript{1}], DC2 [te\textsubscript{1}];
AY [te\textsubscript{1}], NC [te\textsubscript{1}], FX [te\textsubscript{1}], GA [kai];
After *ŋ-, final *-i develops an excrescent final -n in Liánhuā-2. This nasal coda is absent from borrowed literary or learned forms. It can thus be assumed to have been a native development in the dialect. Examples are:

yī 衣 QYS ?jei  
CDC *ŋi₁

TS [ŋi₁]; WN1 [ŋi₁]; WN2 [ŋi₁]; WN3 [ŋi₁];  
TC [ŋi₁]; XZ [ŋi₁]; YX [ŋi₁]; DC1 [ŋi₁]; DC2 [ŋi₁];  
AY [ŋi₁]; NC [ŋi₁]; FX [ŋi₁]; GA [ŋi₁];  
CL [ŋi₁]; PX [ŋi₁]; AF1 [ŋi₁]; AF2 [ŋi₁]; LH1 [ŋi₁]; LH2 [ŋi₁]; JA1 [ŋi₁]; JA2 [ŋi₁];  
SC [ŋi₁]; LnC [ŋi₁]; NnC1 [ŋi₁]; NnC2 [ŋi₁]; LC [ŋi₁]  CG *ŋi₁

nì 擬 QYS ngie:³  
CDC *ngi⁴

TS [ŋi⁴]; WN1 [ŋi⁴]; WN2 [ŋi⁴]; WN3 [ŋi⁴];  
TC [ŋi⁴]; XZ [ŋi⁴]; YX [ŋi⁴]; DC1 [ŋi⁴]; DC2 [ŋi⁴];  
AY [ŋi⁴]; NC [ŋi⁴]; FX [ŋi⁴]; GA [ŋi⁴];  
CL [ŋi⁴]; PX [ŋi⁴]; AF1 [ŋi⁴]; AF2 [ŋi⁴]; LH1 [ŋi⁴]; LH2 [ŋi⁴]; JA1 [ŋi⁴]; JA2 [ŋi⁴];  
SC [ŋi⁴]; LnC [ŋi⁴]; NnC1 [ŋi⁴]; NnC2 [ŋi⁴]; LC [ŋi⁴]  CG *ŋi⁴

yì 藝 QYS ngja³  
CDC *ngia⁶

TS [ŋia⁶]; WN1 [ŋia⁶]; WN2 [ŋia⁶]; WN3 [ŋia⁶];  
TC [ŋia⁶]; XZ [ŋia⁶]; YX [ŋia⁶]; DC1 [ŋia⁶]; DC2 [ŋia⁶];  
AY [ŋia⁶]; NC [ŋia⁶]; FX [ŋia⁶]; GA [ŋia⁶];  
CL [ŋia⁶]; PX [ŋia⁶]; AF1 [ŋia⁶]; AF2 [ŋia⁶]; LH1 [ŋia⁶]; LH2 [ŋia⁶]; JA1 [ŋia⁶]; JA2 [ŋia⁶];  
SC [ŋia⁶]; LnC [ŋia⁶]; NnC1 [ŋia⁶]; NnC2 [ŋia⁶]; LC [ŋia⁶]  CG *ŋia⁶
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TC [ŋi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ni]; DC2 [—];
AY [ni]; NC [ni]; FX [ni]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ni]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ni]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [ni]; JA2 [ni];
SC [—]; LnC [ni]; NnC1 [ni]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ni] CG *ŋi

The DC1 tone is irregular.

After dental sibilants and dentals other than *n-, *-i breaks to -æi in Tôngshan:

li 梨 QYS lji CDC *li²
TS [laei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [li]; WN3 [li];
TC [di]; XZ [di]; YX [li]; DC1 [di]; DC2 [li];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
CL [li]; PX [li]; AF1 [li]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [li]; JA2 [li];
SC [ti]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [ti]; NnC2 [ti]; LC [ti] CG *li

The tone of the JA1 form is irregular.

di 地 QYS di- CDC *di⁶
TS [tai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ti]; WN3 [ti];
TC [di]; XZ [di]; YX [di]; DC1 [di]; DC2 [li];
AY [ti]; NC [ti]; FX [ti]; GA [ti];
CL [ti]; PX [ti]; AF1 [ti]; AF2 [ti]; LH1 [ti]; LH2 [ti]; JA1 [ti]; JA2 [ti];
SC [ti]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [ti]; NnC2 [ti]; LC [hi] CG *di

The LH2 form is highly irregular and of unknown origin.

xī 西 QYS siei CDC *siai¹
TS [seai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ei]; WN3 [ei];
TC [si]; XZ [si]; YX [ei]; DC1 [si]; DC2 [si];
AY [ei]; NC [ei]; FX [ei]; GA [ei];
CL [ei]; PX [ei]; AF1 [ei]; AF2 [ei]; LH1 [ei]; LH2 [ei]; JA1 [ei];
JA2 [ei];
SC [ei]; LnC [ei]; NnC1 [ei]; NnC2 [ei]; LC [ei] CG *ei

After *n-, breaking in Tôngshan does not normally occur. Compare the following:

ni 泥 QYS niei CDC *niai²
TS [ni]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ni]; WN3 [ni];
TC [ni]; XZ [ni]; YX [ni]; DC1 [ni]; DC2 [ni];
AY [ni]; NC [ni]; FX [ni]; GA [lai];
The reason for this appears to be that in Tōngshān  *n- palatalized to ȵ- before the onset of breaking, thus removing the necessary conditions for the vowel change (i.e., dental or sibilant before *i). However, note the following:

The Syllabic nasal forms, together with those ending in modern -e, -ɛ, and -iɛ, derive from a Common Gàn  *nie, whose tone is indeterminate. Other forms derive from 你 *ni阳上, which was borrowed from some late 甬, probably northern, source. The PX form ʰɛ̃阳去 and the LH2 form are of uncertain origin. Certain forms in this set, both bái and wén, point to earlier píngshēng or qūshēng readings. Their origins are obscure.

Our assumption here is that Tōngshān borrowed as a literary reading a northern form *ni阳上 at a rather late date, after initial palatalization of  *n- had ceased to be effective in the dialect, thereby enabling vowel breaking to occur in the dental initial loan form. Somewhat analogous here is the behavior of this intrusive pronominal form in Liánhuā-2. In this dialect the nasal initial, before being lost, generates parasitic final coda -n. This is because the form was borrowed after CG *n- had become Liánhuā-2 initial l-. As a result, it escaped denasalization and was able to nasalize the final before itself being regularly lost. Cf. §2.2.4 of Chapter II.

After Common Gàn retroflexes, *-i is normally modified everywhere except in the southeastern dialects of Línchūān, Nânchéng, and Línchūān. Elsewhere, we hypothesize that it was first retroflexed and apicalized to *-ʅ, which form it retained in dialects where the
initial retroflexes remained unchanged. In dialects in which the retroflexes became dental sibilants, *-ʅ, was “de-retroflexed” or sibilantized to modern *-ɿ. In dialects where the Common Gàn retroflexes were hardened, *-ʅ, concomitantly yielded in each affected dialect various new vowels, i.e., -ə, -e, -ɵ, or -ø. Gǎo’an takes -ø even after non-hardened initials. Examples:

zhí 知 QYS ṭje CDC *ci¹
TS [ts¹]; WN1 [ts¹]; WN2 [ts¹]; WN3 [ts¹];
TC [ts¹]; XZ [ts¹]; YX [ts¹]; DC1 [ts¹]; DC2 [ts¹];
AY [ts]; NC [ts]; FX [ts]; GA [ts ~ tə];
CL [ts]; PX [ts]; AF1 [ts]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [ts]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [tə];
JA2 [tə];
SC [ts]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tsi
The AF1 tone is irregular.

shí 時 QYS Ӷi CDC *zhi²
TS [s²]; WN1 [s²]; WN2 [s²]; WN3 [s²];
TC [s²]; XZ [s²]; YX [s²]; DC1 [s²]; DC2 [s²];
AY [sə]; NC [s]; FX [s]; GA [s];
CL [s]; PX [s]; AF1 [s]; AF2 [s]; LH1 [s]; LH2 [s]; JA1 [s];
JA2 [s];
SC [s]; LnC [si]; NnC1 [si]; NnC2 [si]; LC [si] CG *sti

Finally, as noted in §3.3.3 above, there are cognate sets in which bái readings of certain words have final *-ei opposite literary *-i. These forms in *-ei are popular survivals of a final corresponding to Common Dialectal *-iai. In the major or core layer of the Common Gàn lexicon (which we denote as “Core Common Gàn”), this final merged completely with CDC *-i, to yield CG *-i.

3.4.2 CG *-ui. As mentioned above, this final can perhaps be reconstructed as a borrowed variant correlate of CG *-uoi. For examples and discussion, see §3.2.5. In any case, in our view it does not form part of the fundamental Common Gàn sound inventory. For further discussion of it, see the following section.

3.4.3 CG *-yi. This final shows three major developmental patterns, each determined by syllable initial type, i.e., coronal initials (with minor variations according to sub-type), guttural initials and zero, and labiodentals. We shall now consider each of these in turn. Examples having coronal initials are as follows, with the slight differences according to initial type just mentioned:
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chuī 吹 QYS ʂhwe  CDC *chuī¹
TS [te'yei]; WN1 [t̚éy]; WN2 [te'ye]; WN3 [te'y];
TC [di̯]; XZ [di̯]; YX [di̯]; DC1 [dzu]; DC2 [dzu];
AY [t̚i]; NC [t̚ui]; FX [t̚i]; GA [t̚î];
CL [te'ye]; PX [t̚iu]; AF1 [t̚i]; AF2 [t̚i]; LH1 [te'ye]; LH2 [te'ye];
JA1 [t̚i]; JA2 [t̚i];
SC [te'ye]; LnC [t̚i]; NnC1 [te'ye]; NnC2 [te'ye]; LC [te'ye] CG *t̚i

chuí 锨 QYS d̕iwi  CDC *jui²
TS [te'ye]; WN1 [t̚éy]; WN2 [te'ye]; WN3 [dzy];
TC [dzy]; XZ [dzy]; YX [dzy]; DC1 [dzy]; DC2 [dzy];
AY [t̚i]; NC [t̚ui]; FX [t̚i]; GA [t̚î];
CL [te'ye]; PX [t̚iu]; AF1 [t̚i]; AF2 [t̚i]; LH1 [te'ye]; LH2 [te'ye];
JA1 [t̚i]; JA2 [t̚i];
SC [te'ye]; LnC [t̚i]; NnC1 [te'ye]; NnC2 [te'ye]; LC [te'ye] CG *dzy

shuí 水 QYS ɕwi  CDC *shuí³
TS [e'yei]; WN1 [e̯]; WN2 [e̯]; WN3 [e̯];
TC [e̯]; XZ [e̯]; YX [e̯]; DC1 [e̯]; DC2 [e̯];
AY [e̯]; NC [e̯]; FX [e̯]; GA [e̯];
CL [e̯]; PX [e̯]; AF1 [e̯]; AF2 [e̯]; LH1 [e̯]; LH2 [e̯]; JA1 [e̯];
JA2 [e̯];
SC [e̯]; LnC [e̯]; NnC1 [e̯]; NnC2 [e̯]; LC [e̯] CG *ɕi

The TS bái form is interesting, since it agrees with the one found in the various Wùng varieties. It may have been borrowed from such a source. The matter deserves further study. The AF forms may be borrowed, since the expected reflexes would have final -y here. The initial of the YX form is irregular.

sui 歲 QYS sjwái-  CDC *sioi⁵
TS [sai]; WN1 [si]; WN2 [si]; WN3 [si];
TC [si]; XZ [si]; YX [si]; DC1 [si]; DC2 [si];
AY [si]; NC [si]; FX [si]; GA [si];
CL [se]; PX [se]; AF1 [se]; AF2 [se]; LH1 [se]; LH2 [se]; JA1 [se];
JA2 [se];
SC [se]; LnC [se]; NnC1 [se]; NnC2 [se]; LC [se] CG *si

lèi 河 QYS liwi-  CDC *lui⁸
TS [læi]; WN1 [læi]; WN2 [læi]; WN3 [læi];
TC [di]; XZ [di]; YX [li]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [li];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
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The finals and tone of the GA form are irregular. The first reading occurs in the syllabary section of the source, while the second is found in the lexical section, sub “lacrima”. The second reconstruction is supported by the AF2 and JA1 forms. These dialects do not distinguish upper and lower register for the qù tone.

In reconstructing the Common Gàn final involved here, the Tōngshān forms are our best guide. In these, we see in all but the fourth and fifth sets, which have sibilant and lateral initials, a final -yæi; and in parallel with Common Gàn *-i, we can assume a breaking of *-i to *-æi here, pointing to a Common Gàn *-yi for the full proto-form. Somewhat similar is the Cháling form, which is -ye (< *-yi) in the first three examples. At many other points CG *-yi has been reduced in various ways, i.e., to -y, -u, -o, -ui, -u, or -i, depending on dialect and/or initial type. It is thus Tōngshān and Cháling that preserve best the original form of final *-yi in these sets.

We now move to the second major type, which is characterized by guttural initials and initial zero. Examples are:

**gui 鬼 QYS kwei:**

- CDC *kui³*

**wèi 位 QYS jwi-**

- CDC *wi⁶*
Here, in the first two examples most points have modern -ui (or its equivalent, e.g., -uøi, etc.), but Suìchūān, Liánhuā-1 in its bái layer, and occasionally also Ānfū-1, have -y, indicating derivation from an earlier *-yi. In zero initial syllables, as exemplified in the third set, all points suggest earlier *-ui. Thus there would be no difficulty in reconstructing such words as CG *ui pure and simple; but it is noticeable that the final in such cases would be in complementary distribution with *-yi and that the final of a Common Gàn syllable *ui in these cases would be unique in the common system. Consequently, our choice is to restore such zero-initial syllables as CG *yi. Some support for this step can be garnered from the following example, where Ānfū-2 has modern [y] rather than [ui]:

For this syllable, Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) reports the following corroborative forms:

Finally, we arrive at syllables having initial *f-. Examples are:

For this syllable, Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) reports the following corroborative forms:

Nínggāng 宁岡:  [y] (tone sic!)
Tàihé 泰和-1:  [y] (but cf. Tàihé-2: [vi])
Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Gàn

The NnC1 tone is irregular.

Our first problem in these cases is the perennial one of whether or not to reconstruct medial *-u- after the initial labiodental. But, fortunately, Châng Méixiâng’s data come to our aid (Châng Méixiâng, p.c.). For she has found the following pertinent forms for these sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>帺</th>
<th>帺</th>
<th>Xíájiâng 峽江</th>
<th>fui</th>
<th>fui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xin’gân 新干</td>
<td>fui (tone sic!)</td>
<td>fui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms should enable us to posit earlier *fui for syllables of this type. But we are still left with the enigmatic bái forms from Liánhuâ-1. How are we to account for them? The wén forms in this dialect are of course no problem. We can without further ado derive them from earlier *fui, But the probability is that they have been borrowed from some other source to serve as character readings. The bái forms, on the other hand must have a more complex history. Since they both show final *-y, it would seem reasonable to suppose that this final is derived from an earlier *-yi and reconstruct Common Gàn *fyi for them. Then we can assume that this later became *hyi, which then finally yielded *eyi > ey by regular palatalization of the secondary initial *h- and loss of final *-i. We can thus assume that Liánhuâ-1 originally had two readings for these words, a literary one in *fui and a popular one in *fyi. It is the latter that we can, with some confidence, reconstruct for Common Gàn. Whether or not the loan form *fui existed at the Common Gàn stage cannot be determined comparatively on the basis of currently available data. It is possible, however, that Châng’s extensive unpublished data will ultimately resolve the question.

3.4.4 CG *-in. After non-retroflex initials the correspondence pattern for this final is exemplified in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>min</th>
<th>民</th>
<th>QYS mjien⁴</th>
<th>CDC *min²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [min]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [min]; WN3 [min];</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [min]; XZ [min]; YX [min]; DC1 [min]; DC2 [min];</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [min]; NC [min]; FX [mien]; GA [min];</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [min]; PX [min]; AF1 [mien]; AF2 [min]; LH1 [mien]; LH2 [min]; JA1 [min]; JA2 [min];</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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The AF2 tone is irregular.

After retroflexes, a different pattern obtains, e.g.,

zhēn 真 QYS tějén CDC *cin¹
zhèn 真 QYS dźjên CDC *zhin²

3.4.5 CG *-iŋ. Examples of this final in non-retroflex initial words are as follows:

bīng 冰 QYS pjâng CDC *ping¹
yāng 鱔 QYS ?jang  CDC *kiang\(^1\)
TS [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN3 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)];
TC [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; XZ [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; YX [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; DC1 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; DC2 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)];
AY [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NC [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; FX [ian\(^\text{阴平}\)]; GA [in\(^\text{阴平}\)];
CL [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; PX [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; AF1 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; AF2 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; JA1 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; JA2 [in\(^\text{阴平}\)];
SC [in\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LnC [in\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ en\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [t\(\text{阴平}\)\^3]; LC [t\(\text{阴平}\) ~ t\(\text{阴平}\) \(\text{阴平白}\)]; CG *eŋ ~ *iŋ

ling 凌 QYS ljong  CDC *ling\(^2\)
TS [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN3 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)];
TC [din\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ din\(^\text{阴平}\)]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [t\(\text{阴平}\)\^3]; NC [lin\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ ten\(^\text{阴平}\)]; FX [lian\(^\text{阴平}\)]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; AF1 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; AF2 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LH1 [li\(^\text{阴平}\)*]; LH2 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; JA1 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; JA2 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)];
SC [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LnC [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NnC1 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NnC2 [lin\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LC [ten\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ t\(\text{阴平}\) \(\text{阴平白}\)]; CG *liŋ ~ *ien

Note that in popular words, as exemplified in these three sets, readings in final *-iŋ frequently have corresponding bái forms with final *-eŋ (see §3.3.7 above). In a different type of set, of which examples are very numerous in the data, *-iŋ serves as the literary correlate of popular forms having final *-iŋ (cf. §3.1.13 above). The following are examples:

bing 餅 QYS pjäng:  CDC *piang\(^3\)
TS [pin\(^\text{上声}\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; WN3 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)];
TC [pin\(^\text{上声}\)]; XZ [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; YX [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; DC1 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\) ~ piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; DC2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)];
AY [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; NC [pin\(^\text{上声}\) ~ piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; FX [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\) ~ piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; GA [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)];
CL [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; PX [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; AF1 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; AF2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; LH1 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; LH2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; JA1 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; JA2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)];
SC [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; LnC [pin\(^\text{上声}\) ~ piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; NnC1 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; NnC2 [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; LC [piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\) ~ piaŋ\(^\text{上声}\)]; CG *piaŋ ~ *pin

jìng 經 QYS kieng  CDC *kiang\(^1\)
TS [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN1 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN2 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; WN3 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)];
TC [tein\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; XZ [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; YX [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; DC1 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; DC2 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)];
AY [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NC [tein\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; FX [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; GA [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)];
CL [tsi\(\text{阴平}\) no tone]; PX [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; AF1 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; AF2 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; LH1 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; LH2 [tsi\(\text{阴平}\)]; JA1 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; JA2 [tei\(\text{阴平}\)];
SC [tsi\(\text{阴平}\)]; LnC [tein\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ tei\(\text{阴平}\)]; NnC1 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\)]; NnC2 [tein\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ taŋ\(^\text{阴平}\)]; LC [kin\(^\text{阴平}\) ~ kiaŋ\(^\text{阴平}\)]; CG *kaŋ ~ *kin
Examples of this final in retroflex initial syllables are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gân Form</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Cantonese Form</th>
<th>Vietnamese Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shêŋ</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>QYS şjong</td>
<td>CDC *shing⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [son]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>WXQ [sin]</td>
<td>NC [tin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [səŋ]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>WXQ [tin]</td>
<td>GA [tøn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [eĩ]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>LnC [sin]</td>
<td>NN1 [—]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>CG *-yɨŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yông</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>QYS jwong</td>
<td>CDC *wing⁴ ~ *wiung⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [—]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>LnC [—]</td>
<td>NN1 [yn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>CG *-yɨŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following set, we see a mixture of forms, one native Gân and reflecting CG *-yɨŋ, while the other seems to be a borrowed form having final *-ɨŋ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gân Form</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Cantonese Form</th>
<th>Vietnamese Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qîng</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>QYS khjwång, khjâng</td>
<td>CDC *khing⁴ ~ khiung¹ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [teŋ]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>WXQ [teŋ]</td>
<td>NC [tein]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL [teɪ]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>WXQ [tein]</td>
<td>GA [tein]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [—]</td>
<td>陰平</td>
<td>LnC [—]</td>
<td>NN1 [—]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>CG *-yɨŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CL wén form is interesting. It is perhaps a loan from some dialect that realizes this word as [yn¹].
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SC [tʰei̯]; LnC [tei̯n]; NnC1 [tei̯n]; NnC2 [tei̯n]; LC [k'ye̯n] CG *k'ye̯n
~ *k'yi

The origin of the NC bái form is uncertain. The wén layer reconstruction is presumably represented by the NC wén reading and the CL, LH1 and 2 and NnC1 forms. It may be a loan from some northern koine. The initial of the GA form suggests that it is derived at some stage from an earlier *k'ye̯n. See Chapter II, §2.5.2.

3.4.7 CG *-im. Examples of this final with non-retroflex initials are as follows:

jǐn 金 QYS kjɔm CDC *kim
TS [tein]; WN1 [tein]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tein]; XZ [tein]; YX [tein]; DC1 [tein]; DC2 [tein];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tei̯m]; GA [tein];
CL [tein]; PX [tein]; AF1 [tein]; AF2 [tein]; LH1 [tein]; LH2 [tein]; JA1 [tein]; JA2 [tein];
SC [tein]; LnC [tein]; NnC1 [tein]; NnC2 [tein]; LC [kim] CG *kim

lin 林 QYS ljɔm CDC *lim
TS [lin]; WN1 [lin]; WN2 [lin]; WN3 [lin];
TC [din]; XZ [din]; YX [lin]; DC1 [din]; DC2 [lin];
AY [t'ım]; NC [lin]; FX [li̯m]; GA [lin];
CL [li̯n]; PX [lin]; AF1 [lin]; AF2 [lin]; LH1 [lin]; LH2 [lin]; JA1 [lin]; JA2 [lin];
SC [li̯n]; LnC [tin]; NnC1 [tin]; NnC2 [tin]; LC [tim] CG *lim

The XZ tone is irregular.

And with retroflex initials we have:

chén 沈 QYS dʒɔm CDC *jim
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzən]; XZ [dzən]; YX [dzən]; DC1 [dzən]; DC2 [dzən];
AY [t'äm]; NC [tsən] ~ ts'ən; FX [təṃ]; GA [tən];
CL [ts'ë]; PX [ts'ə]; AF1 [tən]; AF2 [tən]; LH1 [ts'ë]; LH2 [ts'ə]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [t'äm];
SC [tei]; LnC [t'im]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *dzəm

The NnC1 tone is irregular.

shèn 甚 QYS zjəm; zjəm- CDC *zhim
TS [sun]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [e̯n]; WN3 [e̯n];
TC [son]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [son]; DC2 [—];

The origin of the NC bái form is uncertain. The wén layer reconstruction is presumably represented by the NC wén reading and the CL, LH1 and 2 and NnC1 forms. It may be a loan from some northern koine. The initial of the GA form suggests that it is derived at some stage from an earlier *k'ye̯n. See Chapter II, §2.5.2.

3.4.7 CG *-im. Examples of this final with non-retroflex initials are as follows:

jǐn 金 QYS kjɔm CDC *kim
TS [tein]; WN1 [tein]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tein]; XZ [tein]; YX [tein]; DC1 [tein]; DC2 [tein];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tei̯m]; GA [tein];
CL [tein]; PX [tein]; AF1 [tein]; AF2 [tein]; LH1 [tein]; LH2 [tein]; JA1 [tein]; JA2 [tein];
SC [tein]; LnC [tein]; NnC1 [tein]; NnC2 [tein]; LC [kim] CG *kim

lin 林 QYS ljɔm CDC *lim
TS [lin]; WN1 [lin]; WN2 [lin]; WN3 [lin];
TC [din]; XZ [din]; YX [lin]; DC1 [din]; DC2 [lin];
AY [t'ım]; NC [lin]; FX [li̯m]; GA [lin];
CL [li̯n]; PX [lin]; AF1 [lin]; AF2 [lin]; LH1 [lin]; LH2 [lin]; JA1 [lin]; JA2 [lin];
SC [li̯n]; LnC [tin]; NnC1 [tin]; NnC2 [tin]; LC [tim] CG *lim

The XZ tone is irregular.

And with retroflex initials we have:

chén 沈 QYS dʒɔm CDC *jim
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzən]; XZ [dzən]; YX [dzən]; DC1 [dzən]; DC2 [dzən];
AY [t'äm]; NC [tsən] ~ ts'ən; FX [təṃ]; GA [tən];
CL [ts'ë]; PX [ts'ə]; AF1 [tən]; AF2 [tən]; LH1 [ts'ë]; LH2 [ts'ə]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [t'äm];
SC [tei]; LnC [t'im]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *dzəm

The NnC1 tone is irregular.
3.4.8 CG *-it. Examples of this final after non-retroflex initials are:

```
yī QYS ?jiêt⁴ CDC *it⁵
```

And in post-retroflex position we have:

```
shí QYS dzjêt⁴ CDC *zhît⁵
```

3.4.9 CG *-ik. Examples of this final after non-retroflexes are:

```
ji QYS giak CDC *gîk⁸
```
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阳去

3.4.10  CG *-ip. Examples after non-retroflexes:

ji 急  QYS kjæp  CDC *kip
TS [tei'] ; WN1 [tei'阳人] ; WN2 [ti'阳人] ; WN3 [tei'阳人] ;
TC [ti'阳人] ; XZ [tei'阳人] ; YX [tei'阳人] ; DC1 [tei'阳人] ;
AY [tei'阳人] ; NC [tei'阳人] ; FX [tei'阳人] ; GA [tei'阳人] ;
CL [tei'阳人] ; PX [tei'阳人] ; AF1 [tei'阳人] ; AF2 [tei'阳人] ;
LC [tei'阳人] ; JA1 [tei'阳人] ; JA2 [tei'阳人] ;

The vowel of the YX form is misprinted in the source as ɿ, which we have accordingly corrected here.

CG *-ip. Examples after non-retroflexes:

ji 急  QYS kjæp  CDC *kip
TS [tei'] ; WN1 [tei'阳人] ; WN2 [ti'阳人] ; WN3 [tei'阳人] ;
TC [ti'阳人] ; XZ [tei'阳人] ; YX [tei'阳人] ; DC1 [tei'阳人] ;
AY [tei'阳人] ; NC [tei'阳人] ; FX [tei'阳人] ; GA [tei'阳人] ;
CL [tei'阳人] ; PX [tei'阳人] ; AF1 [tei'阳人] ; AF2 [tei'阳人] ;
LC [tei'阳人] ; JA1 [tei'阳人] ; JA2 [tei'阳人] ;

CG *-ip. Examples after non-retroflexes:
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SC [—]; LnC [tei³]; NnC1 [tei²]; NnC2 [tei³]; LC [kip³] CG *kip³

xi 習 QYS  zjøp CDC *zip⁸
TS [sæi³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzi³];
TC [ei²]; XZ [s²i³]; YX [ei³]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dzi³];
AY [ei²]; NC [s²i³]; FX [sïøp³]; GA [s²i³];
CL [ei²]; PX [s³i³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei²]; LH1 [ei²]; LH2 [ei³];
JA1 [ei³]; JA2 [ei³];
SC [—]; LnC [sip³]; NnC1 [ei³]; NnC2 [ei³]; LC [eip³] CG *sip³ ~ *dzip³ (?)
The AF2 tone is irregular. The tonal register of the second reconstruction is uncertain.

And in post-retroflex position:

shí 十 QYS  žjøp CDC *zhip⁸
TS [s³]; WN1 [ei²]; WN2 [e³]; WN3 [e³];
TC [s²e³]; XZ [s³e³]; YX [s³e³]; DC1 [s³e³]; DC2 [s³e³];
AY [s²e³]; NC [s³e³]; FX [s³e³]; GA [s³e³];
CL [s³]; PX [s³]; AF1 [se³]; AF2 [se³]; LH1 [se³]; LH2 [se³];
JA1 [se³]; JA2 [se³];
SC [s³]; LnC [sip³]; NnC1 [e³]; NnC2 [e³]; LC [eip³] CG *sip³

3.5 Finals having the Main Vowel *u

3.5.1 CG *-u. This final remains unchanged after labials, labiodentals, gutturals, and zero.

Examples are:

bù 步 QYS  buo- CDC *bu⁶
TS [pu⁶]; WN1 [pu⁶]; WN2 [bu⁶]; WN3 [pu⁶];
TC [bu⁶]; XZ [bu⁶]; YX [bu⁶]; DC1 [bu⁶]; DC2 [bu⁶];
AY [p³u⁶]; NC [p³u⁶]; FX [p³u⁶]; GA [p³u⁶];
CL [p³u⁶]; PX [p³u⁶]; AF1 [p³u⁶]; AF2 [p³u⁶]; LH1 [p³u⁶]; LH2 [p³u⁶];
JA1 [p³u⁶]; JA2 [p³u⁶];
SC [p³u⁶]; LnC [p³u⁶]; NnC1 [p³u⁶]; NnC2 [p³u⁶]; LC [p³u⁶] CG *bu⁶
The LH2 form is irregular in its initial. The tone of the NnC1 for is irregular.

kù 苦 QYS  khuo: CDC *khu³
TS [k'u³]; WN1 [khu³]; WN2 [k³u³]; WN3 [k'u³];
TC [u³]; XZ [gu³]; YX [g³u³]; DC1 [gu³]; DC2 [gu³];
AY [k'u³]; NC [k'u³]; FX [k'u³]; GA [k³u³];
CL [k'u³]; PX [k'u³]; AF1 [k³u³]; AF2 [k³u³]; LH1 [k³u³ ~ hu³]; LH2 [k³u³];
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JA1 [kʰuⁿ]; JA2 [k'uⁿ];
SC [k'uⁿ]; LnC [k'uⁿ]; NnC1 [k'uⁿ]; NnC2 [k'uⁿ]; LC [k'uⁿ] CG *k'uⁿ

After coronals, it diphthongizes in Tōngshān and Tōngchéng. If the coronal is a sibilant, the vowel unrounds in Ānyì. Examples are:
cū 粗 QYS tshuo CDC *tshu¹
TS [ts'au]; WN1 [tshu]; WN2 [tsʰu]; WN3 [tsʰu];
TC [dzu¹]; XZ [dzu¹]; YX [dzʰ]; DC1 [dzu¹]; DC2 [dzʰ¹];
AY [ts'ə]; NC [ts'u]; FX [ts'u]; GA [tsʰu];
CL [tsʰu]; PX [tsʰu]; AF1 [tsʰu]; AF2 [tsʰu¹]; LH1 [tsʰu¹]*; LH2 [tsʰu¹]; JA1 [tsʰu¹]; JA2 [tsʰu¹];
SC [tsʰu¹]; LnC [tsʰu¹]; NnC1 [t'u¹]; NnC2 [tsʰu¹]; LC [t'u¹] CG *ts'u¹

sū 蘇 QYS suo CDC *su¹
TS [saʊ]; WN1 [su]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [su];
TC [sou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [su]; DC2 [su];
AY [saʊ]; NC [su]; FX [su]; GA [—];
CL [su]; PX [su]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [su¹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [su¹]; JA1 [su¹]; JA2 [su¹];
SC [—]; LnC [su]; NnC1 [su¹]; NnC2 [su¹]; LC [su¹] CG *su¹

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu⁶
TS [lau]; WN1 [lau]; WN2 [lau]; WN3 [lau];
TC [nou]; XZ [lou]; YX [lou]; DC1 [lou]; DC2 [lou];
AY [lou]; NC [lou]; FX [lou]; GA [lou];
CL [lou]; PX [lou]; AF1 [lou]; AF2 [lou]; LH1 [lou]; LH2 [lou]; JA1 [lou]; JA2 [lou];
SC [lau]; LnC [lau]; NnC1 [lau]; NnC2 [lau]; LC [lau] CG *lou
3.5.2 CG *-iu. The correspondence pattern for this final after non-retroflex initials can be illustrated by the following sets:

jiù 傘 QYS giǎu: CDC *gieu¹
TS [teiu¹]; WN1 [tejou¹]; WN2 [tei²]; WN3 [teiu¹];
TC [dzou¹]; ZX [dziu¹]; YX [dz₂iu²]; DC1 [dziu¹]; DC2 [iu₁ ~ iu₂];
AY [tei¹]; NC [teiu¹]; FX [tei³u]; GA [eiu];
CL [te'iu¹]; PX [tei²u]; AF1 [tei²u]; AF2 [tei³u]; LH1 [teiu¹]*; LH2 [tei³u];
JA1 [te³iu¹]; JA2 [tei³u];
SC [te³iu¹]; LnC [tei³u]; NnC1 [tei³u]; NnC2 [te³iu¹]; LC [k'iu³u]; CG *giu¹ ~ giu²
*JXFY: [te³iu²].

yóu 油 QYS jìu: CDC *yeu²
TS [i²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [i²]; WN3 [i²];
TC [i²]; ZX [i³]; YX [i³]; DC1 [ia³]; DC2 [i³];
AY [i²]; NC [i³]; FX [ia³]; GA [i³];
CL [i³]; PX [i³]; AF1 [i³]; AF2 [i³]; LH1 [i³]; LH2 [i³]; JA1 [i³];
JA2 [i³];
SC [i³]; LnC [i³]; NnC1 [i³]; NnC2 [i³]; LC [i³]; CG *iu³

After retroflexes, the medial is lost in a number of dialects but retained in others. Following -u also diphthongizes in many of the dialects. It is interesting that the type of diphthongization that occurs in Tōngshān and Tōngchēng in these instances is the same as that seen for CG *-u, suggesting that in these dialects *-iu was first reduced to *-u, which then underwent the expected change in this vowel that also occurred after coronals in these languages. Examples of these phenomena are as follows:

chōu 抽 QYS ʈʰjou: CDC *chiu¹
TS [ts'au¹]; WN1 [tehjou¹]; WN2 [te³iu¹]; WN3 [te³iu¹];
TC [dzou¹]; ZX [dziu¹]; YX [dz₂ou²]; DC1 [dzou¹]; DC2 [dzou¹];
AY [t'au¹]; NC [ts'au¹]; FX [t'au¹]; GA [t'ou¹];
CL [ts'ɑ³]; PX [ts'u¹]; AF1 [t³iu¹]; AF2 [t³iu¹]; LH1 [ts'æ³]; LH2 [ts'oi³];
JA1 [t³iu¹]; JA2 [—];
SC [te³iu¹]; LnC [t³iu¹]; NnC1 [te³iu¹]; NnC2 [te³iu¹]; LC [te³iu¹]; CG *ts'iu²

shōu 手 QYS jiu: CDC *shiu³
TS [sau¹]; WN1 [cijou¹]; WN2 [ciu¹]; WN3 [ciu¹];
TC [sou¹]; ZX [siu¹]; YX [ςau²]; DC1 [ςau²]; DC2 [ςau²];
AY [su¹]; NC [ςau²]; FX [ςu²]; GA [ςeu²];

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3.5.3 CG *-un. This final yields several unique correspondence patterns as determined by initial type. Velar initial syllables are exemplified in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG</th>
<th>CL</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>AF2</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ḱun</td>
<td>[k̂u̯n]</td>
<td>[kʰuŋ]</td>
<td>[kʰuĩn]</td>
<td>[kʰun]</td>
<td>[kʰuœn]</td>
<td>[kʰuœn]</td>
<td>[kʰuœn]</td>
<td>[kʰuœn]</td>
<td>[kʰũ]</td>
<td>[k̂uŋ]</td>
<td>[k'uín]</td>
<td>[k'uín]</td>
<td>[k'uín]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*xun</td>
<td>[xu̯n]</td>
<td>[xun]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[hũ]</td>
<td>[f̂en]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mun</td>
<td>[mun]</td>
<td>[mœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[mœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After *h- there is a different pattern, influenced by interaction with the dentilabialized initial that arises through the influence of the following vowel, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG</th>
<th>CL</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>AF2</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*f́un</td>
<td>[f̂un]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[hũ]</td>
<td>[f̂en]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hun</td>
<td>[hœn]</td>
<td>[f̂en]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
<td>[hũ]</td>
<td>[f̂en]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fyn]</td>
<td>[fœn]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After bilabials, only one Línchuān subtype preserves the original vocalism of the final, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG</th>
<th>CL</th>
<th>PX</th>
<th>AF1</th>
<th>AF2</th>
<th>LH1</th>
<th>LH2</th>
<th>JA1</th>
<th>JA2</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>LnC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pun</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[mœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
<td>[pœn]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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The pattern after *f- is exemplified in the following:

fēn 分 QYS pjuan CDC *fun¹
TS [fēn¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fən¹]; WN3 [fən¹];
TC [fən¹]; XZ [fən¹]; YX [fən¹]; DC1 [fən¹]; DC2 [fən¹];
AY [fən¹]; NC [fən¹]; FX [huan¹]; GA [fən¹];
CL [fẽ¹]; PX [fẽ¹]; AF1 [fẽ¹]; AF2 [fẽ¹]; LH1 [huẽ¹]; LH2 [fẽ¹];
JA1 [fẽ¹]; JA2 [fẽ¹];
SC [fẽ²]; LnC [fẽ²]; NnC1 [fẽ²]; NnC2 [fẽ²]; LC [fẽ²] CG *fun²
*Deduced from a lacuna in the source.

Finally, after coronals we find the following pattern:

cūn 村 QYS tshuan CDC *tshun¹
TS [ts'ën¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ts'ən¹]; WN3 [ts'ən¹];
TC [dzən¹]; XZ [dzən¹]; YX [dzən¹]; DC1 [dzən¹]; DC2 [dzən¹];
AY [ts'ən¹]; NC [ts'ən¹]; FX [ts'ən¹]; GA [ts'ən¹];
CL [tsẽ¹]; PX [ts'ẽ¹]; AF1 [tsẽ¹]; AF2 [tsẽ¹]; LH1 [tsẽ¹]; LH2 [tsẽ¹];
JA1 [ts'ẽ¹]; JA2 [ts'ẽ¹];
SC [tsẽ²]; LnC [ts'œn¹]; NnC1 [t'ym¹]; NnC2 [t'ym¹]; LC [t'ym¹] CG *ts'œn²

**3.5.4** CG *-uŋ. This final shows different correspondence patterns, as determined by preceding initial types. The following illustrates the post-coronal configuration:

dōnɡ 東 QYS tung CDC *tung¹
TS [tun¹]; WN1 [təŋ¹]; WN2 [təŋ¹]; WN3 [təŋ¹];
TC [təŋ¹]; XZ [təŋ¹]; YX [təŋ¹]; DC1 [təŋ¹]; DC2 [təŋ¹];
AY [təŋ¹]; NC [təŋ¹]; FX [təŋ¹]; GA [təŋ¹];
CL [təŋ¹]; PX [təŋ¹]; AF1 [təŋ¹]; AF2 [təŋ¹]; LH1 [təŋ¹]; LH2 [təŋ¹]; JA1 [təŋ¹]; JA2 [təŋ¹];
SC [təŋ¹]; LnC [təŋ¹]; NnC1 [təŋ¹]; NnC2 [təŋ¹]; LC [təŋ¹] CG *tun¹

After gutturals we find a pattern of the following type:
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The initial of the LH1 form is irregular.

And after labials and *f-:

The initial of the LH1 form is irregular.

Finally, after zero we have the following unique syllable:
3.5.5 CG *-iuŋ. Examples of this final after non-retroflex initials are as follows:

qióng 穹 QYS giung- CDC *giung²
TS [teiŋ]; WN1 [teiŋ]; WN2 [dziaŋ]; WN3 [dziŋ];
TC [dziŋ]; XZ [dziŋ]; YX [dziaŋ]; DC1 [dziuŋ]; DC2 [iuŋ²];
AY [teiŋ]; NC [teiŋ]; FX [teiŋ]; GA [teiŋ];
CL [te'yan]; PX [ts'aeŋ]; AF1 [teiŋ]; AF2 [teiŋ]; LH1 [teiyŋ]; LH2 [teiyŋ];
JA1 [teiŋ]; JA2 [te'yan];
SC [teiŋ]; LnC [teiŋ]; NnC1 [t'uŋ]; NnC2 [t'uŋ]; LC [t'iung] CG *giuŋ

yòng 用 QYS jiwong- CDC *yung⁶
TS [iuŋ]; WN1 [jon]; WN2 [iŋ]; WN3 [iŋ];
TC [in]; XZ [in]; YX [iŋ]; DC1 [iuŋ]; DC2 [iuŋ];
AY [iuŋ]; NC [iuŋ]; FX [iuŋ]; GA [iuŋ];
CL [yŋ]; PX [iŋ]; AF1 [in]; AF2 [in]; LH1 [yŋ]; LH2 [yŋ]; JA1 [iŋ]; JA2 [yŋ];
SC [iŋ]; LnC [iuŋ]; NnC1 [iuŋ]; NnC2 [iuŋ]; LC [iuŋ] CG *iunɡ

The pattern found after Common Gàn retroflexes is illustrated in the following:

chóng 蟲 QYS djiong- CDC *jiung²
TS [tsen]; WN1 [teiŋ]; WN2 [tsen]; WN3 [dziŋ];
TC [dziŋ]; XZ [dziŋ]; YX [dziaŋ]; DC1 [tsun]; DC2 [dziuŋ²];
AY [teŋ]; NC [tsun]; FX [t'ung]; GA [t'ung];
CL [te'yung]; PX [ts'aeŋ]; AF1 [teŋ]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [teiyŋ]; LH2 [teiyŋ];
JA1 [teŋ]; JA2 [t'ung];
SC [ts'n]; LnC [t'n]; NnC1 [t'uŋ]; NnC2 [t'uŋ]; LC [ts'un] CG *dziuŋ

CG *-iuŋ occurs as a literary correlate of *-yan in several words. On these, see §3.1.15 above.

3.5.6 CG *-ut. Representative examples of this final after various initial types are as follows:

gǔ 骨 QYS kuat  CDC *kut7
TS [ku]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ku]; WN3 [ku];
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TC [kuaʔⁿ]; XZ [ku]; YX [kuʔ]; DC1 [ku]; DC2 [ku];
AY [ku]; NC [ku]; FX [ku]; GA [ku];
CL [kue]; PX [ku]; AF1 [kue]; AF2 [kue]; LH1 [kue]; LH2 [kue]; JA1 [kue]; JA2 [kue];
SC [ku]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [ku]; LC [ku] CG *ku

The TS bái form is of uncertain origin. It may conceivably derive from an earlier TS *kui and be related in some way to the form found in WN2.

The finals of the AY and LC forms may be irregular. The matter is uncertain, since the syllable type is unique in the Common Gàn system.

wù 物 QYS mjuat CDC *muv8
TS [vu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [v];
TC [v]; XZ [v]; YX [vu]; DC1 [vu]; DC2 [vu];
AY [v]; NC [v]; FX [v]; GA [v];
CL [v]; PX [v]; AF1 [v]; AF2 [v]; LH1 [v]; LH2 [v]; JA1 [v]; JA2 [v];
SC [v]; LnC [v]; NnC1 [v]; NnC2 [v]; LC [v] CG *v

3.5.7 CG *-uk. Examples of this final after various initial types are as follows:

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *muk
TS [mu]; WN1 [mu]; WN2 [mu]; WN3 [mu];
TC [mu]; XZ [mu]; YX [mu]; DC1 [mu]; DC2 [mu];
AY [mu]; NC [mu]; FX [mu]; GA [mu];
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CL [mu]; PX [mu]; AF1 [mo]; AF2 [mo]; LH1 [mo]; LH2 [mo]; JA1 [mo]; JA2 [ma]; SC [mu]; LnC [mu]; NnC1 [mu]; NnC2 [mu]; LC [mu]; CG *muk.

fú 福 QYS pjuk CDC *fuk

TS [fu]; WN1 [hwu]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fuk]; TC [fu]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fuk]; DC2 [fuk]; AY [fu]; NC [fuk]; FX [fuk]; GA [—];

SC [fu]; LnC [fu]; NnC1 [fu]; NnC2 [fu]; LC [fu]; CG *fuk.

dú 毒 QYS duok CDC *duk

TS [tɑu]; WN1 [tu]; WN2 [du]; WN3 [duk]; TC [dou]; XZ [du]; YX [du]; DC1 [duk]; DC2 [duk]; AY [t'u]; NC [t'uk]; FX [t'uk]; GA [—];

SC [t'u]; LnC [t'u]; NnC1 [t'u]; NnC2 [t'u]; LC [t'uk]; CG *duk.

Note that after coronals, as exemplified in the third example, diphthongization of the same type seen for CG *-u occurs in Tōngshān and Tōngchéng.

3.5.8 CG *-iuk. Examples of this final after non-retroflex initials are:

yù 欲 QYS jiwok CDC *yuk

TS [iu]; WN1 [iou]; WN2 [iou]; WN3 [iuk]; TC [iou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [iuk]; DC2 [iuk]; AY [i'u]; NC [i'uk]; FX [i'u]; GA [—];

CL [i'u]; PX [i'u]; AF1 [i'o]; AF2 [i'o]; LH1 [i'o]; LH2 [i'o]; JA1 [i'o]; JA2 [i'o]; SC [i'o]; LnC [i'ou]; NnC1 [i'ou]; NnC2 [i'ou]; LC [i'ou]; CG *iuk.

*JXFY.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù tone form.

qù 曲 QYS khjwok CDC *khiuk

TS [te'iu]; WN1 [tehjou]; WN2 [tehjou]; WN3 [te'iuk]; TC [dzioiu]; XZ [dziu]; YX [dziau]; DC1 [dziuk]; DC2 [dziuk]; AY [te'iau]; NC [te'iuk]; FX [te'iau]; GA [eiu];

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3.6 Finals having the Main Vowel *y

3.6.1 CG *-y. This final develops in various ways after different initial types. After gutturals the pattern is illustrated in the following:

jù 句 QYS kju- CDC *kiu

TS [tʃi]; WN1 [tʃi]; WN2 [tʃi]; WN3 [tʃi];
TC [tʃi]; XZ [k’i]; YX [k’i]; DC1 [k’i]; DC2 [k’i];
AY [tʃi]; NC [k’i]; FX [k’i]; GA [k’i];
CL [tʃi]; PX [k’i]; AF1 [tʃi]; AF2 [tʃi]; LH1 [tʃi]; LH2 [tʃi];
JA1 [tʃi]; JA2 [tʃi];
SC [tʃi]; LnC [tʃi]; NnC1 [tʃi]; NnC2 [tʃi]; LC [tʃi] CG *k’iuk

The wén and bái designations for the GA forms appear to have been reversed in the source.
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*xū* 虚 QYS xjwo  CDC *xie¹ (~ *xiu¹)

TS [ey̚]; WN1 [ey̚]; WN2 [ey̚]; WN3 [ey̚];

TC [ey̚]; XZ [ui̚]; YX [ei̚]; DC1 [ei̚]; DC2 [ei̚];

AY [ei̚]; NC [ey̚]; FX [ei̚]; GA [ho];

CL [ey̚]; PX [u]; AF1 [su]; AF2 [ey̚]; LH1 [ey̚]; LH2 [ey̚];

JA1 [ey̚]; JA2 [ey̚];

SC [ey̚]; LnC [ei̚]; NnC1 [ey̚]; NnC2 [ey̚];

The LC bái form may derive from an archaic form in *he阴平*. We unfortunately have nothing with which to compare it.

In examples of this type, diphthongal forms are native popular reflexes of CG *-y*, while monophthongal forms in [i] or [ø] in the pertinent dialects appear to be loans from some more prestigious speech form, perhaps that of Nánchāng. In any given lexeme, one may find the ancestral form, the borrowed form, or both, producing what at first glance seems to be a rather chaotic configuration.

This pattern is also found after sonorants, e.g.,

*yǔ* 言 QYS ngjwo:  CDC *ngie⁴ (~ *ngiu⁴)

TS [ny¹]; WN1 [ny¹]; WN2 [ny¹]; WN3 [ny¹];

TC [ny¹]; XZ [ni̚]; YX [ni̚]; DC1 [ni̚]; DC2 [ni̚];

AY [ni̚]; NC [ny¹]; FX [ni̚]; GA [o];

CL [ny¹]; PX [u~u]; AF1 [ny]; AF2 [ny]; LH1 [y]; LH2 [y];

JA1 [ny¹]; JA2 [ny¹];

SC [ny¹]; LnC [ni̚]; NnC1 [ny¹]; NnC2 [ny¹];

nǚ 女 QYS njwo:  CDC *nie⁴ (~ *niu³)

TS [ny¹]; WN1 [ny¹]; WN2 [ny¹]; WN3 [ny¹];

TC [ny¹]; XZ [ni̚]; YX [ni̚]; DC1 [ni̚]; DC2 [ni̚];

AY [ni̚]; NC [ny¹~nyu¹]; FX [ni̚]; GA [o];

CL [ny¹]; PX [n]; AF1 [ny]; AF2 [ny]; LH1 [y]; LH2 [y];

JA1 [ny¹]; JA2 [ny¹];

SC [ny¹]; LnC [ni̚~nie]; NnC1 [ny~nie]; NnC2 [ny~nie];

*Sense of “daughter”.

A rather similar configuration occurs after initial zero, e.g.,

*yǔ* 雨 QYS ju:  CDC *yu⁴

TS [y]; WN1 [jy]; WN2 [y]; WN3 [y];

TC [y]; XZ [ui]; YX [vi]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [i];

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AY [u̯]; NC [y]; FX [i̯]; GA [ø];
CL [y]; PX [u̯]; AF1 [y]; AF2 [y]; LH1 [y]; LH2 [y]; JA1 [y]; JA2 [y];
SC [y]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [y]; NnC2 [y]; LC [y]; CG *y

yu 預 QYS jiwo- CDC *ye6 (~ *yu6)
TS [y]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [y];
TC [y]; XZ [u̯]; YX [vi]; DC1 [i ]; DC2 [—];
AY [i ]; NC [y]; FX [i ]; GA [ø];
CL [—]; PX [u̯]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [y]; LH2 [y]; JA1 [y]; JA2 [y];
SC [—]; LnC [i ]; NnC1 [y]; NnC2 [—]; LC [y]; CG *y

The third reconstruction is suggested by the AF and LH2 forms. The NnC1 tone is irregularly of higher register.

zhù 柱 QYS dju: CDC *jiu4
TS [tɛyi]; WN1 [tɛhy~ tɛy]; WN2 [dziu?]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzıy]; XZ [dzʊ]; YX [dzʊu]; DC1 [dzʊ]; DC2 [dzʊ];
AY [tɹ]; NC [tɛyi]; FX [tɹ]; GA [tɹ];
CL [tɛyi]; PX [tɹ]; AF1 [tɹ]; AF2 [tɹ]; LH1 [tɹ]; LH2 [tɹ]; JA1 [tɹ];
JA2 [—];
SC [tɛbɪ]; LnC [tɹ]; NnC1 [tɛyi]; NnC2 [tɛyi]; LC [tɛyi]; CG *dzy ~ *szyć

The pattern differences in these two examples are occasioned by the occurrence of hardening in the first set, remembering that fricatives are not subject to hardening.

We come now to dental sibilant initial syllables, which have their own correspondence pattern, e.g.,

qǔ 娶 QYS tšhu-, (tshju:) CDC *tshiu3 ~ *tshiu5
TS [tey]; WN1 [tey]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tey];
TC [tey]; XZ [tey]; YX [tey]; DC1 [tey]; DC2 [tey];
AY [tey]; NC [tey]; FX [tey]; GA [tey];
CL [tey]; PX [tey]; AF1 [tey]; AF2 [tey]; LH1 [tey]; LH2 [tey]; JA1 [tey];
JA2 [tey];
SC [tey]; LnC [tey]; NnC1 [tey]; NnC2 [tey]; LC [tey]; CG *sıy ~ *sıy

The pattern differences in these two examples are occasioned by the occurrence of hardening in the first set, remembering that fricatives are not subject to hardening.

We come now to dental sibilant initial syllables, which have their own correspondence pattern, e.g.,
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The TS bái form is the regular reflex of CG *ts'ye. The final of the LH1 form is irregular. The expected final is -iu. The word is perhaps a loan from some other Gàn dialect, or even from the modern standard koiné.

The regular development of CG *-y after dental sibilants in Liénhuā is to modern -iu. Interestingly, this same change occurs in one unusual instance in our data, where the Common Gàn final occurs after an initial dental stop. This is exemplified in the following set:

Finally, we should recall that CG *-y has archaic popular correlates in CG *-e/-ie, which probably derive from old substrata. For discussion of this matter, see §3.3.1 above.

3.6.2 CG *-yn. Correspondence patterns for this final differ according to the initial types after which it occurs. The following illustrate non-retroflex initial patterns:
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The LH2 tone is irregular.

The following are examples of post-retroflex patterns:

chūn 春 QYS tσhjuen CDC *chiun¹
TS [t’e’en⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [t’e’en⁴]; WN3 [t’e’en⁴];
TC [dz’an⁴]; XZ [dz’an⁴]; YX [dz’en⁴]; DC1 [dz’an⁴]; DC2 [dz’an⁴];
AY [t’un⁴]; NC [ts’un⁴]; FX [t’an⁴]; GA [ts’o’n⁴];
CL [t’e’yê¹]; PX [t’u’¹]; AF1 [t’ê’n¹]; AF2 [t’un¹]; LH1 [t’e’yê¹]; LH2 [t’e’yê¹];
JA1 [t’un¹]; JA2 [t’u’¹];
SC [t’e’yê¹]; LnC [t’u’¹]; NnC1 [t’e’yê¹]; NnC2 [t’e’yê¹]; LC [ts’an¹] CG *t’s’en⁴

shùn 順 QYS dzjjuen– CDC *zhiun⁶
TS [ey’n⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ey’n⁴]; WN3 [ey’n⁴];
TC [s’an⁴]; XZ [s’an⁴]; YX [s’en⁴]; DC1 [s’an⁴]; DC2 [s’an⁴];
AY [s’an⁴]; NC [s’an⁴]; FX [s’an⁴]; GA [h’on⁴];
CL [ey’e⁴]; PX [s’un⁴]; AF1 [s’en⁴]; AF2 [s’un⁴]; LH1 [ey’e⁴]; LH2 [ey’on⁴];
JA1
3.6.3 CG *-yt. Non-retroflex initial patterns for this final are as follows:

The DC1 final is irregular. The expected coda would be -t.

The following illustrate post-retroflex patterns:

The following illustrate post-retroflex patterns:
3.6.4 CG *-yk. This is a very rare final for which we have a single example. The reconstruction of the vocalism is accordingly tentative.

yi 役 QYS jiwäk  CDC *yuak
TS [yং]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ytং];
TC [—]; XZ [iং]; YX [iʔং]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [iකং];
AY [iʔং]; NC [iং]; FX [iং]; GA [iং];
CL [iং]; PX [৩ং]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [২ং]; LH1 [yeং]; LH2 [yeং]; JA1 [ioং]; JA2 [yeং];
SC [—]; LnC [ytং]; NnC1 [yং]; NnC2 [yং]; LC [৩৩ং] CG *yk
The coda of the LnC form is irregular.

3.7 Finals having the Main Vowel *ə

3.7.1 CG *-əu. This final occurs mainly in a very small number of sibilant initial words. It contrasts with CG *-eu in Yǒngxiū, which after coronals has modern -əu as its reflex of CG *-əu and modern -ɛu as reflex of CG *-eu. Compare the following four sets, the first two having CG *-əu and the second two *-eu:

Sets having CG *-əu:

chóu 愁 QYS dzjəu  CDC *jeu
TS [tsəu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dziau];
TC [dziau]; XZ [dzəu]; YX [dzɛu]; DC1 [dzəu]; DC2 [dzəu];
AY [ts'au]; NC [ts'ɛu]; FX [ts'au]; GA [ts'ɛu];
CL [ts'o]; PX [ts'ɛ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'ɛu]; LH1 [ts'ɛu]; LH2 [ts'ɛu]; JA1 [ts'æu]; JA2 [ts'ɛu];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'ɛu]; NnC1 [ɕiu]; NnC2 [ɕiu]; LC [seu] CG *dzəu বং *səu বং (?)
The tone of the YX form is probably a typographical error for yángpíng. The final of the second reconstruction is posited by analogy with the first and is therefore conjectural.

sōu 搜 QYS sjəu  CDC *sheu
TS [seu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕiu];
TC [seu]; XZ [seu]; YX [seu]; DC1 [seu]; DC2 [seu];
AY [səu]; NC [seu]; FX [səu]; GA [seu];
CL [səu]; PX [səu]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [səu]; LH2 [səu]; JA1 [səu]; JA2 [seu];
SC [—]; LnC [seu]; NnC1 [ɕiu]; NnC2 [ɕiu]; LC [seu] CG *səu
The NnC2 final is irregular.
Sets having CG *-eu:

zòu 走 QYS つου: CDC *tseu³
TS [tseu³]; WN1 [teiau³]; WN2 [teiaw³]; WN3 [teiaw³];
TC [tsou³ ~ teiu³]; XZ [tsou³]; YX [tsou³]; DC1 [tseu³]; DC2 [tsou³ ~ tsau³];
AY [tsau³]; NC [tsou³]; FX [tseu³]; GA [tseu³];
CL [tsou³]; PX [tsou³]; AF1 [tsóew³]; AF2 [tsou³]; LH1 [tsóep³]; LH2 [tsóep³]; JA1 [tsou³]; JA2 [tsou³];
SC [tsou³]; LnC [tseu³]; NnC1 [tseiu³]; NnC2 [tseiu³]; LC [tseu³] CG *tseu³

tóu 头 QYS つου: CDC *deu³
TS [teu³]; WN1 [tiau³]; WN2 [tiau³]; WN3 [tiau³];
TC [diau³]; XZ [deu³]; YX [deu³]; DC1 [deu³]; DC2 [lau³];
AY [t'au³]; NC [t'au³]; FX [t'au³]; GA [h'eu³];
CL [t'ou³]; PX [t'ou³]; AF1 [h'teou³]; AF2 [t'ieu³]; LH1 [h'oe³]; LH2 [h'oe³]; JA1 [h'ieu³ ~ hiau³]; JA2 [t'eu³];
SC [h'teou³]; LnC [t'eu³ ~ heu³]; NnC1 [h'teiu³]; NnC2 [h'teiu³]; LC [h'eu³] CG *deu³

It is most interesting that the same final distinction is found in Chāng Méixiāng’s data from the Yōngfēng 永豐 dialect (Chāng Méixiāng, p.c.). In this language, CG *-au becomes Yōngfēng -eu, while CG *-eu yields Yōngfēng -ieu/-iau. Compare the following:

chóu 愁 Yōngfēng: tsʰeu³
sōu 搜 Yōngfēng: seu³

vs.

zòu 走 Yōngfēng: tsieu³
tóu 头 Yōngfēng: hiau³

Final *-au can also be reconstructed in guttural initial wén layer variants whose bái layer correlates have final *-eu. Examples are:

góu 狗 QYS つου: CDC *keu³
TS [keu³]; WN1 [teiaw³]; WN2 [kiau³]; WN3 [kiau³];
TC [kiau³]; XZ [keu³]; YX [keu³]; DC1 [keu³]; DC2 [kou³ ~ kau³];
AY [kiau³]; NC [kiau³]; FX [keu³ ~ teiaw³]; GA [keu³];
CL [kō³]; PX [kō³]; AF1 [teiaw³]; AF2 [kiew³]; LH1 [koe³]; LH2 [kō³]; JA1
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3.7.2 CG *-ø. This final is tentatively reconstructed in a very late character reading for the graph ri 日. It is peripheral to the Common Gàn system as a whole.

3.8 Apical and Related Finals

3.8.1 CG *-γ. This final occurs exclusively after Common Gàn sibilants. Examples are:
3.8.2 CG *-ʮ. This final also occurs exclusively after Common Gàn sibilants in a small number of words. Its existence is supported by a unique correspondence pattern, but its phonetic value is problematic. Its most common reflex in the dialects is either -u or the pertinent dialect’s regular reflex of CG *-u. However, in Ānfū-2 it becomes -y, while in the bāi layer of Tōngchéng it yields -ɿ, with the wén layer equivalent being -ou, which is this dialect’s regular reflex of Common Gàn *-u after coronals. This layering in Tōngchéng is probably the result of borrowing from some prestigious dialect, such as that of Nánchāng. Liánhuā-1 (as recorded in JXFY) occasionally realizes this final as -ɿ rather than expected -u, which is clearly the result of interdialect borrowing. Likewise, Ānfū-1 occasionally has -y rather than -u, due to borrowing from a dialect such as Ānfū-2. Finally, reflexes in -y never palatalize the preceding initial, even in dialects where such palatalization before CG *y is regular. Our choice for representing the Common Gàn final is -ʮ, a symbol which is customarily used to represent a non-open central or back rounded apical vowel in certain Chinese dialects.
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chú 助 QYS dzjwo  CDC *je² (~ *ju²)
TS [tsu⁰]; WN1 [tsu¹]; WN2 [dzu¹]; WN3 [dzu¹];
TC [dzu¹]; XZ [dzu¹]; YX [dz⁰]; DC1 [dzu¹]; DC2 [dzu²];
AY [ts'ɑ]; NC [ts'u]; FX [ts'u]; GA [ts'h];
CL [ts'ɑ]; PX [ts'u]; AF1 [ts'u]; AF2 [ts'y]; LH1 [ts'u]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [ts'ɑ]; JA2 [ts'ɑ];
SC [ts'ɑ]; LnC [ts'u]; NnC1 [t'u]; NnC2 [t'ɑ]; LC [t'ɑ]  GC *dzu⁰
The final and tone of the WN1 form are irregular. Unfortunately, we cannot deal with it comparatively, since parallel forms at other points are lacking.

zhù 助 QYS dzjwo-  CDC *je⁶ (~ *ju⁶)
TS [tsu⁰]; WN1 [tsu⁰]; WN2 [dzu⁰]; WN3 [tsu⁰];
TC [dzou⁰]; XZ [dzu⁰]; YX [dz⁰]; DC1 [dzu⁰]; DC2 [dzu⁰];
AY [ts'ɑ]; NC [ts'u]; FX [ts'u]; GA [ts'h];
CL [ts'ɑ]; PX [ts'u]; AF1 [t'y]; AF2 [ts'y]; LH1 [ts'u]; LH2 [ts'u]; JA1 [ts'ɑ]; JA2 [ts'ɑ];
SC [ts'ɑ]; LnC [ts'u]; NnC1 [t'u]; NnC2 [t'ɑ]; LC [t'ɑ]  GC *dzu⁰
The final and tone of the WN1 form are irregular. The AF1 final is irregular.

3.8.3  GC *-σ. This final, which is actually a discrete syllable, represents the latest in a layered series of lexical strata. It has clearly been borrowed from some northern source or sources. Below it in time are readings in GC *ɻ, dating from Yuán/Míng times, and below that are even older forms in *ni or *ne, which are found in popular spoken etyma such as ér 儿 "child" and ěr 耳 "ear". Note that the Liánhua-2 forms in these sets are wildly divergent and difficult to reconcile. They require further study of the dialects of the greater Jīān area before they can be elucidated.

ér 儿 QYS ńźje  CDC *nhi²/EC *ne
TS [z]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [œ]; WN3 [œ];
TC [y]; XZ [œ]; YX [lɛ]; DC1 [œ]; DC2 [œ];
AY [œ]; NC [œ]; FX [œ]; GA [œ];
CL [œ]; PX [œ]; AF1 [œ]; AF2 [œ]; LH1 [œ]; LH2 [œ]; JA1 [œ]; JA2 [œ];
SC [œ]; LnC [œ]; NnC1 [œ]; NnC2 [œ]; LC [œ]  GC (*ni ~ *ne ~ *ni ~ *ne?) ~ *ɻ ~ *σ
*The second LC form is an atonal noun suffix with morphophonemic variants in [i ~ mi ~ ni]. Atonal [ne], which is also a nominal suffix, occurring only after preceding -ŋ and competing with [ŋi] in this position, appears to be an even older archaic substrate form possibly derived from an underlying *ne or *ŋi.
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3.9 The CG Syllabic Nasal *ŋ

This form is reconstructable for the popular form of the word “five” in the following set:

wǔ 五 QYS ńʒi:      CDC *nguʰ
TS [nuʰ]; WN1 [ŋŋj]; WN2 [ŋŋj]; WN3 [ŋŋj];
TC [uŋj]; XZ [ŋŋj]; YX [ŋŋj]; DC1 [ŋŋj]; DC2 [ŋŋj];
AY [ŋŋj]; NC [uŋj]; FX [ŋŋj]; GA [ŋŋj];
CL [ŋŋj]; PX [ŋŋj]; AF1 [ŋŋj]; AF2 [ŋŋj]; LH1 [ŋŋj]; LH2 [ŋŋj]; JA1 [ŋŋj]; JA2 [ŋŋj];
SC [ŋŋj]; LnC [ŋŋj]; NnC1 [ŋŋj]; NnC2 [ŋŋj]; LC [ŋŋj]; GC *ŋŋj;*no*

Another Common Gàń word which may have had the shape [ŋ] is an archaic Gàń verbal negative, which has been partially or completely replaced by some form of intrusive northern bù 不 in some places but survives intact in others. Cf. the following set:

bù 不 QYS pjou, pjou:, pjou-, pjuat      CDC *put
TS [pu̯]; WN1 [pəj]; WN2 [pəj]; WN3 [pəj];
TC [pəj]; XZ [pəj]; YX [pu̯]; DC1 [pəj]; DC2 [pəj];
AY [pəj]; NC [pəj]; FX [pəj]; GA [pəj];
CL [pəj]; PX [pəj]; AF1 [pəj]; AF2 [pəj]; LH1 [pəj]; LH2 [pəj]; JA1 [pəj]; JA2 [pəj];
SC [pəj]; LnC [pəj]; NnC1 [pəj]; NnC2 [pəj]; LC [pəj]; GC *pəj;*no*
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SC [—]**; LnC [put]; NnC1 [puʔ]; NnC2 [piʔ]*; LC [piʔ]*; CG *pu*

*Usual verbal negative is [ŋ̩阳平].
**Usual verbal negative is [ŋ̩阴去].
***Usual verbal negative is atonal [ŋ̩].

Only the wén reading of bù 不 can confidently be reconstructed for Common Gàn as a whole. An unstressed bái reading of this negative, in dialects that actually use it in speech, may phonetically have been something like [pə] or [pɤ]. And it seems likely that another tonally indeterminate negative, read *ŋ̩ should also be posited. This same syllabic nasal appears to be present in Wǔnǐng-1 in the following set:

wú 無 QYS mju CDC *mvu²
TS [vu]; WN1 [ŋ̩]; WN2 [u]; WN3 [u];
TC [u]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [u]; DC2 [—];
AY [u]; NC [u]; FX [u]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [u]; AF1 [vu]; AF2 [u]; LH1 [u]*; LH2 [—]; JA1 [u]; JA2 [u];
SC [u]; LnC [u]; NnC1 [u]; NnC2 [—]; LC [u] CG *u* [阳平]*;

This syllable as a whole is a literary word. The WN1 form, perhaps derived from an earlier *ŋ̩, appears to be an archaic negative rather than a direct cognate to the other forms in this set. We shall return to this question in §5.2.75 of Chapter V below.
Chapter IV: Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Gàn

The reconstructed tonal system for Common Gàn is of the classic eight-member type, i.e.,

- yǐnpíng 陰平
- yǐnshǎng 陰上
- yǐnqù 陰去
- yǐnrù 陰入
- yángpíng 陽平
- yángshǎng 陽上
- yángqù 陽去
- yángrù 陽入

The yángshǎng tone is vestigial and distributionally defective with respect to QYS and Common Dialectal Chinese tonal patterns, in that it appears at only four of our dialect points and is limited to a number of mainly popular layer words. However, it is unquestionably an independent tonal class in the pertinent dialects and, as such, must be restored in the common system.

As an aid to reading this chapter, we shall now cite again the tone systems of our twenty-six representative dialects:

1) The Tōngshān 通山 (TS) tonal system

- yǐnpíng 陰平 (1) 213  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 21
- shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 42
- yǐnqù 陰去 (5) 45  yángqù 陽去 (6) 33
- rùshēng 入聲 (7) 55

2) The Wǔnínɡ-1 武寧 (WN1) tonal system

- yǐnpíng 陰平 (1) 324  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 212
- shǎngshēnɡ 上聲 (3) 42
- yǐnqù 陰去 (5) 45  yángqù 陽去 (6) 223
- yǐnrù 陰入 (7) 42  yángrù 陽入 (8) 223

3) The Wǔnínɡ-2 (WN2) tonal system

- yǐnpíng 陰平 (1) 24  yángpíng 陽平 (2) 211
- shǎngshēnɡ 上聲 (3) 41
- yǐnqù 陰去 (5) 45  yángqù 陽去 (6) 22
- yǐnrù 陰入 (7) 5  yángrù 陽入 (8) 1
4) The Wūníng-3 (WN3) tonal system

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<td>陰入 (7)</td>
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5) The Tōngchéng 通城 (TC) tonal system

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6) The Xīngzǐ 星子 (XZ) tonal system

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7) The Yǒngxiū 永修 (YX) tonal system

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8) The Dūchāng-1 都昌 (DC1) tonal system

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<td>yīnrù 陰入 (7) 5</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入 (8) 21</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12) The Fènxīn 奉新 (FX) tonal system</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 41</td>
<td>yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 35</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù 陰去 (5) 33</td>
<td>yángqù 陽去 (6) 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù 陰入 (7) 44</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入 (8) 21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13) The Gāo'ān 高安 (GA) tonal system</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 24</td>
<td>yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55</td>
<td>yángqù 陽去 (6) 22</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù 陰入 (7) 4</td>
<td>yángrù 陽入 (8) 1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14) The Cháling 茶陵 (CL) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 35              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 53
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 55

15) The Pingxiāng 萍鄉 (PX) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 13              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 44
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 35
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 11

16) The Ānfū-1 安福 (AF1) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 44              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 21?12
yīnshāng 陰上 (3) 53           yángshāng 陽上 (4) 31?13
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22

17) The Ānfū-2 (AF2) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 44              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 214
yīnshāng 陰上 (3) 42           yángshāng 陽上 (4) 225
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22

18) The Liánhūā-1 蓮花 (LH1) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 44              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 13
yīnshāng 陰上 (3) 53           yángshāng 陽上 (4) 35
qūshēng 去聲 (5) 22

19) The Liánhūā-2 (LH2) tonal system

yīnpíng 阴平 (1) 55              yángpíng 陽平 (2) 324
shǎngshēng 上聲 (3) 42
yīnqù 陰去 (5) 33              yángqù 陽去 (6) 214
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#### 20) The Jî’an-1 吉安 (JA1) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Level</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>píngshēng  平声</td>
<td>(1) 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上声</td>
<td>(3) 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qùshēng 去声</td>
<td>(5) 22</td>
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#### 21) The Jî’an-2 (JA2) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Level</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上声</td>
<td>(3) 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqu 去 (5) 33</td>
<td>yángqu 陽去 (6) 214</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### 22) The Suichuān 遂川 (SC) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Level</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnhǎng 陰上</td>
<td>(3) 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángshāng 陽上</td>
<td>(4) 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqu 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqu 陽去</td>
<td>(6) 213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 23) The Línchuān 臨川 (LnC) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Level</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yīnpíng 陰平</td>
<td>(1) 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上声</td>
<td>(3) 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqu 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqu 陽去</td>
<td>(6) 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnrù 陰入</td>
<td>(7) 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángrù 陽入</td>
<td>(8) 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 24) The Nánchéng-1 南城 (NnC1) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Level</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(1) 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上声</td>
<td>(3) 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqu 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqu 陽去</td>
<td>(6) 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rùshēng 入聲</td>
<td>(7) 5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 25) The Nánchéng-2 (NnC2) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>yángpíng 陽平</td>
<td>(2) 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shǎngshēng 上声</td>
<td>(3) 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqu 陰去</td>
<td>(5) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángqu 陽去</td>
<td>(6) 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rùshēng 入聲</td>
<td>(7) 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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26) The Líchuān 黎川 (LC) tonal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Yīn)Píng (Sheng)</th>
<th>Yángpíng (Yīn)Shāng (Sheng)</th>
<th>Yángshǎng (Sheng)</th>
<th>(Yīn)Qù (Sheng)</th>
<th>Yǎngqù (Yīn)Rù (Sheng)</th>
<th>Yángrù (Sheng)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tōngshān</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wùníng-1</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>233</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wùníng-2</td>
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<td>211</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Wùníng-3</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tōngchéng</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>Xīngzǐ</td>
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<td>Yōngxiū</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>Dūchāng-1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>351</td>
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<td>313</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dūchāng-2</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td>Ānyī</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Fèngxīn</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>Gǎo'ān</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pingxiāng</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ānfū-1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>217/12</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31/13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ānfū-2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liánhuā-1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liánhuā-2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jǐ'ān-1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jǐ'ān-2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>214</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suīchuān</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33 (?)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Líchūān</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánchēng-1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánchēng-2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Líchūān</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 The Yǐnpíng Tone

This tone class is notably stable and is usually simply preserved as such in the dialects. In Ji'ěn-1, Common Gàn yǐnpíng tone words join the modern common píng tone of this dialect and in fact account for the majority of lexical items found in this modern tone class. This is illustrated in the following:

ān 安 QYS ʔān  CDC *on¹
TS [nə̆ːn¹]; WN1 [ŋɔ̃n¹]; WN2 [ŋɔ̃n¹]; WN3 [ŋɔ̃n¹];
TC [ŋɔ̃n¹]; XZ [ŋɔ̃n¹]; YX [ŋɔ̃n¹]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋɔ̃n¹];
AY [ŋɔ̃n¹]; NC [ŋɔ̃n¹]; FX [ŋɔ̃n¹]; GA [ŋɔ̃n¹];
CL [ŋãn¹]; PX [ŋãn¹]; AF1 [ŋãn¹]; AF2 [ŋãn¹]; LH1 [ŋãn¹]; LH2 [ŋãn¹]; JA1 [ŋãn¹];
JA2 [ŋãn¹];
SC [ŋãn¹]; LN [ŋãn¹]; NnC1 [ŋãn¹]; NnC2 [ŋãn¹]; LC [ŋãn¹] CG *on¹

zhōu 抽 QYS ʔʃjou  CDC *cieu¹
TS [tsəu¹]; WN1 [tʃjou¹]; WN2 [tʃjou¹]; WN3 [tei̯u¹];
TC [tsou¹]; XZ [tu̯u¹]; YX [tʃou¹]; DC1 [tʃou¹]; DC2 [tʃou¹];
AY [tu̯u¹]; NC [tsou¹]; FX [tu̯u¹]; GA [tei̯u¹];
CL [tsou¹]; PX [tsu¹]; AF1 [tiu¹]; AF2 [tiu¹]; LH1 [tʃou¹]; LH2 [tʃou¹]; JA1 [tiu¹];
JA2 [tiu¹];
SC [tei̯u¹]; LN [tiu¹]; NnC1 [tei̯u¹]; NnC2 [tei̯u¹]; LC [tei̯u¹] CG *tʃi̯ou¹

A further point of note is that in Yōngxiū the Common Gàn yǐnpíng class splits into two categories, called here yǐnpíng-1 and yǐnpíng-2. Common Gàn yǐnpíng tone words having voiceless aspirated initials enter the modern Yōngxiū yǐnpíng-2 class. There is only one exception to this in our data:

chōu 抽 QYS ʔʃjou  CDC *chieu¹
TS [ts'au¹]; WN1 [tʃjou¹]; WN2 [tei̯iu¹]; WN3 [tei̯iu¹];
TC [dzou¹]; XZ [dzjou¹]; YX [dzə̃u¹]; DC1 [dzə̃u¹]; DC2 [dzə̃u¹];
AY [t̥u̯u¹]; NC [ts'au¹]; FX [t̥u̯u¹]; GA [tei̯iu¹];
CL [ts'o̯]; PX [ts'u̯]; AF1 [t̥iu¹]; AF2 [t̥iu¹]; LH1 [tʃ'oa̯]; LH2 [tʃ'oa̯];
JA1 [t̥iu¹]; JA2 [—];
SC [tei̯iu¹]; LN [t̥iu¹]; NnC1 [tei̯iu¹]; NnC2 [tei̯iu¹]; LC [tei̯iu¹] CG *tʃi̯ou¹

This example is so unusual that one must wonder if the tone designation for it is a misprint in the source. Common Gàn yǐnpíng words of all other initial types enter the Yōngxiū yǐnpíng-1 class. Thus, the distinction between the yǐnpíng-1 and yǐnpíng-2 tones in this dialect is phonetic rather than phonemic. One further point is of some interest in this connection. It will be
recalled that in Yǒngxiū the Common Gàn aspirated initials merge with the old voiced class to form a single modern murmured initial series. The result of this merger is that in this dialect, as opposed to certain better known initial voicing dialect groups, such as Wú and some members of the Xiāng group, yīnpíng-2 tone words may be segmentally identical with Common Gàn voiced initial syllables, with the original distinction indicated only by modern tone differences. And, by the same token, any Yǒngxiū voiced initial syllable having the yīnpíng-2 tone may be confidently derived from a Common Gàn word having a voiceless aspirated initial. Compare the following two sets in this regard:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Yǒngxiū</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Nánchāng</th>
<th>Jīān-1</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chā 叉 QYS tʂʰa</td>
<td>CDC *cha¹</td>
<td>TS [tsʰa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsʰa]; WN3 [tsʰa]; TC [tsʰa]; XZ [tsʰa]; YX [tsʰa]; DC1 [tsʰa]; DC2 [tsʰa]; AY [tsʰa]; NC [tsʰa]; FX [tsʰa]; GA [tsʰa]; CL [tsʰa]; PX [tsʰa]; AF1 [tsʰa]; AF2 [tsʰa]; LH1 [tsʰa]; LH2 [tsʰa]; JA1 [tsʰa]; JA2 [tsʰa]; SC [tsʰa]; LnC [tsʰa]; NnC1 [tsʰa]; NnC2 [tsʰa]; LC [tsʰa]; CG *tsʰa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chá 茶 QYS ʂʰa</td>
<td>CDC *ja²</td>
<td>TS [tsʰa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsʰa]; WN3 [tsʰa]; TC [tsʰa]; XZ [tsʰa]; YX [tsʰa]; DC1 [tsʰa]; DC2 [tsʰa]; AY [tsʰa]; NC [tsʰa]; FX [tsʰa]; GA [tsʰa]; CL [tsʰa]; PX [tsʰa]; AF1 [tsʰa]; AF2 [tsʰa]; LH1 [tsʰa]; LH2 [tsʰa]; JA1 [tsʰa]; JA2 [tsʰa]; SC [tsʰa]; LnC [tsʰa]; NnC1 [tsʰa]; NnC2 [tsʰa]; LC [tsʰa]; CG *tsʰa</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 The Yángpíng Tone

This tone is retained intact in the modern dialects, except in Nánchāng and Jīān-1. In Nánchāng the majority of Common Gàn yángpíng words that do not become modern yīnpíng enter the modern yīnqù tone of this dialect. It is noteworthy that virtually all these modern yīnqù tone words have Nánchāng fricative initials (exclusive of modern Nánchāng h-), sonorant initials, or initial zero. Compare the following groups of examples:

Group I - Nánchāng yángpíng tone words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Nánchāng</th>
<th>CDC *dzom²</th>
<th>NnC1</th>
<th>NnC2</th>
<th>LC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| cán 叉 QYS dzɔm² | CDC *dzom² | TS [dzɔm²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzɔm²]; TC [dzɔm²]; XZ [dzɔm²]; YX [dzɔm²]; DC1 [dzɔm²]; DC2 [dzɔm²]; AY [dzɔm²]; NC [dzɔm²]; FX [dzɔm²]; GA [dzɔm²]; CL [dzɔm²]; PX [dzɔm²]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [dzɔm²]; LH1 [dzɔm²]; LH2 [dzɔm²]; JA1 [dzɔm²];
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[tsʰan]; JA2 [ts'an]; SC [—]; LnC [ts'om]; NnC1 [t'an]; NnC2 [t'an]; LC [t'am] CG *dzom

xié 鞋 QYS yái CDC *hai²
TS [xa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [hai]; WN3 [xai]; TC [hai]; XZ [hai]; YX [gʰai]; DC1 [xai]; DC2 [hai2];
AY [hai]; NC [hai]; FX [hai]; GA [hai]; CL [xæ]; PX [hai]; AF1 [hai]; AF2 [hai]; LH1 [hai]; LH2 [hai]; JA1 [hai]; JA2 [xai];
SC [hai] error for 白平; LnC [hai]; NnC1 [hai]; NnC2 [hai 文]; LC [hai] CG *hai

hé 河 QYS yâ CDC *ho²
TS [xa]; WN1 [ho]; WN2 [ho]; WN3 [xo]; TC [ho]; XZ [ho]; YX [kʰo]; DC1 [xo]; DC2 [ho];
AY [ho]; NC [ho]; FX [ho]; GA [ho]; CL [xuo]; PX [ho]; AF1 [ho]; AF2 [ho]; LH1 [ho]; LH2 [ho]; JA1 [ho]; JA2 [xo];
SC [ho]; LnC [ho]; NnC1 [ho]; NnC2 [ho]; LC [ho] CG *ho

pán 盤 QYS buǎn CDC *bon²
TS [po]; WN1 [pon]; WN2 [pʰon]; WN3 [bon]; TC [bon]; XZ [bon]; YX [bʰon]; DC1 [bon]; DC2 [bon2];
AY [pʰon]; NC [pʰon]; FX [pʰon]; GA [pʰon]; CL [pʰon]; PX [pʰon]; AF1 [pʰon]; AF2 [pʰon]; LH1 [pʰon]; LH2 [pʰon]; JA1 [pʰon]; JA2 [pʰon];
SC [pʰon]; LnC [pʰon]; NnC1 [pʰon]; NnC2 [pʰon]; LC [pʰon] CG *bon

qí 奇 QYS gie³ CDC *gi²
TS [te]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzi]; TC [dzi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [—];
AY [te]; NC [te]; FX [te]; GA [—]; CL [—]; PX [te]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teʰ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [teʰ]; JA1 [tsʰ]; JA2 [teʰ];
SC [—]; LnC [te]; NnC1 [te]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kʰ] CG *gi

tóng 同 QYS dung CDC *dung²
TS [tun]; WN1 [taŋ]; WN2 [dœŋ]; WN3 [dœŋ]; TC [dœŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dœŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'aŋ]; NC [t'un]; FX [t'un]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tʰəŋ]; AF1 [tʰəŋ]; AF2 [tʰəŋ]; LH1 [həŋ]; LH2 [həŋ]; JA1 [tʰəŋ]; JA2 [tʰəŋ]; SC [tʰəŋ]; LnC [tʰəŋ]; NnC1 [tʰəŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tʰəŋ ~ hŋ] CG *dun

Group II - Nâncâng yínqū tone words

chún 纔 QYS ŋuen CDC *zhiong² ~ zhiong²
TS [cyen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [cyen]; WN3 [—];
TC [søŋ]; XZ [søŋ]; YX [søŋ]; DC1 [søŋ]; DC2 [søŋ];
AY [søŋ]; NC [søŋ]; FX [søŋ]; GA [søŋ];
CL [søŋ]; PX [søŋ]; AF1 [søŋ]; AF2 [søŋ]; LH1 [søŋ]; LH2 [tsøŋ];
JA1 [søŋ]; JA2 [søŋ];
SC [søŋ]; LnC [søŋ]; NnC1 [søŋ]; NnC2 [tsøŋ ~ søŋ];
LC [søŋ] CG *cyøŋ ~ *dzïøŋ

é 鵝 QYS ngâ CDC *ŋo²
TS [ŋo]; WN1 [ŋo]; WN2 [ŋo]; WN3 [ŋo];
TC [ŋo]; XZ [ŋo]; YX [ŋo]; DC1 [ŋo]; DC2 [ŋo];
AY [ŋo]; NC [ŋo]; FX [ŋo]; GA [ŋo];
CL [ŋo]; PX [ŋo]; AF1 [ŋo]; AF2 [ŋo ~ ŋo]; LH1 [ŋo]; LH2 [ŋo];
JA1 [ŋo]; JA2 [ŋo];
SC [ŋo]; LnC [ŋo]; NnC1 [ŋo]; NnC2 [ŋo];
LC [ŋo] CG *ŋo

é 無 QYS ńži CDC *nhi²
TS [z]; WN1 [œ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [œ];
TC [y]; XZ [œ]; YX [œ]; DC1 [œ]; DC2 [œ];
AY [œ]; NC [œ]; FX [œ]; GA [œ];
CL [œ]; PX [œ]; AF1 [œ]; AF2 [œ]; LH1 [œ]; LH2 [œ];
JA1 [œ]; JA2 [œ];
SC [œ]; LnC [œ]; NnC1 [œ]; NnC2 [œ];
LC [œ] CG *ŋi ~ *ŋi

The tone of the WN1 form is anomalous.
fēi 肥 QYS bjwei  CDC *vui²
TS [hwai²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fi 陽平];
TC [fi 陽平]; XZ [fi 陽平]; YX [fi 陽平]; DC1 [fiu 陽平]; DC2 [fiu 陽平];
AY [fi 陽平]; NC [fi 陽平]; FX [hu₁ 陽平]; GA [fi 陽平];
CL [fi 陽平]; PX [fi 陽平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fiu 陽平]; LH1 [hu₁ 陽平 ~ ɕy 陰平]; LH2 [fi 陽平]; JA1 [fi 陽平]; JA2 [fi 陽平];
SC [—]; LnC [fi 陽平]; NnC1 [fi 陽平]; NnC2 [fi 陽平]; LC [fi 陽平] CG *fyi 陽平

liú 樓 QYS lau  CDC *leu²
TS [liau²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [liau 陽平]; WN3 [liau 陽平];
TC [niau 陽平]; XZ [leu 陰去]; YX [leu 陰去]; DC1 [leu 陽平]; DC2 [leu 陽平];
AY [leu 陽平]; NC [leu 陽平]; FX [lau 陽平]; GA [leu 陽平];
CL [le 陽平]; PX [le 陽平]; AF1 [leo 陽平]; AF2 [leu 陽平]; LH1 [le 陽平]; LH2 [le 陽平]; JA1 [leu 陽平]; JA2 [leu 陽平];
SC [leu 陽平]; LnC [leu 陽平]; NnC1 [leu 陽平]; NnC2 [sun 陽平]; LC [leu 陽平] CG *leu 陽平

xióng 熊 QYS jung  CDC *yung² ~ *hiung²
TS [ɕien²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɕien 陽平]; WN3 [ɕien 陽平];
TC [ɕin 陽平]; XZ [ɕiŋ 陽平]; YX [ɕiŋ 陽平]; DC1 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; DC2 [ɕiŋ 陽平];
AY [ɕien 陽平]; NC [ɕiŋ 陽平]; FX [ɕiŋ 陽平]; GA [ɕiŋ 陽平];
CL [ɕiŋ 陽平]; PX [ɕiŋ 陽平]; AF1 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; AF2 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; LH1 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; LH2 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; JA1 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; JA2 [ɕiŋ 陽平];
SC [ɕiŋ 陽平]; LnC [ɕiŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [ɕiŋ 陽平]; NnC2 [sun 陽平]; LC [ɕiŋ 陽平] CG *hiuŋ 陽平
The LC form is probably a literary loan.

Where Nánchāng has affricate/fricative initial doublet pairs, the former type will quite regularly retain the yángpíng tone while the latter shifts to yǐnqū. In the majority of cases, the fricative initial yǐnqū forms are identified as bái, while the yángpíng forms are said to be wén.
Consider the following examples:

chéng 城 QYS ʒāŋ  CDC *zhiaŋ² ~ *jiang²
TS [tsen 陽平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein 陽平]; WN3 [dzin 陽平];
TC [dzən 陽平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzən 陽平]; DC2 [—];
AY [təŋ 陽平 ~ ʂəŋ 陽平]; NC [tsən 陽平 ~ ʂəŋ 陽平]; FX [tsəŋ 陽平 ~ ʂəŋ 陽平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsəŋ 陽平 ~ ʂəŋ 陽平]; AF1 [tən 陽平]; AF2 [tiŋ 陽平]; LH1 [tsəŋ 陽平]; LH2 [tsəŋ 陽平]; JA1 [təŋ 陽平]; JA2 [—];
SC [tsəŋ 陽平]; LnC [sin 陽平 ~ ʂəŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [saŋ 陽平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [saŋ 陽平] CG *ʂian ~ *ʂiŋ ~ *dzəŋ *JXFY.
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The following are noteworthy in showing the opposite type of wén/bái identification. But our tonal rule remains stable:

The tone of the NnC2 wén form is irregular. The WN2 form may be a misprint in the source. The second Xīngzǐ form is the vernacular word for “search” in this dialect. Neither of our reconstructions accounts for it.

The tonal shift of earlier yángpíng to yīnqù in Nánchāng is conditioned and consistent, and it must therefore be considered an internally generated process in the dialect. But doublets of the type seen in the examples immediately above suggest that historical layering of some type is also involved. What apparently has happened is that the dialect borrowed affricate forms which were impervious to the change and juxtaposed them with fricative forms that were not. This accounts for the wén/bái relationship here. In the end, it is not surprising that a major metropolitan dialect area such as Nánchāng would show in this way the influence of different linguistic strains.
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As noted above, Jíān-1 has no yángping tone. Most Common Gàn yángping words enter the modern shàng tone in this dialect. Examples of this are well represented in the sets given immediately above. A small number of these words join the Jíān-1 common píng tone. The word xié 鞋 “shoe”, cited above, is an example. Three more are:

chú 除 QYS djwo  CDC *jie^{2} (~ *jiu^{2})
TS [t'ʁu], WN1 [t'ʁu], WN2 [dζ'u], WN3 [dζ'u];
TC [dζ'y]; XZ [dζu]; YX [dζ'u]; DC1 [dζu]; DC2 [dζu];
AY [t'ʁu]; NC [t'ʁu \ y], FX [t'ʁu], GA [t'ʁu];
CL [t's'ʁu]; PX [t's'ʁu]; AF1 [t's'y]; AF2 [t's'y]; LH1 [t's'y]; LH2 [t's'y]; JA1 [t's'y]; JA2 [t's'y];
SC [t's'y]; LnC [t'ʁu]; NnC1 [t'ʁu]; NnC2 [t'ʁu]; LC [t'ʁu]  CG *dzy

hòu 后 QYS yau  CDC *heu^{2}
TS [xeu]; WN1 [hau]; WN2 [hau]; WN3 [xeu];
TC [hæu]; XZ [hæu]; YX [g^e\text{eu}]; DC1 [xeu]; DC2 [hau];
AY [hæu]; NC [hæu]; FX [hæu]; GA [hæu];
CL [xə]; PX [hæ]; AF1 [hæ]; AF2 [hæ]; LH1 [hæ]; LH2 [həi]; JA1 [hæ]; JA2 [xeu];
SC [hau]; LnC [hæ\ u]; NnC1 [hæ]; NnC2 [hæ]; LC [hæ]  CG *heu

The tone of the YX form is irregular.

lái 来 QYS lāi  CDC *loi^{2}
TS [laι]; WN1 [loi]; WN2 [loi]; WN3 [loi];
TC [naι]; XZ [laι]; YX [laι]; DC1 [laι]; DC2 [laι];
AY [laι]; NC [laι]; FX [laι]; GA [laι];
CL [laι]; PX [laι]; AF1 [laι]; AF2 [naι]; LH1 [lə]; LH2 [loi]; JA1 [ləi]; JA2 [laι];
SC [lei]; LnC [laι]; NnC1 [lei]; NnC2 [lei]; LC [lei]  CG *loi (~ *lei)  The initial of the AF2 form is irregular.
The second reconstructed form is based on modern forms with a unique correspondence pattern. It may in fact simply be a special development after *l-.

The following example is of special interest:

rén 人 QYS ñžhen  CDC *nhin^{2}/EC *nin
TS [zen]; WN1 [nin]; WN2 [nin]; WN3 [nin];
TC [xn] ~ [nîn]; XZ [nîn]; YX [nîn]; DC1 [lèn]; DC2 [nîn];
AY [lèn]; NC [lèn]; FX [lèn]; GA [in];
CL [lè]; PX [in] ~ [nîn]; AF1 [nîn]; AF2 [nin]; LH1 [î]; LH2 [lin] ~
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The second LH2 form is tonally irregular. Here the common Jǐān-1 etymon for “person, human being” is in the shǎng tone, while the literary or character reading for 人 enters the píng tone. This might suggest that shǎng is the native Jǐān-1 tone for words of this type, while píng represents a loan layer. However, it is noticeable that the small group of píng tone words of this type includes not only words of high or literary register but also common etyma such as xié 鞋 “shoe” and lái 来 “come”. Such words would not immediately suggest themselves as literary loans in the language. In any case, we are probably safe in assuming that our two different modern tonal destinations represent different lexical layers.

With these points in mind, we must now confront a further complication. For in addition to a very large number of modern shǎng tone words, and a much smaller group of píng tone ones, Common Gàn yángpíng syllables may also enter the Jǐān-1 qù tone; and the number of these cases is not negligible. Examples are:

chá 查 QYS dza CDC *ja²
TS [tsə]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dza]; WN3 [dza²]; TC [dza]; XZ [dza]; YX [dzə]; DC1 [dza]; DC2 [dza²]; AY [ts'a]; NC [ts'a]; FX [ts'a]; GA [ts'a]; CL [ts'a]; JA1 [ts'a]; JA2 [ts'a]; SC [ts'a]; LnC [ts'a]; NnC1 [t'a]; NnC2 [t'a]; LC [t'a] CG *dza

chú 厨 QYS dzjiwo CDC *jiu²
TS [tsau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dzu]; WN3 [dzu]; TC [dzu]; XZ [dzu]; YX [dzu]; DC1 [dzu]; DC2 [dzu²]; AY [ts'a]; NC [ts'u]; FX [ts'u]; GA [ts'u]; CL [ts'u]; JA1 [ts'u]; JA2 [ts'u]; SC [ts'u]; LnC [ts'u]; NnC1 [t'u]; NnC2 [t'u]; LC [t'u] CG *dzu

chú 键 QYS dju CDC *jiu²
TS [tey]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzy]; TC [dzy]; XZ [dzu]; YX [dzu]; DC1 [dzu]; DC2 [dzu²]; AY [t'u]; NC [te'y]; FX [t'u]; GA [t'ø]; CL [te'y]; JA1 [t'y]; JA2 [t'y]; SC [ts'ø]; LnC [ts'ø]; NnC1 [t'ø]; NnC2 [t'ø]; LC [t'ø] CG *dzu

The number of these cases is not negligible. Examples are:
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SC [—]; LnC [tʰu]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [te'y]; LC [te'y] CG *dʐy

Though we have no positive indications in the form of doublets in the lexicon, it is tempting to suppose that words of this type may constitute yet another lexical layer in Jíān-1. And if this were so, we would expect there to be a donor language in near proximity to Jíān-1. Chāng (2008:119) does in fact find just such a language. It is the Dōnggū 東故 sub-variety of Jíān (now denoted as Jíān-3 in Chāng Méixiāng’s recent unpublished work), where Common Gàn yángpíng becomes Dōnggū qùshēng. Perhaps this dialect, or some similar one, has contributed the qùshēng component of our Jíān-1 reflexes of the Common Gàn yángpíng tone. Here again, as we have done in Chapters II and III above, we shall appeal to the possibility that there has been in the greater Jíān linguistic area extensive dialect contact and consequent exchange of lexical material. The full extent and nature of this process will require future detailed study of this complex dialect region.

4.3 The Yǐnshāng Tone

This tone class must be reconstructed on the basis of Ánfū-1, Ánfū-2, Liánhuā-1, and Suichuān data, because it is only these dialects that distinguish upper and lower register shāng tones. With this in mind, we may note that Common Gàn yǐnshāng tone syllables become yǐnshāng in these four determinative modern dialects. Examples are:

qǐ 起 QYS khjī: CDC *khī³
TS [tei̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tei̯];
TC [dzi̯]; XZ [dzi̯]; YX [dzi̯]; DC1 [dzi̯]; DC2 [i̯];
AY [tei̯]; NC [tei̯]; FX [tei̯]; GA [ei̯];
CL [tei̯]; PX [tei̯]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei̯]; LH1 [tei̯]; LH2 [ei̯]; JA1 [ei̯]; JA2 [tei̯];
SC [—]; LnC [tei̯]; NnC1 [tei̯]; NnC2 [tei̯]; LC [k'i̯] CG *hi̯ ~ *k'i̯

pǐn 品 QYS phjām: CDC *phim³
TS [p'in̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [p'in̯]; WN3 [p'in̯];
TC [bin̯]; XZ [bin̯]; YX [bin̯]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [bin̯];
Though this pattern is simple enough, it is necessary to examine the behavior of sonorant initial syllables in this regard. To begin, we may observe that most sonorant initial syllables falling in the QYS shǎng tone enter the Common Gàn yīnshǎng class. Examples are:

**mǎ 马** QYS ma: CDC *ma₄

**nü 努** QYS nuo: CDC *nu₄

**lǎo 老** QYS lǎo: CDC *lou₄

However, there is a small but significant subclass of such words that join the Common Gàn yángshǎng class (which we shall discuss further in the next section). And there are are also yīnshǎng/yángshǎng doublets, which are quite interesting. The following are examples:

**lǐ 裡** QYS lǐ: CDC *li₄
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The tone of the DC1 form is irregular. Examples of this type enable us to discern the possible reason for these tonal configurations. To wit, we may suppose that in the major lexical layer of Common Gàn the usual modern destination of QYS sonorant initial shǎng tone words is the yīnshǎng tone. However, below this major layer is an older, residual one, made up mainly of popular words, which shows the modern yángshǎng tone in the determinative dialects. Finally, we must address the issue of cognate sets for which we have no attested forms in the determinative dialects.

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The second PX form must derive from an earlier *tiaŋ¹, which however cannot be reconstructed comparatively.

\[\text{yù 與 QYS jiwo:} \quad \text{CDC *ye}^4 (\sim *yu^4)\]

\[\text{TS} \ [y^3]; \ \text{WN1} \ [—]; \ \text{WN2} \ [—]; \ \text{WN3} \ [—]; \]
\[\text{TC} \ [y^3]; \ \text{XZ} \ [—]; \ \text{YX} \ [—]; \ \text{DC1} \ [i^೪]; \ \text{DC2} \ [—];\]
\[\text{AY} \ [ui]; \ \text{NC} \ [y^3]; \ \text{FX} \ [i^೪]; \ \text{GA} \ [—];\]
\[\text{CL} \ [—]; \ \text{PX} \ [u^೪]; \ \text{AF1} \ [—]; \ \text{AF2} \ [—]; \ \text{LH1} \ [—]; \ \text{LH2} \ [—]; \ \text{JA1} \ [y^೬]; \ \text{JA2} \ [y^೬];\]
\[\text{SC} \ [—]; \ \text{LnC} \ [i^೪]; \ \text{NnC1} \ [y^೬]; \ \text{NnC2} \ [—]; \ \text{LC} \ [y^೬]; \ \text{CG} \ [y^೬]\]

Words that are exclusively of this type are quite rare in our data, since it is usually possible to find at least one guiding example from one of the diagnostic dialects. However, sets involving doublets, one member of which lacks the necessary evidence for a decision regarding earlier register, are rather more common. Three examples are:

\[\text{jing 井 QYS tsjāng:} \quad \text{CDC *tsiang}^³\]
\[\text{TS} \ [tsin^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{WN1} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{WN2} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{WN3} \ [tei^೭]; \]
\[\text{TC} \ [tein^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{XZ} \ [tsi^೭]; \ \text{YX} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{DC1} \ [tsin^೬ \sim tsian^೭]; \ \text{DC2} \ [tsin^೬ \sim tsian^೭]; \]
\[\text{AY} \ [tein^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{NC} \ [tein^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{FX} \ [tei^೭ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{GA} \ [tsian^೭]; \]
\[\text{CL} \ [tei^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{PX} \ [tei^೭ \sim tsi^೭]; \ \text{AF1} \ [tsi^೭]; \ \text{AF2} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{LH1} \ [tei^೭ \sim tei^೭]; \]
\[\text{LH2} \ [tsian^೭]; \ \text{JA1} \ [tsian^೭]; \ \text{JA2} \ [tein^೭]; \]
\[\text{SC} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{LnC} \ [tsin^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{NnC1} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{NnC2} \ [tein^೬ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{LC} \ [tei^೭]; \]
\[\text{CG} \ [tsi^೭] \ \text{kJ} \ [tsi^೭]\]

\[\text{kōu 口 QYS khau:} \quad \text{CDC *kheu}^³\]
\[\text{TS} \ [k'eu^೭]; \ \text{WN1} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{WN2} \ [k'eu^೭]; \ \text{WN3} \ [k'eu^೭]; \]
\[\text{TC} \ [dziau^೭]; \ \text{XZ} \ [geu^೭]; \ \text{YX} \ [g'eu^೭ \sim heu^೭]; \ \text{DC1} \ [geu^೭]; \ \text{DC2} \ [ga\uka³ \sim gau\uka³]; \]
\[\text{AY} \ [k'iau^೭]; \ \text{NC} \ [k'ieu^೭]; \ \text{FX} \ [k'eu^೭ \sim tei^೭]; \ \text{GA} \ [k'ieu^೭]; \]
\[\text{CL} \ [k'oa^೭]; \ \text{PX} \ [k'oe^೭]; \ \text{AF1} \ [tei^೭]; \ \text{AF2} \ [tei^೭ \sim hiou^೭]; \ \text{LH1} \ [k'oe^೭ \sim he^೭]; \]
\[\text{LH2} \ [hau^೭]; \ \text{JA1} \ [k'iau^೭ \sim hiou^೭]; \ \text{JA2} \ [k'eu^೭]; \]
\[\text{SC} \ [hau^೭]; \ \text{LnC} \ [k'eu^೭]; \ \text{NnC1} \ [k'ieu^೭]; \ \text{NnC2} \ [k'ieu^೭]; \ \text{LC} \ [k'iu^೭]; \ \text{CG} \ [k'eu^೭] \ \text{kJ} \ [k'ue^೭]; \]
\[\text{shū 鼠 QYS šjwo:} \quad \text{CDC *shie}^³ (\sim *shiu^³)\]
\[\text{TS} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{WN1} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{WN2} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{WN3} \ [ey^೭]; \]
\[\text{TC} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{XZ} \ [su^೭]; \ \text{YX} \ [su^೭]; \ \text{DC1} \ [suk^೭] \ \star; \ \text{DC2} \ [su^೭]; \]
\[\text{AY} \ [su^೭]; \ \text{NC} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{FX} \ [su^೭]; \ \text{GA} \ [ho^೭]; \]
\[\text{CL} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{PX} \ [sui^೭]; \ \text{AF1} \ [sei^೭]; \ \text{AF2} \ [su^೭]; \ \text{LH1} \ [sui^೭]*; \ \text{LH2} \ [ey^೭]; \ \text{JA1} \ [ey^೭]; \]
\[\text{JA2} \ [ey^೭]; \]
SC [ɕy]; LnC [su]; NnC1 [ɕy]; NnC2 [ɕiɛ]; LC [ɕy~ɕiɛ]; CG *ɕy (~ *ɕyi?)

*The final in this form is quite irregular.

**This is almost certainly a misprint in the source. Cf. JXFY: [ɕy].

The AF1 and 2 forms are curious and deserve further study. They may represent an archaic pronunciation of the word “rat”.

Typically, it is the wén layer variants in such doublets that lack evidence for proto-tone register, since bái forms are more likely to occur in all dialects, including the diagnostic ones. However, as illustrated by the third example above, the reverse situation is occasionally also found. In cases where we find no evidence bearing on register, we posit faute de mieux a default undifferentiated shǎng tone. This is merely a makeshift step, pending discovery of clarifying data. We do not suggest that such an undifferentiated shǎng tone actually existed independently in Common Gànn.

4.4 The Yángshǎng Tone

The yángshǎng tone is vestigial in Common Gàn, in that it comprises a rather small number of mostly popular words. These constitute only a small subset of the yángshǎng syllables found in the QYS lexica. The Common Gàn tone is identified primarily on the basis of forms preserved in the four determinative dialects mentioned in the preceding section, i.e., of Ānfū-1, Ānfū-2, Liánhuā-1, and Suìchuān, each of which has an independent and discrete yángshǎng tone category. In Jǐ’ān (both points) it is preserved within the common shǎng tone of these dialects. Interestingly, it also frequently leaves a telltale trace in Dūchāng-2, Línchuān, Nánchéng, and Líchuān, where it joins the yīnpíng tone of these dialects. However, we must note that the general pattern described here is regularly disturbed to one degree or another by the fact that the Gàn family has undergone intense influence from other, probably northern, speech types, where the QYS and Common Dialectal Chinese yángshǎng tone has shifted to yángqù, i.e., the so-called zhuóshǎng guīqù 濁上歸去 or zhuóshǎng biànqù 濁上變去 phenomenon. This effect on Gàn has been so strong that it is now virtually impossible to find a yángshǎng cognate set in which admixing of secondary yángqù forms has not occurred. Two nearly perfect cases are the following:

bèi 被 QYS bje: “blanket, coverlet” CDC *bi

TS [pæi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bi]; WN3 [pi];
TC [bi]; XZ [bi]; YX [bi]; DC1 [bi]; DC2 [bi];
AY [pi]; NC [pi]; FX [pi]; GA [pi];
CL [pi]; PX [pi]; AF1 [pi]; AF2 [pi]; LH1 [pi]; LH2 [pi]; JA1 [pi];

1 An interesting special study of this phenomenon is Xié (1998).
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In these examples the four determinative dialects all have the yángshāng tone. The idiosyncratic "yīnpíng dialects", true to form, show their characteristic tone change here. Jí'ān-1 has its shǎng tone as expected, and the remaining dialects have either yángqù or their general qù tone. We can assume that all but one of these have undergone a regular internal yángshāng > (yáng)qù shift. However, for Jí'ān-2 this explanation will not do, for this dialect should have the shǎng tone in such sets. Its yángqù tone must therefore represent borrowing from elsewhere, where the yángshāng > yángqù shift has occurred. Now consider the following case:

Here evidence for intrusive yángqù forms is quite clear, and Líchuān even furnishes us a doublet indicating that the yángqù form belongs to the wén layer and is thus almost certainly borrowed. Now let us consider two further cases:

jin 近 QYS ɡiən.; ɡiən- CDC *gin⁴
TS [təin⁴]; WN1 [təin⁴]; WN2 [te⁴in]; WN3 [te⁴in];
TC [dzəin⁴]; XZ [dzəin⁴]; YX [dzəin¹]; DC1 [dzəin⁴]; DC2 [in⁴];
AY [te⁴in]; NC [te⁴in]; FX [te⁴in]; GA [cin⁴];
CL [te⁴;]; PX [te⁴i]; AF1 [te⁴in]; AF2 [te⁴in]; LH1 [te⁴i]; LH2 [te⁴i]; JA1 [te⁴in]; JA2 [te⁴in];
SC [te⁴in]; LnC [te⁴in]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [te⁴in]; LC [kʰin⁴ ~ kʰin⁴]; CG *gin⁴ ~ gin⁴

jìn 近 QYS ɡiən.; ɡiən- CDC *gin⁴
TS [teín]; WN1 [teín]; WN2 [teín]; WN3 [teín];
TC [dzín]; XZ [dzín]; YX [dzín]; DC1 [dzín]; DC2 [in];
AY [teín]; NC [teín]; FX [teín]; GA [cin];
CL [teɪ]; PX [teɪ]; AF1 [teɪ]; AF2 [teɪ]; LH1 [teɪ]; LH2 [teɪ]; JA1 [teɪ]; JA2 [teɪ];
SC [teɪ]; LnC [teɪ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [teɪ]; LC [k’iṅ ~ k’iṅ]; CG *gin⁴ ~ gin⁴

bù 簡 QYS buo: CDC *bu⁴
TS [pu⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bu⁴]; WN3 [pu⁴];
TC [bu⁴]; XZ [bu⁴]; YX [bu⁴]; DC1 [bu⁴]; DC2 [bu⁴];
AY [pu⁴]; NC [pu⁴]; FX [pu⁴]; GA [pu⁴];
CL [pu⁴]; PX [pu⁴]; AF1 [pu⁴]; AF2 [pu⁴]; LH1 [pu⁴]; LH2 [pu⁴]; JA1 [pu⁴]; JA2 [pu⁴];
SC [pu⁴]; LnC [pu⁴]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pu⁴]; LC [pu⁴]; CG *bu⁴ (~ *bu⁴)

hòu 厚 QYS ɣəu: CDC *heu⁴
TS [heu⁴]; WN1 [həu⁴]; WN2 [həu⁴]; WN3 [heu⁴];
TC [həu⁴]; XZ [həu⁴]; YX [həu⁴]; DC1 [heu⁴]; DC2 [həu⁴ ~ həu⁴];
AY [həu⁴]; NC [həu⁴]; FX [həu⁴]; GA [həu⁴];
CL [həu⁴]; PX [həu⁴]; AF1 [həo⁴]; AF2 [həu⁴]; LH1 [həo⁴]; LH2 [həo⁴]; JA1 [həu⁴]; JA2 [həu⁴];
SC [həu⁴]; LnC [həu⁴]; NnC1 [həu⁴]; NnC2 [həu⁴]; LC [həu⁴ ~ həu⁴]; CG *heu⁴ ~ *həu⁴
Here we see different mixtures of forms from those encountered above, which nonetheless point just as clearly to pairs of competing yángshǎng and yángqù proto-forms. In the first set it is Liánhuā-1 that provides evidence for the wén/bái dichotomy; in the second, Dūchāng-2 serves this function (recalling that yīnpíng is the regular reflex of yángshǎng in this dialect). In summary, each example of this type may have its own unique admixture of original yángshǎng and later yángqù readings; and each must be closely examined to extract the relevant information that supports each type of reconstruction.

Finally, we may note that, as pointed out in the preceding section, sonorant initial yángshǎng forms are rare in Common Gàn and appear to be long to an early substratum. Nearly all QYS and Common Dialectal Chinese sonorant initial shǎngshēng syllables in our Common Gàn corpus are found under the yīnshǎng tone of the common system.

### 4.5 The Yīnqù Tone

This tone class remains stable at most points, except Ānyì, Nánchāng, and Suìchuān. In dialects that retain a register distinction, it becomes the modern yīnqù tone, while in those that have only a common qūshēng, that tone class becomes its destination. In Yǒngxiū, which has two tones, yīnqù-1 and yīnqù-2, the latter occurs after Common Gàn voiceless aspirated initials that become murmured in this dialect, while the former occurs elsewhere. The difference is therefore allophonic, with Common Gàn yīnqù syllables entering the appropriate Yǒngxiū tonal subclass according to initial type. In Ānyì and Nánchāng, Common Gàn yīnqù syllables having aspirated initials join the shǎng tone of these dialects. In Suìchuān, Common Gàn yīnqù words having Common Gàn voiceless unaspirated stop and affricate initials enter the yánqù tone, while the remaining syllable types become modern yīnqù. This process has been studied in detail by Chāng (2012), who compares it to similar phenomena elsewhere in the Gàn-speaking area. Consider the following two groups of examples:
I. Words that retain the yǐnqù tone in Suìchuān

ài 愛 QYS ?ài- CDC *oi⁵
TS [ŋə¹]; WN1 [ŋoi⁵]; WN2 [ŋoi⁵]; WN3 [ŋoi⁵];
TC [ŋai²]; XZ [ŋai²]; YX [ŋai²]; DC1 [ŋai⁰]; DC2 [ŋai⁰];
AY [ŋai²]; NC [ŋai²]; FX [ŋai⁰]; GA [ŋoi⁰];
CL [ŋœ¹]; PX [ŋœ¹]; AF1 [ŋœ²]; AF2 [ŋœ²]; LH1 [œ²]; LH2 [oi⁵]; JA1 [œ¹ ~ œ¹]; JA2 [œ¹];
SC [œ¹]; LnC [œ¹]; NnC1 [ŋœ¹]; NnC2 [ŋœ¹]; LC [œ¹] CG *oi⁵

kòu 扣 QYS khau, khau- CDC *kheu⁵
TS [ts⁴uai⁵]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ts⁴uai⁵]; WN3 [ts⁴uai⁵];
TC [dzai²]; XZ [dzai²]; YX [dzai²]; DC1 [dzai⁰]; DC2 [dzai⁰];
AY [ts⁴ai⁵]; NC [ts⁴ai⁵]; FX [ts⁴ai⁵]; GA [ts⁴oi⁵];
CL [ts⁴œ¹]; PX [ts⁴œ¹]; AF1 [ts⁴uai⁵]; AF2 [ts⁴uai⁵]; LH1 [ts⁴œ²]; LH2 [ts⁴oi⁵];
JA1 [ts⁴uai⁵]; JA2 [ts⁴ai⁵];
SC [ts⁴ui⁵]; LnC [ts⁴ai⁵]; NnC1 [t’ai⁵]; NnC2 [t’ai⁵]; LC [t’ai⁵] CG *ts⁴oi⁵

The YX tone is irregular. We would expect yǐnqù-1.

qiàn 欠 QYS khjom- CDC *khiam⁵
TS [te’i¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [te’i⁰]; WN3 [te’i⁰];
TC [dzien²]; XZ [dzien²]; YX [dzien²]; DC1 [dzien²]; DC2 [dzien²];
AY [te’iem¹]; NC [te’iem¹]; FX [te’iem⁰]; GA [eien⁰];
CL [te’iem²]; PX [te’iem²]; AF1 [te’iem²]; AF2 [te’iem²]; LH1 [eien²]; LH2 [ei²];
JA1 [te’i⁰]; JA2 [te’ian⁰];
SC [te’i⁰]; LnC [te’iem⁰]; NnC1 [te’i⁰]; NnC2 [te’i⁰]; LC [k’iam⁰] CG *k’i⁰em

shàn 扇 QYS šján- CDC *shian⁵
TS [sə⁴]; WN1 [ši⁴]; WN2 [ši⁴]; WN3 [ši⁴];
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TC [ṣen̂ 阴去]; XZ [ṣen̂ 阴去]; YX [ṣen̂ 阴去]; DC1 [ṣen̂ 阴去]; DC2 [ṣen̂ 阴去];
AY [ṣen̂ 阴去]; NC [ṣen̂ 阴去]; FX [ṣen̂ 阴去]; GA [ṣen̂ 阴去];
CL [sã 阴去]; PX [sè 阴去]; AF1 [sẽ 阴去]; AF2 [sẽ 阴去]; LH1 [sẽ 阴去]; LH2 [sẽ 阴去]; JA1 [sẽ 阴去];
JA2 [—];
SC [sän 阳去]; LnC [sën 阴去]; NnC1 [cian 阴去]; NnC2 [cian 阴去]; LC [cien 阴去] CG *sien

The LH2 tone is irregular.

II. Words that shift to the yángqù tone in Suìchuān

bàn 半 QYS puân- CDC *pon⁵
TS [pœ 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [iu 陽去]; WN3 [iu 陽去];
TC [iu 陽去]; XZ [iu 陽去]; YX [iu 陽去]; DC1 [iu 陽去]; DC2 [iu 陽去];
AY [iu 陽去]; NC [iu 陽去]; FX [iu 陽去]; GA [iu 陽去];
CL [pœ 陽去]; PX [pœ 陽去]; AF1 [pœ 陽去]; AF2 [pœ 陽去]; LH1 [pœ 陽去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [pœ 陽去];
JA2 [pœ 陽去];
SC [pœ 陽去]; LnC [pœ 陽去]; NnC1 [pœ 陽去]; NnC2 [pœ 陽去]; LC [pœ 陽去] CG *pœ 陽去

dài 带 QYS tâi- CDC *tai⁵
TS [ta 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [taɪ 陰去]; WN3 [taɪ 陰去];
TC [taɪ 陰去]; XZ [taɪ 陰去]; YX [taɪ 陰去]; DC1 [taɪ 陰去]; DC2 [taɪ 陰去];
AY [taɪ 陰去]; NC [taɪ 陰去]; FX [taɪ 陰去]; GA [taɪ 陰去];
CL [tæ 陰去]; PX [taɪ 陰去]; AF1 [taɪ 陰去]; AF2 [taɪ 陰去]; LH1 [tæ 陰去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [tæ 陰去];
JA2 [tæ 陰去];
SC [tæ 陰去]; LnC [tæ 陰去]; NnC1 [tæ 陰去]; NnC2 [tæ 陰去]; LC [tæ 陰去] CG *tæ 陰去

gù 雇 QYS kuo- CDC *ku⁵
TS [ku 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ku 陰去]; WN3 [ku 陰去];
TC [ku 陰去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ku 陰去]; DC2 [—];
AY [ku 陰去]; NC [ku 陰去]; FX [ku 陰去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ku 陰去]; AF1 [ku 陰去]; AF2 [ku 陰去]; LH1 [ku 陰去]; LH2 [ku 陰去]; JA1 [ku 陰去];
JA2 [ku 陰去];
SC [ku 陰去]; LnC [ku 陰去]; NnC1 [ku 陰去]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ku 陰去] CG *ku 陰去
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jià 價 QYS ka- CDC *ka
TS [teia]; WN1 [ka]; WN2 [ka]; WN3 [ka];
TC [teia]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ka]; DC2 [—];
AY [ka]; NC [ka]; FX [ka]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ka]; AF1 [ka]; AF2 [ka]; LH1 [ka]*; LH2 [ka*]; JA1 [ka*]; JA2 [ka*];
SC [ka]; LnC [ka]; NnC1 [ka]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ka] CG *ka ~ *kia *JXFY.

jin 進 QYS tsjen- CDC *tsin
TS [tsjen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tei]; WN3 [tei];
TC [tei]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsin]; DC2 [tsin];
AY [tei]; NC [tei]; FX [tei]; GA [—];
CL [tei]; PX [tsin]; AF1 [tei]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]*; LH2 [tei*]; JA1 [tei*]; JA2 [tei*];
SC [tei]; LnC [tsin]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tsin *JXFY.

zui 醉 QYS tswi- CDC *tsyi
TS [tsui]; WN1 [tsey]; WN2 [tsey]; WN3 [tsey];
TC [tsey]; XZ [tsi]; YX [tsei]; DC1 [tsi]; DC2 [tsi*];
AY [tsei]; NC [tsi]; FX [tsei]; GA [tsi];
CL [tei]; PX [tsi]; AF1 [tsi]; AF2 [tseiy]; LH1 [teiu]; LH2 [teiu*]; JA1 [tsi*]; JA2 [tsi*];
SC [tsey]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [tsey]; NnC2 [tsey]; LC [tsey] CG *tsyi
The initial of the AF2 form is irregular. We should expect no aspiration.

Sets of the following types are rather interesting:

guò 過 QYS kuâ- CDC *kuo
TS [ko*]; WN1 [kwo*]; WN2 [kwo*]; WN3 [kwo*];
TC [kuo]; XZ [kuo]; YX [kuo]; DC1 [kuo*]; DC2 [kuo*];
AY [kuo]; NC [kuo]; FX [kuo*]; GA [kuo*];
CL [kuo*]; PX [kuo*]; AF1 [kuo*]; AF2 [kuo*]; LH1 [kuo*]; LH2 [kuo*]; JA1 [kuo*]; JA2 [kuo*];
SC [ko*]; LnC [kuo]; NnC1 [kuo*]; NnC2 [kuo*]; LC [kuo] CG *kuo
*Tone corrected from yínqù on the basis of example phrases in the source.

Here the source cites in its syllabic inventory a tonal reading in yínqù, which is historically irregular in a word of this initial type. However, in actual text examples given
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Later in the work only the regularly expected yángqù tone is found. Whether the syllabary form is simply a misprint or has some other origin remains uncertain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zhòng 禽 QYS ̣ tʂjʊŋ-</th>
<th>CDC *ciuŋ⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [tʂen] ̣; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕin] ̣; WN3 [tɕin] ̣;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [tɕin] ̣; NC [tɕun] ̣; FX [tun] ̣; GA [tun] ̣;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [tʰɨŋ] ̣; LNC [tɨŋ] ̣; NN1 [tɨŋ] ̣; NN2 [tɨŋ] ̣; LC [tʂun] ̣; CG *tɕiʊŋ ̣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Suìchuān tone in this set is in fact the expected one according to our rule, which, it will be recalled, stipulates that a Common Gàn voiceless plain initial conditions tonal shift. Thus, the tone behaves regularly here, vis-à-vis the Common Gàn form. It is, on the contrary, the modern Suìchuān initial that is anomalous, for it should have no aspiration.

In conclusion, our Suìchuān tonal rule is in general quite stable in the data. However, occasional exceptions do occur. The following are examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jìng 竞 QYS kjʊŋ-</th>
<th>CDC *kiang⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [tɕin] ̣; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕin] ̣; WN3 [tɕin] ̣;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [tɕɨŋ] ̣; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tɨŋ] ̣; DC2 [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [tɕin] ̣; NC [tɕun] ̣; FX [tɕiŋ] ̣; GA [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [tɨŋ] ̣; LNC [tɨŋ] ̣; NN1 [tɨŋ] ̣; NN2 [—]; LC [kɨŋ] ̣; CG *kɨŋ ̣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This word is highly literary in register. We may suspect that it has been borrowed from some dialect that preserves the etymologically “correct” yīnqù tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shòu 獸 QYS ̣ ʂʃɨu-</th>
<th>CDC *ʃi̱eu⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS [ʂu] ̣; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɻi] ̣; WN3 [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC [ʂu] ̣; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂu] ̣; DC2 [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY [ʂu] ̣; NC [ʂu] ̣; FX [ʂu] ̣; GA [—];</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC [ɻi] ̣; LNC [ɻi] ̣; NN1 [ɻi] ̣; NN2 [—]; LC [ɻi] ̣; CG *ɻi ̣</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| JXFY. |
Here, neither the Common Gàn initial nor the modern Suìchuān one should condition tonal shift. The Suìchuān affricate initial agrees with the form of this etymon which is virtually universal in Hakka dialects. But the tone there is yīnqù, not yángqù. The example is thus rather problematic.

4.6 The Yángqù Tone

Syllables having this tone generally become modern yángqù in dialects that preserve the yīn/yáng distinction for the qùshēng, and join the common qù tone at points where this distinction has been lost. However, Liánhuā-2 constitutes a special and most interesting case. In this dialect, popular words belonging to the Common Gàn yángqù tone generally do enter the Liánhuā-2 yīnqù class. However, literary words and words of higher stylistic register more often join the Liánhuā-2 yīnqù tone. Our hypothesis regarding the origin of this phenomenon in Liánhuā-2 is that traditional yángqù words which have entered the modern yīnqù class are loans, probably of northern or some other extraneous provenance, deriving from dialects in which the yīnqù/yángqù distinction was lost before the time of borrowing. Words of this type would have been imported exclusively into the Liánhuā-2 yīnqù tone, regardless of their traditional tone class. The following sets exemplify these points:

I. Yángqù retained in Liánhuā-2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Liánhuā-2</th>
<th>Other Dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bài 敗</td>
<td>TS: [pa]; WN1: [—]; WN2: [bai]; WN3: [pai]; TC: [bai]; DC1: [bai]; DC2: [bai]; AY: [p'ai]; NC: [p'ai]; FX: [p'ai]; GA: [p'ai]; CL: [p'ae]; XZ: [p'ai]; YX: [p'ai]; DC1: [p'ai]; DC2: [p'ai]; JA1: [p'ai]; JA2: [p'ai]; SC: [p'ai]; LnC: [p'ai]; NnC1: [p'ai]; NnC2: [p'ai]; LC: [p'ai]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dà 大</td>
<td>TS: [ta]; WN1: [tai]; WN2: [t'ai]; WN3: [tai]; TC: [dai]; XZ: [dai]; TC1: [dai]; TC2: [lai]; AY: [t'ai]; NC: [t'ai]; FX: [t'ai]; GA: [hai]; CL: [t'ae]; PX: [t'ai]; AF1: [p'ai]; AF2: [p'ai]; LH1: [p'ai]; LH2: [p'ai]; JA1: [hai]; JA2: [hai]; SC: [t'ai]; LnC: [t'ai]; NnC1: [hai]; NnC2: [hai]; LC: [hai]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| zhuàn 赚 | TS: [te'y]; WN1: [—]; WN2: [ts'ai]; WN3: [ts'ai];
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The final and tone of the TS form are irregular.

II. Yángqù displaced by yīnqù in Liánhuā-2
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[kʰuei]; JA2 [kʰui]; SC [—]; LnC [kʰui]; NnC1 [kʰui]; NnC2 [kʰui]; LC [kʰui]; CG *gyi

The tones of the TC and DC2 forms are irregular.

liàng QYS lijang- CDC *liiong⁴
TS [liiong]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lïaw]; TC [dioŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dioŋ]; DC2 [—]; AY [t’iong]; NC [lïaw]; FX [lioŋ]; GA [—]; CL [—]; PX [liɔŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [liɔŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lïaw]; JA1 [liɔŋ]; JA2 [liɔŋ]; SC [—]; LnC [tioŋ]; NnC1 [tioŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tioŋ] CG *lioŋ⁴

shì QYS dźi- CDC *zhi⁶
TS [sɿ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sɿ]; TC [sɿ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂɿ]; DC2 [ʂɿ]; AY [sə]; NC [sɿ]; FX [sɿ]; GA [—]; CL [sɿ]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [ɕi]; AF2 [ɕi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [sɿ]; JA1 [ɕɿ]; JA2 [ɕɿ]; SC [—]; LnC [ɕi]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi

The tone of the JA2 form is irregular.

Here we may note that the corpus contains a sizeable number of words whose yángqù tonal value is a result of shift from an original yángshǎng. The following are examples:

bào QYS bâu: CDC *bou⁴
TS [pau]; WN1 [phau]; WN2 [pʰau]; WN3 [pau]; TC [bau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bau]; DC2 [bau]; AY [p’au]; NC [p’au]; FX [p’au]; GA [—]; CL [p’au]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [p’au]; AF2 [p’au]; LH1 [p’au]; LH2 [p’au]; JA1 [p’au]; JA2 [p’au]; SC [p’au]; LnC [p’au]; NnC1 [p’au]; NnC2 [p’ou]; LC [p’ou] CG *bou⁴

hù QYS yuo: CDC *hu⁴
TS [f’u]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [f’u]; TC [f’u]; XZ [f’u]; YX [f’u]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [f’u]; AY [f’u]; NC [f’u]; FX [hu]; GA [f’u]; CL [f’u]; PX [f’u]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [f’u]; LH1 [f’u]; LH2 [f’u]; JA1 [f’u]; JA2 [f’u]; SC [—]; LnC [f’u]; NnC1 [f’u]; NnC2 [f’u]; LC [f’u] CG *hu⁴
The AF2 tone is irregular.

And among words of this type there are also cases where Liánhuā-2 has yīnqù readings:
Our Liánhuā-2 tonal data are of special interest from the standpoint of lexical seriation, for they allow us to identify three chronological layers in the material. First, and at the deepest and most archaic level, we have forms that preserve the inherited yángshǎng tone. Above this are words that reflect the well-known zhuóshǎng guīqù shift and must belong to a different and later lexical strain in Common Gàn. And, finally, we have qùshēng readings that, in our view, derive from a language that had completely lost the yīnqù/yángqù tonal distinction and had only a single common qùshēng tone. The words bèn“clumsy, stupid” and dàng“agitated, unsettled”, cited above happen to encompass forms from all three of these layers. Another somewhat similar case is the following rather complex set, where the Liánhuā-2 form should be particularly noted:

The significance of this type of tripartite seriation of lexical strata for the demographic history of the Gàn speaking area will be discussed further in §6.4 of Chapter VI below.

A small group of CDC sonorant initial yángqù syllables take the yīnqù tone in Gāo‘ān and/or certain other dialects. Two words of this type that happen to occur in our data are the following:

The significance of this type of tripartite seriation of lexical strata for the demographic history of the Gàn speaking area will be discussed further in §6.4 of Chapter VI below.
The Jīān-2 form unexpectedly takes the yīnqu tone. This is oddly similar to Hakka, where the word in question usually also has this tone. There may be a connection of some sort.

**mián 面** QYS mjān⁴ CDC *mian⁶
TS [miɛ⁴]; WN1 [mien⁴]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [mien⁴];
TC [mien⁴]; XZ [mien⁴]; YX [mien⁴]; DC1 [mien⁴]; DC2 [mien⁴];
AY [mien⁴]; NC [mien⁴]; FX [mien⁴]; GA [mien⁴];
CL [mie⁴]; PX [mie⁴]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [mie⁴]; LH1 [mie⁴]; LH2 [mie⁴]; JA1 [mien⁴]; JA2 [mian⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [mien⁴]; NnC1 [mian⁴]; NnC2 [mian⁴]; LC [mien⁴] CG *mien⁴ ~ *mien⁴

The word lù 露 “dew”, which does not happen to occur in our database, takes the yīnqu tone in Gāo’ān. Two further words, ràng 讓 and wài 外 are also of this type, though they do not happen to show the special tonal feature at the particular dialect points we have selected for our data corpus. It is quite significant that this set of syllables shows the same peculiarity in various southern dialect groups, such as Hakka. The feature is thus of importance for the general history of Sinitic language south of the Yangtze.

### 4.7 The Yīnrù Tone

In dealing with the development of this Common Gàn tone, we can divide the pertinent syllables into sonorant and non-sonorant initial types. Beginning with the latter category, we may then make a further distinction between dialects in which the rūshēng is retained in some form and those where this class has been entirely lost through merger with other tone categories.

Among dialects that preserve upper and lower rūshēng intact, Common Gàn yīnrù words will simply enter the modern yīnrù tone. Dialects with a single common rūshēng will receive earlier yīnrù words into that modern tone class. In Yōngxiū and Dūchāng, however, the situation is more complex, because the former, and both of our sub-types of the latter, have not one but two yīnrù tones, a higher and a lower one. In Dūchāng-1 these are called, respectively, yīnrù and dīrù 低入 “lower rù”, while their names in Yōngxiū and Dūchāng-2 are simply yīnrù-1 and yīnrù-2. The two lower tones, i.e., dīrù and yīnrù-2 occur exclusively in Common Gàn voiceless aspirated initial syllables, which in Yōngxiū will have modern murmured initials and in Dūchāng plain voiced ones. The other two tones will occur in the remaining environments. Thus, the difference between the members of each tone pair is purely allophonic in all three dialects. The following are examples illustrating these points:

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2 This name is somewhat infelicitous, since it may lead to confusion with the yángrǔ class, which is entirely different and from which it must be strictly distinguished.
Moving now to dialects that have lost the rúshēng, Pingxiāng, Ānfū (both types), Liánhuā (both types), and Jíān-2 will have the modern yīnpíng tone. Jíān-1 will have that dialect’s common ping tone. Suíchūān will have yīnqū. These points are in fact exemplified in the four sets given immediately above.

We turn now to Common Gàn sonorant initial syllables. To begin, at most points the correspondence pattern for these is the same as that seen for the non-sonorant initial words. However, there are certain dialects where this is not so, and it is upon these that we must now
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focus our attention. First, we should note that in Tōngshān, while most words with which we are concerned here enter the common rūshēng tone of this language, a number of them become yāngqù. In our view, these forms are likely to be reflexes of readings in the Common Gàn yángrù tone, for many of these cognate sets have yīnrù/yángrù doublets. (See §4.8 for further discussion of the yángrù category and its correspondence patterns.) Next we must deal with Yōngxī and Dūchāng, and in this connection we should begin with the observation that after sonorant initials Dūchāng-1 does not distinguish between yīnrù and dīrù classes but instead has a single tone, identified by the source simply as yīnrù. Dūchāng-2, on the other hand, continues to distinguish between its yīnrù-1 and yīnrù-2 tones here. With this in mind, we may now note that both Yōngxī and Dūchāng-2 place the majority of Common Gàn sonorant initial yīnrù syllables in their respective yīnrù-1 categories. However, both also assign a small number of words of this type to their yīnrù-2 classes; and, curiously, they never agree on which etyma receive this irregular assignment. We have been unable to identify conditioning factors for this anomalous pattern in either of these dialects; and there also does not seem to be obvious evidence for any sort of layering or borrowing. One might speculate that Common Gàn had some conditioning feature, such as voicelessness in its initial sonorants, which conditioned the distinction found in these dialects; but given the paucity of our data, such a conjecture seems premature. We shall therefore leave the matter open for the nonce in the hope that new data will ultimately elucidate it. The following are examples of the points mentioned above:

mò 末 QYS muât CDC *mot⁸
TS [mə̋阳去 ~ mo入]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [mə̋阳入]; XZ [мо入]; YX [мо入]; DC1 [mo入]; DC2 [ma阳入];
AY [mo阳]; NC [ma阳]; FX [me阳]; GA [me阳];
CL [mo]; PX [mo阳]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [mo阳]; LH1 [mo阳]; LH2 [mo阳]; JA1 [mo阳];
JA2 [mo阳];
SC [—]; LnC [mot阳]; NnC1 [mei阳]; NnC2 [mei阳]; LC [mo阳] CG *mot阴入 ~

yuè 業 QYS ngiap CDC *ngiap⁸
TS [ni阳去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ni阳入];
TC [ni阳入]; XZ [nie阳入]; YX [nie阳入]; DC1 [ni阳入]; DC2 [nie阳入];
AY [nie阳入]; NC [nie阳入]; FX [ni阳平]; GA [ie阳入];
CL [nie阳入]; PX [nie阳平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [nie阳入]; LH1 [ie去]; LH2 [ie平]; JA1 [ie阳平];
JA2 [nie阳入];
SC [—]; LnC [nie阳平]; NnC1 [nie阳入]; NnC2 [nie阳入]; LC [niap阳入] CG *niep阴入 ~ niep

rù 人 QYS ńžiap CDC *nhiap⁸
TS [zi阳去]; WN1 [ji阳入]; WN2 [lu阳入]; WN3 [lk阳入] ~ it阳入;
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TC [y²³]; XZ [i³¹]; YX [lə²³]; DC1 [lə¹]; DC2 [lə¹]; AY [lə²³]; NC [lə¹]; FX [lə²³]; GA [lə³¹]; CL [lə³¹]; PX [lə³¹]; AF1 [lə²³]; AF2 [lə²³]; LH1 [lə²³]; LH2 [lə³¹]; JA1 [lə¹]; JA2 [lə³¹]; SC [lə³¹]; LnC [lə³¹]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [oʔ?]; LC [lə³¹] CG *lə³¹ ~ *lə³¹

The wên layer reconstruction has an unetymological coda. It must be of very late loan provenance. Both readings show by their initial that they are not inherited from earlier stages of Common Gàn. Cf. §2.7 of Chapter II. Thus, this word for “enter” is clearly not of primary origin in Gàn.

yā 鴨 QYS ?p CDC *ap⁷
TS [p³¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋa²³]; WN3 [ŋa²³]; TC [ŋa²³]; XZ [ŋa²³]; YX [ŋa²³]; DC1 [ŋa²³]; DC2 [ŋa²³]; AY [ŋa²³]; NC [ŋa²³]; FX [ŋa²³]; GA [ŋa²³]; CL [ŋa²³]; PX [ŋa²³]; AF1 [ŋa²³]; AF2 [ŋa²³]; LH1 [ŋa²³]; LH2 [ŋa²³]; JA1 [ŋa²³]; JA2 [ŋa²³]; SC [ŋa²³]; LnC [ŋa²³]; NnC1 [ŋa²³]; NnC2 [ŋa²³]; LC [ŋa²³] CG *ŋa²³ ~ ŋa²³

wū 屋 QYS ?k CDC *uk⁷
TS [k³¹]; WN1 [w³¹]; WN2 [u³¹]; WN3 [u³¹]; TC [u³¹]; XZ [u³¹]; YX [u³¹]; DC1 [u³¹]; DC2 [u³¹]; AY [u³¹]; NC [u³¹]; FX [u³¹]; GA [u³¹]; CL [u³¹]; PX [u³¹]; AF1 [u³¹]; AF2 [u³¹]; LH1 [u³¹]; LH2 [u³¹]; JA1 [u³¹]; JA2 [u³¹]; SC [u³¹]; LnC [u³¹]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [u³¹]; LC [u³¹] CG *uk³¹

shā 殺 QYS šat CDC *s̥at⁷
TS [s̥a³¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [s̥a³¹]; WN3 [s̥a³¹]; TC [s̥a³¹]; XZ [s̥a³¹]; YX [s̥a³¹]; DC1 [s̥a³¹]; DC2 [s̥a³¹]; AY [s̥a³¹]; NC [s̥a³¹]; FX [s̥a³¹]; GA [s̥a³¹]; CL [s̥a³¹]; PX [s̥a³¹]; AF1 [s̥a³¹]; AF2 [s̥a³¹]; LH1 [s̥a³¹]; LH2 [s̥a³¹]; JA1 [s̥a³¹]; JA2 [s̥a³¹]; SC [s̥a³¹]; LnC [s̥a³¹]; NnC1 [s̥a³¹]; NnC2 [s̥a³¹]; LC [s̥a³¹] CG *s̥a³¹

ruò 弱 QYS ŋj̥ak CDC *nhol⁸
TS [ŋo³¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋo³¹]; WN3 [ŋo³¹]; TC [ŋo³¹]; XZ [ŋo³¹]; YX [ŋo³¹]; DC1 [ŋo³¹]; DC2 [ŋo³¹]; AY [ŋo³¹]; NC [ŋo³¹]; FX [ŋo³¹]; GA [ŋo³¹]; CL [ŋo³¹]; PX [ŋo³¹]; AF1 [ŋo³¹]; AF2 [ŋo³¹]; LH1 [ŋo³¹]; LH2 [ŋo³¹]; JA1 [ŋo³¹]; JA2 [ŋo³¹];

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4.8 The Yángrù Tone

As indicated above, cognate sets involving this Common Gàn tone class are often quite complex. This is because such sets comprise a mixture of forms some of which descend directly from indigenous proto-forms having the Common Gàn yángrù tone, while others reflect loans whose borrowed tones have entered various different tone classes in the modern dialects. Each set must therefore be assessed according to its unique combination of components.

We begin with Common Gàn yángrù tone syllables having stop, affricate, and non-coronial fricative initials. In a number of dialects, these words enter the modern yángrù tone if it is present, or the common rùshēng if the dialect has only that single rù tone. In Dūchāng-2, which distinguishes two yángrù subtypes, the stop and affricate initial syllables will nearly always join yángrù-2, though occasional examples in yángrù-1 occur. In Tōngshān, Xīngzī, Jiān-2, and Suīchuān, the usual destination is the yángqù tone. This is also frequently the case in Liánhū-2, though there is also a significant minority of cases where the modern tonal reflex there is yīnpíng. Words of this type in Liánhū-2 are frequently of higher stylistic register. It is therefore possible that they constitute a loan layer. More detailed study of this dialect and its contacts with its neighbors may elucidate the matter. In a similar vein, Jiān-2 sometimes assigns words of this type to its yángpíng tone, and again we may wonder if these words, which are mainly literary in register, have been borrowed. In Píngxiāng, Ānfū (both types), Liánhū-1 and Jiān-1, these syllables normally enter the common qūshēng. The following sets exemplify these developments:

bái 白 QYS bɔk CDC *bak
TS [pa̰]; WN1 [bau]; WN2 [bau]; WN3 [bak];
TC [beʔ]; XZ [be]; YX [baʔ]; DC1 [pek]; DC2 [bak];
AY [paʔ]; NC [p'eʔ]; FX [p'ẽ]; GA [p'au];
CL [p'a]; PX [p'a]; AF1 [p'a]; AF2 [p'a]; LH1 [p'a]; LH2 [p'ẽ];
JA1 [pa]; JA2 [p'ẽ];
The initial of the NnC2 form is irregular. The third reconstructed form appears to represent a loan from a language in which both voicing and aspiration have been lost. This borrowing may have been very late, when the phonetic form of the loanword was actually *tiʔ, rather than *tiek. The LnC bái form irregularly lacks aspiration. It may have been contaminated by the wén reading. The initial of the WN3 form is irregular. It may have been borrowed from another dialect, such as DC2.

The vowel and tone of the AF2 form are irregular. The reading may be a loan from some dialect that had the main vowel -u- here. The vowel of the WN3 form is also irregular.

The vowel and tone of the AF2 form are irregular. The reading may be a loan from some dialect that had the main vowel -u- here. The vowel of the WN3 form is also irregular.
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CL [xo]; PX [ho]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ho]; LH1 [ho]; LH2 [ho]; JA1 [ho]; JA2 [xo];
SC [ho]; Lnc [hop]; Nnc1 [hoy ]; Nnc2 [hoy ]; LC [hop] CG *hop ~ kop

The second CDC form represents a word having the sense “unit of measure”. This form is represented in a number of the sources, where it is treated as a variant reading. This format is followed here for convenience.

huó 活 QYS yuât CDC *huot
TS [xa ~ u ~ vo ]; WN1 [wo ]; WN2 [uœ ]; WN3 [vœ ];
TC [fo ]; XZ [fœ ]; YX [fo ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [fœ ];
AY [uœ ]; NC [ut ]; FX [uet ]; GA [fœ ];
CL [xue ]; PX [fœ ]; AF1 [fœ ]; AF2 [fœ ]; LH1 [hue ]; LH2 [fœ ]; JA1 [fo ];
JA2 [fœ ];
SC [hœ ]; LnC [fo ]; Nnc1 [fo ]; Nnc2 [fo ]; LC [fo ] CG *uot ~ *huot

zhí 直 QYS dzâk CDC *jik
TS [ts ]; WN1 [te ]; WN2 [dzi ]; WN3 [dit ];
TC [dz ]; XZ [dz ]; YX [dz ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dz ];
AY [tœ ]; NC [ts ]; FX [tœ ]; GA [tœ ];
CL [ts ]; PX [ts ]; AF1 [tœ ]; AF2 [tœ ]; LH1 [ts ]; LH2 [ts ]; JA1 [tœ ];
JA2 [tœ ];
SC [ts ]; LnC [tœ ]; Nnc1 [tœ ]; Nnc2 [tœ ]; LC [tœ ] CG *dzik

The vowel of the YX form is misprinted in the source as ɿ, which we have accordingly corrected here.

zuó 昨 QYS dzâk CDC *dzok
TS [ts ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [— ]; WN3 [— ];
TC [dz ]; XZ [dz ]; YX [dz ]; DC1 [dz ]; DC2 [dz ];
AY [ts ]; NC [ts ]; FX [ts ]; GA [ts ];
CL [ts ]; PX [ts ]; AF1 [— ]; AF2 [ts ]; LH1 [ts ]; LH2 [ts ]; JA1 [ts ];
JA2 [ts ];
SC [ts ]; LnC [ts ]; Nnc1 [ts ]; Nnc2 [ts ]; LC [ts ] CG *dzok

In coronal fricative initial syllables, Düchâng-2 takes modern yângrù-1. Ānfù-2 may occasionally take yângpíng or, very rarely, yínping, rather than the qūshēng. Ānfù-1 occasionally takes yínping. Nâncâng regularly has competing literary yînru vs. popular yângru readings in words of this type. The former are clearly loans. Examples for this syllable type are:
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shé 舌 QYS dżát CDC *zhiat
TS [seŋ]; WN1 [ejeŋ]; WN2 [eiŋ]; WN3 [eiŋ];
TC [seŋ]; XZ [seŋ]; YX [seŋ]; DC1 [set]; DC2 [seŋ];
AY [seŋ]; NC [set]; FX [set]; GA [set];
CL [seŋ]; PX [seŋ]; AF1 [seŋ]; AF2 [seŋ]; LH1 [seŋ]; LH2 [seŋ]; JA1 [seŋ]; JA2 [seŋ];
SC [seŋ]; LnC [set]; NnC1 [eiŋ]; NnC2 [eiŋ]; LC [eiŋ] CG *šiet

shi 石 QYS żjak CDC *zhiak
TS [sŋ]; WN1 [ejaŋ]; WN2 [eiaŋ]; WN3 [eiaŋ];
TC [sŋ]; XZ [saŋ]; YX [saŋ]; DC1 [ sak ]; DC2 [ sak ];
AY [saŋ]; NC [ sak ]; FX [saŋ]; GA [saŋ];
CL [saŋ]; PX [saŋ]; AF1 [saŋ]; AF2 [saŋ]; LH1 [saŋ]; LH2 [saŋ]; JA1 [saŋ]; JA2 [saŋ];
SC [saŋ]; LnC [saŋ]; NnC1 [saŋ]; NnC2 [saŋ]; LC [saŋ] CG *šiek

xi 翕 QYS żjap CDC *zip
TS [siŋ]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ — ]; WN3 [dziŋ];
TC [eiŋ]; XZ [siŋ]; YX [eiŋ]; DC1 [dziŋ]; DC2 [dziŋ];
AY [eiŋ]; NC [seiŋ]; FX [eiŋ]; GA [seiŋ];
CL [eiŋ]; PX [siŋ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [eiŋ]; LH1 [eiŋ]; LH2 [eiŋ]; JA1 [eiŋ]; JA2 [eiŋ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [siŋ]; NnC1 [eiŋ]; NnC2 [eiŋ]; LC [eiŋ] CG *šip ~ *dzip (?)
The AF2 tone is irregular. The tonal register of the second reconstruction is uncertain.

After sonorants and initial zero, Common Gàn yángrù tone cognate sets have an especially heavy admixture of yínrù forms. In fact, there are literally no sets in our data that do not show such mixing, which we suspect is attributable to the borrowing of literary readings from some language or languages that had no upper and lower register distinction in rúshēng. Several points should be noted here. First, Tóngshān occasionally has rúshēng rather than yángqù in words of this type. These are generally of elevated or literary register. They

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are probably loans from some earlier standard language variety or koine that had rúshēng in these etyma. Dúchāng-2 takes its yángrù-1 here. Nánchāng, which is a regional standard and a major metropolitan dialect, frequently shows literary readings in yínrù alongside popular pronunciations in yánrù in these sets. Yínpíng forms, which occur instead of expected qūshēng in Pingxiāng, Ānfhù-2, and Liánhuà-2 are, again, probably reflections of original yínqū readings (see §4.7 above for the pertinent correspondence patterns), and may be due to borrowing of literary forms. Representative examples of these points are as follows:

The initial of the second NnC1 form is unexpected.

The initial of the second NnC1 form is unexpected.
The lower register tone in TS points to an ancestral Common Gàn yángrù tone here, which is not actually preserved in any of the modern dialects.

The tone of the GA bái form is missing from the source.
Chapter V: Experiments in Lexical Comparison and Annotation

5.1 Introduction

In the comparative exercises in Chapters II–IV we have worked entirely with individual syllables, all of which are directly relatable to Chinese characters. In a number of cases, these syllables are entirely literary in register. We have followed this course advisedly, since it is known that many spoken forms of Chinese are heavily interlarded with loans from literary languages of successive eras; and inclusion of literary forms in our comparisons aids us in identifying and seriating lexical layers in the modern dialects. Ultimately, however, it is incumbent upon us as comparatists to work with the broad corpus of spoken forms in Chinese dialects, which include not only monosyllabic morphemes but also compounds, and to deal with all lexemes, regardless of whether or not they appear in the written language. Unfortunately we are not yet at a point where this is possible for a broad range of Gân dialects, for the requisite lexical material has not yet been gathered and made available except in a limited number of cases. In the present chapter, therefore, we have selected a small number of purely spoken Gân etyma for comparative treatment. What we shall attempt here is to examine each cognate set in terms of Common Gân, in order to determine what elements can be reconstructed in the protolanguage. In this exercise, the work we have done in the preceding chapters will come to our aid, for it will enable us to determine which correspondence patterns are regular and which are anomalous and cannot yield meaningful comparative reconstructions. Hopefully, this exercise may serve as a model for more extensive and detailed lexical comparative studies of this type. In addition, certain of the results obtained here will prove useful to us in Chapter VI below.

I am grateful to Professor Jerry Norman for having suggested most of the seventy-eight cognate sets included here. They were chosen mainly for their value both in the study of comparative Gân and in the comparison of Gân with other dialect families. In a number of our sources Chinese characters are given for the forms cited in this chapter. In some cases, their use for the lexical items in question is well established, while in others they are more or less conventional in the Gân speaking area, though not part of the canonical written system. We have included many of these forms for the convenience and interest of readers. In other cases characters seem to have been added in the sources simply for the sake of giving a Sinographic representation, or as the result of traditional-type běnzìkāo 本字考 studies by the respective authors of the sources. These we have usually not included here. But it cannot be overemphasized that our phonological reconstructions are based entirely on the comparative evidence that lies before us, interpreted in terms of our findings in the preceding chapters, rather than on QYS classes of the Chinese characters given in the sets. We are not concerned here with graphs or their readings. Our object is solely to recover the Common Gân origins of the modern spoken forms.
Unless otherwise indicated, the lexical items in this chapter are taken from the same sources used to compile the Appendix. However, some of these sources in fact do not contain lexical material as such. In these cases, various alternate sources have been consulted. By dialect, these are as follows:

Ānyì - DCBG, JXFY.
Nánchāng - Hǎnyǔ fǎngyàn cíhuì (FYCH); Xióng (1982–83).
Fèngxīn, Líncuān - BJYJ, JXFY.
Jiān-2 - Jiān variety of Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.), similar to but not identical with Jiān-2 of the Appendix. Certain syllables in these data have a modified tone in compounds. Where the basic tone is determinable, this is given. Elsewhere, the tone is simply identified as “modified”.

5.2 Cognate Sets

5.2.1 “daughter”

TS [ȵy̍] 亼; WN1 [lau̯] □; WN2 [lau̯]; WN3 [lau̯];
TC [ȵy̍]; XZ [ȵi̍]; YX [ȵin̄] □; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ȵin̄];
AY [ȵi̍] NC [ȵi̍ ~ ȵyn̄] *; FX [ȵi̍]; GA [ɕ];
CL [ȵy̍]; PX [mœ̂ tsi] 妹仔; AF1 [ȵi̍]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [y̍]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—];
JA2 [ȵy̍];
SC [ȵy̍]; LnC [ȵie̍]; NnC1 [ȵie̍]; NnC2 [ȵie̍]; LC [ȵie̍]
*Second form listed in FYZH.

The “southeast dialect group” with which term we shall denote Linchuān, Nánchāng, and Líchuān in aggregate, have for this word a Common Gàn form reconstructable as CG *nie̍. This syllable corresponds exactly in shape to its Common Dialectal Chinese equivalent reconstruction. As pointed out in Chapter III, §3.3.1, we suspect that forms having this final may belong to an older layer of the Common Gàn lexicon. Matching this *nie̍ is a widely attested form reconstructable as *ny̍, which appears to be an external, and almost certainly later, northern importation. The Yǒngxiān and Dūchāng forms together with the second Nánchāng variant can be regularly reconstructed as *ny̍ (ŋ). And, as pointed out in FYZH (p.131), this form is clearly a fusion of an original disyllabic compound *ny̍ *ny̍ (ŋ) [女兒]. For a special study, see Wèi (1997). The interesting Wùning forms are not relatable to any other Common Gàn words in the set. In principle, their Common Gàn origin should be *lou̯. Regarding the Píngxiāng form, cf. §5.2.5 below.
5.2.2 “son”

TS [tsa\textsuperscript{平} \textsuperscript{上}]; WN1 [tsai\textsuperscript{平} \textsuperscript{上}]; WN2 [tsai\textsuperscript{平} \textsuperscript{上}]; WN3 [tsai\textsuperscript{平} \textsuperscript{上}];
TC [tsai\textsuperscript{平}]; XZ [tsai\textsuperscript{平}]; YX [tsai\textsuperscript{平}]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tsai\textsuperscript{平}];
AY [tsa\textsuperscript{陰平}]; NC [tsa\textsuperscript{陰平}]; FX [tsai\textsuperscript{上}]; GA [tsai\textsuperscript{平}];
CL [tsae\textsuperscript{平}]; PX [lai\textsuperscript{去} ku\textsuperscript{去}];
AF1 [tsai\textsuperscript{陰平}]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tsai\textsuperscript{平}]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tsuai\textsuperscript{上}];
SC [tsei\textsuperscript{平}]; LnC [ts\textsuperscript{去} i\textsuperscript{去}]; NnC1 [tsei\textsuperscript{上}]; NnC2 [ts\textsuperscript{去} i\textsuperscript{去}]; LC [tsei\textsuperscript{上}]

*Special high rising tone.

This set is fairly simple and embodies an unbound monosyllable in most dialects. Its Common Gân form is difficult to reconstruct because the final correspondence pattern is unique, agreeing perfectly neither with CG *-ai (§3.1.5) nor *-oi (§3.2.4). Since the syllable occurs elsewhere below and must be cited in some form there, we shall for the nonce represent it as *tsAi\textsuperscript{陰上}, pending future clarification of this question. (Reconstructions of this type are specifically intended to draw attention to comparative irregularities of the type seen here.) It has been suggested that this *ts Ai\textsuperscript{陰上}, which is found widely in southern Chinese dialects in approximately the same shape, is an archaic survival of the syllable zǐ 子 “child, son” (see, for example, Schuessler 2007:633). Future comparison of proto-forms of the word in other dialect families may throw more light on this hypothesis.

The Pingxiāng compound is entirely unique. First, we have the curious root syllable [lai]. The tone class of this form is from the comparative standpoint indeterminate in Pingxiāng, which has its special high-rising tone here. As we shall see in §5.2.4 below, in Liánhuā-1 it takes the qūshēng, but in certain other Gân dialects it has shǎngshēng (see DCBG, p.326). The word is widely found in Hakka and is also attested in standard Cantonese. For a discussion of it, see Sagart (2002:142). Curiously, the second element of the Pingxiāng compound is almost certainly the Common Gân male animal suffix *ku\textsuperscript{陰上} (see §5.2.26 below). Compare English “pup” as a metonym for a male child and “kitten” for a small girl.

5.2.3 “child, youngster”

TS [ŋa\textsuperscript{陽平} ts a\textsuperscript{陰平}]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋa\textsuperscript{陽平} tsai\textsuperscript{上} ti];
TC [tsai\textsuperscript{阴平} de\textsuperscript{阴平}]; XZ [s\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} te] 細□; YX [s\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} li]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [s]\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去} te] 細人□;
AY [c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} te]; NC [c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去} / c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去}] 細人子/細伢子; FX [s\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去}]; GA [s\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去}];
CL [c\textsuperscript{去} ka tei] 細家□; PX [ŋa\textsuperscript{陽平} mæ\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去} ] 伢妹仔; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [a\textsuperscript{阳平} li] 伢仂; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} to / sən\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ta];
SC [—]; LnC [c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} ts\textsuperscript{去} t\textsuperscript{去} ] 伢仯; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [c\textsuperscript{去} ən\textsuperscript{去} li] 伢仯□; LC [ŋa\textsuperscript{陽平} i] 伢兒
The basic etymon for “child” found in most compounds in this set is a syllable which can be reconstructed as CG *ŋa阳平. It has been suggested by various authorities that this morpheme, which occurs in a number of dialect families, is an archaic form of ér儿 (see Schuessler 2007: 225). This hypothesis requires further comparative work at higher levels before it can be convincingly tested. A simple word for “child” is formed in Tōngshān by combining this syllable with the one meaning “son” (§2.1 above), yielding an earlier *ŋa阳平 *tsAi阴上. This is then further expanded in Wūnìng-3 by adding a noun-forming suffix [ti]. This brings us to the rather complex matter of nominalizing suffixes in comparative Gān. In our view, there are in fact two of these, *li and *te, which can be considered “native” in the sense that there is no clear evidence that they have been borrowed. The suffix *li remains unchanged in most dialects. However, in Xīngzǐ it becomes [di], while in Wūnìng-3 and possibly in Lǐnchuān (where it is rare) it becomes [ti]. It is noteworthy that in Suīchuān and Nánchéng *li violates the rule (outlined in §2.2.5 of Chapter II) whereby initial *l- in the syllable *li should shift to modern [t]. This is perhaps due to the special intonational properties of the particle *li, which is unstressed in these dialects. In Jǐ’ān-2 there is a single possible case of *li, found in the word for “day” (see §5.2.20 below). It is realized as [ti]. In our Wūnìng-3 form for “child”, we see the regular shift of *li to [ti] in this dialect, thus: *ŋa阳平 tsAi阴上 *li > [ŋa阳平 tsai阴上 ti].

The Tōngchéng word for “child” brings us to the second major “native” Gān nominalizer, *te. This morpheme most often becomes modern [tɛ] in the dialects. However, in Tōngchéng its reflex is [de阳平]. In Yǒngxiū and Suīchuān it becomes [ti], while in Jǐ’ān-2 it yields [ta]. In our Tōngchéng form we see the expected development: *tsAi阴上 *te阴上 > [tsai阴上 de阳平]. Tōngchéng also supplies us with a lexical tone for the particle, for it is fully enunciated as yángpíng in this dialect.

A simple expedient for expanding words for “child” formed from a root syllable plus nominalizing suffix is to add a prefixed word meaning “small”. Prefixation occurs, for example, in the southeast dialects, where the prefix is the general Chinese word xiǎo小. Thus, for the Lǐnchuān and Nánchéng forms we would have as origins earlier *siau阴去 *ŋa阳平 *tsAi阴上 and *siau阴去 *ŋa阳平 li respectively. For the Lǐchuān word, Yán (1993:14–16) argues that the final element [i] is in fact a reduced form of ér儿 (*ni阳平). According to this theory, when following a syllable ending in a nasal or obstruent, initial *n- would assimilate in point of articulation, yielding [mi], [ni], etc. After vowels, *n- would be lost entirely. This explains the Līchuān data quite well and may be the correct analysis. However, it is noteworthy that the particle *li, which we have seen elsewhere, seems to be entirely lacking in Lǐchuān. Instead we find in its place the word which Yán associates with *ni阴平. Is this word in fact really yet another permutation of *li? The matter deserves further consideration. Be that as it may, in Xīngzǐ and Yǒngxiū we surely do see something of the type Yán has proposed for Līchuān. For in these dialects we find a fusion of *ŋa阳平 and *ni阴平 to modern [ŋan阳平] (cf. §5.2.1 above). This is then expanded by prefixing the word *si阴去 [细] “small” and adding the nominal suffix, hence: *si阴去 ŋan阴平 te ~ li.
With Dūchāng we encounter a new compounding pattern built around the word *nin*陽平 “person”. This is expanded by anteposing *si阴去 to yield “little person, little one”, and the nominal suffix *te is then attached, yielding *si阴去 nin阳平 te, found not only here but also in Ānyì and Jiān-2. Nánchāng, which has been heavily influenced by northern forms of Chinese, adds not the Gàn nominalizers *te or *li but the current atonal Modern Standard Chinese suffix [ts]. As befits the dialect of a large and important metropolitan center, this language is highly syncretic and has two forms based on the different roots: *si阴去 ŋa阳平 ts and *si阴去 nin阳平 ts. Fènxīn and Gāoān are quite interesting in this regard. They also add the northern suffix, but not in its expected current form, which would be [ts] in these dialects (see Chapter III, §3.8.1). Instead they both have a modern [tsu], which appears to be a phonetic loan from some other dialect, possibly that of the prestigious Nánchāng area. Why their autochthonous readings did not suffice and were supplanted by [tsu] here remains unclear. Also of interest in these dialects is the fact that for the prefixed element they use readings derived from CG *sei陰去. This is the early layer form for the word xì細 “small” in Common Gàn, while *si阴去, which these dialects do have as a reading pronunciation for the character xì細, surely as a late layer intrusion from some pre-modern standard form of Chinese (see Chapter III, §3.3.3). Many dialects have in fact substituted the reading form for the inherited or popular one, but Fènxīn and Gāoān are more conservative in this respect. Another probable example of the archaic reading *sei阴去 is the first syllable in the second Jiān-2 form. Here, this syllable seems to have acquired an excrecent final -n by assimilation to the initial of the following [nin阳平].

We move now to the Chālíng form. Here, the element [ka], which is atonal, is in all probability a deformation of the [ŋa] found in other dialects, perhaps through contamination from the word *ka阴平 [家] “household”. The final element [tei], which occurs again as [tsi] in the Pingxiāng form, is almost certainly a medieval pronunciation of the same suffix zǐ 子 (cf. CDC *tsi3) encountered above. If this is correct, then it seems probable that we have in this cognate set four different chronological realizations of the same Sinitic etymon, zǐ 子, i.e.,

| Primitive Sinitic (?) | *tsAi阴上 |
| Medieval Sinitic | *tsi阴上 |
| Early Modern / Modern | ts阳上 |
| Early Modern / Modern Loan | tsu阳上 |

Although this sort of layering may at first seem curious, it is in fact quite possible, for the same etymon can in the same language be borrowed in different forms at different times and places, with the layered lexical history becoming imperceptible to later speakers because of the different pronunciations of the relevant words. For example, the English words warrantee and guarantee are derived from the same etymon, the first being a loan from Old Norman French and the latter from general Old French; but most lay speakers of English are unaware, or at most only subliminally aware, of the connection.
We conclude this discussion with the Píngxiāng form already touched upon above in connection with its suffix. The compound is unique in our data for this set in that it incorporates the common word mèi妹 “younger sister”. It is also well attested in other Gàn dialects which do not happen to be included in our database (see, for example, DCBG, p.326 and BJYJ, p.516). It can be derived from a proto-form, *ŋa阳平 *muoi去 *tsi上.

5.2.4 “boy”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>TS</td>
<td>nœ阳平ŋa阳平tsa上</td>
<td>男伢崽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>tsai去 li</td>
<td>憋仂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>non阳平tsai去 de上</td>
<td>男崽□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>tsai上 di去 te</td>
<td>憋仂 □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>tsai去 li tsɿ</td>
<td>媳仂子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>tsai去 li te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>tsai去 i；</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>tsai去 tsɿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>nam阳平tsɿi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>tsai去 i；</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
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<td>AY</td>
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<td>NC</td>
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<td>FX</td>
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<td>GA</td>
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<td>CL</td>
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<tr>
<td>PX</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Special high rising tone.

In some of the dialects, the word for “boy” is formed by simply prefixing the syllable meaning “(human) male” 男 (CG *nom阳平) to the particular dialect’s word meaning “child”. In others, *te or *li is suffixed to the root *tsAi阴上，with appropriate changes in the initials and/or vowels of the particles (see §5.2.3). In Yǒngxiū the basic compound [tsai去 li] receives the northern nominalizer [tsɿ] as an additional suffix. What semantic effect this double nominalization has is unclear. A similar phenomenon is observed in the Dūchāng form, where nominalization is shown by the combining of *li and *te. From these two examples we may infer that in complex nominal endings of this sort, *li must invariably occupy first position and cannot follow another nominalizer. In the Chálíng form the borrowed second position nominalizer is the archaic form *tsi, rather than the later [tsɿ] seen in Yǒngxiū. Píngxiāng either presses into service its form for “son” here (compare English “my boy”, meaning “my son”; or “sonny”, meaning in direct address “young fellow”) or also uses a second word, formed by adding the old northern suffix [tsi上] to its unique root [lai]. Liánhuā-1 also uses this root, read in the qùshēng, with the nominalizer *li added to complete the compound. The remaining forms in the set are all fairly transparent.

5.2.5 “girl”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>nŋ阳平ŋa阳平tsa上</td>
<td>女伢崽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>lau去 tsɿ</td>
<td>女的</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>lau去 tsɿ</td>
<td>女的</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>nŋ阳平tsai去 de上</td>
<td>女崽□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>nin去 te</td>
<td>女的</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>nin去 ti</td>
<td>女的</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LnC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>LC</td>
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<tr>
<td>PX</td>
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<tr>
<td>AF1</td>
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<tr>
<td>AY</td>
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<td>NC</td>
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<td>FX</td>
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<td>GA</td>
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<td>PX</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In some of the dialects, the word for “boy” is formed by simply prefixing the syllable meaning “(human) male” 男 (CG *nom阳平) to the particular dialect’s word meaning “child”. In others, *te or *li is suffixed to the root *tsAi阴上，with appropriate changes in the initials and/or vowels of the particles (see §5.2.3). In Yǒngxiū the basic compound [tsai去 li] receives the northern nominalizer [tsɿ] as an additional suffix. What semantic effect this double nominalization has is unclear. A similar phenomenon is observed in the Dūchāng form, where nominalization is shown by the combining of *li and *te. From these two examples we may infer that in complex nominal endings of this sort, *li must invariably occupy first position and cannot follow another nominalizer. In the Chálíng form the borrowed second position nominalizer is the archaic form *tsi, rather than the later [tsɿ] seen in Yǒngxiū. Píngxiāng either presses into service its form for “son” here (compare English “my boy”, meaning “my son”; or “sonny”, meaning in direct address “young fellow”) or also uses a second word, formed by adding the old northern suffix [tsi上] to its unique root [lai]. Liánhuā-1 also uses this root, read in the qùshēng, with the nominalizer *li added to complete the compound. The remaining forms in the set are all fairly transparent.
Chapter V: Experiments in Lexical Comparison and Annotation

LH1 [mei̯ li] 姐妹; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ny̯*tsuai̯ tə];
SC [mei̯ li] 姐妹; LnC [ȵi̯e̯ ti]; NnC1 [ȵi̯e̯ /ȵi̯e̯ li]; NnC2 [ȵi̯e̯ li]; LC [ŋie̯ i] 女兒
*Modified tone.

In parallel with the form forms for “boy”, discussed in the preceding section, some
points form the word “girl” by prefixing the common word *ny [lau] “(human) female” to a
root form. The Wūning words use again as root the curious syllable [lau], etc.; and here
Ānyi has recourse to what appears to be the same etymon, though in this dialect it is in the
shāng tone. Gāoān, Cháliéng, Píngxīang, Liánhūā-1, and Suichuān build their words around
the root *muoi [muoi] “younger sister”. Most of the dialects make use of the suffixes
*li, *te, *tsi, *tsɿ, and *tsu in the manner outlined in the preceding sections. However, Cháliéng
constructs an interesting and rather complex bipartite form having two separate roots, i.e.,
*muoi tsɿ ti saɪ ti > [mei̯ tei tsɿ tei].

5.2.6 “face”

5.2.7 “eye”
The basic Gân etymon for “eye” is CG *ŋan. It occurs only in compounds, of which the two common ones are CG *ŋan tsiang and CG *ŋan tsy. Restricted to the northern periphery is the form *ŋan ts’, with borrowed late northern suffix. Cháling, quite interestingly, has added the later northern suffix to the general Gân compound *ŋan tsy to form a new trisyllabic word for “eye”.

### 5.2.8 “mouth”

TS [tsæi] 嘴; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tæi]; WN3 [tæi];
TC [tei / tei ho?] 嘴; XZ [tsi pa] 嘴巴; YX [tei pa]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tei];
AY [tei ln] 嘴; NC [tsui pa]; FX [tei pa]; GA [tsi t’u] 嘴筒;
CL [tei pa]; PX [tsi pa*]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [teye]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—];
JA2 [tsuei];
SC [—]; LnC [tei pa]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tæi]; LC [tæi]
*Special high rising tone.

The general Gân word for “mouth” is CG *tsyi. This forms compounds in some dialects, only one of which is reconstructable comparatively, i.e., *tsyi pa.

### 5.2.9 “nose”

TS [pæi] 鼻; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pʰi ts] 鼻子; WN3 [—];
TC [bi kəŋ] 鼻; XZ [bi ts] 鼻; YX [bʰi kəŋ] 鼻公; DC1 [—]; DC2 [b’il ku];
AY [p’il] 鼻; NC [p’il kəŋ]; FX [p’il kəŋ]; GA [p’il kəŋ];
CL [p’il ts]; PX [p’il ts]; AF1 [p’il ts]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [p’il ts]; LH2 [—];
JA1 [—]; JA2 [p’il] 鼻牯;
SC [p’il kəŋ*]; LnC [p’il kəŋ*]; NnC1 [p’il kəŋ]; NnC2 [p’il kəŋ]; LC [p’il kəŋ]
*Modified tone.

There are two roots for “nose” in Common Gân, i.e., CG *bi and *b, both of which always occur in compounds. The most common of these are *bi kəŋ and *b kəŋ. They are probably native Gân words. Less common and entirely absent from the southern tier dialects is the pair, *bi ts ~ *b ts. These contain the northern suffix [ts] and can be considered either loans or calque-like words formed under northern influence.

### 5.2.10 “neck, throat”

TS [teiæ] 頸; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tiaŋ]; WN3 [tiaŋ];
TC [tiaŋ]; XZ [tiaŋ]; YX [tiaŋ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tiaŋ];
The basic word for “neck” in Common Gàn is CG *kian⁴. Between the Chálíng, Jí’an-2, and Suíchuán forms we have a regular correspondence pattern which supports the reconstruction of a Common Gàn compound, i.e., CG *kian⁴ *kin⁴. Surely connected with this in some way is the Găo'an form, which can only derive from a CG *kian⁴ *kin⁴. However, the reason for the difference in the second syllables of these compounds remains obscure. The Anfú-1 form can be regularly derived from CG *kian⁴ *k’en⁴, which is close to the reconstructed Găo'an form, though not identical with it. In any case, it seems likely that our three hypothetical forms *kian⁴ *kin⁴, *kian⁴ *ken⁴, and *kian⁴ *k’en⁴ are ultimately related in some way.

5.2.11 “elbow”

In this set one etymon meaning “elbow” stands out immediately, i.e., CG *tsiu⁴ ~ *tsiu² (CDC *cieu³/EC*trux), which occurs in compounds in Xīngzǐ, Yŏngxiū, and Dūchāng. The Chálíng form, which is an unbound morpheme, cannot descend from this Common Gàn etymon, because its expected form in that dialect would be [ts’o³]. It must instead be a loan, either from a Southwest Mandarin dialect or from some form of Xiāng. However, cognate forms of this Common Gàn word also occur in other dialects, and these forms are quite interesting. The Fènxīn, Líncūn, and Líchuán syllables all reconstruct as CG *tsiu⁴. The modern forms in these dialects cannot be the result of hardening or other such regular developments there, for if they were we should expect Fènxīn [tu⁴], Líncūn [tiu⁴], and Líchuán [teiau⁴]. What, then, is their origin? Clearly, they are archaic substrate residues, surviving from a stage much

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1 Other theoretically possible Common Gàn origins for the second syllable are: *k’ien⁴ and *ts’ien⁴.
closer to EC *trux than CG *tıu is. This then leads us to the Nánchéng form. Here again we must reconstruct *teu, for, it will be recalled, Nánchéng-2 does not harden retroflexes before CG *-iu and its final -ieu here can therefore only derive from CG *-eu. With these points in mind we may now note that in Linchuăn and Nánchéng we can reconstruct a full compound, i.e., CG *teu *tsaŋ 陰平 for “elbow”; and this same compound also occurs in Líchuăn, where it has been suffixed with the added element kuŋ 陰平, which is probably the same suffix widely found in the word “nose”, as seen in §5.2.9 above.

With these points in mind we may now turn to compounds in the sets which contain the syllable [tau], with either the shāng or yínqū tone. This word is transcribed as dǎo/dào 倒 in two of the sources, clearly due to homophony with this word in the pertinent dialects. But our other sources eschew such an identification, almost certainly because it fails to make sense in the relevant compounds. Let us now examine several of these. Of particular interest are the Ányí and Nánchāng forms. These are strikingly parallel to those reconstructed in the preceding paragraph. Where there we have *teu *tsaŋ阴平, here we have modern [tau 陰平 tsan]. In Ányí the syllable [tau] can derive either from *tou or *teu, but in Nánchāng *tou is the only possible Common Gàn origin. This leads us to choose CG *tou as the origin of [tau] in both the Ányí and Nánchāng words. The Tōngchéng word can also be considered here. The second syllable [tsen] (< CG *tsen) is apparently a literary layer substitute pronunciation for the colloquial [tsan] found elsewhere. Cf. Chapter III, §3.1.12 and §3.3.7 for this wén/bái dichotomy. Our conclusion is then that Common Gàn had two slightly different archaic *t- initial syllables meaning “elbow”. The more northerly dialects had *tou, while the more southerly ones used *teu.

However, our work here is not yet complete, for we must now confront forms such as those found in Xīngzī and Dūchāng, which clearly have [tau] followed by a word corresponding to CG *tıu 陰平 and meaning “elbow”. How can this be, if [tau] (< *tou) itself also means “elbow”. The answer to this in our view is that the Xīngzī and Dūchāng forms are blends, created by conjoining the earlier layer etymon meaning “elbow” with the later one to form a single bisyllabic word. Modern speakers no longer recognize the first syllable as the ancestral word for “elbow” and acknowledge only the second in this sense. But, ultimately, both descend from the same primeval Sinitic form, which can be conveniently represented as EC *trux and which is written in the script as zhǒu 肘.

We may now add some concluding notes. Several of the forms in this set are obscure and defy analysis. The third syllable in the Xīngzī form, which we can reconstruct as CG *uǎn 陰平, probably is indeed the common word for “bend”, as the source has supposed. It occurs again in the Gāo’ān and Liánhuā forms. The Fēngxīn form is clearly to be derived from CG *teu 陰上 ʂiu 陰上, which, if it occurred in texts would be written *zhǒushǒu 肘手. The first syllable in the Ji’ān-2 form and the second in the Suīchuān form appear to be corrupted or reduced permutations of original *teu/tou. The remainder of the Liánhuā form is obscure and requires further study. The Suīchuān form is almost certainly to be derived from a CG *tıu 陽上 tou 陰上 te (i.e., 手肘 + *te), with addition of the now familiar nominalizer *te and probable shortening of *tou to [to].

We may now add some concluding notes. Several of the forms in this set are obscure and defy analysis. The third syllable in the Xīngzī form, which we can reconstruct as CG *uǎn 陰平, probably is indeed the common word for “bend”, as the source has supposed. It occurs again in the Gāo’ān and Liánhuā forms. The Fēngxīn form is clearly to be derived from CG *teu 陰上 ʂiu 陰上, which, if it occurred in texts would be written *zhǒushǒu 肘手. The first syllable in the Ji’ān-2 form and the second in the Suīchuān form appear to be corrupted or reduced permutations of original *teu/tou. The remainder of the Liánhuā form is obscure and requires further study. The Suīchuān form is almost certainly to be derived from a CG *tıu 陽上 tou 陰上 te (i.e., 手肘 + *te), with addition of the now familiar nominalizer *te and probable shortening of *tou to [to].
5.2.12 “heel”

Two forms for this word are widely used in Gàn dialects and are easily reconstructed as CG *kiok ‘rear heel’, and *kiok ‘foot’. Note that the two Nánchéng forms are regular reflexes of the first of these proto-forms, while the Líchuān word conflates the two. The Nánchāng and Gāoān forms are based on a compound *heu ‘rear heel’, with the Nánchāng form supplemented by the Common Gàn nominal suffix *te. The Ānfú form may be similar in origin, though its second syllable is obscure.

5.2.13 “saliva, spittle”

In this set there are three basic words that can be assigned to Common Gàn, two of which are probably native, while the third may be an importation from other areas. The first form is reconstructable as CG *dzam ‘water’. It occurs as an unbound morpheme in Dūchāng-2, and in Pingxiāng as part of a compound which can be regularly derived from earlier *dzam ‘water’, where the second syllable is the common word for “water”. The second word in the set is reconstructable as *lam, which occurs only in compounds. The first of these, which is widely found, is reconstructable as a variant pair, CG *heu lam ~ *heu lam. The first syllable in both compounds is the general Chinese word kǒu ‘mouth’ (no longer current as a primary or unbound form in Common Gàn, as we have seen in §5.2.8 above). In the first variant we see it in its general or canonical QYS-like shape, while it the second it has its archaic native Gàn form with initial *h- (see Chapter II, §2.5.2). Nánchéng-2 uses this
compound but adds to it the ubiquitous nominalizer *li. Línchuān is unique in that it combines both native Gàn syllables, CG *dzam and lam, and then suffixes the word *gyi “water”. The third entity represented here is the general Chinese compound kǒushuǐ “saliva”, which is found widely in the Gàn-speaking area in various forms, all regularly derivable from CG *k'eu ~ *heu *gyi. Finally, the Xīngzī form, which means “mucus (of the mouth or throat)” in general Chinese, is given by our source for “spittle”. It is unrelated to the other forms in this set, and one wonders if a fluke in field elicitation has led the source compilers to miss the pertinent Gàn cognate here.

5.2.14 “(human) breast”

TS [naŋ] 奶; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lai];
TC [teiŋ] 奶婆; XZ [nai]; YX [lai]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [nai];
AY [laiŋ] 奶嘴; NC [lai]; FX [lai]; GA [laiŋ];
CL [ts] 汁; PX [lai]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tse]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [nai* tao];
SC [—]; LnC [naiŋ heu]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [naiŋ li] 奶口; LC [nai]
*Modified tone.

The basic root syllable here is of course naiŋ. This occurs as a free form at many points but is also expanded to form various compounds. In Ānyì the early borrowed suffix *tsi is used for this purpose. In Jiān-2 the Common Gàn nominalizer *te is added, while Nánchéng uses *li, the other common nominal particle. The Gāo’ān form applies simple reduplication, perhaps to form an intimate diminutive or nursery word of some sort. In Línchuān the second syllable is in fact the regular reflex of *deu, i.e., the same suffix found in standard Chinese nǎitou “nipple”. Chàling, Liánhuā-1, and Tōngchéng have entirely different forms, which cannot be associated with one another on the basis of recognizable sound correspondences. The connection of the Chàling form with the syllable zhī汁 “juice, sap” (CDC *cip7/EC *tip), found in the written tradition, is not supported by Common Gàn phonological correspondences. The expected development for such a syllable in Chàling would be [tsi], which is in fact the usual pronunciation of the word “juice” there.

5.2.15 “house”

TS [vu] 屋*; WN1 [wu] 屋 (tsi); WN2 [u] 屋; WN3 [uk];
TC [u]; XZ [u]; YX [u]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uk];
AY [u]; NC [toŋ ts] /uk; FX [u]; GA [u];
CL [u]; PX [u]; AF1 [o]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [uo]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [u];

*房子 now also in use in this sense.

For the sense “house” the word *uk is found everywhere except in Nánchéng and Líchúān. In these places a perhaps related form *huk is used instead. Both of these dialects also have character readings for wū屋 that are directly relatable to the Common Gàn form *uk. For these, see the Appendix, sub wū屋. In our data, only Wūning-1 optionally adds a suffix to the basic monosyllabic morpheme.

5.2.16 “room (in a building)”

TS [hoŋ 陽平 (tsɿ 上)] 房(子); WN1 [—]; WN2 [hoŋ 陽平]; WN3 [hoŋ 陽平]; TC [hoŋ 陽平]; XZ [hoŋ 陽平]; YX [hoŋ 陽平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [hoʊŋ 陽平]; AY [hoŋ 陽平]; NC [hoŋ 陰去]; FX [uəŋ 陰平]; GA [hoŋ 陽平]; CL [hoŋ 陽平]; PX [t'i 去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [huʊ 陰平]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [foŋ 陽平]; SC [—]; LnC [hoŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [hoŋ 陽平]; LC [hoŋ 陽平];

The basic Common Gàn etymon meaning “room” is *fuŋ 陽平. A number of dialects have a binome, *fuŋ 陽平 kan阴平; Gāo’ān, on the other hand, has only [kan阴平]. Particularly interesting is Líchúān, which has two words for “room”. One of these is derived from the Common Gàn compound *fuŋ 陽平 kan阴平, but the other has a suffix which we have not encountered before. This morpheme has the main vowel [ɛ] but is in other respects an exact analogue of the Líchúān suffix [i], in that it has a zero initial after vowels and a homorganic nasal after final obstruents and nasals. If Yán (1993) is correct in associating Líchúān [i] with Common Gàn *ni 陽平 [兒], then perhaps by analogy our new nominal suffix encountered here derives from an earlier *ne. This is most interesting, because Norman’s reconstructed forms for ér兒 are CDC *nhi2/EC *ne. Perhaps we have represented in the readings of ér兒 in Líchúān two different layers, an older one in *ne 陽平 and a later one in *ni 陽平. Unfortunately, however, we have in our data no other dialect with which we can compare the Líchúān suffix in [foŋ 陽平], and this precludes reconstruction of the earlier form of this suffix in the present word. Further progress here must await the appearance of new data.

5.2.17 “grave/tomb”

TS [foŋ 陽平] 墳; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—]; TC [foŋ 陽平]; XZ [foŋ 陽平]; YX [foŋ 陽平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [foʊŋ 陽平]; AY [foŋ 陽平]; NC [foŋ 陽平]; FX [uəŋ 陰平]; GA [foŋ 陽平]; CL [foŋ 陽平]; PX [t'i 去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tʰi 阳去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tʰi 阳去];
The most common word for “grave/tomb” in the Gàn dialects is CG *fun 陽平. Absence of the initial of the first syllable in the Fènxīn form is regular for the Fènxīn variety recorded in BJYJ. Găō'ān has a compound formed on this morpheme. Exceptional, however, is the “Greater Ji’an” area (together with Pingxiāng). These dialects have forms which are generally believed to be reflexes of CG *di 陽去 [地] “land”. This assumption is quite possibly valid, since ritual taboos often lead in Chinese dialects to the avoidance of lexemes having to do with death and funerary practices. If it is valid, then the adoption of dì 地 as a word for “grave” may be a lexical innovation of the Ji’an dialects that can be used in subgrouping of the Gàn family.2

5.2.18 “mountain”

Two words for “mountain”, CG *san 陰平 and *liaŋ 陽上, are found in many parts of the Gàn-speaking area, sometimes even as competing variants in the same dialect. The first of these is of course the more general one in Chinese dialects while the second is a word that originally meant “ridge, watershed, range” and has been specialized in the sense of “mountain”. It is possible that this latter word, which is now dominant primarily in the greater Ji’ān area and is also found in other families such as Hakka, is a “native” innovation of this region which has been in competition with the more general word for a considerable time.

5.2.19 “night”

2 An anonymous reviewer suggests an alternate view, i.e., that this form is actually a retention of an archaic ancestral Gàn form that has been replaced elsewhere. In this case, it would presumably be the non-Ji’ān dialects that have innovated. The matter is of course open to differing interpretations.
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CL [ia阳去 pu阴去]夜晡; PX [ia阳去 pu阴平] 晚头; AF1 [män阳上 tʰɛəo] 晚头; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ia阳去 li]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [muan* tʰieu] 头;
SC [ia阳去 tʰiu; sên] 夜裡; LnC [ia阳去 kan阳去]; NnC1 [ia阳去 li]; NnC2 [ia阳去 son阳去]; LC [ia阳去 son阳去]
*Modified tone.

Anfú-1 and Jiān-2 have for this word a compound, CG *man去 deu, based on a root meaning “late” (cf. §5.2.22 below). All other points form compounds on the root *ia阳去 “night”. Most of these compounds are fairly transparent. Two for which comparative evidence supports Common Gàn reconstructed forms are *ia阳去 sǐ阳去 and *ia阳去 kan阳去. Another widely found form, derived from CG *ia阳去 li (阳上), deserves comment. This word is written yèli夜裡 by most of the sources that record it, but it is significant that the Wǔnìng-2 source demurs here and writes graphic 夜仂. And, in fact, there is a real possibility that the element *li in these compounds is the Common Gàn nominalizer already seen above rather than the general Chinese locative marker lǐ里. The fact that Suìchuān has a shǎng tone reading for the syllable would seem to argue in favor of interpreting it as lǐ里, but this could be due to contamination from the graphic form or its spoken standard Chinese correlate. In our view, the issue requires further study, especially since the etymology of the final element of the trisyllabic Suìchuān compound is obscure. Compare here also the Tōngchéng form, where the compound appears to have been formed by adding the Common Gàn suffix *te.

5.2.20 “day”

TS [zɿ阳去 lai阳去]日裡; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋi阳去 li]日仂; WN3 [—];
TC [ŋi阳去 de阳去]日仂; XZ [le阳上 son阳去]日上; YX [ŋi阳去 li]日裡; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋi阳去 li];
AY [ŋi阳去 li]; NC [ŋi阳去 son阳去]; FX [ŋi阳去 li]; GA [i阳去 li];
CL [ŋi阳去 li]; PX [ŋi阳去 li]; AF1 [ŋi阳去平 i]日矣; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ŋi阳平 li]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ŋi阳去 ti]日裡;
SC [ŋi阳去 ti; sên] 日裡; LnC [ŋi阳去 son阳去]; NnC1 [ŋi阳去 son阳去]; NnC2 [ŋi阳去 son阳去]; LC [ŋi阳去 son阳去]
*Modified tone.

All points except Tōngshān and Gāo’ān use reflexes of CG *ŋi阳去 as the basic root in their words for “day”. The two aberrant points use derivatives of the later loan form *tʰi阳去 for this purpose (cf. Chapter II, §2.4.5 and §2.7). Two Common Gàn compounds can be reconstructed comparatively for this set: *ŋi阳去 li(阳去) and *ŋi阳去 son阳去. The Anfú form may be a reflex of the first of these compounds, with irregular loss of the initial in the second syllable.
5.2.21 “morning”

The most common word for “morning” in the Gànspeaking area is CG *si̯oŋ tɕiu̯, from which most of the corresponding modern forms can be directly derived. The second syllable of the Tōngchéng form is exceptional. Its origin is obscure. The other fairly common word is a trisyllabic compound reconstructable as CG *si̯oŋ pon ńi̯. The form *tsau ńi̯, from which the Xīngzī and Yōngxiū forms derive, may be a loan from some northern koine which had the general Chinese form zǎoshàng 早上.

5.2.22 “late”

The general Gàn word for “late” is CG *ńan, None of the compounds is regularly reconstructable comparatively.

Plants

5.2.23 “rice plant”

The general Gàn word for “late” is CG *ńan. None of the compounds is regularly reconstructable comparatively.
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The general word for “rice plant” in the Gàn-speaking area is CG *uo阳平. The Tõngshän form is a northern intrusion.

5.2.24 “gourd”

The standard Chinese noun húlú 葫芦 “gourd” is represented in this set in two variant reconstructed forms, i.e., *u阳平 lu阳平 and *hu阳平 lu阳平. The first syllable has an archaic form in *u阳平 contrasting with a later one in *hu阳平. The first syllable of the Tõngshän form has an irregular bái reading. The literary pronunciation of the character hú 葫 in this dialect is [hu阳平], which is consistent with the reconstructed form *hu阳平. The Fèngxìn and Gāo’an forms derive from CG *u阳平 li, where the nominalizer *li has been added to the root *u阳平. The remaining compounds in the set are not reconstructable comparatively.

5.2.25 “thorn”

Two words for “thorn” are represented in this set. The first is regularly reconstructable as CG *lek阴入 (var. *lek阴入) and is probably the native Gàn lexeme. It also occurs widely in Hakka and is likely to be the native form in that family as well. The second reconstructable form is CG *ts’ɿ阴去, which is the standard Chinese word and occurs in the northern part of the Gàn-speaking area. It is surely an intrusive, non-native form.
Animals and Insects

5.2.26 “male of animals”

TS [ku] 牝; WN1 [ku/laŋ] 牝/郎; WN2 [ku*]; WN3 [ku];
TC [ku]; XZ [ku]; YX [kaŋ/a/ku] 公/牯; DC1 [—]; DC2 [kuŋ];
AY [ku] 牝; NC [ku/kuŋ]; FX [ku]; GA [ku];
CL [ku]++; PX [ku]; AF1 [ku]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ku]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ku];
SC [ku] Lnc [kuŋ]; NnC1 [ku*]; NnC2 [ku]; LC [ku / kuŋ] 牝(兒)/公(兒)

p - postposed. 牝 is always postposed.

*For dogs: WN2 [kaŋ] 公; AF1, NnC1: [kuŋ], [kuŋ] respectively.
**For swine: [kaŋ] 公 anteposed.
***anteposed or postposed.

The basic Gàn word serving this function is CG *ku, which is exclusively a suffix. The syllable *kuŋ, which is also found in various other dialect families, occurs in certain Gàn dialects, often in competition with *ku. The element *kuŋ is sometimes anteposed, sometimes postposed, and in some dialects either order is possible. It seems likely that *kuŋ is intrusive, while *ku is the native morpheme.

5.2.27 “female of animals”

TS [p] 婆; WN1 [—]; WN2 [p0]; WN3 [p0];
TC [bo]; XZ [bo]; YX [mu] 母; DC1 [—]; DC2 [bo2];
AY [p0]; NC [p0/(mu)]; FX [p0]; GA [p0];
CL [p0*]; PX [pɔ (ts)]; AF1 [p0]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ts] 孛; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [p0*];
SC [p0*]; LnC [mo] 嬤; NnC1 [mo]; NnC2 [mo]; LC [mo]
p - postposed. 婆 and 嬤 are always postposed.

a - anteposed.
*For swine: [mu] anteposed.
**Modified tone.

The general Gàn morpheme having this function, which is found over much of the Gàn-speaking area, is the suffix *bo. However, the southeast dialects have an entirely different word *mo; and this may in fact to be a defining subgroup feature for these dialects. The anteposed form [mu] in Nánchāng and Yǒngxiū is clearly a northern intrusion which now
competes with native suffixal *bo 阳平.

5.2.28 “male of birds”

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<th>Tone 3</th>
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</table>

The gender-marking syllables in this set are the same as those in §5.2.27. Note, however, that the Gāoṇān form takes the suffix *li.

5.2.29 “female of birds”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Tone 1</th>
<th>Tone 2</th>
<th>Tone 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>[pu]</td>
<td>婆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN1</td>
<td>[—]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2</td>
<td>[pbo]</td>
<td>婆</td>
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<tr>
<td>WN3</td>
<td>[bo]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>[bo]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XZ</td>
<td>[bo]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YX</td>
<td>[bɔ]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
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<td>DC2</td>
<td>[bo]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FX</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
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<td>CL</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
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<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
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<td>[—]</td>
<td>婆</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA2</td>
<td>[p'uo]**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>[p'ɔ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LnC</td>
<td>[mo]</td>
<td>嬢</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>NnC1</td>
<td>[mo]</td>
<td>嬢</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NnC2</td>
<td>[mo]</td>
<td>嬢</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>[mo]</td>
<td>嬢</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three morphemes are pertinent in this set. First, we have CG *kuŋ 阴平, already familiar from §5.2.26. Then there is *iəŋ 阳平, which functions as a prefix. And finally there is the prefixed word found in Ānfú-1 and Liánhuā-1. This is probably to be restored as *di 阳平, though direct evidence for this reconstruction is lacking. The Ānfú-1 source writes it with a graph used to represent a word meaning “to call, cry, crow”.

The gender-marking syllables in this set are the same as those in §5.2.27. Note, however, that the Gāoṇān form takes the suffix *li.
5.2.30 “earthworm”

TS [tsʰʊ̃ʊ̃ se] 臭虱; WN1 [—]; WN2 [piʔ sɨɛ]; WN3 [piʔ sɨɛ]; TC [dzu] 臭虱; XZ [pia se]; YX [dzəʊu dzəʔ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [piʔ sek] 臭虱;
AY [pit se]; NC [tsʰʊ̃ʊ̃ tsʰʊ̃]; FX [tʰʊ̃ tʰʊ̃]; GA [tʰʊ̃ tʰʊ̃]; CL [tsʰʊ̃ tsʰʊ̃] 臭虱; PX [ke pi]; AF1 [teie pi]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ke pi]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kie pi]; SC [tei’iu ju tsʰʊ̃]; LnC [tsʰʊ̃ tu]; NnC1 [u pi]; NnC2 [vu pi] 烏蜚; LC [tei’iu ju tsʰʊ̃]

*Modified tone.

Gàn words for “earthworm” differ considerably from place to place. It is possible to reconstruct with confidence one compound, i.e., CG *hon kin. In parallel with this, we can speculate that the two Wùning forms derive from a closely related form: CG *hon k’in. The three similar syllables in the Chálíng, Jiān-2, and Suichuán compounds are obviously related, but the evidence is too scant to support a comparative reconstruction for them.

5.2.31 “bedbug”

TS [tsʰu ju se] 臭虱; WN1 [—]; WN2 [piʔ sɨɛ]; WN3 [piʔ sɨɛ]; TC [heʔ de] 臭虱; XZ [hən tein]; YX [gʰən tein]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [hon tein];
AY [hon tein]; NC [hon tein (tsi)]; FX [ŋi tein]; GA [hon tein li]; CL [xən ɕʰi] 臭虱; PX [ri ɕʰi] 臭虱; AF1 [cyɨŋ] 臭虱; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ɕʰi]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ɕʰi ti] 臭虱;
SC [ɕʰi kə] 臭虱; LnC [hoʂ n] 臭虱; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [həŋ n] 臭虱; LC [hoŋ n] 臭虱

The form CG *tsʰu ju, which is equivalent to the Modern Standard Chinese word chǒuchóng 臭蟲 “bedbug”, occurs in various parts of the Gàn-speaking area. Whether it is intrusive or is a genuine legacy of Common Chinese is open to question. In any case, there are several other Gàn forms of more obscure provenance. One of these, which is found in the northern half of the area is CG *pit sek, in which the second syllable is the root meaning “louse” (see §5.2.32) and the first is etymologically obscure. Another form, which is found in the southerly part of the area, is *ke pi, where both syllables are of uncertain origin. The second one, *pi, also occurs at our two Nánchéng points, whose forms can probably be reconstructed as *u pi, with the first syllable traditionally interpreted as wū 烏 “black”. The syllable pi “bedbug”, which also occurs in Hakka, and the Hakka-like Shēhuà 畬話 spoken by the Shē ethnic minority, has been compared by Pān (2005:22–23)

5.2.32 “louse”

TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [seʔ bo*]; XZ [seʔ ts'i']; YX [seʔ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [seʔ];
AY [seʔ]; NC [set]; FX [set]; GA [seʔ tsu]虱子;
CL [seʔ ts']; PX [seʔ p*];虱婆; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [seʔ uo*]虱婆; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [se* p'uo];
SC [—]; LnC [seʔ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [seiʔ]; LC [seʔ]*

*Modified tone.

The word for “louse” is an unbound monosyllable in most dialects, and can perhaps be reconstructed as CG *ʂek阴入. Suffixes that occur at various points are the two common northern ones, [ts'] and [tsu] (cf. Mod. Stan. Chinese shīzi 虱子), plus the typical Gàn syllable *bo阳平, already seen in several sections above.

5.2.33 “cockroach”

TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teʰie˥; teian阳平; pʰo阳平]虱□婆; WN3 [dzie thượng阳平 bo* dziŋ-]賊婆;
TC [fan阳平 ho*dsn阳平]紅殻蟲; XZ [dz̃阳去1 maj阳平 te]蚱蜢□; YX [tsau tei阴平 li]灶蟋□; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dzal阳平 bo阳平2 te]蟋婆□;
CL [tsʰ阳平 pʰ阳平 ts]蟋婆子; PX [jui阴平 tsʰ阳平 pʰ阳入]油賊婆; AF1 [teie阳平 tsʰ阳平 te]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tsao阳平 tei阳平]灶蠎; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tsʰ阳平 tei阳平];
SC [tsʰ阳平 pʰ阳平 ]; LnC [tsʰ阳平 ak阳平]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tʰ阳平 tei li]賊騷□; LC [tʰ阳平]*

*Modified tone.

Words for this insect are quite varied in the Gàn dialects, making it difficult to reconstruct common forms. However, two morphemes can be hypothesized comparatively. The first is CG *dzat阳入 which is used alone in Líchuān, but more often occurs in compounds. One of these is *dzat阳入 bo阳平, which is then expanded in various ways, as for example in Dūchāng-2, whose word is derivable from CG *dzat阳入 bo阳平 te. The second Gàn morpheme is very difficult to reconstruct but was almost certainly present in the proto-language. It may have had a form or forms such as *dzie(C)*阳平 ~ *ts(')ie (where C signifies an indeterminate consonant). Its realizations in the dialects are quite aberrant and defy comparative analysis. Some dialects
compound it with the identifiable suffixed elements *bo陽平 and/or *li.

5.2.34 “wing”

TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ʂ̯阴去 kuan阴平] 翅□; WN3 [—];
TC [iʔ入 kaʔ阴去] 翼甲; XZ [dʐ阴阳人 poŋ阳平] 翅膀; YX [ʂ̯阴去 poŋ阳平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ʂ̯阴去 bo翘膊];
AY [ʊ阴去 poŋ]; NC [tsʰ阴去 / i阴入 kaŋ] 翅膀/☐☐; FX [tʰə阴去 poŋ] 翅膀; GA [i入 ʂʅ阴去 bɔ];
CL [e入 pɔŋ]; PX [i入 ka*] 翼□; AF1 [i入 sau阴去] 翼梢; AF2 [—]; LH1 [i入 pi*] 翼臂;
CL  [e入 ʂʅ阴去]; LnC [i入 poŋ]; NnC1 [i入 kaiʔ入 ti]; NnC2 [i入 kaʔ入 li] 翼膀\□; LC [i入];

*Special high rising tone.
**Modified tone.

There are two entirely different Gàn roots for this word, each of which has in turn two variant forms. The forms of the first root are CG *ʂ̯ and *tʂ̯, both of which are most often used to form the common compound *ʂ̯~*tʂ̯ poŋ上, correlateable with Modern Standard Chinese chìbāng翅膀. The second root is CG *ɪk阴入, whose variant form is *iɛt阴入. These two syllables often form compounds with *poŋ上 (var. *paŋ上) or other suffixed elements. Note that Suichuān has apparently reinterpreted this *poŋ上 as CG *boŋ阴入 (i.e., páng旁) “side”.

Foods

5.2.35 “rice (cooked)”

TS [fæ阳去] 飯; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fan阳去]; WN3 [—];
TC [fan]; XZ [fan]; YX [fan]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [fuan];
AY [fan]; NC [fan]; FX [uan]; GA [fan];
CL [fæ]; PX [fæ]; AF1 [fæ]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [hua]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [fuan];
SC [fan]; LnC [fan]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [fan]; LC [fan];

This word occurs in all dialects and is reconstructed as CG *fuan.

5.2.36 “egg”

TS [tæ阳去] 蛋; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tan阳去]; WN3 [—];
The most common word for “egg” in Gán is *dan 阳去, a form that is found in various dialect families. In the Jì’ān area another syllable, CG *po 阴去, is reconstructable on the basis of data from three dialects. It is a bound morpheme and occurs only in compounds.

5.2.37 “mushroom”

The basic morpheme for “mushroom” is CG *ku 阴平, which is found in all Gán dialects in our database. Native or “typical Gán” compounds are regularly formed with the nominalizing suffixes *te and *li. Northern [tsʰ] is used in Línchuān. Nánchéng-2 has a suffix [ɛ̃], which is quite possibly the same entity noted in Líchuān and discussed in §5.2.16 above. The general Chinese word xiànggū 香菇, reconstructable as CG *hioŋ 阴平 ku 阴平, is found at various points. It has possibly been borrowed from outside the Gán-speaking area.

5.2.38 “meat”

For this common monosyllabic word two variant forms are reconstructable, i.e., CG *niuk 阴入 and *niuk 阴入. The Tóngshān form, however, does not derive from either of these native variants. It is instead a loan reading, theoretically derivable from a late Common Gán
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*ɻuk*, and probably borrowed from a Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dialect or a koine based on this type of dialect. Other forms of this loan occur as reading pronunciations in various Gàn dialects. For full citation of the relevant data, see the Appendix, sub ròu 肉.

**Implements**

5.2.39 “wok”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| TS       | [z^1 vo^2阴平] 耳鍋; WN1 [—]; WN2 [uo^2阴平]; WN3 [uo^2阴平]; TC [kuo^2阴平 / y^1 阳去 kuo^2阴平] 鍋/耳鍋; XZ [uo^2阳去]; YX [vo^2阴平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uo^2阳去]; AY [uo^2阴平]; NC [uo^2阳去 / tin^1 阳去 kuo^2阴平]鍋/鼎罐; FX [uo^2阳去 li^1]鍋仂; GA [uo^3阳入]鑊; CL [uo^2阴平]; PX [uo^2阴平 ts^1阳去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [uo^2阳去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [uo^2阳去]; SC [—]; LnC [uo^2阴平]鑊; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [vo^2阴平]; LC [uo^2阳去 / uo^2阴平 e]鍋/鍋

The native Gàn word for this utensil is CG *uo^2阴平*. It is a monosyllable in most dialects. Several add suffixes. Tǒngshān prefixes the word for “ear”, referring to the handle of the implement. The Tǒngchéng form is not derivable from CG *uo^2阴平* and appears to be a loan from some form of Mandarin.

5.2.40 “chopsticks”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| TS       | [k^1 uai^2阳去 ts^1阳去] 筷子; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—]; TC [kuai^2阳去 ts^1阳去]; XZ [guai^2阳去 ts^1阳去]; YX [ge^2uai^2阳去 ts]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uai^2阳去 ts]; AY [—]; NC [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; FX [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; GA [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; CL [k'ue^2阳去 ts]; PX [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; SC [—]; LnC [k'uai^2阳去 ts]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [te^2阳去]箸; LC [te^2阳去]

The word for this common household utensil can be reconstructed as CG *k'uai^2阳去 ts^1阳去*, the general form found in many dialects. The Fèngxīn and Gǎo'ān forms use the suffix zǐ 子 in its loan guise, i.e., [su], rather than in the form [ts]. Nánchéng-2 and Líchuān have an entirely different word, which corresponds to literary Chinese zhù 箸 and whose earlier form is not reconstructable comparatively due to paucity of data. Using a philological approach, one can, however, arrive at a possible reconstruction. To wit, the word’s modern lower register tone in Nánchéng and Líchuān points to an earlier voiced initial. Within the Common Gàn system this initial can only have been older *dz-* or *dʐ-* and graphic evidence militates against the former possibility. (Cf., for example, Norman’s CDC *jie6/EC *drah for zhù 箸.) We may therefore speculate that the Common Gàn form was *dʐie^阳去*. This word is of course peripheral today in the Gàn-speaking area, though in earlier times it may have been more widely distributed.
5.2.41 “saw”

Two variant forms of this word, i.e., CG *ke\_陰去 and *kie\_陰去, are reconstructable. At most points it is monosyllabic. However, Nánchāng optionally adds the borrowed suffix [tsɿ], while Ānfū-1 has the much older form *tsi. Jī’ān-2 and Suichuān use the native Gān suffixes *te and *li respectively.

5.2.42 “bamboo mat”

The primary word for this item can be reconstructed as CG *diem\_陽去. At some points it is monosyllabic, at others it takes various suffixes. Note that Líchuān has the suffix which may, as we have speculated above (§5.2.16), have had the basic form *ne, with assimilation to the preceding labial final -m. Another word, found in Cháling and Pingxiāng, has the probable earlier form CG *tʃiuk\_陰入 siak\_陽入 tsɿ, though we have insufficient data to confidently restore the middle syllable. The Liánhuā form is interesting, in that its reading of the first syllable is archaic, reflecting a CG *tiuk\_陰入 siak\_陽入.

Verbs

5.2.43 “lay eggs”
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SC [—]; LnC [saŋ² han³]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [saŋ² han³]; LC [saŋ² han³]

*Special high rising tone.

The most common Gàn verb having this sense is CG *saŋ⁵ [生]. Several points use forms derived from CG *seŋ⁵, which is the literary reading for the same etymon and belongs to a later lexical layer. Xīngzǐ alone departs from this pattern and uses a form identifiable with CG *ha⁵ [下], meaning “to let down, deposit”.

5.2.44 “eat”

This common verb has the unmistakable correspondence signature of a velar initial syllable, which should be reconstructed as CG *k'iak⁵阴入. However, Líchuan, the one dialect in our database that regularly preserves guttural initials before the vowel *i, fails to show initial [k'] here. Thus, the Líchuan form should descend from an earlier *tʂ'ia⁵阴入. What has happened here, in our view, is that Líchuan has borrowed its word for “eat” from some other Gàn dialect in which the initial had undergone palatalization. An obvious candidate would be the high prestige language of Nánchang and its environs.

5.2.45 “eat breakfast”

The basic Gàn expression for this activity is CG *k'iak⁵阴入tsou⁵阴上fuan⁴阳去, with slight elaborations in some dialects. This is of course lexically identical with the Modern Standard
Chinese expression, chī zǎofān 喫早飯.

5.2.46 “drink”

Most Gàn dialects use the same word, i.e., CG *k'iak 阴入, to mean either “eat” or “drink”, and we may suspect that this reflects a general characteristic of the Common Gàn protolanguage. In the northern Gàn periphery, however, the form *hot 阴入, corresponding to Modern Standard Chinese hē 喝 “drink”, is used. This is almost certainly a medieval northern intrusion into the Gàn-speaking area. Wūning-2 is quite interesting in this regard. It has three competing forms used in the sense “drink”. One is the native Gàn form, descended from CG *k'iak. Another descends from the pre-modern borrowed form hot 阴入. And, finally, there is [hə 阴平], which appears to have been borrowed directly from the Modern Standard Chinese koine or one of its proximate predecessors.

5.2.47 “drink boiled water”

Most Gàn dialects for which we have information on this expression render it as CG *k'oi 阴平ʂ yi 阴上, which is the lexical equivalent of Modern Standard Chinese hē chá 喝茶 “drink tea”. Wūning-2 characteristically mirrors the standard form exactly. Two dialects, i.e., Cháling and Jiān-2, use as object of the verb not “tea” but CG *k'o 阴平ʂ yi 阴上, which literally means “boiled (or: hot) water”.

5.2.48 “wear (clothing)”

Most Gàn dialects which for whom we have information on this expression render it as CG *k'ia 阴入ʦ a 阴平, which is the lexical equivalent of Modern Standard Chinese hē chá 喝茶 “drink tea”. Wūning-2 characteristically mirrors the standard form exactly. Two dialects, i.e., Cháling and Jiān-2, use as object of the verb not “tea” but CG *k'o 阴平ʂ yi 阴上, which literally means “boiled (or: hot) water”.


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AY [tʰon⁶ 陰去]; NC [tsʰon⁶]; FX [tʰon⁶]; GA [tʰon⁶]; CL [te'ya¹]; PX [tʰu⁹ 陰平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tio⁶ 陰平]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tio⁶ 陰平]; SC [—]; LnC [tok⁶ 陰入]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tɔʔ 陰入]; LC [tsɔ⁶ 陰入]

The most widely distributed Gàn word for this action is CG *tšok⁶ 陰入. Líanhuā and Jǐān-2 have archaic forms of this word with dental initials. The Common Gàn ancestral forms of these modern words is *tiok⁶ 陰入. Scattered in the center of the Gàn-speaking area is another word, CG *tʃ'yon⁶ 陰平, which is the equivalent of Modern Standard Chinese chuán 穿. This lexeme may be intrusive in the area.

5.2.49 “go”

TS [tsʰi¹ 陰去]; WN1 [tʃeɪ̯u¹]; WN2 [tʃi¹ 陰去]; WN3 [tʃi¹ 陰去]; TC [dʒi² 陰去]; XZ [dʒi² 陰去]; YX [dʒi² 陰去]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [i¹]; AY [tʃi¹ ]; NC [tʃi¹ ]; FX [tʃi¹ ]; GA [hɛ́ 陰去 — tʃi¹]; CL [tʃi¹ 陰去]; PX [tʃi¹ 陰去]; AF1 [tʃi¹ 陰去]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [kʰé 陰去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kʰé 陰去]; SC [ʃi¹ ]; LnC [tʃi¹ 陰去 — kʰé 陰去]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [kʰé 陰去]; LC [kʰé 陰去]

Two variants of this word occur in the dialects, for which we can reconstruct two proto-forms, i.e., CG *k'e⁶ 陰去 and *k'ie⁶ 陰去. The first Gāo'ān form may be an aberrant development from CG *k'e⁶ 陰去. Significantly, the pronunciation [hɛ́ 陰去] is said by the source to be a wén reading, though it can be used in speech. Cf. the Appendix, sub qù 去.

5.2.50 “walk”

TS [tsu⁶ 陰平 走]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʃai³]; WN3 [tʃai³]; TC [tʃai³]; XZ [tʃai³]; YX [tʃai³]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tsu⁶]; AY [tʃai³]; NC [tʃai³]; FX [tʃai³]; GA [tʃai³]; CL [tʃo³]; PX [hə́ 陽平 ～ tʃo³] 行/走; AF1 [tʃo³]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [hə́ 陽平] 行; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [haŋ 陽平/tʃai³] 行/走; SC [tʃai³]; LnC [tʃai³]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [haŋ 陽平]; LC [haŋ 陽平]

In the northern and central Gàn areas the word for “walk” is derived from CG *tšu⁶ 陰平. In most of the southern area the word is *haŋ 陽平. Interestingly, in Liánhuā-1, the word for walk is derived from CG *hə́ 陽平 (or possibly *hə́ 陽平), which is a variant pronunciation of the same etymon, found in various parts of the southern area. (On this, see the Appendix, sub xíng 行.) Note that in Pingxiāng and Jǐān-2 the two different Gàn etyma, *haŋ 陽平 and *tšu⁶ 陰平, are in competition. Whether or not *haŋ 陽平 is the autochthonous Gàn word for “walk” is
difficult to determine, but it seems likely that its earlier range extended farther north than it
does today and has subsequently been pushed southward by *tseu 隱上.

5.2.51 “run”

TS [p'au 阳平] 跑; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pau 阴平]; WN3 [bau 阳平];
TC [bau 阳平]; XZ [bau 阳平]; YX [b̩au 阴平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dzɔn 阳平];
AY [ts'ɔn 阳平/ ts'ɔt 阴入] 趨; NC [p'au 阳平]; FX [ta p̩au 阴平]
GA [tsau 阴去];
CL [p'ɔ 阳平/ ts'ɔ阳平]; PX [pʰau 阳平/ ta 阴平]
*LH1 [tsœ 阴平] 走; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [muŋ tsœ 阴平] 猛走;
SC [tʰɛ 阳平] ☐; LnC [p'ou 阳平/ tɕieu 阴平] 跑/走; NnC1 [p'ou 阴平/ teieu 阴平] 跑/走;
NnC2 [p'ou 阴平]; LC [ts ɛ 阴平]
*Used only of children.

The most common Gàn word for “run” is derived from CG *p'au 阳平 ~ *p'ou 阴平.3 This is
followed in frequency of occurrence by *tseu 隱上, which occurs here and there in the southern
part of the area and is competition with *p'ou 阴平 at some points there. Another word with this
sense, which is limited to Dūchāng and Ānyi, can be tentatively reconstructed as *dzɔn 阳平.

5.2.52 “stand”

TS [tei 阳去] 站; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tei/ tsan 阴去] 站/站; WN3 [tei 阳去];
TC [dzi 阳去]; XZ [dzi 阳去]; YX [dzi 阳去]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [i 阴平];
AY [tei 阴去]; NC [tei/ tsan 阴去]; FX [tei 阳去]; GA [i 阴平];
CL [ts 阳去]; PX [tei/ tsan 阴去]; AF1 [tie 阳平] 立; AF2 [—]; LH1 [lie 阴平] 立; LH2 [—]; JA1
[—]; JA2 [ti 阳去] 立;
SC [tei 阳去]; LnC [tei 阳去]; NnC1 [tei/ teieu 阴平] 站; NnC2 [tei 阳去]; LC [k'i 阴平]

The most widely attested Gàn word for “to stand” descends from a form reconstructable
as CG *gi 阳去. This verb is found everywhere except in the Jǐān area. There a different form is
found, which is probably to be reconstructed as earlier *lip 阴人 (possible variant: *lip 阳入).
However, is should be noted that we must rely on character readings from outside the Jǐān
area to effect the full reconstruction of this *lip, and in these places the syllable in question is
literary rather than part of the vernacular. Cf. the Appendix, sub li 立. A further form *tsan 阴去
can be reconstructed on the basis of words found at four different points. In two of these,
Nánchāng and Pingxiāng, CG *tsan 阴去 competes with the native form *gi 阳去. The former, which
is equivalent to Modern Standard Chinese zhàn 站, is clearly intrusive. For an interesting
recent treatment, see Wāng & Akitani (2010).

3 The first tier dialects reflect an earlier *bau 阳平.
5.2.53 “search”

The primary Gàn word meaning “to search” is reconstructable as CG *dzim 阳平. The Xīnzhī form is not directly derivable from this reconstruction. In fact, its Common Gàn origin is uncertain. Interestingly, the character reading for the graph xún 寻 in Xīnzhī is [dzin 阳平], which is a regular reflex of the Common Gàn reconstructed form. Cf. the Appendix, sub xún 寻.

5.2.54 “sleep”

The usual Gàn root meaning “to sleep” is derived from CG *k'un 阴去, a word which is rather widely found in central and southern Chinese dialect families. In the Jiān region the ancestral form of it is CG *hun 阴去, showing initial [h] instead of [k']. This phenomenon also appears in other *k'- initial words in various dialects. See the Appendix, sub k'ou 口, Chapter II, §2.5.5, and §5.2.13 of the present chapter. Compare in the Appendix, the word kùn 困, which is of literary register, and for which the Liánhuā and Jiān initials are [k'] rather than reflexes of an earlier *h-. Fricativization is thus clearly a phenomenon of the popular lexicon and is perhaps quite old. CG *k'un 阴去 occurs as a free form in some dialects, but in others if forms compounds. The most common of these is derived from CG *k'un 阴去 kau 上. In the northern tier dialects another form CG *k'un 阴去 siaŋ 上 is found, where the second syllable is apparently the word for “to awaken”. See the Appendix, sub xǐng 醒.
5.2.55 “is/are (copula)”

TS [s\_阳去]; WN1 [s\_阳去]; WN2 [s\_阳去]; WN3 [s\_阳去];
TC [s\_阳去]; XZ [s\_阳去]; YX [s\_阳去]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [s\_阴平];
AY [s\_阳去]; NC [s\_阳去]; FX [s\_阳去]; GA [s\_阳去];
CL [s\_阳去]; PX [s\_去]; AF1 [s\_阴平]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [s\_阴平]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [s\_阳去];
SC [s\_阳去]; LnC [s\_阳去]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [s\_阳去]; LC [s\_阳去]

The copular verbs in Gân are descended from CG *ʂ\_ie 阴平, *ʂ\_i 阳去, and *ʂ\_i 阴平, which are probably all variants of the same etymon. The yǐnpíng tone forms, which are unetymological, are perhaps the result of intonational patterns occurring in speech in the pertinent dialects.

5.2.56 “fall”

TS [lø 阳去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lo 阳去]; WN3 [lok 阳入];
TC [noʔ 入]; XZ [lo 入]; YX [lɔʔ 阳入]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [lok 阳入];
AY [lɔʔ 阳入]; NC [tiɛt 阴入/lɔk 阳入] 跌/落; FX [loʔ 阳入]; GA [loʔ 阳入];
CL [lo 入]; PX [lo 阳去]; AF1 [lo 阳去]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [lo 阳去]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tie 阳平] 跌;
SC [lo 阳去]; LnC [lok 阳入]; NnC1 [loʔ 入]; NnC2 [laʔ 入]; LC [lɔ 阳入]

Most words for “to fall” in Gân are derived from CG *lok 阳入 [落]. A secondary form, *tiet 阴入 [跌], occurs sporadically.

5.2.57 “give”

TS [p\_上]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [la 阳平] 拿; WN3 [pa 阳上];
TC [pa 阳上]; XZ [na 阳上] 拿得; YX [na 阳上]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [nak 阴入];
AY [laʔ 阴入]; NC [pa 阳上]; FX [la 阴入 tâu 阴入]; GA [laʔ 阴入];
CL [maʔ 阴入]; PX [pa 阳入]; AF1 [pa 阳入]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [na 阴入 tao 阴入] 拿到; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [pa 阳上];
SC [pa 阳上]; LnC [pai 阳上]; NnC1 [pai 阳上]; NnC2 [pai 阳上]; LC [pai 阳上]

A fairly widespread word for “give” in Gân derives from CG *pa 阳上. Cháling [ma 阳上] may be a deformed variant of this word. An entirely different etymon, found in the central area, is CG *nak 阴入. Yet another word, reconstructable as *na 阳平, may be related to *nak 阴入 in some way, though the nature of the connection is obscure. Finally, we find exclusively in the southeast dialects a word reconstructable as *pai 阳平. Whether or not this is connected in some way with CG *pa 阳上 remains uncertain.
5.2.58 “set out rice seedlings”

The usual and most widespread Gàn expression for this activity is CG *tsoi\textsubscript{u} \textsuperscript{uo} \textsuperscript{阳平}. A second form, *tsoi\textsubscript{i} \textsuperscript{io} \textsuperscript{阴平}, can also be reconstructed by triangulating between the Tōngshān and Tōngchéng expressions and the remained forms in the set.

5.2.59 “return, come back”

Three different compounds for this action can be reconstructed, i.e., CG *huoi\textsubscript{u} \textsuperscript{lei} \textsuperscript{阳平} (?), *kyi\textsubscript{i} \textsuperscript{lo} \textsuperscript{lei} \textsuperscript{阳平} (?), and *tɕion\textsubscript{u} \textsuperscript{lei} \textsuperscript{阳平} (?). The Suìchuān expression almost certainly reflects a variant of the first of these compounds, whose earlier form was presumably *uoi\textsubscript{u} \textsuperscript{lei} \textsuperscript{阳平}. On the variant reading *lei\textsuperscript{u} of the second syllable in these compounds, cf. the Appendix, sub lái\textsuperscript{来}.

5.2.60 “return home”
Expressions for “return home” are numerous and fall into two main groups, i.e., those meaning simply “go back” and those that mean “go (back) to the house”. Those for which comparative reconstructions are possible can be tabulated as follows:

I. “go back”

\*huoi²¹ k'ie⁰⁹ (~ *uoï²¹ k'ie⁰⁹) / *k'ie⁰⁹ huoi²¹

\*k'(i)e⁰⁹ kyi⁰⁹ / *kyi⁰⁹ k'(i)e⁰⁹

II. “go (back) home”

\*k'ie⁰⁹ ut⁰⁶ li / *k'ie⁰⁹ ut⁰⁶ li / *huoi²¹ uk⁰⁶ li

The syllable *ut⁰⁶ in the second expression appears to have evolved from *uk⁰⁶ by assimilation to the following dental lateral.

More complex forms in this set are expansions of one of these basic compounds.

5.2.61 “smell (trans. vb.)”

TS [t'oŋ⁰⁶] ☐; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ciŋ⁰⁶] 嗅;

TC [ciŋ⁰⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];

AY [—]; NC [ciŋ⁰⁶]; FX [—]; GA [—];

CL [—]; PX [ciŋ⁰⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ciŋ⁰⁶] 嗅;

SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hiu⁰⁶]

For this sense we can reconstruct a Common Gàn form, \*hiu⁰⁶. Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) identifies the Jiān-2 word with xiù 嗅 “to smell” of the written system. This seems plausible, for the Common Gàn reading for this character would be \*hiu⁰⁶, from which the Jiān form can be regularly derived. Most sources also connect our CG \*hiu⁰⁶ with 嗅, on the basis of a QYS form xiung- (CDC xiung⁵), attested in the Jìyùn 集韻.

5.2.62 “give birth (human)”

TS [k'œ²⁹] ☐*; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'œ¹⁴ tsai¹]; 看崽; WN3 [—];

TC [san¹⁴ tsai¹] 看崽; XZ [gən⁰⁶ si¹ ñan¹ te] ☐ 細☐☐; YX [gən⁰⁶] ☐; DC1 [—];
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The most common Gân dialect word for “give birth” is CG *san阴平 [生], which is of course also found in many other dialect families, as well as in Modern Standard Chinese. In northern and north central Gân we find CG *k’on阴平, which is the same word as standard kān看 “to look after, take care of”. In the the south central and Jí’ān areas we find CG *io阴上 [养], whose basic sense is “to nourish, raise”. The latter two words may have originated as taboo avoidances of direct reference to obstetric matters.

5.2.63 “give birth (animal)”

The usual word for birthing among animals is CG *ha阳去 [让], which basically means “to let down, send down”. Compare English “to drop a calf, drop a fawn, etc.”

5.2.64 “weep”

The general Gân word for “weep” is CG *k’uk阴入. Another word, perhaps reconstructable as *di阳平 [啼], is found in the southeast area. The Nánchéng-2 tone is, however, irregular; and the reconstruction is therefore questionable.
5.2.65 “speak, talk”

The most widely used Gànn expression for this action is CG *ua[s]⁴³⁴, in which the first element is the verb and the second is its object, meaning “matter, affair”. In examples of connected discourse in the sources, the object is sometimes omitted, leaving only the monosyllabic verb *ua[s].

5.2.66 “know”

A single compound meaning “to know”, reconstructable as CG *hiau[s]⁴³⁴, is found in all our sample dialects. Absence of the initial of the first syllable in the Fèngxīn form is regular for the Fèngxīn variety recorded in BJYJ. The character reading for this syllable, found in Yú (1975), is *[s]⁴³⁴, which is developmentally regular for his Fèngxīn variety. See the Appendix, sub xiǎo 曉.

5.2.67 “forget”
All Gàn words for “forget” are polysyllabic compounds. In the north, the basic verb root having this meaning is CG *moŋ古怪, which is of course to be identified with the word wàng古怪 in the written system. A number of the compounds formed on this syllable are unique; but one can be reconstructed comparatively, i.e., CG *moŋ古怪去古怪, which is the same word as wàngjì古怪忘記古怪 in the standard language. Interestingly, Fènxīn uses a literary reading of the character wàng古怪 to form its word for “forget”. Another root with this meaning can be reconstructed as lai古怪陽平古怪. This syllable is etymologically obscure, though conventionally written with the graph lěi古怪誄古怪 in parts of the Gàn-speaking area. Two compounds that can be reconstructed for this root are CG *lai古怪陽平古怪ki古怪陰去古怪 and CG *lai古怪陽平古怪iau古怪陽去古怪. A number of points express the idea of “forget” by saying “not remember”. Reconstructed forms for this expression are CG *put古怪陰入古怪ki古怪陰去古怪tek古怪陰入古怪 and its variant, *ŋ̩ki古怪tek古怪（tone of first syllable neutral or indeterminate).

**Descriptive words and expressions**

**5.2.68 “cold”**

TS [læŋ古怪]古怪冷古怪; WN1 [—]; WN2 [laŋ古怪]; WN3 [—];
TC [naŋ古怪]; XZ [laŋ古怪]; YX [laŋ古怪]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [laŋ古怪/hoŋ古怪陽平古怪];
AY [laŋ古怪/hoŋ古怪陽平古怪]; NC [laŋ古怪]; FX [laŋ古怪]; GA [laŋ古怪];
CL [laŋ古怪]; PX [laŋ古怪]; AF1 [læŋ古怪]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [næŋ古怪]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [laŋ古怪/laŋ古怪阳入古怪se古怪陽平古怪]古怪冷/古怪冷煞古怪;
SC [laŋ古怪]; LnC [laŋ古怪]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [laŋ古怪]; LC [laŋ古怪]

The usual word for “cold” in Gàn is CG *laŋ古怪陽上古怪. A less common form, which can nonetheless be reconstructed, is CG *hoŋ古怪陽平古怪. Dialects having this word also use *laŋ古怪陽上古怪.

**5.2.69 “dirty, filthy”**

TS [vuŋ古怪tsɔŋ古怪]古怪齷齬古怪; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋaŋ古怪tsaŋ古怪陽平古怪]; WN3 [laŋ古怪tæt古怪陽平古怪]古怪邋遢古怪; TC [uoŋ古怪dzoŋ古怪/naŋ古怪taŋ古怪]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [laŋ古怪laŋ古怪陽入古怪];
AY [naŋ古怪tsaŋ古怪]; NC [naŋ古怪tsaŋ古怪陽平古怪]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [ŋaŋ古怪tsaŋ古怪]古怪邋遢古怪; PX [—]; AF1 [kuŋ古怪leŋ古怪]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [auŋ古怪tsauŋ古怪]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kieŋ古怪iŋ古怪陽入古怪]古怪□□古怪;
SC [laŋ古怪seŋ古怪]; LnC [laŋ古怪tæpŋ古怪]; NnC1 [laŋ古怪t’aiŋ古怪]; NnC2 [laŋ古怪t’aiŋ古怪]; LC [laŋ古怪tæpŋ古怪]

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A number of different words for this concept occur in Gàn, some of which may be sound symbolic in origin. Two are reconstructable comparatively. The first is CG *lap⁴⁴ tap⁴⁴. Modern words that descend irregularly from this proto-form are the Linchúān compound, which develops irregular aspiration on its second syllable and the Líchuān form, whose first syllable has irregularly changed final *-p to the glottal stop. The second reconstructable compound is CG *ŋa⁴⁴ tsâ⁴⁴.

**Pronouns**

5.2.70 “I”

TS [ŋɔ³³] 我; WN1 [ŋɔ¹¹]; WN2 [ŋɔ¹¹]; WN3 [ŋɔ¹¹];
TC [ŋɔ³³]; XZ [ŋɔ¹¹]; YX [ŋɔ¹¹]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋɔ³³];
AY [ŋɔ⁴⁴]; NC [ŋɔ³³]; FX [ŋɔ³³]; GA [ŋɔ³³];
CL [ŋɔ³³]; PX [ŋɔ³³] □/我; AF1 [ŋɔ¹¹]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ŋɔ³³]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ŋɔ³³] □;
SC [ŋɔ³³]; LnC [ŋɔ³³]; NnC1 [ŋɔ³³]; NnC2 [ŋɔ³³]; LC [ŋɔ³³];

The general Gàn first person pronoun can be reconstructed as CG *ŋɔ⁴⁴. The Tōngshān form must derive from an earlier *ŋa⁴⁴, which, if validly reconstructed, may be rather archaic. Cf. CDC *ngo⁵⁵/EC *'ngayx. The southeast forms of Nánchéng and Līchuān could be related to this old word, but the matter is problematic since they do not agree with it in tone and would also have to lose initial *ŋ- irregularly. The Pingxiāng and Jiān-2 forms appear to derive from an earlier *hVŋ⁴⁴, whose vocalism and tone are indeterminate. Whether, and in what way, this may be related to the other two first person proto-forms discussed here is uncertain. The Suīchuān form, with its very archaic final, is segmentally identical to a word that is widely found among Hakka dialects, though in Hakka this pronoun often has the yángpíng tone. Since Suīchuān lies in the border area between the Gàn and Hakka dialect areas, it is possible that the form has been borrowed from some form of Hakka. However, other possibilities for its provenance need to be considered. See §6.4 of Chapter VI.

5.2.71 “you”

TS [n^5³] 汝?; WN1 [ŋei¹¹] 汝; WN2 [ŋei⁴⁴]; WN3 [ŋei⁴⁴];
TC [n^³³]; XZ [ŋei¹¹]; YX [ŋei¹¹]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋei¹¹];
AY [n^³³]; NC [ŋei¹¹]; FX [ŋei¹¹] 你; GA [ŋei³³];
CL [ŋei³³]; PX [ŋei³³] □/你; AF1 [ŋei³³]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ŋei³³]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ŋei³³];
SC [ŋei³³]; LnC [ŋei¹¹]; NnC1 [ŋei⁴⁴]; NnC2 [ŋei⁴⁴]; LC [ŋei³³]
As mentioned in Chapter II, §2.2.4, the syllabic nasal forms in this set, together with those ending in modern -e, -ɛ, and -iɛ, may derive from a Common Gàn 汝 *nie, whose tone is indeterminate, perhaps due to intonational factors. Most other forms derive from you *ni阳上, which was borrowed from some later, probably northern, source. The PX form hɛ去 and the LH2 form are of uncertain origin. Sagart (2002:144) denotes such forms collectively as “heN-type”, which would indeed seem to be the best we can do now, since currently available evidence does not allow us to confidently reconstruct an earlier coda here.

5.2.72 “he/she/it”

This pronoun can be reconstructed in variant forms, i.e., CG *ge ~ *gie. There is evidence for both yángpíng and yángshǎng tone variants of both words. Whether this is due to the existence of true doublets in the protolanguage, or to intonationally conditioned variation of some sort, is indeterminate.4 In Tōngshān both variant forms of the word are present. The same seems to be the case in Dūchāng-2. We might have expected CG *gie to yield [iɛ] in the first form given for this dialect, but Dūchāng-2 in fact has no such syllable final at all. Thus, [e] is the only possible modern destination in this case. We may also note here that the tone of these Dūchāng forms is aberrant. The Píngxiāng form is unique in this set and appears to parallel the odd first and second person pronouns of this language. Their origin remains a mystery.

5.2.73 “this”

This source mistranscribes this form as [ko].

4 A reviewer suggests that the yángshǎng variants for this word are due to contamination from the first and second person pronouns. Contamination of this sort in pronominal systems is indeed well attested in various world languages. The idea is plausible.
Two different words for the proximal demonstrative can be reconstructed. The first is CG *koi 阴平. The Ānfú-I form is apparently related, but the final correspondence is irregular. We should expect final [uɔi] here. The second reconstructable form is CG *ko 阴平. Some forms lack the posited tone, and several, such as those of Tōngshān, Tōngchéng, and Cháling, appear to be related in some way but lack the expected correspondence pattern in their finals.

5.2.74 “that”

TS [pi阴平] 彼; WN1 [ŋ阴平] □; WN2 [ŋ阴平] □; WN3 [ŋ阴平]; TC [ai去] □; XZ [n阴去2]; YX [n阴去1]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [n阴平2/ŋ阴平]; AY [he阴平]; NC [he阴平] 許; FX [i阴平] □; GA [ha阳去] □; CL [me阴平/ie阴平]; PX [le阴平] □; AF1 [kei阴平] □; AF2 [—]; LH1 [k3阴平 ku去 la阴平] □□□; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ku* tʰiɛ/ku* tə]; SC [kai阳上]; LnC [ɛ上] □; NnC1 [kai阴平]; NnC2 [kai阴平]; LC [ŋ阴平/ɛ上**] □/ⁱ⁰/⁸倍; *Modified tone.

**Farther distal.

The Gàn distal demonstratives vary so much among the dialects that comparative reconstruction is difficult. One form that can be posited is a syllabic nasal, CG *n⁴阴平, with some irregularity in the tone at some of the dialect points. It is conceivable that this syllable was once a full consonant plus vowel sequence such as *nə; but, if this was so, the direct evidence for it has been lost. We can also reconstruct a second form, CG *he上 on the basis of the Ānyì and Nánchāng forms. It seems likely that the Linchuān and Lichuān words, pronounced [ɛ'], are also reflexes of this Common Gàn word, with nonce loss of the initial. This is in fact the interpretation of the Lichuān source. Interestingly, Lichuān preserves both Common Gàn words, *n⁴阴平 and *he上, which it then utilizes as paired nearer and farther distals, i.e., “that” vs. “yon, that yonder”. The Gāoān form may also be related to this etymon in some way, though the nature of the connection is obscure. Finally, the Suichuān and Nánchēng words appear to derive from a Common Gan *kai阴平.

Function words

5.2.75 verbal negative (“not”)

TS [pei阴平] 不; WN1 [pe阴平]; WN2 [pi阴平]; WN3 [pt阴平]; TC [pa?]; XZ [pe阴平]; YX [pu阴平]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [pa-te阴平]; AY [pa阴平]; NC [pat阴平]; FX [pa-te阴平]; GA [ŋ阴平] 吔; CL [ŋ阴平] 唔; PX [pu阴平]; AF1 [pu阴平]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [pe阴平]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ŋ阴平]; SC [ŋ]; LnC [put阴平]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pi?阴平]; LC [pi?阴平]
The verbal negative found over the entire Gàn-speaking area is CG *put阴入. In a number of places, the forms of this etymon point to a syllable having some final other than *-ut. A likely possibility would be *-ət. Cf. Chapter III, §3.7.2. The putative form *pə阴入 may be a variant pronunciation of *put阴入, due to the usually unstressed enunciation of the particle in normal speech. The other Common Gàn negative for which we have evidence can be restored as *ŋ̩(atonal?), which appears only in the central and southern parts of the area, sometimes in direct competition with *put阴入. This distribution of course suggests that *ŋ̩ may be the older Gàn form, which has retreated southward in the face of competition from an intrusive northern *put阴入.

5.2.76 perfective negative (“not yet”)

This particle can be reconstructed as CG *mou阳去~*mou阳平. It is generally used alone, Yǒngxiū being the only dialect in our database that places the existential verb *iu上 after it. The use of this combination may reflect northern influence.

5.2.77 existential negative (“not have/not exist”)

This function is fulfilled by a compound *mou阳去~mou阳平tek阴入 in some of the dialects and and by *mou阳去~mou阳平iu上 in a number of others. Suichuān and Cháling use mou阳去 alone for this purpose.

5.2.78 subordinative/attributive particle

This particle is used in some of the dialects to indicate subordination or attribution.
AY [kɔ]; NC [kɔ]; FX [ko]; GA [ko];
CL [ko]; PX [kɔ]; AF1 [kɔ]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kai];
SC [kɛ]; LnC [ko]; NnC1 [ko]; NnC2 [kɔ]; LC [ko]

The majority of forms in this set support the reconstruction of a Common Gàn *ko. Many of the remaining forms seem to reflect a Common Gàn word such as *kə, though this is of course quite uncertain. A possibility is that these variant forms arose due to special intonational features of this generally atonal particle. It is noticeable that this word appears to be an etymological correlate of the near demonstrative in many dialects. There may therefore be an etymological connection of some sort.

5.3 Discussion

In this chapter we have subjected a sample set of spoken Gàn lexemes to comparative analysis. In many cases, the comparanda include syllables for which Sinographic representations are well known, but in others no graphic forms are generally recognized. What is of primary importance here is that our comparisons have involved exclusively spoken forms, whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic. We have not, as was done in Chapters II, III, and IV, limited our work to syllables having corresponding written forms, and we have not concerned ourselves at all with abstract categories of the QYS. As our work in the present chapter proceeded, we did, it is true, draw regularly on the sound correspondences uncovered in earlier chapters, for this made our work here simpler and more expeditious. However, it is important to recognize that, had the requisite spoken lexical material been available on an adequate scale, we could have worked entirely from this material, in the same way that comparative reconstruction is carried out in other language families of the world. And, eventually, it will be necessary to adopt just such an approach in the comparative and historical study of all Chinese dialects.

Specifically as regards the monosyllabic words reconstructed in the data sets above, we may note that some of these, such as “cooked rice”, “a saw”, “to fall”, and “to go” occur in all dialects in our database. On the other hand, many more are found in only certain parts of the Gàn-speaking area. This circumstance is in no sense unusual, for it is in fact the case all over the world in language families where comparative reconstruction has been carried out, including Indo-European in general, together with each of its various branches, Algonquian, Tibeto-Burman, etc. It is to be expected in a language family as large as Gàn and need not cause us undue concern.

Moving on to the polysyllabic forms with which we have worked above, one point in particular stands out, i.e., that only one compound, the word for “to know”, CG *hiaw tek [曉得], is attested in every single dialect in the database. This seems significant when we consider that in all the modern Gàn dialects compounding is the primary word-forming process. In other words, this is the way these languages create new vocabulary. And, on the basis of this modern picture, we may extrapolate backwards and hypothesize that compounding was
also active and prolific in the protolanguage. But, if this is correct, then we must nonetheless conclude that relatively few compounds in ancestral Gân have survived everywhere in the Gân-speaking area. Many must have been replaced in a number of regions. This state of affairs is of course not in itself unusual, but it is most often a characteristic of rather old protolanguages rather than of more recent ones. Thus, reconstructed Proto-Indo-European tends to be rather different morphologically from many of its modern daughters, while Proto-Central Algonquian, as reconstructed by Bloomfield (1925) possesses much of the morphological and compounding detail found in Fox (now called Mesquakie), Plains Cree, Ojibway, and Menominee, the languages on which the reconstruction was based. And it would probably be generally agreed that Proto-Central Algonquian is to be considered a considerably later historical entity than Proto-Indo-European. In the last analysis, in fact, the lexical material we are able to reconstruct for all of Common Gân consists mainly of roots, including both nominal and verbal elements (together with their derivatives, such as adjectives) and particles. And, concomitantly, the compounds for which we have managed to recover earlier forms tend to have less than full areal distribution in the general Gân dialect region. This suggests that the breakup of Common Gân may have occurred at a relatively early date, rather than in more recent times. Finally, in several cases we have noted that the distribution of particular reconstructed Common Gân protoforms tends to coincide with the similar distribution of certain sound changes among the modern dialects and by virtue of that fact may be of use in subgrouping within the Gân family. We shall return to this issue in §6.4.3 of the next chapter.
Chapter VI: Varia and Concluding Remarks

6.1 The Demographic and Migration History of the Gàn-speaking Area and Certain Contiguous Regions

Time and again during our comparative work in the preceding chapters we have encountered cases where it was necessary to posit competing variant forms which appear to represent lexical material from different chronological strata. It is therefore clear that the Common Gàn phonological system was stratigraphically complex and that a full seriation of its constituent layers is necessary for an adequate understanding of Gàn dialect history. This in turn requires us to assemble as much information as possible about the demographic and migration history of the Gàn-speaking area. The present section is devoted to this task.

The Gàn River watershed appears to have lagged behind areas to its east and west as regards the penetration of Sinitic languages into southern China. In the east, there were originally the “barbarian” states of Wú 吳 and Yuè 越, which are thought to have been non-Chinese-speaking. But by Warring States times they had clearly become part of the Chinese cultural and political sphere, had begun to use written Chinese as a chancellery language and inscriptional medium, and according to the traditional histories were regularly visited by Chinese-speaking emissaries, soldiers, scholar-rhetoricians, exiles, and others. It therefore seems likely that by Hàn times Chinese could be regularly heard there, even if not everyone spoke it. To the west, there was the Xiāng 湘 River watershed. This north to south corridor had in pre-Hàn times come under the influence, and ultimately the political control, of the State of Chǔ 楚. The river valley afforded a major passageway for travel from north central China southward to, and then across, the ranges into Língnán 嶺南. Within the topographically lower, more northerly, part of the watershed itself, Chinese of some sort was almost certainly in use by late Warring States times.

Compared with its eastern and western neighbors, the Gàn region was a veritable backwater. The headwaters of the river did afford access to rough tracks across to Língnán, but this was rugged mountain country through which there was no maintained road and no protective civil authority to provide security. Military expeditions mounted in Qin 秦 and early Hàn 漢 times had occupied this area and made some use of its trails (Gè et al. 1997, Vol. II: 72, 263–265; Huang 1996:32; Xǔ 1998:31–35), but for most ordinary voyagers it was eschewed in favor of the established and better known route through the Xiāng valley and then via the so-called Qiáodào 嶝道 access roads to the south (Gè et al. 1997, Vol. II: 265).

1 These remarks of course apply only to the upper class and literate segments of the populations of these areas, as evidenced by written accounts. The populace at large was not necessarily all Chinese-speaking, though segments of it may have been.
would not be until the mid-Táng 朝 that the Gàn watershed would afford genuinely convenient access to Lǐngnán. In fact, in mid-Hàn times there was still a general view that the entire trans-Yangtze region was an inhospitable and dangerous place. Those who went there usually did so through duty or duress and remained only if pressed by the same exigencies (Ibid. pp. 51–52, 263). And, within Jiāngnán 江南 as a whole, the Gàn watershed constituted what was perhaps the least desirable destination for travelers, let alone sojourners.

Nevertheless, it would be unwarranted to suppose that there was no Chinese migration at all into the Gàn area in relatively early times. On the contrary, though in the Western Hán period the absolute number of inhabitants was low and tended to be concentrated near the southern banks of the Yangtze (Gě et al. 1997, Vol. II: 49), the number of Sinitic inhabitants did increase there, so that the taxable population of Yúzhāngjūn 豫章郡, the commandery centered in the modern Nánchāng area and which had been established in early Western Hán times on a site where Wú and Chǔ had alternately maintained garrison settlements (Xù 1998: 20–21), was said to be 351,965 in 2 A.D. This rose steadily, until by 140 A.D. it had increased to 1,316,941 (Gě et al. 1997, Vol. II: 270–272). For the third century Gě et al. believe that census records are unreliable, but they nonetheless hold that there was a slow but steady increase in population during that period (Vol. II: 298–299, cf. also Xù 1998:74–75). And with Sagart (1988:148–149) we may suppose that these demographic developments resulted in continuous settlement of new lands, following in the main the course of the Gàn River and occupying the flattest and most arable areas there. This view is supported by the distribution of Hán period Chinese-style tomb remains in the relevant areas (Xù 1998:41).

That the Sinitic settlement of South China must ultimately have been due to migration from the north is a truism. But the type of migration we have been dealing with thus far can be characterized as of the slow, steady, “trickle-down” variety. This state of affairs changed radically with the fall of the Western Jìn 晉 Dynasty in 316 A.D. This event is generally viewed as the beginning of what traditional historians have called Yǒngjiā zhì luàn 永嘉之亂 “the disorders of the Yǒngjiā period”. The demographic and linguistic ramifications of this upheaval continued for approximately 150 years and significantly affected the more easterly areas south of the Yangtze. However, interestingly enough, it would seem that their influence on the Jiāngxī (and Húnán) areas was minimal. In Jiāngxī in particular, northern migrations affected only the northernmost areas along the southern banks of the Yangtze, and the actual number of immigrants involved was comparatively low (Gě et al. 1993:149–153, 1997, Vol. II:398–399). What happened over most of the region south of there appears to have been a continuation of the steady low-level movement into highly cultivable flatlands that had been in progress for some centuries. These trends led to settlement not only in the Gàn watershed proper, reaching downward to the modern Jǐ’ān and Gànzhōu areas, but also into tributary drainages such as that of the Fūhè 撫河, where modern Línchūān and Nánchéng are located.

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2 This road across the mountains there, sometimes called the Dàyúlinglù 大庾嶺路, was completed and opened in 716.
(Huang 1996:33). But a massive wave of immigrants such as that which affected the demographic picture farther east was absent from Gàn linguistic history. Nevertheless, it will be necessary for us to mention from time to time the major demographic events outlined here, and we shall accordingly use the term “Yōngjiā” to denote both the migrations and the stage in Chinese linguistic history associated with them.

It is generally agreed that during the first half of the Táng period, there was a significant increase in population in what is now the greater Gàn linguistic area (Huang 1996:79–82; Xù 1998:117–119). Sagart (1988:149) attributes this development to large-scale immigration from north China. Gě et al., on the other hand, while mentioning general population growth in central of China, specifically including our area of interest, and connecting this with favorable economic and stable political conditions in this period (1997, Vol. II: 5), quite noticeably do not attribute the phenomenon to migration. This can, it would seem, be taken as an argumentum ex silentio against the migration hypothesis, since the specific interest of these scholars in all their work is migration history rather than population growth per se; and in this section of the volume in question they do go into considerable detail regarding both Hàn Chinese and non-Sinitic migration into peripheral parts of the Sinosphere. Huang (1996:79–103) is rather more direct in dealing with the matter. For, after a lengthy discussion of the population growth in Jiāngxī, she specifically argues (p.103) that this development cannot have been due to immigration but must on the contrary have been an internally generated increase, attributable to favorable economic and agricultural factors. In essence then, though she is unlikely to have had access to the work of Gě et al., her position anticipates and agrees with theirs.

Moving downward several centuries, a point on which there is little if any disagreement is the importance for Jiāngxī demographic history of the second great southern migration wave in Chinese history, which began with the so-called Ān-Shǐ zhī luàn 安史之亂 “the disorders of Ān Lǜshān 安祿山 and Shǐ Sīmíng 史思明” (755–763). These events permanently destabilized the Táng Dynasty, resulting in massive demographic dislocation in north China and southward migrations that continued for nearly two centuries. Gẹ et al. identify among these movements three major migration streams, only one of which is of direct concern to us. This was a large-scale southeastward flow of refugees which crossed the Yangtze in its lower reaches and poured into southern Jiāngsū 江蘇, northern Zhèjiāng 浙江, and southern Ānhuǐ 安徽. Many of the immigrants remained in these places, but many others continued westward into the Póyáng 鄱陽 Plain, where they either settled in various places there or made their way farther south up the Gàn River to the Jízhōu 吉州 (i.e., modern Jī’ān) area and beyond. Also part of this major stream was a lesser rivulet, which moved directly from the central Jiāng-Huái region across the Yangtze into the Póyáng Plain, joining there with the migrants of the main stream. These movements into Jiāngxī are thought to have been quite heavy and must have significantly affected the population makeup of the region (Gě et al. 1993:247–248, 251–252, 1997, Vol. III:291–300). During this period there was concurrent migration westward out of northern and central Jiāngxī into Hūnán (Gě et al 1993:258–257). This was to be the beginning of recurring demographic influence exercised by Jiāngxī on central and southern
Húnán, the linguistic effects of which we shall consider further in §6.3.6 and §6.4 below. In our subsequent work we shall refer to this entire period and its attendant linguistic stage under the cover name “Ān-Shī”.

The third great southern migration wave to significantly affect Jiāngxī and contiguous regions began with the fall of the Northern Sòng 宋 Dynasty to the Jurchen invaders in 1126. This event initiated the Jingkāng zhī nàn 靖康之難 “the crisis of the Jingkāng period”. During the early stages of the offensive the Jurchen reached the Yangtze and crossed it in several places, launching destructive raids into various areas before retiring northward to a line marked in general by the Huái 淮 River and the Qínlíng 秦嶺 Range. These events led to massive migrations out of north China, which began during the time of the initial invasions and continued throughout the subsequent Southern Sòng period. In Jiāngxī the Jurchen penetrated as far as Jí’ān, mainly in pursuit of members of the Sòng royal house, who were fleeing southward ahead of them. There was heavy northern migration into this area both during and after the Jurchen incursions (Gě et al. 1993:297–299, 1997, Vol. IV:222–229). At the same time there was massive immigration from northern and central Jiāngxī westward into Húnán. This was actually in a sense a repetition and amplification of the extensive population movement of the Ān-Shī period, which had already begun in late Táng and Five Dynasties times. The combined effect of these developments led to Tán Qíxiāng’s famous dictum that, “Before the Five Dynasties Period the Hunanese mostly came from the north, but after the Five Dynasties they mostly came from the east.” 五代以前，湖南人多來自北方；五代以後，湖南人多來自東方 (1933.6.10:37). We shall refer to the migration event discussed in this paragraph, and also its attendant linguistic developments, by the cover name “Jingkāng”.

The fourth and final demographic event of which we must take note here is known among traditional Chinese historians as Jiāngxī tián Húguǎng 江西填湖廣 (“Jiāngxī fills Húguǎng [i.e., Húnán and Húběi]”). It has been discussed in a number of recent studies, e.g., Gě et al. (1993), Zhāng (1995), Gě et al. (1997), and Coblin (2005). Pursuant to the fall of the Yuán 元 Dynasty and the founding of the Míng 明, there was large-scale migration out of northern and central Jiāngxī into Húnán and Húběi. During the final decades of the fourteenth century, this population movement significantly modified the demographic complexions of the two affected provinces. However, as Gě et al. (1993, 1997) go on to note, these migrations were actually part of an even larger movement which also affected southwestern Ānhūī. Consequently, they have characterized the total process as a “fan-shaped migration” [shànxíng qiānyí 扇形遷移] (1993:391). The actual demographic patterns resulting from this “Jiāngxī Fan” are summarized in a number of schematic maps in the respective sources.3 The origins of the migrations seem to have been mainly in the Póyáng Plain, in the neighborhood of Nánchāng 南昌 and Ráozhōu 饒州 (Gě et al. 1993:350–351; Zhāng 1995:65–67). A secondary migration source was the greater Jí’ān region. Movement from this latter area primarily affected southern

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Chapter VI: Varia and Concluding Remarks

Hunan (Gê et al., Ibid.). The cumulative effect of these population movements is that where the density of immigrants was greatest, as in eastern Hunan, southwest Anhui, and southeast Hubei, Gan dialects deriving directly from the staging areas of the Jiängxī Fan are spoken today. In other regions, where the admixture of Gan speakers was less concentrated, there was convergence to one degree or another with indigenous Xiang and Mandarin speech types, rather than actual replacement. The result is the distribution of Gan dialects as we see it in central China today, enclosed by an outer penumbra of languages that to one extent or another evince certain Gan-like features but are not generally considered part of the Gan family.

6.2 Lexical Layering

We shall now review some specific cases of lexical layering in Common Gan, as revealed in competing variants in the data discussed in the preceding chapters. These variants will where possible be given their Common Gan reconstructed forms. Since our concern here is with layering that can be chronologically seriated, we shall limit our discussion to examples of this type.

6.2.1 Syllable Initials

6.2.1.1 Undentilabialized Initials. Dentilabials are an integral part of the initial system of Common Gan. Cases of undentilabialized forms, which occur in the bái layer of the lexicon, are sporadic. The following are examples:

| Character | QYS | CDC | EC | Common Gan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fú 浮</td>
<td>bjau</td>
<td>*veu</td>
<td>*bo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG *p'au 陽平白 ~ *feu 陽平文</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fú 伏</td>
<td>bjuk</td>
<td>*vuk</td>
<td>*bik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC [fuk 陽入文 ~ p'uk 陽入白] CG *fuk 陽入</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fǔ 辅</td>
<td>bju:</td>
<td>*vu</td>
<td>*bax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG *fu 陰上 ~ *p'u 陰上 ~ *fu 阴上</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wǎng 網</td>
<td>mjwang:</td>
<td>*mvong</td>
<td>*mangx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG *mon 陰上白 ~ *uo 陰上文</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 In conversation with the author, Professor Jerry Norman averred that undentilabialized readings for this character, as found in Gan and other dialects, are all derived in some way from the word pōu 浮 (QYS p'ou) “to float”, which is attested in the Jiànyùn. The final and tone correspondences are, however, problematic.

5 This word is basically literary in register. It is unclear why it has an undentalilabialized reading.
Common Dialectal Chinese is by definition a stage when the modern dialects, exclusive of Mǐn, had not yet become differentiated; and dentilabialization (DL) had clearly occurred by the CDC period. The concrete date of DL in Chinese has not been conclusively determined; and indeed, it seems probable that it progressed at different rates in different areas. However, some observations regarding it are possible. For example, it is generally accepted that DL is not reflected in the sources and materials that underlie the QYS, which dates from Six Dynasties times and reached its current form at the end of the sixth century. The system is thought by some to reflect different standard language types of east central China of the relevant periods, perhaps in the form of a diasystem of some sort. From slightly earlier, in the mid-sixth century, the Mahāmāyūrī transcriptions of Sanghabhara from the Nanking area also show no traces of DL (Coblin 1990). Moving to a different region, we have materials from northwest China from the relevant periods. These data indicate that DL had not yet occurred in that area as of about 400 AD. By the late sixth century, phonetic (as opposed to phonemic) DL was probably present in the northwest, and it seems to have become phonologized there during the course of the seventh century (Coblin 1991a, 1994). In summary, then, though we cannot be absolutely certain, the evidence we can adduce suggests that the undentilabialized forms in our Common Gàn system date from no later than about the late sixth to seventh centuries. This would place them no later than the Yǒngjiā layer in the chronology set up in §6.1 above, but they could of course date from some period prior to that. The large Core Gàn corpus of dentilabialized forms, on the other hand, must postdate the Yǒngjiā stage. A possibility is that it resulted from the massive influx of northern speakers that occurred during the Ān-Shǐ migrations of the second half Táng. In the northwest, at least, DL is well attested in Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional and other related evidence (Coblin 1991a, 1994).

6.2.1.2 The QYS Rìm ㄖ母 Initial. We have dealt at some length with this traditional initial class in §2.7 of Chapter II. To that end we composed a simple table in which we seriated example syllables for the different reconstructed Common Gàn initials that correspond to the rìm. We now reproduce that table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>人</th>
<th>饒</th>
<th>熱</th>
<th>日</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archaic/EC</td>
<td>*nin</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>*niet</td>
<td>(*nit=) *niet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval/CDC</td>
<td>(*ŋin ← *ŋin)</td>
<td>*ŋiau (← *ŋiau)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>*ŋit (← *ŋit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It now remains for us to collocate the layers in this table with the historical stages outlined in §6.1. We begin with the first layer, involving CG *n-. This value for words of this type is identical with that posited by Norman for his Early Chinese forms, and it is in fact also the value envisaged here by a majority of specialists who study the earliest stages of Chinese historical phonology. For words of the second layer, on the other hand, we have reconstructed Common Gànn *ŋ-, our hypothesis being that a Common Gànn combination *ŋi- was the probable response of early Gànn speakers to an unfamiliar, borrowed palatal nasal initial *ŋ-, occurring in the combination *ŋi-. Now, if this is correct, we are then afforded the means to seriate the two lexical layers in question. Sanskrit transcriptional evidence indicates that in early northwest Chinese of ca. 400 AD the rimm initial was in fact a palatal nasal. This initial class was an independent entity in the QYS, and those today who choose to assign it a phonetic value usually choose a palatal nasal representation, again based on transcriptional evidence from the relevant period. All of this hints that our Gànn initial configuration *ŋi- (← *ŋi-) probably dates from the Six Dynasties period, and this in turn suggests that it may belong to the Yǒngjiǎ lexical layer of Common Gànn. It then follows that forms in *n- would be pre-Yǒngjiǎ in origin and must therefore be quite early, perhaps even dating from the earliest forms of Sinitic spoken in the Gànn dialect area.

Forms of the third layer are generally available for all syllables. Where older layer, nasal initial readings are present they are invariably bái in register, with the third layer forms being indentified as wén. Literary or higher register syllables will simply have a layer-three character reading. Pronunciations of this type are generally similar in shape to corresponding forms in Late Táng/Five Dynasties Tibeto-Chinese Transcriptions from Dunhuang (Takata 1988, 1993), to 'Phags-pa Chinese forms of the thirteenth century (Coblin 2007a), and to Early Míng standard Guānhuà pronunciations as registered in Korean transcription (Kim 1991). This is illustrated in the following table, which should be compared with that cited above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>晚</th>
<th>熱</th>
<th>熱</th>
<th>日</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>晚</td>
<td>zhin, 'zhin</td>
<td>zhe'u</td>
<td>(b)zher</td>
<td>zhir, 'zhir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Míng Guānhuà</td>
<td>rin</td>
<td>rjau</td>
<td>rje</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qing-time Early</td>
<td>ɻm</td>
<td>ɻau</td>
<td>ɻe</td>
<td>ɻi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Guānhuà</td>
<td>*ɻm</td>
<td>*ɻau</td>
<td>*ɻe</td>
<td>*ɻi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 This is a Sino-Tibetan transcription rather than a Tibeto-Chinese one.
Though this sort of comparison is admittedly somewhat imprecise, it does suggest that
the third layer belongs to a period extending from the very late Ān-Shū stage down into the
Jīngkāng period. And with some certainty we can say that it must be later that the Yōngjiā
stage and earlier than Míng/Qīng Southern Guānhuà, which has left traces of itself in the
forms of the fourth line.

Also of interest in this connection are syllables of the following type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>NW c. 400</th>
<th>NW c. 600</th>
<th>NW c. 750</th>
<th>Tib. DH</th>
<th>Phags-pa</th>
<th>E. Míng</th>
<th>E. Qīng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>兒</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>Zhi [ri]</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ûl [sí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>耳</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>Zhi [ri]</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ûl [sí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>爾</td>
<td>-nye</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>Zhi [ri]</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ûl [sí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>二</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>Zhi [ri]</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ûl [sí]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms enable us to seriate our Common Gàn material. CG *ne for “child” may
belong to the earliest period of implanted Sinitic in the Gàn-speaking area. CG *ni for both
“child” and “ear” are probably to be dated no later than the Yōngjiā layer. They show the later
vowel *-i; but their initial points to the older initial *n-, rather than the later *nh-, for it will be
recalled that the usual Common Gàn response to this borrowed initial is *ŋ- rather than *n-. The
Common Gàn forms in *ti probably date from the Ān-Shū stage, though one cannot absolutely
rule out a Jīngkāng stage origin. The forms in CG *ŋ are clearly quite late and must derive
from some form of Guānhuà, dating from no earlier than late Míng times.

---

7 Early northwest forms are sinographically transcribed Indic syllables. Dunhuang forms are Tibetan
transcriptions of Chinese. Early Qīng forms are based on Catholic missionary transcriptions.
6.2.1.3  Unshifted Dental Stops. Common Gàn comprises a number of forms with archaic dental stop initials, contrasting with later forms where these stops have shifted to retroflex affricates. The following examples occur in our data:

zhǎng 長 QYS ʈʂɑ̌ŋ: CDC *cioŋ³/EC *trangx
CG *tʂioŋ 陰上 ~ *tioŋ 陰上

zhàng 帳 QYS ʈʂɑ̌ŋ CG *tʂioŋ 陰上 ~ *tioŋ 陰上

zhòu 肘 QYS ʈʂau: CDC *cieu³/EC *trux
CG *tɕiu 陰平 ~ *tɕiu 陰平 ~ *teu 陰上

zhū 猪 QYS ʈʂwo CG *tɕie ~ *tɕy ~ *ty 陰平

zhú 竹 QYS ʈʂuk CG *tɕiuk 陰入 ~ *tiuk 陰人

zhuó 著 QYS ʈʂwo CG *tʂok 陰入 ~ *tiok 陰入

In Norman’s Early Chinese system, words of this type have initial *tr-, which is also the value assigned to them by many other specialists in Chinese of the pre-medieval period. In Six Dynasties northwest Chinese material, they may transcribe Indic dental or cerebral (i.e., retroflex) stops. In texts of that time from other areas, they most often transcribe cerebrals (with dental examples being rather rare). In late Táng northwest texts from Dunhuang, syllables having QYS retroflex initials, i.e., such as QYS ʈ-, and palatal initials, i.e., such as QYS tɕ-, are completely interchangeable in erroneous character substitutions (Shào 1963); and it is clear that in this part of China, at least, they formed a single initial class. This configuration is identical to that posited for Common Dialectal Chinese, which has a single series, i.e., *c-, *ch-, and *j-, here. At most, then, we can say that the unshifted forms in the examples given above belong to a pre-Ān-Shí stage of Common Gàn, while the shifted forms, which have affricate initials, are probably no earlier than the Ān-Shí stage. As we shall see in the section on syllable finals below, it is possible in the case of certain finals to distinguish between Ān-Shí and Jingkâng layers in the Gàn materials. However, this does not happen to be the case for any of the six examples cited immediately above.

6.2.1.4  Archaic Initial *Øu- corresponding to later *h-. Cases of this type involve syllables having the QYS xiánmu匣母 initial. Examples in our data are:
Northwest evidence is useful in dating the two types of forms seen here (Coblin 1994). For example, let us consider the words huán 還 and huì 會 from the list. In northwest transcriptions of the fifth century AD, huán is used to represent the Indic element -vartan-, whose Prakrit form may have been simply -van-. On the other hand, in Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of the Late Táng/Five Dynasties period, this huán is rendered as Tibetan hwan. Likewise, huì in late fourth century northwest transcriptions renders Indic -vāsa (Prakrit probably: -vas), whereas in the Dunhuang materials it is spelled as Tibetan hua'i.
Evidence of this type suggests that our Common Gàn *Øu- forms are older, while those in *h- are later. The former may in fact date from Yǒngjiā or even earlier times, while the latter can probably be assigned to the Ān-Shǐ layer.

### 6.2.2 Syllable Finals

#### 6.2.2.1 Variant readings in *a vs. *ia.

Example pairs illustrating this variational pattern are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jǐa 家</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīān 間</td>
<td>kān</td>
<td>*kan$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiàō 教</td>
<td>kāu</td>
<td>*kau$^5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jǐà 甲</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>*kap$^7$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jǐā 家</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīān 間</td>
<td>kān</td>
<td>*kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiàō 教</td>
<td>kāu</td>
<td>*kau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jǐà 甲</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>*kap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data can now be compared with the following, in which we cite corresponding forms from the Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions from Dunhuang, as compared with 'Phags-pa Chinese and early Míng Korean orthographic data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tib.-Chin.</th>
<th>'Phags-pa Chin.</th>
<th>Early Míng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jiā 家</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>gya [kja]$^\text{p}$</td>
<td>kja$^\text{p}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiān 間</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>gyan [kjan]$^\text{p}$</td>
<td>kjan$^\text{p}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiàō 教</td>
<td>kā'u, ke'u</td>
<td>gyaw [kjaw]$^\text{p}$</td>
<td>kjaw$^\text{p}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jià 甲</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>gya [kja]$^\text{p}$</td>
<td>kja$^\text{p}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on this material we can guess that our Common Gàn forms in *-a- are older and date from no later that the Ān-Shǐ layer of the lexicon, while the readings in *-ia- probably derive from the Jingkāng layer.

#### 6.2.2.2 Finals *-ia and *-ie.

Examples of this alternation are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yè 夜</td>
<td>jia-</td>
<td>*ya$^6$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>*ia$^\text{p}$</td>
<td>*ie$^\text{p}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Study of Comparative Gän

shē 拾 QYS šja: CDC *shia³
CG *šia 陰上白 ~ *šie

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia⁶
CG *dzia 陽去白 ~ *sia 陽去文 ~ *sie

Words of this type have final -(y)a in the Dunhuang transcriptions as well as in earlier northwestern materials. From 'Phags-pa Chinese downwards they have final -je, -jɛ, etc. We may suppose that CG *-ia dates to no later than the Ān-Shī layer, and in popular words is probably much earlier than that. The CG *-ie forms probably belong the Jingkāng layer. Note the word xiè 謝 the third example. The first form, having initial *dz-, does not agree with any transcriptional material available to us, all of which points to a fricative initial here. The *dz-form may be of uniquely Gän, or at least southern, provenance.

6.2.2.3 Final *-e/*-ie vs. *-y. Examples of this alternation are:

shū 書 QYS šjwo CDC *shie¹ (~ *shiu¹)
CG *šie 陰平白 ~ *šy 陰平文

nǚ 女 QYS njwo: CDC *nie⁴ (~ *niu³)
CG *nie 陰去白 ~ *ny 陰去文

It may not be possible to seriate these two final types, for, as the Common Dialectal Chinese variants indicate, the alternation is probably quite old. We can see clear evidence of this in the case of the first word, “document”. In the Old Tibetan Annals this word is transcribed sho (699 and 733 AD) and zho (695 AD), perhaps representing original *šo or *šo, while in the Old Tibetan Chronicle (late seventh cent.) it is rendered as she. In the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821–822 it is recorded as shu, while in the Dunhuang transcriptional documents it is spelled she. It would thus seem that, in the northwest at least, rounded and unrounded variants of this final coexisted throughout the Táng period. Common Gän probably reflects this alternation and competition.

Also of some interest here is the word for “chopstick”. As we have seen in Chapter V, §5.2.40, in the southeastern Gän dialects the form zhù 箸 is used for this implement, in a form which we would reconstruct as CG *dzì⁴. Elsewhere in the Gän-speaking area, the character is entirely literary, with its readings pointing to a reconstructed *dzy. Now, in late Táng times the Gānsù Corridor word for “chopstick” was zhùzi 箸子, spelled che'i tse in the Tibeto-Chinese Phrasebook fragments from Dunhuang (Takata 1988). Thus, in purely colloquial usage of the late Táng, the word had a final of the “e-type” in the Corridor dialects. This sort of reading must therefore have been current in various parts of China in medieval times.
6.2.2.4 Vestigial final *-ei vs. General *-i. Words of this type are reconstructed by Norman with CDC *-iai. In purely literary etyma, they invariably have Common Gàn final *-i. However, in popular words CG *-ei is sometimes retained as a vestigial survival of the earlier final and competes with later and more general *-i. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jī 雞</td>
<td>kiei</td>
<td><em>kei~</em>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lí 犁</td>
<td>liei</td>
<td><em>lei~</em>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní 泥</td>
<td>niei</td>
<td><em>nei~</em>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xǐ 洗</td>
<td>siei~*si</td>
<td><em>sei~</em>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qì 砌</td>
<td>tshiei~*ts'i</td>
<td><em>ts'ei~</em>ts'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dì 弟</td>
<td>diei</td>
<td><em>dei~</em>di~*di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tì 梯</td>
<td>thiei</td>
<td><em>t'ei~</em>t'ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tí 替</td>
<td>thiei~*t'i</td>
<td><em>t'ei~</em>t'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the above etyma occur in the Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional texts, and we shall now examine these, with forms from later transcriptional corpora added for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>'Phags-pa Chin.</th>
<th>Early Ming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jī 雞</td>
<td>kye</td>
<td>kjej/ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní 泥</td>
<td>'de</td>
<td>njej/ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xǐ 洗</td>
<td>se, zhe</td>
<td>sjej/si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here we face a quandary. The Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions show that the finals of these words had “e-like” vocalism in Ān-Shí times, while the 'Phags-pa forms point to a type of thirteenth century pronunciation where these finals had shifted to -i. However, the early Ming Korean transcriptions give for such words two variant pronunciations, i.e., a so-called Standard Reading (i.e., zhēngyín 正音) type in -jej, and a corresponding “popular pronunciation” (súyín 俗音) in -i. We know that standard Guānhuà of the early 1400’s was Yangtze watersheds-based, so that Gàn speakers could well have encountered both of these variant reading types in daily life. The most we can say, then, is that the Common Gàn forms we have reconstructed as *-ei are consistent with a type of pronunciation that was current in Northwest China in the Ān-Shí period and survived to some extent in central China as late as the early fifteenth century, while our *-i finals had probably arisen in some places by Jingkāng times and were in fairly wide use by the early 1500’s. Thus, while we can easily seriate the two final types, with final *-ei placed in a deeper or older layer and *-i in a more recent one, we cannot conclusively date the two on an absolute scale using the methods we have applied in the preceding sections.

6.2.2.5  CG *-aŋ vs. *-eŋ. Examples of this type of alternation are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CG</th>
<th>CDC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>栽</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CG *kaŋ</td>
<td>CDC *kang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>䦨</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CG *k’anŋ</td>
<td>CDC *khang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>争</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CG *tšanŋ</td>
<td>CDC *cang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>生</td>
<td>QYS</td>
<td>CG *saŋ</td>
<td>CDC *shang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seriation here is not as straightforward as it was in the preceding sections. The finals in syllables such as these are consistently transcribed in Dunhuang materials with Tibetan -e(ng), allowing us to place the wén layer in the Ān-Shí period at the latest. But readings of a type consistent with CG *-aŋ are absent from all the diagnostic materials on which we have hitherto relied. In principle, we can of course hypothesize that these *-aŋ forms belong to an indigenous Gàn layer upon which the borrowed *-eŋ readings have been superimposed as literary pronunciations. But how old the *-aŋ forms are and where they came from remains
difficult to determine. In time, it may be that comparison with similar forms in common systems reconstructed for other dialect families will elucidate this matter. We shall in fact touch on it again in §6.4.2.2 below.

6.2.2.6 CG *-iaŋ vs. *-iŋ. Examples of this alternation are as follows:

- tīn̂g 听 QYS thieng
  CG *t’iaŋ ~ *t’in̂g

- shēng 聲 QYS ṣjāŋ
  CG *śiaŋ ~ *śin̂g

- bīng 饼 QYS pjāŋ:
  CG *piaŋ ~ *piŋ

- jīng 经 QYS kiēng
  CG *kiaŋ ~ *kin̂g

Pairs of this type are in a sense analogues of those seen in the preceding section, but in this case our evidence for seriation and dating is considerably more helpful. To begin, Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional texts normally render finals of this class of words as -yeng, -eng, -ye, -e, etc. However, forms in -ing do also begin to occur there. From the 'Phags-pa material onward, -iŋ is the rule. It is, however, in the Pre-Dunhuang sources that we find our most interesting evidence. In a transcriptional text from ca. 400 AD the character yīn̂g 英 (QYS ūjāŋ/CDC *iāng̃) is used to render Indic -aṅg-. Later, in the Old Tibetan Annals, in an entry from before 650, the character chēng 成 (QYS ūjāŋ/CDC *ziāng̃ ~ *jāng̃) in the name of the famous Chinese princess Wénchéng 文成 is spelled chang. Subsequently, in the entry for the year 683, the same syllable is transcribed as cang. Then, in an entry for the year 710, the character jīn̂chéng 金城, the second syllable is spelled shāng. And, significantly, a second and posthumous reference to this woman in the entry for 739 uses the spelling shēng rather than shang. Finally, in the much later Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821–822, which is thought to represent early ninth century standard pronunciation of the Cháng'ān 長安 area, Jīnchéng’s name is spelled Kim shing (see Coblin 1994 for all these data).

In summary, our forms in final *-iŋ probably represent a layer whose earliest attestations lie in the Ān-Shī period. The *-iaŋ readings seem to date from at least as early as the late Yōngjiā stage and were current well into the first half of the Táng Dynasty. The Gān material does not reflect a third type of reading in -eŋ, which was also found in north China in medieval times.
6.2.2.7 CG *-ak vs. *-ek. Examples of this pairing are:

bó 伯 QYS pōk  
CG *pak ~ *pek

bái 白 QYS bōk  
CG *bak ~ *bek

kè 客 QYS khōk  
CG *k'ak ~ *k'ek

zé 擇 QYS dzōk  
CG *dzak ~ *dzek

Syllables of this type usually have Tibetan -eg in Dunhuang transcriptions. Pre-Dunhuang data are lacking, as was similarly the case for analogous *-aŋ/*-eŋ in §6.2.2.5 above. And as was also the case there, we can only say that *-ek final readings for these words were present by at least Ān-Shí times and that pronunciations in *-ak were perhaps typical of the autochthonous Gàn layer of Common Gàn.

6.2.2.8 CG *-iak vs. *-iek. Examples of this pairing are:

chǐ 尺 QYS tś'jak  
CG *tš'iaŋ ~ *tš'iek

dì 笛 QYS diek  
CG *diak ~ *diek ~ *tiek

shí 石 QYS ʑiak  
CG *g'iaŋ ~ *giek

li 曆 QYS liek  
CG *liaŋ ~ *liek

Finals of this type most often correspond to Indic -ak- in Six Dynasties transcripational materials, with a small number of examples rendering -ek-. In the Dunhuang Tibetan materials there are one or two cases spelled as Tibetan -eg/-yeg, as opposed to many written -ig. And
moving from there downward through the Guānhuà stage, spellings with the main vowel -i- are the rule. Our Common Gàn forms in *-iak are thus probably attributable to the Yǒngjiā layer at the latest, with final *-iek possibly also beginning in the Yǒngjiā period. The ubiquitous later forms having the main vowel -i- are not represented in Common Gàn at all. The Gàn material would therefore seem to date from no later than the Ān-Shí period, and its early layer may in fact be considerably older than that.

**6.2.2.9 CG *-eu vs. *-əu.** This contrast appears in examples of the following type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>狗</td>
<td>*keu</td>
<td>*keu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>獑</td>
<td>*keu</td>
<td>*keu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>後</td>
<td>*heu</td>
<td>*heu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here it is clear that forms having CG *-eu are the native Gàn etyma. Contrasting pronunciations in *-əu are invariably character readings. They are in all probability loans either from a Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dialect or some form of standard Guānhuà and are almost certainly late importations.

**6.2.3 Tones**

As we have seen in Chapter IV, there is much evidence for lexical layering in the individual Gàn dialects on which we have drawn for our comparative data. However, in the present section on tones we shall limit our discussion to layering which can be reconstructed in the Common Gàn system as a whole.

**6.2.3.1 Yīnshāng vs. Yángshāng Readings.** In certain sonorant initial syllables, variant readings in the Common Gàn yīnshāng and yángshāng tones are reconstructable on the basis of data from the four determinative “yīnshāng/yángshāng dialects” that preserve both categories. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QYS</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>CG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>裡</td>
<td>*li</td>
<td>*li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>領</td>
<td>*liang</td>
<td>*liang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of this type appear to have resulted from cases where Common Gàn preserved the original yángshǎng pronunciations and then borrowed new readings from an as yet indeterminate source in which original yángshǎng had merged with yīnshǎng. The borrowed forms then became literary or character readings. The bái register yángshǎng pronunciations are probably quite old, perhaps no younger than the Yóngjiā stage. The yīnshǎng forms are not precisely datable on the basis of currently available evidence.

6.2.3.2 Unshifted Yángshǎng vs. Yángqù. In the four determinative dialects we find a significant number of syllables that have the yángshǎng tone, enough in fact that we have posited this proto-tone category for Common Gàn. And a rather large number of these syllables have alternate yángqù readings, which require the reconstruction of doublets in the proto-language. The following is a selection of examples:

bèi 被 QYS bje:³ “blanket, coverlet” CDC *bi⁴
CG *bi³ (~ *bi⁴)

bù 薄 QYS buo: CDC *bu⁴
CG *bu³ (~ *bu⁴)

dài 待 QYS dài: CDC *doi⁴
CG *doi³ (~ *doi⁴)

dòng 動 QYS dung: CDC *dung⁴
CG *dun⁴ (~ *dun⁴)

hòu 厚 QYS ɣəu: CDC *heu⁴
CG *heu¹ (~ *heu⁴)

jiù 舅 QYS gjəu: CDC *gieu⁴
CG *gjəu¹ (~ *gjəu⁴)

Now, as is well known, in North China QYS yángshǎng tone words having obstruent initials shifted to the yángqù tone, beginning in approximately mid-Táng times. We may therefore hypothesize that the yángqù forms in the above examples were borrowed into Common Gàn from the North no earlier than the early part of the Ān-Shí period. The unshifted
yángshǎng forms must on the contrary date from earlier than this time. They are perhaps to be attributed to the Yǒngjīā stage, or any time from this stage back to the advent of spoken Sinitic in the Gàn dialect area.

Finally, as noted at the end of §4.6 of Chapter IV, Liánhuā-2 provides evidence for three lexical layers in words of this type. (See the examples given there.) Interestingly, in the case of one word, evidence for these layers is found in other dialects as well, allowing us to reconstruct a tripartite set of forms, i.e.,

bèn 笨 QYS (bunː) CDC *bun³
CG *bun⁴ ~ *bun⁴ ~ *pun⁴

Seriation of the layers represented here can be carried out with some confidence. The yángshǎng form can be considered the oldest. The yángqù form must postdate it. The yīnqù reading, which is entirely literary, can be considered the most recent, because of both its voiceless initial and its tone. It probably derives from a language that had a voiceless initial here rather than a voiced one and which may also have had a common departing tone. This donor language may have been a Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dialect, or some related form of Guānhuà. For full citation of the data for this set, see the Appendix. The borrowing of the third form probably occurred fairly late, perhaps in the post-Jǐngkāng period.

6.2.3.3 Yángrú vs. Yīnrú. As pointed out at the end of §4.8 in Chapter IV, Common Gàn yángrú tone words with initial zero or sonorant initials invariably have yīnrú tone variant readings in our data. Examples are:

á 额 QYS ngok CDC *ngak⁸
CG *ŋak⁴ ~ *ŋiak~ *ŋek⁴
*The initial of the second form is irregular.

là 臘 QYS lâp CDC *lap⁸
CG *lap⁴ ~ *lap⁴

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *liuk⁸ ~ luk⁸
CG *liuk⁴ ~ *liuk⁴

yào 藥 QYS jiak CDC *yok⁸
CG *iok⁴ ~ *iok⁴

yuè 月 QYS ngjwot CDC *ngiot⁸
CG *nyot⁴ ~ *nyot⁴ ~ *yot⁴
As noted earlier, we suspect this state of affairs is attributable to the borrowing of literary readings from some language or languages that had no upper and lower register distinction in rūshēng. The exact period of this borrowing is for the present indeterminate.

6.3 Distinguishing Gàn from its Neighbors

As noted in the introduction to Chapter I, the quandary of how to uniquely characterize the Gàn dialect family has vexed sinological linguists since the existence of the family was first proposed. And it is therefore obvious that if the question were simple or straightforward it would long since have been solved. In the present study, our stance has been to postpone dealing directly with this matter by focusing our attention exclusively on dialects that are considered to be Gàn in all sources now in print. This, we feel, has been a workable approach; but it is hardly a satisfactory one. It is therefore incumbent upon us to tackle the question of taxonomy in a more cogent fashion. To this end, we shall begin by asking the obvious question. If the Gàn family really exists, and dialectologists tend to agree regarding the assignment of a fairly sizable number of dialects to it, then why should it be so difficult to define it coherently? In other words, what has produced the conundrum we now face? In our view the answer to this is two-fold.

First, the family is old—so old, in fact, that linguistic evolution, and sound change in particular, have occurred in various parts of the family, and across its boundaries with other families, in such a way and that no simple listing or formulation of identifying characteristics can concurrently accommodate all Gàn dialects and exclude all non-members of the group. Any such formulation will, on the contrary, be disputed on the ground that in certain parts of any putative Gàn-speaking area there are Gàn dialects which fail to qualify as such and also non-Gàn dialects which are unavoidably captured by application of the proposed classificatory criteria. For this reason, all previous efforts at a satisfactory characterization based on diagnostic criteria have failed. The second part of the problem is that both the Gàn dialects and those of neighboring families are lexically multi-layered. The reason for this, as we have attempted to show above, lies in the demographic and migration history of these dialects, whereby successive strata of lexical material have been laid down in them. But this in itself is not the primary problem of comparativists. Their difficulties arise mainly when material in one dialect is compared with stratally non-congruent material from another. When this is done, anomalies result, which then contravene all propositions regarding affinities or critical differences between dialects and dialect families. In the last analysis, then, our task in determining what Gàn really is must focus on the resolution of these two fundamental impediments to classification.

Accordingly, we shall now consider the first obstacle. Experience has shown that tackling the modern dialects directly will not succeed. This is what has hitherto been tried without success. How, then, are we to proceed? The answer to this puzzle lies, we feel, in its historical causes. Since the problem is an outgrowth of changes which have occurred after the initial formation of both Gàn and other dialect groups, our comparisons should deal with reconstructed
common systems, rather than with the plethora of individual modern dialects as they exist today. As to the second difficulty, our work in the preceding section shows that we are in fact able to identify and seriate the major lexical layers found in the Common Gàn proto-language. What must now be done, we suggest, is to juxtapose seriated Gàn material layer by layer with equivalently stratified data in other families, before attempting comparative and classificatory work. These, in brief, are the approaches we shall adopt in the present section.

Finally, our work here will involve comparisons with Chinese dialect families with which Gàn is geographically contiguous. Thus, we shall not concern ourselves with dialect groups that are geographically distant from the Gàn-speaking area and are unlikely to be connected with Gàn in any known historical context, except at the remoter stages of Common Sinitic unity. Although distinguishing Gàn from such groups may be of interest as a theoretical problem, it is not of practical concern to us here. In the sections below, the dialect families with which we must deal are indicated in Map III.

Map III: The Gàn Family’s Dialectal Neighbors
6.3.1 Gân and Yangtze Watershed Mandarin. Yangtze Watershed Mandarin is the northern neighbor of Common Gân. In comparing the two dialect types, we shall utilize a Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin (CYWM) phonological reconstruction (Coblin 2010) and the Common Gân system developed in the present work.

We begin with the observation that both Common Gân and CYWM have zhuó series of initials. This is interesting, because received wisdom of the last century has regularly held that lack of a zhuó series is a primary taxonomic characteristic of both the Gân and Mandarin families. But, as we have shown in our 2010 study and in Chapter II of the present work, both CYWM and Common Gân must be reconstructed with such series. Thus, earlier taxonomic treatments, which have focused on the outcomes of loss of an earlier zhuó series become meaningless when we begin to work with common or proto-systems rather than with particular modern dialects in the two groups. Consequently, we must attack the problem of taxonomy from an entirely new perspective.

Now, Common Dialectal Chinese of course also has a zhuó series, so the presence of this type of consonantal group in both CYWM and Common Gân is in fact a retention in each group rather than a shared innovation, and as such tells us nothing about a possible taxonomic link between the two, other than that both are varieties of Chinese. However, close comparison of these proto-systems does reveal an interesting divergence. To wit, while the zhuó series of CYWM, like that of Common Dialectal Chinese, comprises all major obstruent types, that of Common Gân includes only stops and affricates. In other words, from the standpoint of Common Dialectal Chinese, Common Gân has innovated by merging earlier voiced (or, possibly, murmured) fricatives with inherited voiceless ones. It is important to note in this regard that all Gân dialects share this devoicing innovation, because all Gân dialects are by definition descended from Common Gân. Thus, the fact that many Gân dialects have in the interim lost all voicing is not relevant to the comparative work in which we are here engaged. Instead, what are important to us are the configurations found in Common Gân as a proto-system.

Another significant point of difference between Common Gân and CYWM is in their respective treatments of the traditional rimū initial class. In CYWM, rimū initial syllables can all be reconstructed with a retroflex approximant initial, *ɻ-. In Common Gân, on the contrary, the situation is, as we have seen in §2.7 of Chapter II above, far more complex. In the popular layers of the Common Gân lexicon, rimū syllables take initial *n- in the oldest stratum, probably dating from the pre-Yǒngjiā period, and *ŋ- in the next stage, probably identifiable with the Yǒngjiā stage itself. This *ŋ-, we have speculated, may have been a native Gân response to an imported palatal nasal *ŋ (= CDC *nh-), brought into the area by Yǒngjiā or immediately post-Yǒngjiā immigrants. CG *ɻ- is reconstructable only in late loan strata, representing, at the earliest, very late Ān-Shí and/or Jingkāng intrusions from north China. In summary, then, it is CG *n- and *ŋ- that can be identified as native or autochthonous Gân.

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8 Which can, if one wishes, be thought of as “Primitive Gân”, as defined in §1.1 of Chapter I.
initials, and these differ markedly from the retroflex approximant found in CYWM. In other words, where CYWM has innovated, Common Gàn has retained earlier configurations; and the marginal presence of the Mandarin-like CG *ɻ- in the common system is due to very late contact and convergence between the groups.

Turning now to the syllable finals, we note several points of interest. First, as we have seen in Chapter III, Common Gàn preserves a full set of syllable final stops and nasals, i.e., *-p, *-t, *-k and *-m, *-n, *-ŋ, which is, with very minor exceptions, identical to the coda set found in Common Dialectal Chinese. CYWM on the other hand has merged the three obstruents as a glottal stop, *-ʔ, and has also merged original *-m into *-n. This innovation can be said to characterize CYWM and to distinguish it from Common Gàn.

Another area of diagnostic interest in comparing syllable finals is vowel patterning. Norman (1999) developed two test sets of nasal final syllables for use in classifying Chinese dialects, taking his Common Dialectal Chinese system as a starting point and then comparing modern dialect phonologies with those of the common system. We shall now use these diagnostic sets to compare Common Gàn and CYWM. In so doing, we are departing from Norman’s procedure in that we shall compare reconstructed common systems rather than the pronunciation of particular modern dialects. We are, in other words, treating Common Gàn and CYWM as if they were the sound systems of actual spoken languages. This will of course be a convenient fiction, but hopefully also an efficacious one. To begin, we give Norman’s first diagnostic set, with the pertinent Common Dialectal Chinese forms inserted. Stars before the reconstructed forms are suppressed in all data to be cited below. All forms are in the QYS/CDC píng tone unless otherwise indicated.

搬 pon 斑 pan
端 ton 單 tan
乾 kon 間 kan
官 kuon 關 kuan

Now, let us insert our reconstructed Common Gàn values. Forms after a sine wave (i.e., wavy line) are wén or reading pronunciations.

搬 pon 斑 pan
端 tuon 單 tan
乾 kon 間 kan ~ kian
官 kuon 關 kuan

We immediately note the strong similarity between this set and that given for Common Dialectal Chinese. In fact, discounting the wén forms, the pattern of vowel distinctions (as
A Study of Comparative Gân

opposed to the actual sound values) is nearly identical. Now, let us compare the CYWM forms for the set:

搬 puon 班 pan
端 tuon 單 tan
乾 kon 閣 kan ~ kian
官 kuon 關 kuan

Here we find virtually perfect agreement with Common Gân. If we were working exclusively from this set, we would surely conclude that there is no essential difference between Gân and Yangtze Watershed Mandarin.

Let us now turn to Norman’s second diagnostic set, again starting with the Common Dialectal Chinese forms:

旁 bong 朋 beng 彭 bang 餅 piang(¹) 冰 ping
湯 thong 藤 deng 冷 liang(¹) 嶺 liang(²) 凌 ling
桑 song 層 dzeng 生 shang 正 ciang(²) 蒸 cing
缸 kong 肯 kheŋ(²) 坑 khang 驚 kian 鷹 eŋ

Our next step must be to cite our Common Gân forms, and here there is enough difference between bái and wén readings to justify giving separate tables, rather than attempting to conflate the sets for the two reading types. We shall begin with the bái forms:

旁 boŋ 朋 beŋ 彭 baŋ 餅 piaŋ(²) 冰 peŋ
湯 t'oŋ 藤 deŋ 冷 laŋ(¹) 嶺 liang(²) 凌 liŋ
桑 soŋ 層 dzəŋ 生 saŋ 正 tʃiaŋ(²) 蒸 tʃiŋ
缸 koŋ 肯 k'en(²) 坑 k'æŋ 驚 kian 鷹 en

Here again we find striking similarity with Common Dialectal Chinese, so much so that the question of why such similarity exists would seem to warrant study in its own right. However, we shall defer consideration of this matter to §6.4.2 below. Instead, we shall now give our Common Gân wén readings. Where forms in -n ~ -ŋ are cited, it is impossible, due to paucity of data in the cognate sets in question, to decide on the point of articulation of the final nasal (See the Appendix for each set). For what it is worth, in our view, *-ŋ is the more likely value.
This set is rather different from the bái set given above as well as from Common Dialectal Chinese. Now let us examine the CYWM values:

| 旁 pʰaŋ | 朋 pʰeŋ | 那 pʰeŋ | 饼 pʰiŋ(₁) | 冰 pʰiŋ |
| 湯 tʰaŋ | 藤 ṭʰeŋ | 冷 len~(₁) | 嶺 liŋ(₁) | 凌 liŋ |
| 桑 saŋ | 層 dzeŋ | 生 seŋ | 正 tɕeŋ(ₓ) | 蒸 tɕeŋ |
| 虹 kaŋ | 肯 kʰeŋ(ₓ) | 坑 kʰeŋ | 驒 kiŋ | 鷹 iŋ |

(Upper case *-N in the reconstructions denotes a nasal whose point of articulation is indeterminate.)

This is very similar to the Common Gàn wén set, and accordingly differs considerably from the bái set. Now, if Norman’s vowel tests are valid, then what these results tell us is that spoken or Primitive Gàn must be considered rather different from CYWM. On the other hand, the character reading system of Common Gàn is rather like CYWM. Consequently, since spoken Gàn’s vowel configuration is close to that of Common Dialectal Chinese, we must assume that CYWM has innovated; and this family of dialects should therefore be characterizable in terms of this shared innovation. Historically, what we may suppose is that spoken Gàn is archaic in its vocalic system. The Gàn reading system, on the other hand, can be assumed to have been borrowed from the north, almost certainly through the medium of migration. And, from our work on layering in §6.2 above, we may suspect that the pertinent population movement was the Jingkâng wave.

Finally, we turn to tonal systems. Common Dialectal Chinese has the eight classical tones, i.e., píng, shǎng, qù, and rù, subdivided into both upper and lower registers. CYWM, on the other hand, has only seven tones, having merged yángshǎng into yángqù in accordance with the famous zhuóshǎng guǐqù 潤上歸去 shift. This, of course, is an innovation vis-à-vis the Common Dialectal Chinese system. Common Gàn is quite interesting in this regard. As we have seen in Chapter IV, in its oldest layer, it has a fairly respectable corpus of popular words for which a yángshǎng tone can be reconstructed. Thus, we can say that, in this archaic popular layer at least, Common Gàn did not innovate in its tonal system. However, the lexicon contains a large number of Common Dialectal Chinese yángshǎng words, many of more or less elevated or literary register, which have the yángqù tone. And most words for which we can posit yángshǎng forms also have literary readings in yángqù. How has this situation come about? Clearly, early or Primitive Gàn was a dialect type which originally had a full-fledged yángshǎng tone category. Later, under strong influence of intrusive dialects where the
The zhuóshāng guīqū shift had occurred, the original yángshāng tonal corpus was extensively eroded, with large-scale replacement by borrowed yángqū syllables. Where yángshāng syllables were able to hold their own in actual speech, they were supplemented with borrowed literary forms. Elsewhere, the yángshāng forms were completely lost, and only the borrowed yángqū readings remained. It is sometimes suggested that situations like that seen in Common Gàn reflect incomplete sound change, or sound change in progress. However, this explanation is untenable here, for it does not cogently predict that one will consistently find “unchanged” yángshāng forms in the bái layer of the lexicon and “changed” ones in the literary reading system and in words of elevated stylistic register.

We can conclude this section by moving from the area of historical phonology to that of lexicon. Here we need only recall that in Chapter V we have encountered a number of lexical forms, such as “son”, “neck”, “late”, “wok”, “stand”, etc., and also grammatical functors such as *te and *li, which are not found in Yangtze Watershed Mandarin. And in many cases where there is a mixture of forms, such as the set for “thorn”, in which one is identical with that found generally in Mandarin while the other is not, it is clear that the Mandarin-like etyma are intrusive and of late provenance. Thus, lexical comparison mirrors our findings in the phonological area. In summary, then, Common Gàn can be clearly and easily distinguished from the variety of Mandarin with which it shares geographical contiguity, sometimes because one side has innovated, and sometimes because the reverse is the case.

On the far southwest borders of the Gàn-speaking area are Mandarin or Mandarin-like dialects, which are currently assigned to the Southwest Mandarin group. Since no common system is available for these languages, we shall not deal with them here. They are, superficially at least, considerably more different from Gàn than are the Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dialects.

6.3.2 Common Gàn and Common Wú. The taxonomy of the Wú 威 dialect family has been fairly intensively studied in recent decades. Two works on which we shall draw in our discussion are Simmons (1999) and Yu (2000), which are book-length treatments with extensive references to other studies. A comparative phonological system for the Wú family was constructed by Y. R. Chao (1956[1928]), who called his construct Wúyūn 吳音 “Wú pronunciation”. Simmons translates this as “Common Wú”, and we shall adopt that usage here. In recent decades, comparative systems for different branches of the Wú group have become available. For example, Simmons (1999) has adapted Chao’s Common Wú for special application to the dialects of the Tàihú 太湖 area, producing a system he calls Common Northern Wú. And Akitani (2003) has developed a comparative reconstruction for the archaic Chǔqú 處衢 group. The relationships between these common systems must ultimately be clarified as part of the ongoing study of Wú dialect history. However, since our intent here is to compare and contrast Gàn with Wú as a whole, Chao’s Common Wú would seem to best serve our needs. In using his system, we will convert his Common Wú forms to IPA, to achieve uniformity with the other data with which we will be dealing. Convenient correspondence
Chapter VI: Varia and Concluding Remarks

Tables for the two transcriptional systems are provided by Simmons (1999:53, 58–59).

Beginning with the initials, we find that Common Wú has a zhuó series that is quite close to that of Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, in that it has murmured fricatives in addition to stops and affricates. This then distinguishes Common Wú from Common Gàn, which has no voiced or murmured fricatives. In this connection one is of course tempted to ask how Common Wú and Common Mandarin should be distinguished from each other, but this question is not relevant to our concerns here. It has, however, been treated in detail by Simmons (1999) and Yu (2000), whose books should be consulted by those who are concerned with the problem.

Two further matters are worthy of mention in connection with the initials. First, while the Common Wú system is provisionally restored with the pairs (dz-)/z- and (dj-)/zh- (in Chao’s original orthography), the affricate members of each pair are parenthesized because Chao could not find a substantive comparative basis for the distinction. This ambiguity in the common system could perhaps be used to contrast it with Common Gàn. However, Simmons (1999) concludes that the situation in Common Wú remains basically unclear, and for this reason it seems best not to draw on this configuration at all in our comparisons with Gàn. The second matter we must note is that Common Wú is restored with a set of palatal initials, some of which correspond to Common Gàn velars before high front vowels. This would seem to constitute a valid contrast between Gàn and Wú. However, two further points must be noted here. First, Edkins (1868:2) indicated that the Shanghai dialect of his day possessed transitional palatovelars before high front vowels. Thus, palatalization of velars may be assumed to have been a rather late phenomenon in Wú. Its value in the type of historical enquiry we are pursuing is therefore compromised. Secondly, Akitani (2003) has reconstructed Proto-Chûqi velars before high front vowels in the same environments where they occur in Common Gàn and in Edkins’ Shanghai data. This confirms our doubts about the value of palatalization of velars as a tool for distinguishing Wú and Gàn.

Turning now to the finals, we begin with the syllable codas. Here we find a situation similar that seen in Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, i.e., Common Dialectal Chinese *-p, *-t, and *-k have merged as Common Wú *-ʔ, while *-m has merged into *-n. This of course distinguishes Wú from Gàn, where the Common Dialectal Chinese configuration has been preserved intact. Of the same type is the case of CDC *-n/*-m and *-ng, which merge as Common Wú *-ŋ after the vowels *e and *i, as illustrated in the following, where all stars are again suppressed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
<th>Common Wú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fēn 根</td>
<td>ken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēng 更</td>
<td>kan~ keŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shēn 森</td>
<td>sem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēng 僧</td>
<td>seŋ~ tseŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bīn 賓  

bīng 兵

lín 林

líng 靈

From codas we can now move to vowels, on which several points seem significant. First, we may note that the vowels in the Common Dialectal Chinese finals *-a and *-o are raised in Common Wú, a change not found in Common Gàn, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Wú</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shā 沙</td>
<td>sha¹</td>
<td>so¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gē 哥</td>
<td>ko¹</td>
<td>kū¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another vocalic peculiarity of Common Wú is the reduction of the Common Dialectal Chinese diphthongs *-ai and *-oi to monophthongs. The following are examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Wú</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bái 敗</td>
<td>bai⁶</td>
<td>pʰa⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mài 買</td>
<td>mai⁴</td>
<td>ma⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lái 賴</td>
<td>lai⁶</td>
<td>la⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lái 來</td>
<td>loi²</td>
<td>le²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hǎi 海</td>
<td>xoi³</td>
<td>xe³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, we shall carry out for Common Wú Norman’s two diagnostic vowel pattern tests. The following is the first test set:

搬 pōn  班 pan

端 ton  單 tan

乾 kon  間 kan

官 kuon  關 kuan

---

9 The vowel -u-, written with a macron, is Simmons’ representation of Chao’s “u bis”, a u-like vowel which differed in some way from plain *u. We transcribe it as Simmons does.

10 It should be noted that this sort of monophthongization is not present in many forms reconstructed by Akitani (2003) for the very archaic and rather Min-like dialects he studied. Why this is so, and under what circumstances, deserves futher study. Zhào of course did not use these as yet unsurveyed dialects in constructing his Common Wú system.
Comparing the sets given in §6.3.1 above, we see that this configuration is essentially the same as that of Common Dialectal Chinese and Common Gàn. The Common Wu forms for the second diagnostic set are as follows:

旁 pʰaŋ 朋 pʰaŋ 彭 pʰaŋ 彼 piŋ($client) 冰 piŋ
湯 tʰaŋ 藤 tʰieŋ 冷 ləŋ($client) 領 liŋ($client) 凌 liŋ
桑 saŋ 層 tsʰieŋ 生 saŋ 正 tɛŋ(משל) 蒸 tɛŋ
缸 kaŋ 背 kʰeŋ 坑 kʰaŋ 京 kiŋ 鷹 iŋ

Here we see a vocalic configuration in which syllables in the fourth and fifth vertical columns share the same vowel. This differs from the pattern seen in Common Dialectal Chinese and Common Gàn, as well as from that of Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin. Norman (1999) has specifically identified it as diagnostic for the Wú dialects, and it of course also distinguishes them from all forms of Gàn.

The tones of Common Wú comprise an eight-member system which is comparable to those of Common Gàn (specifically in its Primitive Gàn form) and Common Dialectal Chinese. However, there is one interesting difference. While the upper/lower register distinction in Common Wú is usually predictable according to the presence or absence of murmur in syllable initials, this is not true for Common Gàn. The reason for this is that in Common Gàn there are no voiced fricatives, but upper and lower tonal register are nonetheless both present after voiceless fricatives and, accordingly, contrastive there.

In the area of lexicon two words are of probative interest. The first is the word for “son”, which is usually etymologically derivable in Wú from some form of érzi 兒子 (Yu 2000:115–120). In Gàn dialects, however, the usual form is CG *tsAi阴上, as noted in §5.2.2 of Chapter V. The second diagnostic lexeme is the plain verbal negative. In Wú this is normally a rùshēng word with a labiodental initial (Yu 2000:120–126). In Gàn, on the other hand, we find CG *put阴入/*pət阴入 and/or *ŋ̩ (atonal).

In the past, Wú and Gàn have generally been considered separate on the basis of the modern realizations of the traditional zhuó series of initials, with the former said to have voiced/murmured values and the latter voiceless aspirated ones. However, when we compare common systems for the two families, this criterion ceases to be significant. It is for this reason that we have probed this issue in some depth here, with the result that, in our view, the two families can still be clearly distinguished on other grounds.

### 6.3.3 Common Gàn and Common Huī. The Gàn area abuts in the northeast on a group of dialects which are currently said to form a family called Huīzhōu 徽州, or often simply Huī. Whether these languages constitute a valid taxonomic group is in our view somewhat problematic (Coblin 2007b:127). However, a common comparative system has been constructed for the group (op. cit.), and this can be used to compare and contrast these dialects with Gàn.
The initial system of Common Huī has a zhuó series of consonants. It comprises stops and affricates but excludes fricatives. In this respect it is similar to the Common Gàn system. A striking dissimilarity, however, is the behavior of the Common Dialectal Chinese “esh-sibilants”, *c-, *ch-, *j-, *zh-, and *sh- in Huī. This is illustrated in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Huī</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhēng 争</td>
<td>tɕὲN^{阴平}</td>
<td>tsau̯^ ~ tseŋ^{阴平}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chá 茶</td>
<td>ja^{2}</td>
<td>dzə^{阳平}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shā 殺</td>
<td>shat^{7}</td>
<td>səʔ^{阴入}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Upper case *-N in this section indicates a nasal of indeterminate value.)

The failure of these “esh consonants”, realized as retroflexes in Huī, to become dental sibilants distinguishes Common Huī from both Common Gàn and Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin.

The finals of Common Huī are grossly quite different from those of Common Gàn in that they reduce Common dialectal Chinese stop codas to a single glottal stop, lose CDC -m, and often merge surviving *-n and *-ŋ as a single nasal of indeterminate phonetic value. Vowel configurations are revealed by performing Norman’s vowel tests, as follows:

**Test I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>班 pɔN</th>
<th>班 pɔN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>端 tuaN</td>
<td>單 tɔN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乾 kɔN</td>
<td>間 kaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>官 kuaN</td>
<td>關 kuaN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Test II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>旁 bɑŋ</th>
<th>朋 bɔN</th>
<th>彭 ---</th>
<th>餅 piaN^{(ending)}</th>
<th>冰 piŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>湯 t'ɑŋ</td>
<td>藤 dɔN</td>
<td>冷 leN^{(ending)}</td>
<td>寮 liaN^{(ending)}</td>
<td>凌 liŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桑 saŋ</td>
<td>層 dɔzN</td>
<td>生 sɛN</td>
<td>正 tɕiaN^{(ending)}</td>
<td>蒸 cɪŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>瓶 kɑŋ</td>
<td>肯 k'ɔN</td>
<td>坑 k'ɛN</td>
<td>驚 tɕiaN</td>
<td>鷹 iŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first test yields a pattern not seen in either Common Dialect Chinese or any of the other dialect groups encountered so far. The second test reveals a configuration that preserves all Common Dialectal Chinese and Common Gàn distinctions, albeit in actual forms that are rather different from those of these two systems.

The tonal system of Common Huī is a classic eight-member one. The Huī yángshàng tone is stable and robust, unlike that of Common Gàn, which is vestigial.
In conclusion, if the Huī group is in fact a valid taxon, it is clearly unique in various ways. In certain respects it appears to be transitional between CYWM, Common Wú, and Common Gàn. But, whatever else it is, it is not Gàn.

6.3.4 Gàn and Mǐn [閩]. The Gàn and Mǐn-speaking areas are contiguous at the southeastern edges of the former and the northwestern marches of the latter. Within this border region the taxonomy of the Shàowǔ 邵武, Jiānglè 將樂, and Jiànning dialects is disputed. But these controversies notwithstanding, there has never, to our knowledge, been any substantive claim that Gàn and Mǐn are closely related or difficult to distinguish. On the contrary, it is widely thought that Mǐn is aberrant in many respects and may have diverged from Common Sinitic long before the Common Dialectal Chinese period.

In-depth comparative reconstructive studies of Mǐn were done by Norman (1973, 1974, 1981, Ms. 2). Although his particular phonological reconstructions are of course open to discussion, as is the case with any phonological reconstruction, the sound correspondences he uncovered in his Mǐn data are undeniably solid and well supported by comparative evidence from throughout the Mǐn dialect complex. Of particular concern to those who have taken issue with his conclusions has been his Proto-Mǐn initial system, which has six members for stops and affricates, instead of the familiar tripartite configuration found in Common Dialectal Chinese. But the correspondence patterns that support these six Proto-Mǐn initial types are each represented by numerous cognate sets based on popular lexical data and are also intimately interconnected with the proto-tonal system in ways that are difficult to explain unless one sets up the categories of an ancestral sound system of the sort Norman envisaged. A number of disputants have claimed that the sound correspondences he uncovered are in fact merely the result of lexical layering. However, as we have attempted to show in the present work, such claims must always be supported by substantial corpora of data whose seriation is firmly corroborated both historically and linguistically. This has not been done by Norman’s critics. Instead, they have simply invoked stratigraphic objections as sort of *deus ex machina* and then left the matter there. This is unacceptable. Whatever Norman’s Proto-Mǐn initial categories were phonetically, in Proto-Mǐn or in even earlier stages of Chinese, they must have existed in some form. The comparative evidence makes this conclusion inescapable. And, of course, correlations of these categories with the Common Dialectal Chinese system are in many cases entirely unique and, as such, quite different from anything seen in Common Gàn. In addition, Mǐn is particularly notable for the large number of lexical items that appear to be unique to it. For a succinct survey of all these points, see Norman (1988:228–239). In summary, we can say with confidence that Core Gàn and Mǐn are totally distinct. The existence of the peculiar

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11 Norman was of course well aware of, and highly alert to, the chronological strata in the common Mǐn lexicon. In fact he was certainly one of the first, if not the absolute first, Mǐnologist to draw *full* attention to the phenomenon (Norman 1979), an historical fact which many of his critics seem conveniently to have forgotten or “misplaced”!
dialects mentioned above, which appear to be transitional between the two families, in no way gainsays this conclusion. The origins of these transitional dialects remain an entirely separate issue.

6.3.5 Gàn and Hakka. The Hakka dialect group is contiguous with Gàn over a wide region, beginning southeast of the Gàn area and extending along the entire expanse of its southern and southwestern borders. But, if the clear distinction between Gàn and Mîn is a truism, the relationship between Gàn and Hakka is the antithesis of this, for it is fraught with difficulties and has given rise to considerable controversy. In the present section we shall broach the issue in a preliminary way. Then, in §6.4.2 below, we shall address it in its historical context.

To our knowledge there is currently in print only one common phonological system for the Hakka dialects, i.e., the Proto-Hakka reconstruction of O'Connor (1976). This system, which was groundbreaking for its time, was completed nearly forty years ago. For this reason, its author could not avail himself of the very large body of Hakka material that has appeared in the intervening decades. Particularly problematic for us is the fact that O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka does not reflect any material from those Hakka dialects that are spoken in southern Jiāngxī. These languages are Gàn’s immediate southern neighbors and as such are of course crucial for clarification of Gàn-Hakka interrelationships. In the present study we shall make use of O’Connor’s system, but we shall also perforce need to emend certain of his conclusions, as we try to take account of newer Hakka data that he was unable to use.

Beginning with the syllable initials, we are of course immediately struck by the well-known characteristic that Hakka dialects, and accordingly O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka, have no zhuó series at all, with the Common Dialectal Chinese zhuó stops and affricates having merged with their corresponding voiceless aspirates. This on the face of it would seem to constitute a decisive innovation in these dialects. But on further consideration it appears problematic, for at least two reasons. First, Sagart (2002:144–146) has argued that devoicing in Hakka is a relatively recent phenomenon, and his views have subsequently received further support in the work of others. Thus, even if devoicing grossly distinguishes Hakka today, from a chronological standpoint this feature may be of relatively little value as evidence for the early development of the group. In other words, in this regard Gàn and Hakka may in fact have been similar or even identical until relatively recent times. But beyond this, there is a further, and equally perplexing, difficulty. As we have seen in Chapter II, the three lower tiers of our five-tier arrangement of Gàn dialect data have all undergone devoicing of exactly the type seen in Hakka. And this lower two thirds of Gàn is the very part of the family that abuts on the Hakka-speaking area. Thus, the devoicing phenomenon appears to be in actuality an areal feature that has begun somewhere in Hakka, or conceivably even among the southern Gàn

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12 Li (1986) is a comparative reconstruction of the Proto-Hakka initial system. It differs substantially from O'Connor’s system.
13 See, for example, Nakanishi & Kwok (2009) and Kwok (2012).
dialects themselves, and spread outward from there. This is in fact exactly what Sagart (2002: 146) suggests did happen.\(^\text{14}\) And if it did, then aspirated devoicing indicates nothing of real historical significance about any sort of division between the two groups, for the putative areal phenomenon nullifies anything to the contrary that our common systems might suggest to us.

Two further points regarding the Proto-Hakka initial system merit comment. First, O'Connor reconstructs for it an initial voiced fricative *v-. On inspection, we find that this initial appears where Common Gàn has initial zero followed by the vowel *u, either as a prothesis before the independent syllable *u or a replacement of *u when it occurs before other vowels. Thus, if we assumed for the sake of argument that Proto-Hakka were derived from Common Gàn, the development of this *v- would be entirely predictable. Hence it probably tells us very little about a substantive distinction between Gàn and Hakka. Secondly, we note that Proto-Hakka is reconstructed with two types of palatal nasal, written by O'Connor as *ŋ1- and *ŋ2-. The justification of this is that the cognate sets falling under these two initials show modern n- or ŋ- vs. modern ȵ- occurring in two different configurations. O'Connor’s reconstructive strategy here is perfectly valid from the standpoint of his data. However, our suspicion is that what he has encountered is a phenomenon that is analogous to the case in Common Gàn where some etyma reflect Early Chinese *n-, yielding Common Gàn *n-, while others derive from a borrowed later layer Common Dialectal Chinese *nh-, which was realized in Common Gàn as *ŋ- (see Chapter II, §2.5.4 above). Thus, the double palatal nasals in Proto-Hakka probably do not indicate a significant historical difference between this language and Common Gàn. Instead, they are a reflection of chronological layering in O'Connor’s data. In the end, then, where at first we may have felt that the Proto-Hakka initial system provided evidence for distinguishing Gàn and Hakka, in the end this does not seem to be so.

Turning now to the finals, we begin with the syllable codas. Here there is one point of particular interest, i.e., that in O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka final *-k may not occur after the vowels *e, *ɛ, or *i. In its place we find only *-t. The following examples illustrate this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto-Hakka</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dé 得</td>
<td>tet(^7)</td>
<td>tek(^7)</td>
<td>tek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè 色</td>
<td>set(^7)</td>
<td>shek(^7)</td>
<td>sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li 力</td>
<td>lit(^8)</td>
<td>lik(^8)</td>
<td>lik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And for the corresponding nasal codas we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto-Hakka</th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dēng 燈</td>
<td>ten(^1)</td>
<td>teng(^1)</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ying 應</td>
<td>in(^5)</td>
<td>ing(^1)</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{14}\) For further arguments in favor of the far southern origin of devoicing, see again Kwok (2012).
This peculiarity, which is frequently cited in the dialectological handbooks as a distinguishing feature of Hakka, would seem to be a genuine innovation vis-à-vis Common Dialectal Chinese. However, if we compare new data from several southern Jiāngxī Hakka dialects, cited from BJYJ, we see that in fact this is not so for the oral codas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tonggu 铜鼓</th>
<th>Jinggangshan 井冈山</th>
<th>Ningdu 宁都</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>得 dè</td>
<td>tek⁷</td>
<td>tek⁷</td>
<td>tek⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>色 sè</td>
<td>set⁷</td>
<td>shek⁷</td>
<td>sek⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>力 li</td>
<td>lit⁸</td>
<td>lik⁸</td>
<td>lik⁸</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of new data of this type, O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka reconstructions must someday be revised, with *-k substituted for *-t in the relevant environments.

For the nasal finals we do find Hakka dialects with final -ŋ in syllables such as those cited above, but these dialects never have final -n in contrast with this -ŋ in such positions. Consequently, O'Connor’s reconstruction would seem to remain valid here; and the neutralization of Common Dialectal Chinese *-n and *-ŋ to a single *-N in these cases can accordingly be considered a genuine Hakka innovation, as opposed to the situation in Common Gàn. However, there remains the nagging fact that a similar neutralization has occurred fairly widely in the fourth and fifth tier Gàn dialects, so that one wonders if it is in fact an areal feature that has spread through the area in the same manner that Sagart supposes for aspirated devoicing. The matter remains troubling and the criterion for distinguishing Gàn and Hakka correspondingly problematic.

We now move to vocalism, where we shall apply the same vowel tests that have served us well above. Unfortunately, O'Connor’s reconstructions, which are based on altogether 530 syllables, do not in every case give us the requisite forms in the tables. Consequently, we shall where possible try to replicate his reconstructions, applying to other Hakka data the same correspondence patterns he uses in his article. Or, alternatively, we shall select comparable forms from his data and substitute them here. In the tables, our attempted replications are enclosed in brackets, to distinguish them from O'Connor’s own forms.

Test I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>搬 pan¹</td>
<td>斑 (pan¹)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>短 ton³</td>
<td>彈 t'an¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>肝 kon¹</td>
<td>間 (kan¹ ~ kian¹)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>官 kuon¹</td>
<td>關 kuan¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Test II

The second test yields a configuration which is identical with that of Common Gân and Common Dialectal Chinese. The first differs only in that the element bān 搬 is reconstructed in Proto-Hakka with an unrounded vowel rather than a rounded one. However, if we avail ourselves of data from the southern Jiângxī dialects, to which O'Connor had no access, we find the following forms for this syllable (data from BJYJ):

Nánkāng 南康    Níngdū 宁都
bān 搬           poē¹

Thus, if we were to repeat O'Connor’s reconstructive work today, we would need to restore this syllable as Proto-Hakka *pon¹ rather than *pan¹. This yields complete parity with Common Gân.

Turning to tones, we note that O'Connor reconstructs seven categories, with Common Dialectal Chinese yángshāng having been lost, generally through mergers with other tones. This system appears to be valid for the majority of Hakka varieties seen by us. However, there is at least one troubling exception, namely a subtype of Shângyóu, Dōngshān 上猶東山鎮, briefly reported in BJYJ, p.95. This language has both yīnshāng and yángshāng tones; and if it is to be covered by a Proto-Hakka reconstruction, which it presumably must, then the common system will require all eight classical tones. Common Gân, it will be recalled, also has eight tones, though the yângshāng tone is defective and appears to be vestigial. In any case, the Gân and Hakka proto-tonal systems are highly congruent with respect to gross number of general tone classes.

In a different but related tonal area, however, there is a striking and apparently salient difference between the two families. Even before O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka reconstruction appeared, Hashimoto (1973:440–441) had drawn attention to a peculiarly Hakka tonal feature, namely that a particular subset of sonorant initial QYS yângshāng tone words join the Hakka

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15 This dialect is discussed in more detail in a doctoral dissertation that that just appeared at the time of this writing, i.e., Zhâng Qiàn 張倩, Gânnâ Kêjiâ fângyân yâyīn yânjû 贛南客家方言語音研究, Sun Yat-sen University dissertation. I am grateful to Professor Zhuang Chusheng for allowing me to read a draft of this work before it was defended.

16 A Guângdōng dialect which also has this tonal configuration has recently been reported. See Zhuâng (2012).
yīnping tone rather than the expected shāng tone. This aberrant set is determined entirely by lexical incidence; no other QYS or CDC conditioning factors can be identified for it. Not every Hakka dialect possesses each and every member of this aberrant set, but the overall constituency of the set is solidly consistent across dialects. In the following table, we give a selection of example syllables from pertinent points in Hashimoto’s (p.441) and O’Connor’s (p.55) treatments, plus three more which Norman (p.c.) suggests as “test words” for this tonal development, to be used when identifying Hakka dialects. For each word, we give reconstructions in O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka system. Proto-Hakka forms added by us are bracketed. Also included are corresponding Common Gàn and Common Dialectal Chinese forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Hakka</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
<th>CDC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mǎ 馬</td>
<td>ma₁</td>
<td>ma⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǎi 買</td>
<td>mai₁</td>
<td>mai⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màn 滿</td>
<td>man₁</td>
<td>mon⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǔ 母</td>
<td>mu₁</td>
<td>mu⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lǐng 領</td>
<td>liang₁</td>
<td>liang⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēi 尾</td>
<td>mui₁</td>
<td>li² / mi⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| lán 懶 | lan₁ | lan⁴ |
| nuăn 暖 | non₁ | non⁴ |
| yòu 有 | iu₁ | ieu⁴ |

Here we see that no special tonal set of the Hakka type is found in any of the Gàn dialect data sets represented above, and we have in fact seen none in our own data. However, BJYJ (p.789, Map 20) indicates that isolated cases (five or fewer) occur in several southern and central Gàn dialects; and two, i.e., Nánfèng 南豐 and Guǎngchāng 廣昌 on the Gàn/Hakka border, are said to each have about a score. We have no detailed information on either of these languages. In conclusion, presence of a sizable set of lexemes of this sort (perhaps about ten, based on the data cited in BJYJ, Map 20) seems to characterize the Hakka dialect group and would presumably be a fairly good indicator of membership in this family. Five or fewer examples would probably be inadequate for this purpose, though BJYJ does cite such small numbers for some Hakka dialects near the southern border of Jiāngxī. And, as we have seen, it must be kept in mind that there are some putative Gàn dialects which have cases in sufficient number to pose obstacles to using this criterion alone for classification.

Finally, we turn to the question of lexicon, where there are six items which are of particular interest to us.
Chapter VI: Varia and Concluding Remarks

1. The Copula. The Hakka copula is a word reconstructed by O'Connor as Proto-Hakka *he5 [係]. It is present in all Hakka dialects tabulated in BJYJ (p.794) and DCBG (p.446), and in no Gân dialects currently known to us. Gân dialects on the contrary have words derivable from forms of CG *ʂie阴平 ~ *ʂi阳去 ~ *ʂi阴平 [是]. (Cf. also HFDT, Grammar, Map 38.) Bearing in mind that parts of the Gân/Hakka borderland still remain to be surveyed, we can as of this writing cautiously suggest the copula as a probative element for distinguishing Gân and Hakka dialects.

2. First person pronoun. The general Hakka word for “I” is a syllable derivable from a probable Proto-Hakka *ngai3 (BJYJ p.802, Map 33), with rare occurrences of another form probably derived from *nga (tone uncertain). Most Gân points have a form reconstructable as CG *ŋo上, or less commonly *ŋa (tone uncertain). However, as we have seen, the Suichuān pronoun is [ŋai阳上]. Some Chinese dialectologists consider this to be a direct loan from Hakka (Chāng Méixiāng, p.c.). In §6.4.1 below we shall suggest an alternate explanation for such curiosities. But, at any rate, the Suichuān case makes it impossible to use any dialect’s form of the first person pronoun as a sole necessary and sufficient criterion for distinguishing Gân and Hakka dialects along the Gân/Hakka border.

3. “To eat”. The Hakka word for “eat” is derivable from Proto-Hakka *šit8 [食], which, as we have seen above, should probably now be revised to *šik 8 to account for the Jiāngxī Hakka dialect data. The usual Gân word is CG *k'iak阴入 [喫], which is in fact the etymon for “eat” in all dialects in our database. However, BJYJ (p.793, Map 24) states that Nánfēng and Guǎngchāng use forms of shí 食, while Jī’ān uses either shí or chī 喫. Interestingly, as indicated in §5.2.44, Chāng Méixiāng’s Jī’ān variety has only chī. (Cf. also HFDT, Lexicon, Map 84.) The case here is therefore somewhat similar to that of the pronoun “I”, in that the dividing line between the Gân and Hakka forms is detectable but not focused with complete clarity. Consequently, this set, though suggestive, can only be used in conjunction with other criteria to arrive at a satisfactory distinction.

4. The subordinative/attributive particle. In Hakka the vocalism of this particle is always unrounded. Forms such as [kai] or [kæ] are quite common, but in southern Jiāngxī monophthongal forms such as [ki], [ke], [kɛ], and [kə] are actually more frequently seen. O’Connor tentatively reconstructs this word as Proto-Hakka *kiai5. In the Gân dialects, forms with rounded vowels, such as [ko] and [kɔ] are by far the most frequent; but unrounded monophthongal forms do occur, as we have noted in §5.2.78 of the preceding chapter. And Jī’ān-2 has a Hakka-like [kai]. A test case like this is thus of somewhat limited application, but it is definitely not without value. For, if we find a dialect that has [kai] for this particle, we can at least be suspicious that it is Hakka, while a dialect that has [ko] is surely Gân. On the other hand, this criterion is of no help for a dialect that has [kɛ] or [kə]. In such a case we must appeal to other features.
5. The plain verbal negative. In Hakka dialects this common particle is realized as a syllabic nasal, i.e., \([n]\), \([ŋ]\), or \([m]\) according to dialect. O’Connor reconstructs it as Proto-Hakka \(\ast m^2\). In Gàn, as we have seen in §5.2.75 of Chapter V, the verbal negative is a derivative of Common Gàn \(\ast p\text{ut}^{阴入}/\ast p\text{o}t^{阴入} \[不\] \) over much of the area covered by the family, but syllabic nasal \([ŋ]\) also occurs, sometimes as the sole verbal negative and sometimes in competition with some form of \(\text{bù 不}\). BJYJ (p.631) also lists dialects that use \([ŋ]\) rather than \([ŋ]\). (Cf. also HFDT, Grammar, Map 28.) The negative is thus seemingly not a useful test word for our purposes, if one wishes to use the presence or absence of a syllabic nasal form as the determinative criterion. However, the case may not be so disappointing as that. For, in the materials available to us at least, it is noteworthy that, while Hakka dialects use dental, velar, or bilabial syllabic nasal forms as negatives, bilabial nasals do not occur in the Gàn dialects. If this observation remains valid for future field studies of the border area, it may ultimately prove useful, for it would allow us to classify any dialect that uses a \text{bilabial} syllabic nasal as Hakka. On the other hand, the presence of a dental or velar nasal form would not be of classificatory significance.

6. “Son”. A word for “son” derived from or corresponding to CG \(\ast t\text{sAi}^{陰上}\) is found all over the Gàn-speaking area and also widely in Hakka. In addition, there is a word having the shape “lai” that occurs here and there among Hakka dialects. Sagart (2002:142) takes note of this etymon and also finds it in the Yuè 越 dialects. He further cites the Pingxiäng example seen by us in §5.2.2 of Chapter V. Finally, he finds it in Lèiyáng, whose assignment to Gàn is, as we have seen, somewhat problematic (see Chapter I above, but also further below in the present section). (Cf. also HFDT, Lexicon, Map 52.) In conclusion, words for “son” are not particularly useful for distinguishing Gàn and Hakka. However, they will be of some value when we attempt to formulate an historical model for the development of the two dialect groups.

What, in the end, can we do with the material we have assembled above? To begin, we note that information on the segmental phonological features of Gàn and Hakka is of relatively little use in distinguishing the two families. But the special tonal feature, noted by Hashimoto, has definite probative potential. Moving then to the lexical data, we find that the copula may be our most powerful tool for making the distinction. To wit, based on our current information at least, we can be fairly confident that in the Gàn/Hakka contact area, a dialect that uses a form of \(\text{xì 係}\) should be Hakka, while one that uses \(\text{shì 是}\) is almost certainly Gàn. Now, as we have seen, the words for “I” and “eat” are not absolutely determinative for Gàn/Hakka identity. But, if we combine them with with the copula and Hashimoto’s tonal criterion, this combination becomes an exceedingly powerful classificatory device. For example, if a dialect uses a “ngai-form” for “I” and at the same time shows the xi copula and the special shift of Common Dialectal tone 4 to modern \(\text{yīn ping}\) in the diagnostic set of sonorant initial words, then the language will surely be Hakka. And the same reasoning applies to the word for “eat”. If then we apply in tandem all four of these criteria to a particular dialect, our ability
to determine Gän vs. Hakka affinity will be virtually assured for most dialects located along
the Gàn/Hakka border.

In Chapter I, we have mentioned two dialects, i.e., Lēiyáng in Hūnán and Jiànníng in
Fūjīān, both of whose classification as Gän or Hakka is disputed. In closing the present
section it accordingly seems worthwhile to apply the criteria discussed above to each of these
languages, to see what result our suggested approach yields. Beginning with Lēiyáng, we
shall now give the nine tonally diagnostic syllables cited above. The language has four tones,
i.e., yīnpíng: 55, yángpíng: 35, shǎng: 41, and qù: 213. Forms following a slash are bái. Data
are from Wáng & Zhōng (2008).

| Lǎn  懶 | læ^41 |
| Nuǎn  暖 | luá^41 |
| Yǒu  有 | iu^41 |
| Mǎ  馬 | ma^41/55 |
| Mǎi  買 | ma^41 |
| Mǎn  滿 | mã^41 |
| Mǔ  母 | mo^41/ȵ^41 |
| Lǐng  領 | liɔ̃^41 |
| Wèi  尾 | vei^41/ȵ^41 |

The three principal diagnostic lexemes are:

Copula: sǐ^213 (是)
“I”: nǒ^41
“eat”: tǐ^35 (喫)

The results of these tests leave little doubt that, if our criteria are valid, Lēiyáng should
be classified as Gän. Only one word, mǎ 馬, shows the typical Hakka tone shift, and all three
diagnostic lexemes have Gän rather than Hakka forms.

Let us now turn to Jiànníng. This dialect has six tones, i.e., yīnpíng: 21, yángpíng: 33,
shǎng: 55, yīnqù 213, yángqù 35, and rù 53. Data are from Lī & Chang (1992). The tonal test
forms are as follows:

| Lǎn  懶 | nɔŋ^55 |
| Nuǎn  暖 | lan^55 |
| Yǒu  有 | iu^55 |
| Mǎ  馬 | ma^55 |
| Mǎi  買 | mai^55 |
The three primary diagnostic lexemes are:

copula: si^35 (是)
“I”: nga^55
“eat”: sik (食)

The tonal test points unmistakably to Gân affiliation. The copula is also Gân. The pronoun is ambiguous. The verb “to eat” is, on the contrary, the Hakka word. These equivocal results suggest that we should examine our remaining test words:

subordinative: kei (neutral tone)
negative m^35
“son” tsei^55

The subordinative particle is Hakka-like, and the verbal negative should count as Hakka, because it is bilabial. The word for “son” is ambiguous. In conclusion, our tests for this dialect are therefore generally inconclusive, and this may in fact account for why, as mentioned in Chapter I, Norman (p.c.) classes this dialect as “Gakka”, i.e., intermediate between Gân and Hakka.

On the basis of these tests, then, it would seem that we could have safely included Lěiyáng in our Gân comparative studies above, and should in fact do so in future. But it is noteworthy that we were able to reach this conclusion only after having completed the work done in the preceding chapters. To have simply decided the Lěiyáng question by fiat in Chapter I would have been arbitrary and unsupported. The case of Jiànning is, on the other hand, entirely different. Our results suggest that we should probably set this language aside for special treatment at a later stage in comparative Gân/Hakka research. For the nonce, we remain uncertain about what it is and how it came to be so.

6.3.6 Common Gân and Common Central Xiāng. The group of dialects currently designated as Xiāng lies west of the Gân-speaking area, and mainly in Húnán. It is genuinely

17 While Gân/Hakka comparison is a virtual cottage industry, book length comparative studies of Gân and Xiāng are rather rare. An interesting recent example is Luó (2010), with a bibliography of relevant earlier works.
questionable whether these languages constitute a valid taxonomic unit, for this has never been
cogently demonstrated. And, not surprisingly, no common phonological system has ever been
constructed for the group. However, approximately in the center of the general Xiāng area as
currently constituted there exists a smaller group of dialects which do appear to be interrelated,
and for which a common system, called “Common Central Xiāng” (CCX), has been posited
(Coblin 2011). The Central Xiāng group is characterized by shared innovations vis-à-vis
Common Dialectal Chinese, wherein CDC yāngrù tone syllables have joined the modern
yǐnqù tone and the original voiced stop and affricate initials of these syllables have become
voiceless aspirates. This set of interrelated changes clearly distinguishes Central Xiāng from
other Húnán dialects and, more importantly for us, from any form of Gàn. Additionally, we
should note that Gàn and Central Xiāng are not geographically contiguous, though future
comparative work may ultimately expand the Central Xiāng group to form a “Greater Central
Xiāng” assemblage of dialects, and in turn establish contiguity with Gàn. Thus, though perhaps
not immediately pressing, the question of distinguishing Gàn from Central Xiāng is in fact
worthy of our interest and attention.

Beginning, with the syllable initials, in addition to the peculiarity noted in the preceding
paragraph, Common Central Xiāng is characterized by a full set of zhuó initials including
fricatives. This, as was also the case for Common Wú and CYWM, constitutes a clear
distinction between Central Xiāng and Common Gàn, since the latter, while possessing voiced
stops and affricates, has only voiceless fricatives.

Moving now to the finals, we begin with the syllable codas, where a striking
characteristic of Common Central Xiāng is the total loss of Common Dialectal Chinese final
stops in its rūshēng finals. This is of course quite unlike Common Gàn, where these stops are
well preserved. Among nasal finals, CDC *-m merges into *-n, again differing from Common
Gàn. For the vowels, we find that there are in Common Central Xiāng two lexical layers,
corresponding exactly to the wén/bái strata in Gàn. For Xiāng, the first of Norman’s vowel
tables is as follows, where, again, the wavy line separates bái and wén forms:

搬 pɒn  斑 pan
端 tuɔn  單 tan
乾 kɔn  間 kan ~ kien
官 kʊn  關 kuan

Here, remembering that [ɔ] is phonetically a rounded vowel, we find essentially perfect
parallelism with the corresponding Common Gàn vocalism.

Let us now consider the second diagnostic vowel table, beginning with the Common
Central Xiāng bái forms:
A Study of Comparative Gàn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gàn</th>
<th>Wén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>旁 baŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 pin</td>
<td>旁 boŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 dən 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 lin</td>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 dən 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桑 saŋ 層 dzən 生 sən 正 tʃin(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃin</td>
<td>桑 saŋ 層 dzən 生 sən 正 tʃin(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 in</td>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And for the corresponding wén forms we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gàn</th>
<th>Wén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>旁 baŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 pin</td>
<td>旁 baŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 dən 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 lin</td>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 dən 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桑 saŋ 層 dzən 生 sən 正 tʃin(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃin</td>
<td>桑 saŋ 層 dzən 生 sən 正 tʃin(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 in</td>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And now, as an aide-mémoire, we give again the two corresponding tables for Common Gàn:

Common Gàn bái forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gàn</th>
<th>Wén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>旁 boŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 peŋ</td>
<td>旁 boŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 baŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 peŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 deŋ 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 liŋ</td>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 deŋ 冷 laŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 liŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桑 soŋ 層 dzəŋ 生 səŋ 正 tʃiŋ(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃiŋ</td>
<td>桑 soŋ 層 dzəŋ 生 səŋ 正 tʃiŋ(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 eŋ</td>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 eŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Common Gàn wén forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gàn</th>
<th>Wén</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>旁 boŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 ben~ŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 piŋ</td>
<td>旁 boŋ 朋 boŋ 彭 ben~ŋ 饼 piaŋ(_SHAPE) 冰 piŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 deŋ 冷 len~ŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 liŋ</td>
<td>湯 t'añ 藤 deŋ 冷 len~ŋ(_SHAPE) 嶺 liŋ(_SHAPE) 凌 liŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>桑 soŋ 層 dzəŋ 生 səŋ 正 tʃiŋ(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃiŋ</td>
<td>桑 soŋ 層 dzəŋ 生 səŋ 正 tʃiŋ(_SHAPE) 蒸 tʃiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 eŋ</td>
<td>建 koŋ 肯 k'əŋ(_SHAPE) 坑 k'əŋ 驚 k'əŋ 嚿 eŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of the Xiāng and Gàn data reveals that, though there are differences in the actual vowel values of the two common systems, nearly perfect parity exists between vowel types, as can be seen by comparing the corresponding vertical columns in the two pairs of tables. From these observations two useful inferences can be drawn. First, the contrast between Gàn rounded vowels and Xiāng unrounded ones in the first vertical columns can serve to distinguish the two dialect families. And, secondly, the striking parallelism in wén/bái layering in the two groups suggests that there is historical affinity of some sort between Gàn and Central Xiāng, which invites further consideration and interpretation.
Common Central Xiāng is restored with six tones. However, there are vestiges of a seventh tone, corresponding to the CDC yāngshǎng class (Coblin 2011:184–187). The Common Central Xiang tonal system is in this respect reminiscent of the Common Gàn one, which also has a defective yāngshǎng tone class. As indicated above, the Common Dialectal Chinese yāngrù tone has been lost in Common Central Xiāng through merger with the yīnqū tone. This feature differentiates this group sharply from Common Gàn. However, it is noteworthy that an expanded Greater Central Xiāng group, incorporating neighboring dialects outside nuclear Common Central Xiāng, would not have this feature and would therefore be tonally congruent with Common Gàn.

We now move to lexicon, with a selection of the lexemes mentioned in the preceding sections, plus several others discussed in Chapter V.

1. “son”. CCX *tsai 上. The most frequently occurring Common Gàn form is *tsAi 阴上.


3. “nose”. CCX *bi 阳去 ~ *p'i 阴去. Common Gàn in parallel also has two competing roots: bi 阳去 ~ *bi 陽入. The second Common Central Xiāng form is almost certainly derived from Common Dialectal Chinese *bit8, by the regular shift to the yīnqū tone with initial change to a voiceless aspirate, which is the iconic feature of the Central Xiāng dialects.

4. “walk”. CCX *ɣɒ 阳平. Common Gàn has both *tseu 阴上 and *ha 阳平 for this word, sometimes in competition in the same dialect.

5. “run”. CCX *tseu 上. Gàn dialects most often have forms derived from CG *p'au 上 ~ *p'ou 上, with *tseu 阴去 also common and sometimes in direct competition.

6. “stand”. CCX *gi 阳去. The predominant Common Gàn word is also *gi 阳去, with some competition from the loan form *tsan 阴去.

7. “go”. CCX *k'i 阴去 ~ *k'ie (tone?). Common Gàn has a comparable pair, *k'e 阴去 ~ *k'ie 阴去.

8. “give”. CCX *p'p 上. The predominant Common Gàn form is *pa 阴上.

9. “eat”. CCX *k'iu 人. The usual Common Gàn form is *k'ia 阴入.

10. Copula. CCX *ʐi 阳去. Common Gàn has variants: *ʂie 阴平 ~ *ʂi 阳去 ~ *ʂ 阳平. All these words are forms of copular shì 是.

11. “I”. CCX *ŋ 上 ~ *ŋ 阴上. The most frequent Common Gàn form is *ŋo 上. A rather less
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common competitor is CG *(ŋ)a^4, and it is to this word that the second Common Central Xiāng form corresponds.

12. “you”. CCX *ŋ̩a^1. For Common Gàn we have reconstructed *nie (tone uncertain). Some Gàn dialects have for this word a syllable [ŋ], which we suspect may be a reflex of earlier *nie. The Common Central Xiāng reconstruction appears to be most directly related to these later syllabic nasal forms, rather than to the full Common Gàn proto-form.

13. “he/she/it”. CCX *t’ɒ~*ki^3. Common Gàn has *ge ~ *gie (tones uncertain), with competing evidence for for both yángpíng and yánghàng tones. Whether the second Common Central Xiāng form is directly related to the Common Gàn ones is somewhat uncertain, for the initials are not in agreement.

14. Verbal negative. CCX *p’u^5~*pu^5~*ma^2. For Common Gàn we posit *put^5~*pat^5~*ŋ̩ (atonal?). Both families have forms of the common northern negative bù 不, and also competing nasal or nasalized words. It is possible that the Common Central Xiāng word is a very archaic and “original” form of this nasal negative, with the Gàn word being some sort of reduction of it, perhaps due to intonational factors.

15. Perfective negative. CCX *mau^1~*mou^1. For Common Gàn we have *mou^1~*mou^1.

16. Existential negative. CCX *mau^1 (tə^1). The most frequent Common Gàn form is *mou^1 tek^1~*mou^1 tek^1, with a competing form *mou^1 iu^1~*mou^1 iu^1, also being fairly common.

17. Subordinative particle. CCX *k-?. The Common Gàn particle is *ko (atonal). Another form, perhaps reconstructable as *kə, is also present in some Gàn dialects. No final can be reconstructed for the Common Central Xiāng form, since no regular vowel correspondence pattern is present in the supporting cognate set. The modern forms have either rounded vowels of various types, or the modern final -ɤ. This of course resembles the pairing found in the Gàn dialects.

Our conclusion here is that there is a high degree of lexical parity between Central Xiāng and Gàn. To distinguish the families we must therefore appeal to phonological criteria, where Common Central Xiāng has in most cases undergone modifications vis-à-vis Common Dialectal Chinese, while Common Gàn has remained unchanged. In one case, however, i.e., devoicing of earlier zhuó fricatives, it is Gàn rather than Xiāng that has innovated.

Summarizing, in this section we have found ways to distinguish the Gàn family from each of its proximal neighbors, thereby enabling us to resolve the conundrum posed in the first section of Chapter I, i.e., how to identify a set of Gàn dialects to which the comparative
method can be confidently applied. In other words, we need no longer appeal to our rough and ready method of simply limiting our work to dialects that linguists generally choose to call Gàn. However, it is noteworthy that in all our work in the present chapter we have identified the borders of Gàn by finding ways to exclude non-Gàn dialects, rather than by uncovering common features of Gàn itself. In so doing, we have in fact simply confirmed Norman’s maxim (p.c.) that “it is easier to say what Gàn is not than to say what it is.” And this of course raises its own questions, i.e., why is this so and what does it mean? This is the problem we shall address in our concluding section.

6.4 Concluding Thoughts

6.4.1 General Thoughts on the Nature of Gàn. The Gàn dialects are of course ultimately related to all other forms of Chinese, but in §6.3 we have seen that the family has special relationships with both Hakka and Central Xiāng. In the case of Hakka, and particularly in the area of segmental phonology, we have found that Common Gàn and Proto-Hakka are remarkably similar. In the area of tone, however, Hakka has a peculiar feature, i.e., an enigmatic set of Common Dialectal Chinese sonorant initial yángshǎng syllables that inexplicably fall under the Hakka yīnpín tone. This tonal configuration is mostly absent from Gàn. In the area of lexicon, we have seen that there is a cluster of words in Hakka that can be said to characterize it. On the other hand, this typically Hakka lexical set is not totally absent from Gàn, for examples of it do appear there, increasing steadily as one nears the borders of the Hakka-speaking area of Jiāngxī. The distribution of these special lexical features in the Hakka and Gàn-speaking areas does not coincide perfectly with that of the peculiarly Hakka tonal feature just alluded to, thus making it difficult to arrive a coherent geographical resolution of the boundary between the two. And in this connection it is noteworthy that in certain cases, such as that of the verbal negatives of the bù type versus those of the nasal or nasal initial type, the distribution of competing lexical forms suggests that what we might characterize as a “Hakka-like” lexical assemblage once extended farther north than it does today and has been steadily eroded or displaced by “non-Hakka” northern-type words.

As regards Central Xiāng, we have found that our diagnostic lexical set is in this group very close to that of Gàn, while the phonology of Common Central Xiāng has diverged from that of Common Dialectal Chinese in ways that Common Gàn has not. On the other hand, in one instance, i.e., the devoicing of fricatives, it is Gàn rather than Xiāng that has undergone change. Thus, though Central Xiāng, like Hakka, shows striking resemblances to Gàn, the inventories of the Gàn-like similarities in Xiāng and Hakka are not identical.

We have noted above that it is quite difficult to say what Gàn is, as opposed to what it is not. But in one respect this is not so. For upon inspection we observe that the sound system of Common Gàn is strikingly similar to that of Common Dialectal Chinese. Indeed, the only truly sharp difference between the two, other than the devoicing of voiced fricatives in Gàn, is in the Gàn initial system, where CDC *c-, *ch-, and *sh- have become Common Gàn ts-, tsh-,..
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and s- before the vowels *e, *a, and *o. This is of course a development that occurs in other dialect groups as well, so that it cannot be said to uniquely characterize Gàn. But it does differentiate Common Gàn from Common Dialectal Chinese. Among the finals, CG *-ei, which corresponds to CDC *-iai, is vestigial, but it does still survive in a number of popular words. Likewise, the Common Dialectal Chinese yângshâng tone is defective in Gàn; but, again, it does still exist in Common Gàn in the bái lexical layer. In other words, one might without undue exaggeration say that Common Gàn in most respects is Common Dialectal Chinese, albeit in a somewhat evolved form. And to say this is in a sense to say that Common Gàn is essentially identical with the proto-system from which the modern sound systems of most non-Mîn dialects evolved. This is on the face of it a rather startling observation, whose implications cry out for elucidation. This issue we shall address further below.

An interesting parallel between Gàn and Central Xiâng is in the lexical layering of the two families. We can see this by comparing the bái and wén data in Norman’s second vowel test table, as cited above, first for Gàn and then for Central Xiâng (i.e., in §6.3.1 and §6.3.6). There we note that the two families appear to share phonetically congruent or parallel layer types, as if the layers extend across both the Gàn and Xiâng-speaking areas. On the other hand, if we then compare the Proto-Hakka data, we see that for the second table we seem to have only one version, which corresponds directly to the bái tables of Gàn and Xiâng (see §6.3.5). This, however, is illusory. O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka reconstruction intentionally focuses on popular forms and eschews literary readings. If we add the corresponding Hakka wén readings (which are readily available in DCBG and BJYJ), we see that the layering in all three families is completely parallel and obviously related in fundamental ways.

Finally we return to the small set of “prototypically Hakka” lexemes discussed in §6.3.5. As we have seen, most of these also occur here and there in Gàn but are far less common there, clustering mainly in the southern Gàn area. In general, it is not easy to seriate these words vis-à-vis the two layers mentioned in the preceding paragraph. But in two cases, i.e., the first person pronoun and the subordinative particle, something of this type can in fact be undertaken. Compare the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CDC/EC</th>
<th>Proto-Hakka</th>
<th>Common Gàn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I” 我</td>
<td>*ngo³/*ngayx.</td>
<td>*ngai⁴</td>
<td>*ŋo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub. part. (唔)</td>
<td>*ko (?)/*kay (?)</td>
<td>*k(i)ai</td>
<td>*ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subordinative particle is rather difficult to reconstruct in both Proto-Hakka and Common Dialectal Chinese, but it is possible that its history parallels that of the first person pronoun. In the case of the pronoun, at least, the Common Gàn form likely belongs to the bái lexical layer of Gàn and is congruent with the Common Dialectal Chinese form. The Hakka form, on the other hand agrees best with the Early Chinese reconstruction. This would indicate that the Proto-Hakka word, however old it is, probably predates the two lexical strata we have
identified in Gän in §6.3.1, both of which find analogues in Hakka (cf. §6.3.5). In other words, for the entire Gän-Hakka-Xiāng complex, we can envisage three strata, i.e., a wén layer of literary readings in all three families, a corresponding bái layer of popular forms, again present in all three, and an even older, “archaic” bái layer in Hakka, traces of which appear here and there in southern Gän, and very spottily, if at all, in Central Xiāng.

Our various specific observations about the Gän family in this section lead to a more general one, with which we may conclude. The intricate relationships we have observed between Gän and the Hakka and Central Xiāng groups, as well as the peculiar one between Gän and Common Dialectal Chinese, are not easily explained in terms of a classic Stammbaum model. In other words, it seems unlikely that Common Gän, or even some older proto-language ancestral to Gän, Hakka, and Central Xiāng, could have evolved by separating cleanly from a common Sinitic linguistic stock and then undergoing independent branching developments, characterized by uniquely shared innovations in each branch. The true historical picture must have been different from, and far more complex than, this; and it is accordingly to that picture that we must now turn.

6.4.2 Historical Observations on the Nature of Gän. At the beginning of this chapter we assembled information on the demographic history of the Gän-speaking area and contiguous regions. In the present section, we shall attempt to correlate the historical record with the linguistic picture, in order to arrive at a developmental history of Gän and its interrelated congener, Hakka and Central Xiāng.

6.4.2.1 The First Stage. Since we have identified at least three, and probably actually four, lexical strata in the Gän-Hakka-Xiāng complex, it seems reasonable to begin our work with the oldest layer. This, we suspect, should be dated to the earliest periods of Sinitic language penetration south of the Yangtze. For this stage we shall at the outset propose the name Pre-Yǒngjiā Southern Chinese. Since the term Yǒngjiā as a linguistic term is conventionally applied to trans-Yangtze developments in Chinese, we can expediently delete the modifier “Southern” from this somewhat cumbersome designation and use the name “Pre-Yǒngjiā Chinese”, to be abbreviated as “PYJ Chinese”. We shall apply this expression to any and all varieties of Chinese spoken in the south before 316 AD. Of course, all such language types ultimately derive from the centers of Sinitic speech in north China and are in that sense genetically connected. However, whether any or all of them are intimately related with one another at a lower level and should be subgrouped together is a question which lies outside our purview here; and we shall therefore eschew discussion of it. Thus, our term “PYJ Chinese” is to be understood as geographical and chronological, rather than taxonomic. Should we require a means of denoting the particular type of PYJ Chinese that is of special interest to us, i.e., that which has left traces in Hakka, and to a much lesser degree in Gän, we shall conventionally call this language “Central PYJ Chinese".
Our historical excursus in §6.1 indicates that Central PYJ Chinese was carried into the Gàn River watershed mainly in Hàn and immediately post-Hàn times, probably by relatively small numbers of settlers and military personnel. In these periods it would have been distributed along the entire watershed, extending from Yùzhāngjùn in the north to the mountainous regions in the far south, with the Sinitic-speaking population diminishing steadily as one moved farther into remote and less accessible southern areas. What, then, shall we suppose this language was like?

We can hypothesize that at the phonological level it had certain typical features of all Early Chinese, i.e., no dentilabialization, lack of retroflexion and/or affrication of the Early Chinese clusters of dentals with medial *-r-, etc. It would have preserved Early Chinese dental *n- in words such as *nin (平人 “person” and *niet 熱 “hot”, whose initials later shifted to palatal *nh- in Common Dialectal Chinese. It may well have had a series of voiceless nasals where O’Connor proposed these for Pre-Hakka based on later Hakka tonal developments. The possibility exists that it had initial *h- in at least some environments where general Sinitic had *k’-. In its finals, it may have had forms in *-e/*-ie (as opposed to *-iu) where Norman reconstructs CDC *-ie in the so-called yū rime (魚韻) of the QYS. And it would almost certainly have had final *-ai where Early Chinese has *-ay and Common Dialectal Chinese has *-o. We may suppose that it had a classic píng, shǎng, qù, rù tonal system; but for indeterminate reasons it was able to generate a unique sets of Common Dialectal Chinese sonorant initial yánɡshǎnɡ tone words, some under the yīnpíng tone in many Hakka dialects and others under the shǎng tone. Whether this feature was brought in from elsewhere by the first migrants, arose internally as Chinese was adopted by non-Sinitic speakers, or appeared for some other reason, remains uncertain. In its lexicon, we may be reasonably certain that this language had a bilabial nasal-initial or syllabic nasal word as its plain verbal negative. Perhaps this word was actually pronounced *ma; or, alternatively, perhaps it was realized as *m. This negative was probably widely distributed in other types of PYJ Chinese as well, for it is common in the modern southern dialects. Perhaps it was already current north of the Yangtze in even earlier times but was considered non-standard and therefore escaped written representation in texts. In other words, it might be that at least some speakers were actually saying *ma for “not” in speech but writing the character 不. We unfortunately know little about such matters. A related negative word was probably a single syllable read as *mau (平, a fusion of negative *ma plus the existential verb yǒu (有 (*wu < EC *wix), which functioned as a negative existential and for which there fortunately is evidence in Hán-time texts (see Norman 1995:32). The subordinative particle was probably *kai. The personal pronouns seem to have been: 1st *ŋai , 2nd *nie ~ *n (tones uncertain), 3rd *ki ~ *ke ~ *kie (tones uncertain) and/or *ge ~

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18 Recent discoveries have made clear that the interface between Hakka tones and the putative voiceless nasals envisaged by O’Connor and his mentor, Norman, is more complex than it was earlier believed to have been. See, for instance, Hóu (2005, 2008) and Zhuāng (2008, 2012). Further comparative work is sorely needed in this area.
*gie* (tones uncertain). The copula likely was a form of *xi* 「係」 at some point, and the word for “eat” a form of *shí* 食. The language almost certainly had a word *tsai* 係 meaning “son” and another, *ŋia* 係, meaning “child”. It is likely that it also had a peculiar competing form for “son”, pronounced something like “lai”, which was of obscure and possibly non-Sinitic origin. The word for “thorn” was probably *lek*, or the like. Beyond this brief list, we may be certain that Central PYJ Chinese had many, many more distinctive words, mostly now concealed in the broader Gân/Hakka lexicon, but for whose antiquity we have no direct evidence because they evince no distinguishing phonological features that would identify them as archaic. And finally, there were undoubtedly also lexical items, some unique and some shared with other PYJ varieties, which have been totally lost and of whose existence we shall probably never know.

6.4.2.2 The Second Stage. The second lexical stratum with which we must deal encompasses both the Yōngjiā and Ān-Shī periods. Ideally, we would hope to separate the lexical material belonging to these two levels; however, in actual fact, this is difficult to do in many cases. What we can say is that there is a large stratum of words in Common Gân that corresponds well with the Common Dialectal Chinese system, and it is this layer with which we are concerned here. In some instances, it may in fact be feasible to arrive at a finer seriation. For example, it is possible that Gân and Hakka undentilabialized labial initials and unretroflexed dental stops in some words actually belong to the early stages of the Yōngjiā level rather than to PYJ Chinese. On the other hand, the Common Dialectal Chinese alveopalatal series, which conflates the QYS shéshàng 舌上 (*ṭ-, etc.*) and zhèngchǐ 正齒 (*ś-, etc.*) series, quite possibly dates from the second half of the Táng period and can probably be safely assigned to the Ān-Shī layer. Thus, where Gân and Hakka also conflate such forms, their material can also be assigned to this layer. In the same vein, Proto-Hakka words reconstructed with initial *ŋ-, and parallel Common Gân *ŋi-initial syllables, are best associated with CDC *nh- (rather than Early Chinese *n-) and can perhaps be assigned to the Tăng or very late pre-Tăng period, for by late Tăng or Five Dynasties times this initial type is more likely to have yielded fricatives or approximants of some sort in dialects transplanted south of the Yangtze from points farther north at that time. Thus, the relevant forms can be tentatively placed in a late Yōngjiā/Early Ān-Shī stratum. On the other hand, syllables having the Common Dialectal Chinese finals *-ang and *-iang, which fall in the early layer sub-types of Norman’s second vowel test table in the Gân and Central Xiāng material, and which correspond directly to the matching vernacular Proto-Hakka forms, are difficult to assign separately to either the Yōngjiā or Ān-Shī strata. In the late Tăng period northwest material, such as that represented in the Tibeto-Chinese and Brāhmī transcriptional corpus (Takata 1988), such finals have higher vowels, such *-e- or -i-; but we cannot confidently use this fact to date material from more southerly dialect groups such as Gân or Hakka, because the relevant vocalic developments may have differed in certain respects in different parts of central China. We are therefore stymied in such cases.
These caveats aside, we are nonetheless able to say something more about this particular layer, or “double layer” of lexical material. This is because of what we know about the migration history of the relevant periods. The Yőngiä migrations are not thought to have affected the Gän watershed to a great degree, except in its northernmost reaches. The population of these areas, and especially that settled in Yúzhângjün, did escalate appreciably during the post-316 AD period, due mainly to internal demographic growth. This would have involved population increases among speakers of pre-existing language types. The situation was markedly different during the Ān-Shî migrations, for these involved large-scale immigration into the entire Gän watershed and thence onward into Húnán. It is the possible linguistic effects of these demographic changes that we must now consider.

As we have seen, the lexical material datable to the late Yőngiä through Tâng periods forms the richest or “thickest” lexical layers in Gän and Central Xiâng, as well as that major vernacular lexical stratum in Hakka which lies directly above the archaic Central PYJ Chinese substratum in this family. And it seems reasonable to suppose that this thick layer was implanted mainly as a result of the Ān-Shî migrations. The precise details of this process are of course lost to us. But on the basis of its outcomes in various areas we can hazard certain guesses about its progress. First of all, we may suppose that the erosive effects of such a large-scale population influx led to the displacement or absorption of the original Central PYJ language that had been spoken in the flatter and more arable parts of the Gän River valley and its tributary watersheds. It was primarily in the more mountainous and remote areas of south central and southern Jiângxì that the older PYJ language type was best preserved as a popular substratum. There would probably have been no neat or sharp border demarcating the northern extent of this old substratum. Instead, what one would expect to find would be thinner and more fragmentary preservation the farther north one went, and more intact and robust survival farther south. As the migrations moved into Húnán, they probably had a similar effect on whatever variety or varieties of PYJ Chinese were spoken there. But there is no particular reason to suppose that what was displaced in Húnán was the Central PYJ language per se. On the contrary, since the Xiâng River watershed and its outlying areas had a different political and demographic history from the Gän area, the early forms of Chinese spoken in the former probably differed in various ways from the latter. Nevertheless, we cannot a priori discount the possibility that the Ān-Shî migrants carried Central PYJ material with them on their movements into Húnán. Such transplanted PYJ elements would be difficult to distinguish from any that had arrived in Húnán in other ways and in earlier times.

Let us now consider how well the above conjectures accord with the dialectal situation we observe in the relevant areas today. In Hakka there is a corpus of archaic lexical material, above which we find a much larger layer of lexemes that are shared with Gän. In the Gän dialects, there are only fragmentary, vestigial traces of the archaic substratum; but the larger and later one, shared generally with Hakka, is what forms much of the vernacular lexicon of Gän and is accordingly thought of as prototypically Gän by dialectologists. This same layer appears in Central Xiâng, where below it there is a small corpus of archaic forms sometimes
reminiscent of the Hakka (and Gân) archaic layer. In Xiāng, however, there are also popular forms that are not found in Hakka or Gân. These appear to derive from some sort of early “non-Gân-Hakka” linguistic presence (Luò 2006:235–246).

At this point it would seem appropriate to digress and briefly mention the well-known and interesting disagreement between Norman and Sagart on the vexed question of the relationship between Gân and Hakka. Norman (1988:222) has remarked, “As to the alleged close ties between Kējiā and Gân, we believe that these are for the most part superficial.” And later (p.223): “Unless more substantial evidence can be brought to bear on the problem, I believe Gân and Kējiā must be assigned to different groups.” Sagart, on the contrary, summarizes his position as follows (2002:131): “The author [i.e., Sagart himself; WSC] argues that Hakka and southern Gan are sister dialects, as they share several innovations not found elsewhere; that they arose out of the Chinese dialect spoken in central Jiangxi in Song times, a stratified dialect which included a non-Chinese substratum, probably Miao-Yao; an archaic layer; and a more recent layer with an important Late Middle Chinese component.” What, if anything, can we add to this discussion on the basis of our own observations and hypotheses, as outlined above? In other words, whose view shall we suppose is right, Norman’s or Sagart’s? Or can such a thing be decided at all?

In broaching such questions it is necessary at the outset to take account of certain recent findings regarding the dialectal configuration of the Gân-Hakka border area. To wit, Liú (2001: Chap. I, esp. p.40 et sq.) has reported that in southern Jiāngxī there are actually two different major types of Hakka. One of these, which he denotes as Kējíhuà 客家話, is known in common parlance of the area by a number of different names, one of the most general of which is Guǎngdōnghuà 廣東話 “Guǎngdōng language”. The speakers of this type of Hakka, who are colloquially called Guǎngdōngrén 廣東人 or Guǎngdōnglǎo 廣東佬 “Guǎngdōng people, Guǎngdōng folk”, have oral traditions, well supported by written records, that their ancestors migrated from Hakka-speaking parts of northeastern Guǎngdōng beginning in mid-Míng times. This coincides well with the account of Leong (1997:440) concerning the major migrations that are thought to have engendered the present-day Hakka ethnicity. The dialects of these people are phonologically rather similar to those surveyed by O’Connor (1976) and represented by his Proto-Hakka reconstruction. The other type of Jiāngxī Hakka is simply called běndìhuà 本地話 “the indigenous language” by its speakers, who refer to themselves as běndìrén 本地人 “natives of this place, indigenes”. (This terminological usage is, significantly, the same as that employed by speakers of a number of the southern Gân dialects.) These “indigenous” Hakkas have no migration tradition and no feeling that they are “guests” or “outlanders” or have an external origin. And, most significantly, it is their type of Hakka that is conspicuously similar to southern Gân. Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.), who is a bilingual speaker

19 For a more detailed discussion, see Norman (1989).
20 Leong’s superb study of Hakka history can be compared with the much older and also better-known one of Luó (1933), in our opinion to the decided disadvantage of the latter.
of a Jiān city Gān variety and also of the language of her ancestral village Yúnloúcūn, which lies near the border with the neighboring Hakka areas, has visited the Hakka villages across the border and reports that their dialects are quite intelligible to her. Significantly, however, she cannot understand standard Méixiàn Hakka of Guǎngdōng at all. Clearly, then, in discussing the Gān/Hakka question as an historical and genetic issue, it is with “běndì Hakka” that we must be primarily concerned. “Guǎngdōng-type Hakka” is late and intrusive, and as such can be excluded from our deliberations. Finally, it is interesting that at nearly the same time Liú (2001) was writing, Sagart (2002:147) reached rather similar conclusions. Regarding the demographic movements of the “Guǎngdōng-type” Hakkas he says, “...these migrations sharpened the linguistic boundaries between Hakka and its neighboring dialects: the old boundaries between Hakka and its neighbors were erased in several locations. How sharp these old boundaries were, we may never know.”

Returning now to the disagreement between Norman and Sagart, our own belief is that the stance one takes on it will depend on one’s perspective regarding the history of the Gān/Hakka area. We have seen that there is in Hakka an important archaic substratum that probably descends from Central PYJ Chinese. This substratum survives vestigially in Gān. If one chooses to discount the rather scant archaic elements found in Gān while placing significant weight on the appreciable substratum in Hakka, then, from this standpoint one may say that the two families are different and separate. But if one on the contrary decides to emphasize the larger Ān-Shǐ lexical layer these two families share, then Gān and Hakka are obviously sub-streams in a continuum and are in this respect closely related. The said continuum would be “superficial” only in the sense that it is a superstratum lying above the archaic layer, not because it is in any sense negligible or unimportant. Norman (loc. cit.) has discussed various Hakka phonological features and lexical items which we, for our part, would now ascribe to Central PYJ Chinese and its residual stratum in Hakka. In response to Norman’s material, Sagart (op. cit.) has cited cases from various southern Gān dialects where similar or identical features and lexemes are found. These are expressly given to refute Norman’s argument for the existence of a discrete Hakka group, independent from Gān. The crux of this entire matter, to our way of thinking, lies in the apparent desire on the part of these authorities to draw, or not to draw, a sharp line between Hakka and Gān. Our view here is that demographic history suggests waves and flowage, rather than discrete branches which have diverged and developed independently according to a tree-type model. As we have seen, the deposition of a layer of Central PYJ Chinese material, and its subsequent erosion by intrusive migration waves, has left as a residue a substratum which is thin and spotty farther north and increasingly thick and rich farther south. A configuration of this type is not inherently susceptible to absolute demarcations. Nor is it easily characterizable in terms of a distinct set of shared innovations in separate branches of a tree. This is because it was produced by fluid demographic dynamics, rather than by neat, Stammbaum-type bifurcations. Thus the argument about whether or not Gān and Hakka are related, and if so how, may to some extent have been skewed by the models adopted by the discussants. Our response to the question they have pondered is that
these families are related by the fact that they have been subject to the same demographic processes, but that they differ in the manners in which they have been influenced by these processes. We have, in other words, been attempting in the present work to answer questions about demographic history and its resultant linguistic configurations, rather than about dialect classification and cladistic taxonomy in the formal sense.

Finally, we must consider the question of why it is precisely the late Yòngjiā/Ān-Shí stage in Common Gàn history that so strikingly resembles Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese system. If Common Dialectal Chinese is by definition the ancestor of all non-Mīn dialects, then why should Gàn have been so similar to this ancestral form of Chinese? In confronting this riddle, we can begin by recalling the history of the Ān-Shí migrations. The population that made up these movements originated in many parts of north China, including the far north and northwest, the Central Plains, and the Jiāng-Huái region. The stream that ultimately affected the Gàn-Hakka area moved southward and then southeastward through the Jiāng-Huái belt to the reaches of southern Jiāngsū and northern Zhèjīāng. It then proceeded westward into the Póyáng Plain, and thence farther southward up the Gàn basin. A smaller sub-stream moved directly from the western terminus of the Jiāng-Huái area into the Póyáng plain. The result of these migrations would have been an influx into Jiāngxī of speakers of somewhat diverse varieties of northern and Yangtze watershed types of Chinese. Now, a situation in which speakers of related dialects of the same language are thrown together often results in a phenomenon called leveling. Simply put, persons who may once have spoken only their own dialects suddenly need to communicate with speakers of other dialects, which are related to, but not identical with, their own native speech. The result of this is a process whereby features which are felt likely to be more widely understood are emphasized or, if need be, learned, while those which are thought to constitute obstacles to communication are avoided or suppressed. This phenomenon regularly occurs when the speakers in question are for some reason transplanted to new locales that are at some remove from their original homeland. This process is sometimes called colonial leveling. It can result in the formation of a new dialect, and, sometimes, of a koine (Trudgill 1986, 2004). Leveling and koineization may result in simplifications, but with equal frequency their outcome can be increased complexity, as different features of the original contact languages are incorporated and preserved. This is sometimes called colonial lag, a somewhat controversial concept among sociolinguists, for which Trudgill has recently offered interesting support (Trudgill 2010:130–142). In Common Gàn we see simplifications in the form of mergers of QYS ʈ-, etc. and tʃ-, etc. as Common Gàn *c-, etc., and also in the merger of Common Dialectal Chinese alveopalatals and dental sibilants in certain environments. On the other hand, we have also seen the maintenance of complexity in the retention of a distinction between CDC *-iai and *-i in popular words, and of retention of the yángshǎng tone in this same lexical venue. In the end, then, our suggestion is that Common Gàn is to a great extent the result of colonial leveling among dialects transplanted from north of the Yangtze during the Ān-Shí migration stage, rather than of the split of a particular dialect type from the Common Sinitic stock, as would be envisaged by a
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Stammbaum interpretation. This, we suggest, is why it is so difficult to characterize Common Gàn in terms of uniquely shared innovations, i.e., in Norman’s parlance, to say what Gàn is rather than what it is not.

6.4.2.3 The Third Stage. The third lexical stratum with which we are concerned can be identified with the Jingkāng migration period, which began with the fall of the Northern Song Dynasty. Population movements in Jiāngxī and Húnán during this period were in certain respects similar to those of the Ān-Shí stage, for they saw extensive migration from a wide range of areas north (or in some cases south) of the Yangtze into the Gàn watershed and its tributary basins, and thence into Húnán. However, lexical material borrowed as a result of these demographic movements tended to function as literary readings of characters that already had current spoken forms. In many cases, this resulted in wén/bái pairs. Only in cases where the indigenous dialects had no readings at all for particular graphically represented syllables did the Jingkāng layer forms become generalized in vernacular usage. Lexical material from this stratum is seen in the wén variant readings in Norman’s vowel test tables, as revealed by the Common Gàn and Common Central Xiāng reconstructed forms there. Similar forms could also be posited for Proto-Hakka, had O’Connor chosen to work with wén as well as bái readings in his comparative exercise. As it is, his Proto-Hakka system represents for the most part only the bái layer of these dialects. Consider for example, the following forms from the wén and bái versions of the test tables for Gàn and Central Xiāng, given in §6.3.1 and §6.3.6 above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bái Table II</th>
<th>Wén Table II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gàn</td>
<td>liāŋ (³)</td>
<td>li̇n (³)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiāng</td>
<td>li̇n (³)</td>
<td>li̇n (³)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now compare the corresponding Proto-Hakka data from the table given in §6.3.5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Table II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Hakka</td>
<td>liāŋ¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no corresponding wén form in O’Connor’s material. However, if we examine the Hakka data given in DCBG and BJYJ, we find matching wén forms in [li̇n³³] and [li̇n³³],

21 Note that these migrations did not by any means comprise only upper class standard Chinese speakers from the Northern Song capital and its environs. Indeed, demographic studies suggest that the migrants came from all over the trans-Yangtze area, including areas within the Yangtze watershed. See Gè et al. (1993, 1997) and Coblin (2002), with references to earlier studies.
which would reconstruct as *\textipa{lin}^1 in O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka system. From examples of this type, which are abundant, we can be certain that Jingkāng layer material of the type found in Gān and Central Xiāng was also carried into the area where ancestral forms of Hakka were spoken.

Finally, as noted above, there are cases where it seems that only literary readings of the Jingkāng stage are preserved

bīng 兵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CDC</th>
<th>Common Gān</th>
<th>Common Central Xiāng</th>
<th>Proto-Hakka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*piang^1</td>
<td>*pìn</td>
<td>*pìn</td>
<td>*pìn</td>
<td>*pin^1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated by the Common Dialectal Chinese form, this is a word which we would expect to take finals such as *-iaŋ in the colloquial layers of these dialects. But such is not in fact the case. One must on the contrary assume that this word was lost entirely in the popular layers of all of them and was subsequently restored by borrowing character readings from northern immigrants during the Jingkāng migrations.

6.4.2.4 The Fourth Stage. This stage represents material imported from early modern and modern koines during the Míng/Qīng and Modern Standard Chinese periods. In some cases it is possible to arrive at a finer seriation and distinguish between the two sub-stages. For example, consider the following forms:

rén 人 QYS ńźjen CDC *nhin^2/EC *nin
CG *nin ～ *jin ～ *tên

Here, the vocalism of the first wén form identifies it as a loan from the early Guānhuà period. That of the second wén form points to a later stage, after the lowering of the vowel, i.e., when the borrowed word was pronounced essentially as rén, its modern standard reading. In actual fact, Gān dialects that have borrowed these forms usually replicate the borrowed northern initial as l-, or, in the case of Tōngshān, as z-. For full data, see the Appendix, sub rén 人.

Another significant event that can be associated with this stage is the set of demographic movements referred to in §6.1 above as the “Jiāngxī Fan” migrations. This fan-shaped emigration out of the Gān-speaking area implanted Gān dialects in a geographical arc, beginning in eastern Hūnān, extending upward into southeast Hūbèi, and ultimately including the far southwest corner of Ānhuí (Coblin 2005). Today, Gān dialects are spoken in all these areas, marking with their distribution the pathways the Míng/Qīng migrants followed out of Jiāngxī and into new territories.
6.4.3 Subgrouping within Gàn. Having in hand a common phonological system for the Gàn family, it seems worthwhile to attempt a finer demarcation of its constituent dialects. This should be done by indentifying subgroups which have undergone uniquely shared innovations vis-à-vis the common system. It is important to note that the procedure takes as a given the validity and coherence of the family as a whole. This we have in fact attempted to establish in §6.3 above. Once the validity and extent of the family has been determined, one can safely work within its bounds, without regard to developments in other families. In other words, the fact that a shared innovation which has occurred within a Gàn subgroup is also known from some other Chinese dialect family should not a priori invalidate the testimony of that change as in internal event within Gàn.

An obvious criterion for a “first cut” in Gàn subgrouping is the development of the Common Gàn voiced series, which, it will be recalled, consists entirely of stops and affricates. Simply put, nearly all Gàn varieties merge the Common Gàn voiceless aspirated and voiced initials. But this is not true of a small set of dialects spoken in northwest Jiāngxī/Southeast Húběi, either on or near the Xiūshuǐ 修水 or, reportedly, in remote villages north of this stream in the foothills of the Mùfúbān 墨阜山 range, on the Jiāngxī/Húběi border (Chén 2009). These languages either wholly or in part preserve the voiced series as separate or merge it with the voiceless unaspirated initials. Wǔníng-3 exemplifies the former type, Tōngshān, on the north side of the range in Húběi, the latter. This appears to be a fundamental classificatory division in the Gàn dialects, but it is unfortunately not a particularly useful one. The dialects that maintain an independent voiced series, or treat it in ways that attest to its existence, by definition constitute a retention group and for that reason cannot be joined together taxonomically. Instead, they appear to be what is sometimes characterized as a linguistic refugium or relict area. We shall refer to this set of unclassified dialects as the “Northwest Refugium”. The remaining dialects, which comprise virtually the entire inventory of dialects in the family, would then group together and must be further subgrouped in other ways.

Among these remaining dialects, two different subtypes can immediately be identified on the basis of the particular ways in which they merge the Common Gàn voiced and voiceless aspirated initials. The smaller of these, which is represented by dialects in the second tier of our database, extends across the northern part of the Póyáng Plain. These dialects merge the voiceless aspirates into the voiced initials, resulting in a single voiced or murmured series, depending on dialect. We shall call this the Northern Band group. The remaining dialects merge the voiced initials into the voiceless aspirated ones, yielding the voiceless plain versus voiceless aspirated dichotomy that has been characterized as “prototypically Gàn” by earlier handbooks and is sometimes still so denominated. This group we shall call the “Aspirated Devoicing Group”, adopting the term used by Sagart in his writings on Gàn. Map IV below illustrates the geographical distribution of the Northern Band and Aspirated Devoicing types, plus the location of the Northwest Refugium.  

22 The boundaries represented in this map and Map V below are of necessity approximations, since we
Our attention now turns to the Aspirated Devoicing group. Here we depart from consideration of the syllable initials and turn instead to the finals. In so doing we find that, among the Aspirated Devoicing dialects there is a large group in the southern part of the area where the vowel in CG *-om becomes unrounded after coronals. This is clearly a significant shared innovation of these dialects. In our database, it generally characterizes dialects of the currently lack detailed surveys of the border areas between the dialect subgroups. This will hopefully be remedied by future field studies.
third and fourth tiers. Línchuān is problematic, in that it sometimes fails to undergo the said unrounding. The reason for this may be that Línchuān is located at the southern edge of the Póyáng Plain on the Fúhé, an important tributary of the Gàn, and along which ran a major ancillary migration route out of the Gàn watershed into east central Jiāngxī. Consequently, the city was probably subject to fairly sustained influence from the prestige language of the Nánchāng area farther north. This may explain its apparent vacillation in the matter of post-coronal unrounding. In various writings Sagart refers to the unrounding area as “Southern Gàn”, and we shall adopt his nomenclature here. Above this group are the remaining dialects of the Aspirated Devoicing assemblage, which we consider an unclassified areal grouping, to be denoted as the “Central Area”.

Sagart (1988:151) remarks regarding the immigrants of what we have called the Ān-Shǐ migration wave that, “Although the dialects originally spoken by the late Tang immigrants from northern China may have been very diverse, they were probably now closer to the Tang standard than those spoken by those immigrants who had arrived during early Tang and settled in the Poyang plains.” It is interesting to consider what this might mean as regards the distinction between CG *-om and *-am, which we have reconstructed above. First, we should note that in Northwest China of Táng times, the final that is equivalent to Common Dialectal Chinese (and CG) *-om was unrounded. That it was in some way distinguished from *-am can be shown by analyzing erroneous character substitutions (now popularly called báizì 白字) from Dunhuang (Shào 1963). But the Tibetans in their transcriptions from the same area write both finals as Tibetan -am (Takata 1988; Coblin 1994) showing that they perceived both as unrounded. This type of dialect was also present in the capital city of Cháng’ān, because Tibeto-Chinese and Brāhmī transcriptions from there appear to reflect it (Takata, op. cit.). On the other hand, there is clear evidence that Common Dialectal Chinese *-om was rounded in the pronunciation of the Buddhist translator and transcriber Yijing 義淨, who lived and worked in the Luòyáng area in the late seventh and early eighth centuries and was originally from somewhat northeast of there (Coblin 1991b). Furthermore, the relevant final in Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin was still rounded, showing that this roundedness feature must have earlier been present in the watershed in Táng times (Coblin 2010).23 Finally, we may note that it is now fairly widely held that the language type we call Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin at one time actually extended much farther north than it does today, a situation that existed until the massive migrations of the Jingkāng wave pushed it southward to the Huái River drainage (Lǚ 1985; Norman 1997). Now, Sagart (1988:152) has suggested that the loss of rounding in post-coronal *-om was due to convergence that occurred in the northern Gàn area between dialects that retained post-coronal *-om and northern imports that did not, with the resulting mixed dialect type having then been carried south into Southern Gàn territory. This is clearly a possibility. However, another, and in our opinion more likely one is that unrounding

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23 And, in fact it is still rounded today in a number of modern Jiāng-Huái dialects, which is why we restore it so in the Southern Mandarin proto-language.
began farther south, in the region where Hakka originated. In that area, unrounding would have affected *-om in all environments. Then, as it spread northwards, its effect on dialects in central Jìāngxī became more limited in scope, affecting only post-coronal environments. And, in fact, it actually spread as far north as Xīngzhī, which lies in the Northern Band. In Gàn dialects such as Lèiyáng and Cháling, which lie farther southwest or west than the core southern and central Gàn areas, the full “Hakka-type” change occurred. This scenario we offer here for consideration as a possible alternative to that proposed by Sagart.

Within Southern Gàn, we can make several finer distinctions, which we shall now consider. First, all Southern Gàn dialects except Línchuān, Nánchéng, and Líchūān modify CG *i after Common Gàn retroflexes to vowels that are non-high front. This feature is of course also found in dialects farther north, but our concern here is specifically and exclusively with the Southern Gàn Dialects as delineated in the preceding paragraph. Thus, within Southern Gàn, this vocalic innovation serves to characterize all dialects other than the three just alluded to. Delving deeper, we have noted above that Cháling and Lèiyáng differ from the remaining Southern Gàn dialects in that they have unrounded the vowel *o of CG *-om in all environments, rather than merely after coronals. This same feature is found in Yǒngxīng (Hú 2009), a rather curious Gàn dialect found slightly south of Lèiyáng near the Gàn/Southwest Mandarin border. Tentatively, then, we shall assign dialects of this type to a Southwestern Gàn group, recognizing that the results of further fieldwork in the pertinent geographical area may in future force us to revise this delineation.

We are now left with the remaining Southern dialects, which lie in the center of the Southern Gàn area. The geographical distribution of these languages corresponds more or less to the greater Jí’ān region, which is currently the object of Chāng Méixiāng’s research. For the nonce, we shall call them the South Central Gàn group. In addition to the phonological criterion we have used to identify them, several possible unique lexical features can be cited. One is the use of the word *di (地), usually meaning “land”, in the special sense of “tomb”.

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24 A possible demic factor in the spread of this northward influence may have been Hakka (or “pre-Hakka”) responses to economic upswings in what Skinner and Leong have characterized as the “Gan-Yangtze Economic Macroregion” (Leong 1997: Chap. 1). As part of this process, inhabitants of the South Central Highlands descended seasonally via the headwaters of the Gàn drainage basin to market upland cash crops, such as tea, indigo, and cane, and also other products such as ginseng, charcoal, lumber, quarry stone, and metals, in the greater Jí’ān area. Interestingly, a south to north spread of exactly this type has recently been proposed for the process of aspirated devoicing in Hakka. See Kwok (2012). Perhaps devoicing and unrounding actually moved in tandem through the Gàn/Hakka area.

25 It is interesting to note that, when unrounding spread southward in the Hakka-speaking area, it did not cancel the distinction between CDC *-om and *-am in certain popular substrate forms. Instead, in the archaic Hakka dialects of the Lóngchuān 龍川 region, the CDC vowel *o yielded unrounded mid vowels such as [ɛ] or [e]. See Yán & Yú (2013).

26 This usage also occurs in Hakka. However, it is its role as an innovation within Gàn as a tool for subgrouping that interests us here.
is the use of *lian⁴⁴ (嶺), usual meaning “ridge, range”, for “mountain”. In the rest of southern Gān, the common word *san⁴⁴ (山) is used for this topographical entity.²⁷ Finally, for “to stand” this group uses *lip⁴⁴ (~ *lip⁴³) (立), rather than the native Gān word *gi⁴³ or the common northern import, *tsan⁴³ (站).²⁸ Before leaving this group, we should note that, if one examines our data as tabulated in the Appendix, it becomes obvious that all our South Central dialects lose the Common Gān final stops. Thus, from the standpoint of our database, this change could also be explored as a possible shared innovation of this group. However, Chāng Méixiāng (p.c.) has informed us that there are among the Jiān dialects some, for which field data have not yet been published, that retain glottal stops as reflexes of CG *-t, *-p, and *-k. We therefore have no choice but to exclude this feature from our list of South Central group characteristics. Beyond this, there are definitely possibilities for further subgrouping the dialects of the greater Jiān region. However, such steps must be postponed until the results of ongoing fieldwork from this area become available.

The remaining dialects, Linchuān, Nánchéng, and Líchuān, are, as we have seen, characterized by the fact that they maintain CG *-i after earlier retroflexes. This is a retention rather than an innovation, perhaps indicating that these dialects form an areal rather than a taxonomic unit. They also share a fricative initial *s-, rather than the affricate *dz-, in the word jiàng “carpenter, skilled worker”. But, as noted in §2.3.3 of Chapter II, this may show Hakka influence, perhaps due to travel by itinerant Hakka workers down into the Fūhè valley from the highlands of neighboring Fújìān. Interestingly, however, these dialects do possess three apparently unique lexical items, which may be innovations. These are *mo⁴⁴ “female of animals and birds”, CG *nie⁴⁴ (女) (with unrounded final) in the sense “daughter”, and *pai⁴⁴ “give”, corresponding to *pa⁴⁴ (把), the general Gān word, which is found in most (though not all) remaining Southern Gān dialects. If it should eventually prove possible to assign Linchuān, Nánchéng, and Líchuān to a valid taxon, we could perhaps call them the Southeast Group. However, a better alternative may offer itself here. As noted in Chapter II, §2.3.2, Common Gān *ts'- yields modern t'- in Nánchéng and Líchuān before non-high front vowels. Now, in BJYJ two further dialects, Nánfēng 南豐 and Yíhuáng 宜黃, are also said to have this feature. These languages are located parallel to Nánchéng and Líchuān and directly southwest of them. The potential therefore exists to classify these four dialects, with Linchuān excluded, as a genuine taxonomic unit, characterized by hardening of *ts' to t'- as a shared innovation. Further field data from the area in question may shed light on the matter. For the nonce, since all this is still quite conjectural, we shall simply consider these dialects to be members of an areal grouping, called the “Southeast Area”. The Southern Gān group, with

²⁷ Nánchéng-2 is in fact reported to use a form of lǐng as a variant form for “mountain”, in competition with more general shān.

²⁸ From the standpoint of the cladicists this would be viewed as a retention of a very old form, as attested in pre-Hán texts. The Norman School would perhaps consider it a usable condition, possibly both necessary and sufficient.
its constituent parts identified, is represented in Map V. Immediately above it on the map, and below the Northern Band, would be the Central Area, which does not constitute a taxonomic unit.

6.4.4 Conclusions. In concluding this study, we shall return briefly to the Gân family’s relationships with other Chinese dialect groups. Obviously, the most complex and interesting
ties are with Hakka. What, in the end, shall we say about this? Are Gàn and Hakka basically different groups, or are they close relatives? The following is our own answer to this conundrum.

In our view, Hakka is a dialect family which has a substantial Central PYJ Chinese substratum. Gàn is a family which has at best a vestigial and fragmentary Central PYJ substratum. Therein lies their fundamental difference. Gàn and Hakka share essentially the same Ān-Shǐ and Jingkāng lexical layers, the former comprising a major part of their spoken lexical corpora and the latter forming the nuclei of their literary reading systems. It is in this sense that they are closely related. Norman has averred (1988:222) that “...Mǐn and Kējīā shared an early period of common development.” Sagart has objected and replied (2002:141), “What seems more likely on present evidence is that, in the first centuries CE, there existed, scattered in various parts of southern China, Chinese settlements where varieties of Chinese were spoken; that the speakers in each of these settlements had few contacts with the Chinese speakers in other settlements, because population levels were low, and because Chinese was surrounded by other languages; that, as a result, each of these areas of concentration of Chinese speakers developed its own linguistic innovations.” Now, from our standpoint the disagreement here is in the end over what types of PYJ Chinese were involved in the development of Mǐn, Hakka, (and in fact also Yuè, which Norman includes in the picture elsewhere in his discussion). Were these PYJ varieties essentially the same or very closely related, or did they differ substantially from place to place south of the Yangtze? Our view is that, ultimately, this question can only be decided on the basis of empirical evidence, which in cases such as this means linguistic data. Historical ratiocination, no matter how compelling, can never be conclusive here. There must be linguistic proof, one way or the other, if the question is to be resolved. And, given that all varieties of PYJ Chinese are now extinct and that we have relatively little surviving evidence regarding them, save that which lives on piecemeal in the modern dialects, the probability is that the matter will remain moot for the foreseeable future.29

Continuing our earlier summation, we may say that Central Xiāng is a family which shares with Gàn and Hakka their substantial Ān-Shǐ and Jingkāng strata; but it does not appear to have much in the way of a Central PYJ substratum. On the contrary, its substrate elements, of which there are in fact quite a few, appear to derive from something else or somewhere else. Perhaps the origins of these things should be sought in the marginalized and aberrant dialects of Húnán, such as Wǎxiāng 瓦鄉, the various Tūhuà 土話 varieties, etc. Common Central Xiāng is also characterized by fairly extensive phonological changes that are for the most part absent from Common Gàn and Proto-Hakka. It seems to have gone its own way in this regard, and this is of course one of its identifying characteristics.

29 At the true heart of the imbroglio between Norman and Sagart is their sharp disagreement over Norman’s proposed “Old Southern Chinese” as an early linguistic reality in South China. Since fools rush in where angels fear to tread, we shall not enter this particular arena here. For those who wish to delve into it, the views of the two contenders will be found in the sources alluded to above.
Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin has as its primary lexical layer a stratum that is clearly related to the Jingkāng layers of Gàn, Hakka, and Central Xiāng. Beneath this is also a vestigial substratum that can be connected with the Ān-Shǐ layers of the other dialects. And, not surprisingly, there is little if any trace of a PYJ Chinese substratum here.

Wú appears to be a special case. It shares with Gàn, Hakka, and Central Xiāng their Ān-Shǐ stratum, and in northern Wú, at least, their Jingkāng literary superstratum. But below the Ān-Shǐ material is another body of substratal material, i.e., some sort of PYJ Chinese, which is widely thought to have ties with whatever variety of PYJ language underlies Min and which is particularly prominent in southern Wú varieties.

Finally, in closing let us consider briefly the road ahead. As is the case for all Chinese dialect families, more fieldwork is needed in the Gàn group. Particularly important is the Jíān area, which abuts directly on the Hakka-speaking regions of southern Jiāngxī. In fact, we need more detailed surveys on both sides of the currently drawn dialectal border. One wonders, for example, whether the current boundary, which is at base merely a line drawn on maps in handbooks, actually exists as a tangible entity, or is simply an arbitrary boundary imposed by linguists on what is really a dialect continuum. Only intensive studies can make this determination. Another area where further work is sorely needed is in the far southwestern reaches of Gàn territory, where Gàn is contiguous with various other families, such Hakka, Xiāng, Tūhuà, and Southwest Mandarin. Finally, more work needs to be done on the fundamental questions raised in the discussions between Norman and Sagart, which we have adumbrated above. The future of Gàn studies is bright, as is that of Chinese historical and comparative dialectology in general. This branch of our discipline beckons to all who wish to know how the Chinese language family in all its forms and manifestations came to exist as we see it today.
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References
Appendix: Data

In this appendix are given all 1,077 cognate sets used in reconstructing the Common Gàn (CG) sound system. The sets are arranged alphabetically by Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation of the example syllables, as spelled in the pǐn yīn system. At the head of each set Qièyùn System (QYS) forms are supplied in the orthography of Bernhard Karlgren as slightly modified by F. K. Li. The QYS forms are given merely for ease of reference to the traditional classificatory framework and play no role in the reconstructions. In addition, Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC; Norman 2006, Ms. 1) forms are given for each set; and in some cases Early Chinese (EC; Norman 1994, 2014, Ms. 1) are also supplied. The twenty-six dialect points in each set are discussed in §1.3 and §1.5 of Chapter I. For certain sets, brief notes on irregular forms and problematic correspondences are added. For detailed treatment of these points, see the pertinent sections of Chapters II, III, and IV. As noted in §1.1 and §1.4 of Chapter I, competing CG forms are posited for sets where parallel variant readings are present at two or more dialect points.

A

ài  艾  QYS  ngâi-  CDC *ngoi⁶
TS [ŋəi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋai隔音]; TC [ŋai隔音]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ŋai]; DC2 [—];
AY [ŋai隔音]; NC [ŋai隔音]; FX [ŋai隔音]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ŋai隔音]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ŋai隔音]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ŋai隔音~ŋai隔音]; JA1 [ŋai隔音];
JA2 [ŋai隔音];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋai隔音]; NnC1 [ŋai隔音]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ŋai隔音] CG *ŋai隔音
The upper register tone in the JA2 form is irregular.

ài  愛  QYS  ?ai-  CDC *oi⁵
TS [ŋao]; WN1 [ŋoi]; WN2 [ŋoi]; WN3 [ŋoi隔音];
TC [ŋai隔音]; XZ [ŋai隔音]; YX [ŋai隔音]; DC1 [ŋai隔音]; DC2 [ŋai隔音];
AY [ŋai隔音]; NC [ŋai隔音]; PX [ŋai隔音]; GA [ŋoi隔音];
CL [ŋei隔音]; PX [ŋei隔音]; AF1 [ŋei隔音]; AF2 [ŋei隔音]; LH1 [ŋei隔音]; LH2 [ŋei隔音]; JA1 [ŋei隔音];
JA2 [ŋoi隔音];
SC [ŋoi隔音]; LnC [ŋoi隔音]; NnC1 [ŋoi隔音]; NnC2 [ŋoi隔音]; LC [ŋoi隔音] CG *ŋoi隔音

ài  碍  QYS  ngâi-  CDC *ngoi⁶
TS [ŋa~ŋə; 陽去文~ŋə; 陽去文~ŋə]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋoi隔音]; WN3 [ŋoi隔音];
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TC [ŋaʊ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [ŋaʊ]; NC [ŋaʊ]; FX [ŋaʊ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ŋə}`). AF1 [ŋəʊ]; AF2 [ŋəʊ]*; LH1 [ŋəʊ ]; LH2 [ai ]; JA1 [ŋuoi ];
JA2 [ŋai ];
SC [uə]; LnC [ŋoi ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [ŋoy ];
*JXY. The JXFY variety of LH preserves initial ŋ- here, in disagreement with our LH1.

ān 安 QYS ǎn CDC *on¹
TS [ŋə); WN1 [ŋə]; WN2 [ŋə]; WN3 [ŋə];
TC [ŋə]; XZ [ŋə]; YX [ŋə]; DC1 [ŋə]; DC2 [ŋə];
AY [ŋə]; NC [ŋə]; FX [ŋə]; GA [ŋə];
CL [ŋə]; PX [ŋə]; AF1 [ŋə]; AF2 [ŋə]; LH1 [ŋə ]; LH2 [ŋə ]; JA1 [ŋə ];
JA2 [ŋə ];
SC [ŋə ]; LnC [ŋə ]; NnC1 [ŋə ]; NnC2 [ŋə ]; LC [ŋə ] CG *ŋə

ān 岸 QYS ngān- CDC *ngon⁶
TS [ŋə); WN1 [ŋə ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋə];
TC [ŋə ]; XZ [ŋə ]; YX [ŋə ]; DC1 [ŋə ]; DC2 [ŋə ];
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JA2 [ŋə ];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋə ]; NnC1 [ŋə ]; NnC2 [ŋə ]; LC [ŋə ] CG *ŋə

ān 閻 ~ 鬧 QYS ǎm- CDC *om⁵
TS [ŋə); WN1 [ŋə ]; WN2 [ŋə ]; WN3 [ŋə ];
TC [ŋə ]; XZ [ŋə ]; YX [ŋə ]; DC1 [ŋə ]; DC2 [ŋə ];
AY [ŋə ]; NC [ŋə ]; FX [ŋə ]; GA [ŋə ];
CL [ŋə ]; PX [ŋə ]; AF1 [ŋə ]; AF2 [ŋə ]; LH1 [ŋə ]; LH2 [ŋə ]; JA1 [ŋə ];
JA2 [ŋə ];
SC [ŋə ]; LnC [ŋə ]; NnC1 [ŋə ]; NnC2 [ŋə ]; LC [ŋə ] CG *ŋə

aò 傢 QYS ngāu- CDC *ngou⁶
TS [ŋau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋau];
TC [ŋau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ŋau]; DC2 [ŋau ];
AY [ŋau ]; NC [ŋau ]; FX [ŋau ]; GA [—];
CL [ŋo ]; PX [ŋau ]; AF1 [ŋau ]; AF2 [ŋau ]; LH1 [ŋo ]; LH2 [ŋo ]; JA1 [ŋau ];
JA2 [ŋau ];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋau ]; NnC1 [ŋau ]; NnC2 [ŋau ]; LC [ŋau ] CG *ŋou
*AFXZ: [ŋau].
Appendix: Data

B

bā 巴 QYS pa  CDC *pa₁
TS [pa¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pa¹]; WN3 [pa¹];
TC [pa¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pa¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [pa¹]; NC [pa¹]; FX [pa¹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [pa¹]; AF1 [pa¹]; AF2 [pa¹]; LH1 [pa¹]*; LH2 [pa¹]; JA1 [pa¹];
JA2 [pa¹];
SC [pa¹]; LnC [pa¹]; NnC1 [pa¹]; NnC2 [—]; LC [pa¹] CG *pa *JXY.

bà 把 QYS pa:  CDC *pa₃
TS [pɔ³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pɔ³]; WN3 [pɔ³];
TC [pɔ³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pɔ³]; DC2 [pɔ³];
AY [pɔ³]; NC [pɔ³]; FX [pɔ³]; GA [—];
CL [pɔ³]; PX [pɔ³]; AF1 [pɔ³]; AF2 [pɔ³]; LH1 [pɔ³]*; LH2 [pɔ³]; JA1 [pɔ³];
JA2 [pɔ³];
SC [pɔ³]; LnC [pɔ³]; NnC1 [pɔ³]; NnC2 [pɔ³]; LC [pɔ³] CG *pa *JXY.

bái 白 QYS bòk  CDC *bak₈
TS [pʰɛ̀; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bʰɛ]; WN3 [bʰɛ];
TC [bɛ²; XZ [bɛ²]; YX [bʰɛ]; DC1 [pɛk]; DC2 [bɛ²];
AY [p'ɛ²]; NC [p'ɛt ~ p'ak]; FX [p'ɛ² ~ p'a²]; GA [p'ɛ²];
CL [p'ɛ²]; PX [p'ɛ² ~ p'ɛ₂]; AF1 [p'ɛ²]; AF2 [p'ɛ²]; LH1 [p'ɛ²]; LH2 [p'ɛ²]; JA1
[p'ɛ²]; JA2 [p'ɛ²];
SC [p'ɛ²]; LnC [p'ɛ² ~ p'a²]; NnC1 [p'ɛ²]; NnC2 [p'ɛ²]; LC [p'ɛ² ~ p'a²]
CG *bak ~ *bek
The initial of the NnC2 form is irregular.

bāi 百 QYS pok  CDC *pak₇
TS [pʰɛ; WN1 [pʰɛ]; WN2 [pʰɛ]; WN3 [pʰɛ];
TC [pʰɛ ~ pʰɛ]; XZ [pʰɛ]; YX [pʰɛ]; DC1 [pak]; DC2 [pak];
The initials of the AF1 and LH2 forms are irregular.

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bài 敗 QYS pài-, bāi- CDC *bai⁶
TS [pæ̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bɑi⁶]; WN3 [pai⁶];
TC [bɑi⁶]; XZ [bɑi⁶]; YX [b̃ai⁶]; DC1 [bɑi⁶]; DC2 [bɑi⁶];
AY [p'ɑi⁶]; NC [p'ai⁶]; FX [p'ai⁶]; GA [p'ai⁶];
CL [p'æ]; PX [p'ai⁶]; AF1 [p'ai⁶]; AF2 [p'ai⁶]; LH1 [p'ai⁶]; LH2 [p'ai⁶];
SC [p'ai⁶]; LNc [p'ai⁶]; NnC1 [p'ai⁶]; NnC2 [p'ai⁶];

bān 班 QYS puan CDC *pan¹
TS [pæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pan¹]; WN3 [pan¹];
TC [pan¹]; XZ [pan¹]; YX [pan¹]; DC1 [pan¹]; DC2 [pan¹];
AY [pan¹]; NC [pan¹]; FX [pan¹]; GA [pan¹];
CL [pan¹]; PX [pæ]; AF1 [pan¹]; AF2 [pæ]; LH1 [pæ]; LH2 [pan¹];
SC [pæ]; LNc [pan¹]; NnC1 [pan¹]; NnC2 [pan¹];

bān 辦 QYS bān- CDC *ban⁶
TS [pæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [p'an⁶]; WN3 [p'an⁶];
TC [ban⁶]; XZ [ban⁶]; YX [b̃an⁶]; DC1 [ban⁶]; DC2 [ban⁶];
AY [p'an⁶]; NC [p'an⁶]; FX [p'an⁶]; GA [p'an⁶];
CL [p'ɑ]; PX [p'ɑ]; AF1 [p'ɑ]; AF2 [p'ɑ]; LH1 [p'ɑ]; LH2 [pan¹];
SC [p'ɑ]; LNc [p'ɑ]; NnC1 [p'ɑ]; NnC2 [p'ɑ];

The initials of the AF1 and LH2 forms are irregular.
### Appendix: Data

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</table>
A Study of Comparative Gàn

bào 宝 QYS pâu: CDC *pou³
TS [pau³]; WN1 [pau³]; WN2 [pau³]; WN3 [pau³];
TC [pau³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pau³]; DC2 [—];
AY [pau³]; NC [pau³]; FX [pau³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [pau³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [pau³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [pau³]; JA1 [p'au³];
JA2 [pau³];
SC [—]; LnC [pau³]; NnC1 [pou³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [pou³] CG *pou³

The tone of the JA1 form is irregular.

bāo 饱 QYS pâu: CDC *bou⁴
TS [pau⁴]; WN1 [pau⁴]; WN2 [pau⁴]; WN3 [pau⁴];
TC [pau⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pau⁴]; DC2 [pau⁴];
AY [pau⁴]; NC [pau⁴]; FX [pau⁴]; GA [pau⁴];
CL [pou³]; PX [pau⁴]; AF1 [pau³]; AF2 [pau³]; LH1 [pao³]; LH2 [pau³]; JA1 [pau³];
JA2 [pau³];
SC [pau³]; LnC [pau³]; NnC1 [pou³]; NnC2 [pou³]; LC [pou³] CG *pou³

*JXFY.

bào 抱 QYS bâu: CDC *bou⁴
TS [pau⁴]; WN1 [pau⁴]; WN2 [pau⁴]; WN3 [pau⁴];
TC [pau⁴]; XZ [pau⁴]; YX [pau⁴]; DC1 [pau⁴]; DC2 [pau⁴];
AY [pau⁴]; NC [pau⁴]; FX [pau⁴]; GA [pau⁴];
CL [pou³]; PX [pau³]; AF1 [pau³]; AF2 [pau³]; LH1 [pao³]; LH2 [pau³]; JA1 [pau³];
JA2 [pau³];
SC [pau³]; LnC [pau³]; NnC1 [pou³]; NnC2 [pou³]; LC [pou³] CG *pou³

*JXFY.

bēi 悲 QYS pji³ CDC *pi¹
TS [pæi⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pʰau⁵]; WN3 [pau⁵];
TC [ba⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [p]; DC1 [bau⁶]; DC2 [bau⁶];
AY [p'au⁵]; NC [p'au⁵]; FX [p'au⁵]; GA [—];
CL [pou⁵]; PX [p] AF1 [pau⁵]; AF2 [pau⁵]; LH1 [pau⁵]; LH2 [p'au⁵]; JA1 [p'au⁵];
JA2 [p'au⁵];
SC [p'au⁵]; LnC [p'au⁵]; NnC1 [p'ou⁵]; NnC2 [p'ou⁵]; LC [p'ou⁵] CG *bou⁵

*HGY.

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The finals of the CL and JA1 forms irregular and may reflect the influence of the Modern Standard Chinese koine. The LH1 tone is irregular.

The TS tone is irregular.

The finals of the CL forms are irregular. Cf. bèi 悲 above.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

bèi 被 QYS bje₃ “blanket, coverlet”CDC *bi⁴
TS [pæi‴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bi‴]; WN3 [pi‴];
TC [bi‴]; XZ [bi‴]; YY [bʰi‴]; DC1 [bi‴]; DC2 [bi‴];
AY [pʰi‴]; NC [pi‴]; FX [pi‴]; GA [pʰi‴];
CL [pʰi‴]; PX [pʰi‴]; AF1 [pʰi‴]; AF2 [pʰi‴]; LH1 [pʰi‴]; LH2 [pʰi‴]; JA1 [pʰi‴];
JA2 [pʰi‴];
SC [pʰi‴]; LnC [pʰi‴]; NnC1 [pʰi‴]; NnC2 [pʰi‴]; LC [pʰi‴] CG *bi⁴ (~ *bi⁴)
The NnC1 tone is irregular.

bèn 本 QYS puän:CDC *pun³
TS [pen‴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pʰan‴]; WN3 [pʰan‴];
TC [pʰan‴]; XZ [pʰan‴]; YY [pʰan‴]; DC1 [pʰan‴]; DC2 [pʰan‴];
AY [pʰan‴]; NC [pʰan‴]; FX [pʰan‴]; GA [pʰin‴];
CL [pʰə]; PX [pʰə]; AF1 [pʰə]; AF2 [pʰə]; LH1 [pʰə]; LH2 [pʰə]; JA1 [pʰə];
JA2 [pʰə];
SC [pʰə]; LnC [pʰə]; NnC1 [pʰə]; NnC2 [pʰə]; LC [pʰə] CG *pun³

bì 笔 QYS bì⁴CDC *bi⁴ (~ *bi⁸)
TS [pæi‴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pi‴]; WN3 [pi‴];
TC [bʰi‴ ~ pʰi‴]: XZ [bʰi‴]; YY [bʰi‴]; DC1 [bʰi‴]; DC2 [bʰi‴];
AY [pʰi‴]; NC [pʰi‴]; FX [pʰi‴]; GA [pʰi‴];
CL [pʰi‴]; PX [pʰi‴]; AF1 [pʰi‴]; AF2 [pʰi‴]; LH1 [pʰi‴]; LH2 [pʰi‴]; JA1 [pʰi‴];
JA2 [pʰi‴];
SC [pʰi‴]; LnC [pʰi‴]; NnC1 [pʰi‴]; NnC2 [pʰi‴]; LC [pʰi‴] CG *bi⁴ (~ *bi⁸)
*Second form is the name of a type of hook or button to which things can be tied.

bì 笔 QYS pjet³CDC *pit⁷
TS [pæi‴]; WN1 [pʰi‴]; WN2 [pʰi‴]; WN3 [pʰi‴];
TC [pʰi‴ ~ pʰi‴]: XZ [pʰi‴]; YY [pʰi‴]; DC1 [pʰi‴]; DC2 [pʰi‴];
AY [pʰi‴]; NC [pʰi‴]; FX [pʰi‴]; GA [pʰi‴];
### Appendix: Data

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The LH2 tone is irregular.

The final of the TC form is irregular.

The final of the TC form is irregular.

The final of the TC form is irregular.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

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SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG | *bi  |
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SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG | *p' i  |
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SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG | *p' i  |
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SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG | *bi  |
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SC | LnC | NnC1 | NnC2 | LC | CG | *p' i  |
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The AY final is irregular.
The LH1 tone is irregular.

The WN3 form is irregular, for it appears to derive from an earlier *piet but is nonetheless in use.

Appendix: Data
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AY [piŋ]; NC [pin]; FX [pIan]; GA [pin];
CL [pi]; PX [pi]; AF1 [pEn]; AF2 [pin]; LH1 [pǐ]; LH2 [pin]; JA1 [pin]; JA2 [pin];
SC [pǐ]; LnC [pin]; NnC1 [pin]; NnC2 [pin]; LC [pi]; CG *pi

bǐng 冰 QYS pjàng CDC *ping
TS [pin]; WN1 [pin]; WN2 [pin]; WN3 [pin];
TC [—]; XZ [pi]; YX [pin]; DC1 [pin]; DC2 [pin];
AY [pi]; NC [pin]; FX [pian]; GA [pin];
CL [pi]; PX [pi]; AF1 [pEn]; AF2 [pin]; LH1 [pǐ]; LH2 [pin]; JA1 [pin]; JA2 [pin];
SC [pǐ]; LnC [pin]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pin]; LC [pi]; CG *pi

bǐng 粱 QYS pjäm: CDC *piang
TS [pin]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pin]; WN3 [pin];
TC [pin]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [pian]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [pi]; AF1 [pEn]; AF2 [pin]; LH1 [pǐ]; LH2 [pin]; JA1 [pin]; JA2 [pin];
SC [pǐ]; LnC [pin]; NnC1 [pin]; NnC2 [—]; LC [pi]; CG *pi

bǐng 餅 QYS pjäng: CDC *piang
TS [pin]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [piæ]; WN3 [piæ];
TC [pin]; XZ [piæ]; YX [piæ]; DC1 [piæ]; DC2 [piæ];
AY [piæ]; NC [pin]; FX [pian]; GA [piæ];
CL [piæ]; PX [piæ]; AF1 [piæ]; AF2 [piæ]; LH1 [piæ]; LH2 [piæ]; JA1 [piæ]; JA2 [piæ];
SC [piæ]; LnC [pin]; NnC1 [piæ]; NnC2 [piæ]; LC [piæ]; CG *piæ

bǐng 並并 QYS bièng:piäng- CDC *biang/piang
TS [pin]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pin]; WN3 [pin];
TC [pin]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pin]; DC2 [—];
AY [pi]; NC [pin]; FX [pian]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [piæ]; AF1 [pEn]; AF2 [pin]; LH1 [pǐ]; LH2 [pin]; JA1 [pin]; JA2 [pin];
SC [piæ]; LnC [pin]; NnC1 [pin]; NnC2 [pin]; LC [piæ]; CG *biæ

Two different etyma are represented in this set. Some dialects and dialect sources distinguish
them. Others do not. The final of the LC form is irregular. We should expect final -ŋ here.

Appendix: Data

bò 波 QYS puâ CDC *po¹
TS [pu̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [po]; WN3 [po];
TC [po]; XZ [po]; YX [po]; DC1 [po]; DC2 [po];
AY [po]; NC [po]; FX [po]; GA [po];
CL [po]; PX [po]; AF1 [po]; AF2 [po]; LH1 [po]; LH2 [po]; JA1 [po]; JA2 [po];
SC [po]; LnC [po]; NnC1 [po]; NnC2 [po]; LC [po] CG *po

bó 博 QYS pâk CDC *pok³
TS [pu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [po]; WN3 [po];
TC [po]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [po]; DC2 [po];
AY [po]; NC [po]; FX [po]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [po]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [po]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [po]; JA1 [po]; JA2 [po];
SC [—]; LnC [po]; NnC1 [po]; NnC2 [po]; LC [po]* CG *pok
*Noted in the source as a changed tone.

bù 不 QYS pjâu, pjâu, pjâu, pjuat CDC *put⁷
TS [pu]; WN1 [pa]; WN2 [pa]; WN3 [pet];
TC [pa]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [pak];
AY [pa]; NC [pet]; FX [pe]; GA [—];
CL [pa]; PX [pa]; AF1 [pa]; AF2 [pa]; LH1 [pa]; LH2 [pe]; JA1 [pa]; JA2 [pa];
SC [pa]; LnC [pa]; NnC1 [pa]; NnC2 [pa]; LC [pa]* CG *pak
*Sense of “peppermint”. The form is given here merely for comparison.
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AY [pæn]; NC [pæn]; FX [pæn]; GA [pæn]*;
CL [ŋ̩]; PX [ŋ̩]; AF1 [ŋ̩]; AF2 [ŋ̩]; LH1 [ŋ̩]***; LH2 [ŋ̩];
JA1 [ŋ̩]; JA2 [ŋ̩];
SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩];

*Usual verbal negative is [ŋ̩].
**Usual verbal negative is [ŋ̩-].
***Usual verbal negative is atonal [ŋ̩].

Only the wén reading of this word can confidently be reconstructed for Common Gàn as a whole. An unstressed bái reading of this negative, in dialects that actually use it in speech, may phonetically have been something like [ŋ̩] or [ŋ̩].

bù 布
QYS pø- CDC *pu
TS [pu̯]; WN1 [pu̯]; WN2 [pu]; WN3 [pu̯];
TC [pu̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [pu]; DC2 [pu];
AY [pu̯]; NC [pu]; FX [pu]; GA [—];
CL [pu̯]; PX [pu]; AF1 [pu]; AF2 [pu]; LH1 [pu]; LH2 [pu]; JA1 [pu]; JA2 [pu];
SC [pu]; LnC [pu]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pu]; LC [pu] CG *pu
*JXFY.

bù 步
QYS buo- CDC *bu
TS [pu]; WN1 [pu̯]; WN2 [bu]; WN3 [pu̯];
TC [pu̯]; XZ [bu]; YX [b̩u]; DC1 [bu]; DC2 [bu];
AY [pu̯]; NC [pu]; FX [pu̯]; GA [pu̯];
CL [pu̯]; PX [pu]; AF1 [pu]; AF2 [pu]; LH1 [pu]; LH2 [u]; JA1 [pu]; JA2 [pu];
SC [pu]; LnC [pu]; NnC1 [pu]; NnC2 [pu]; LC [pu] CG *bu

The LH2 form is irregular in its initial. The tone of the NnC1 form is irregular.

bù 湘
QYS buo:
TS [pu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [bu]; WN3 [pu];
TC [bu]; XZ [bu]; YX [b̩u]; DC1 [bu]; DC2 [bu];
AY [pu]; NC [pu]; FX [pu]; GA [pu];
CL [pu]; PX [pu]; AF1 [pu]; AF2 [pu]; LH1 [pu]; LH2 [pu]; JA1 [pu]; JA2 [pu];
SC [pu]; LnC [pu]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [pu]; LC [pu] CG *bu (~*bu)
C

cái 财 QYS dz'ai  CDC *dzoi
tS [tsa]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [dzai];
TC [dzai]; XZ [dzai]; YX [dz'ai]; DC1 [dzai]; DC2 [dzai];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [ts'oi];
CL [ts'ae]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [ts'uai]; LH1 [ts'eu]; LH2 [ts'oi];
JA1 [ts'uai]; JA2 [ts'oi];
SC [ ]; LnC [ts'ai]; NnC1 [t'ai]; NnC2 [t'ai]; LC [t'ai] CG *dzoi

cai 才 QYS dz'ai  CDC *dzoi
TS [ts'a]; WN1 [ts'oi ]; WN2 [ts'oi ]; WN3 [dzoi];
TC [dzai]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [dzai]; DC2 [ ];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [ts'oi];
CL [ts'ae]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [ts'uai]; LH1 [ts'eu]; LH2 [ts'oi];
JA1 [ts'uai]; JA2 [ts'oi];
SC [ts'oi ]; LnC [ts'ai]; NnC1 [t'ai]; NnC2 [ ]; LC [t'ai] CG *dzoi *JXFY.

cài 菜 QYS tsh'ai- CDC *tshoi
TS [ts'a]; WN1 [ts'oi]; WN2 [ts'oi]; WN3 [dzoi];
TC [dzai]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [dzai]; DC2 [ ];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [ts'oi];
CL [ts'æ]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [ts'uai]; LH1 [ts'eu]; LH2 [ts'oi];
JA1 [ts'uai]; JA2 [ts'oi];
SC [ts'oi ]; LnC [ts'ai]; NnC1 [t'ai]; NnC2 [ ]; LC [t'ai] CG *ts'oi

The YX tone is irregular.

cān 餐 QYS tshân CDC *tshan
TS [ts'a]; WN1 [ts'ei ]; WN2 [ts'ei ]; WN3 [ts'ei ];
TC [dzai]; XZ [dzai]; YX [dz'ai ]; DC1 [dzai ]; DC2 [dzai ];
AY [ts'ai ]; NC [ts'ai ]; FX [ts'ai ]; GA [ts'oi ];
CL [ts'æ]; PX [ts'æ]; AF1 [ts'æ]; AF2 [ts'uai]; LH1 [ts'eu]; LH2 [ts'oi];
JA1 [ts'uai]; JA2 [ts'oi];
SC [ts'oi ]; LnC [ts'ai]; NnC1 [t'ai]; NnC2 [t'ai]; LC [t'ai] CG *ts'oi

The YX tone is irregular.
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căn ️ QYS tshâm ️ CDC *tshom¹
TS [tsʰə́]; W1 [—]; W2 [tsʰon]; WN3 [tsʰon];
TC [dzon]; XZ [dzan]; YX [dzɔ́n²]; DC1 [dzon]; DC2 [dzon²];
AY [tsʰɔ́n]; NC [tsʰṓn]; FX [tsʰom]; GA [tsʰon];
CL [tsʰə́]; PX [tsʰə́]; AF1 [tsʰə́]; AF2 [tsʰə́]; LH1 [tsʰə́]; LH2 [tsʰə́];
JA1 [tsʰə́]; JA2 [tsʰə́];
SC [tsʰə́]; LN [tsʰə́]; NnC1 [tʰə́]; NnC2 [tʰə́]; LC [—] CG *tsʰə́

căn ️ QYS dzâm ️ CDC *dzom²
TS [tsʰə́]; W1 [—]; W2 [—]; WN3 [dzon];
TC [dzon]; XZ [dzan]; YX [dzɔ́n]; DC1 [dzon]; DC2 [dzon²];
AY [tsʰɔ́n]; NC [tsʰṓn]; FX [tsʰom]; GA [tsʰon];
CL [tsʰə́]; PX [tsʰə́]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsʰə́]; LH1 [tsʰə́]; LH2 [tsʰə́];
JA1 [tsʰə́]; JA2 [tsʰə́];
SC [—]; LN [tsʰə́]; NnC1 [tʰə́]; NnC2 [tʰə́]; LC [tʰə́] CG *dzom²

căn ️ QYS tshâm: ️ CDC *tshom³
TS [tsʰə́]; W1 [—]; W2 [—]; WN3 [tsʰon];
TC [dzon]; XZ [dzan]; YX [dzɔ́n]; DC1 [dzon]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsʰɔ́n]; NC [tsʰṓn]; FX [tsʰom]; GA [tsʰon];
CL [—]; PX [tsʰə́]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsʰə́]; LH1 [tsʰə́]; LH2 [tsʰə́];
JA1 [tsʰə́]; JA2 [tsʰə́];
SC [—]; LN [tsʰə́]; NnC1 [tʰə́]; NnC2 [tʰə́]; LC [tʰə́] CG *tsʰə́ (~ tsʰam³)

The second reconstruction is notable in lacking vocalic rounding. The word is of literary register and this reading has probably been borrowed from an outside source.

căng ️ QYS tshâng ️ CDC *tshong¹
TS [tshɔ́ŋ]; W1 [—]; W2 [—]; WN3 [tshɔ́ŋ];
TC [dzon]; XZ [dzɔ́ŋ]; YX [dzɔ́ŋ] tone missing; DC1 [dzon]; DC2 [dzɔ́ŋ];
AY [tsʰɔ́ŋ]; NC [tsʰɔ́ŋ]; FX [tsʰon]; GA [tsʰɔ́ŋ];
CL [tsʰɛ́]; PX [tsʰɛ́]; AF1 [tsʰɔ́ŋ]; AF2 [tsʰɔ́ŋ]; LH1 [tsʰɛ́]; LH2 [tsʰɔ́ŋ];
JA1 [tsʰɔ́ŋ]; JA2 [tsʰɔ́ŋ];
SC [tsʰə́]; LN [tsʰə́]; NnC1 [tʰə́]; NnC2 [tʰə́]; LC [tʰə́] CG *tɔ́ŋ

căng ️ QYS dzâng ️ CDC *dzong²
TS [tson]; W1 [—]; W2 [—]; WN3 [dzon];

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Appendix: Data

TC [dzou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzou]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'ou]; NC [ts'ou]; FX [ts'ou]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'au]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'au]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'au]; JA1 [ts'ou];
JA2 [ts'ou];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'ou]; NnC1 [t'ou]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'ou] CG *dzou

cáo 曹 QYS dzâu CDC *dzou
TS [tsau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzau];
TC [dzau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzau]; DC2 [dzau2];
AY [ts'au]; NC [ts'au]; FX [ts'au]; GA [ts'ou];
CL [ts'au]; PX [ts'au]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'au]; LH1 [ts'ao]; LH2 [ts'au];
JA1 [ts'au]; JA2 [ts'au];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'au]; NnC1 [t'ou]; NnC2 [t'ou]; LC [t'ou] CG *dzou

Cao 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou
TS [tshau]; WN1 [tshau]; WN2 [ts'au]; WN3 [ts'au];
TC [dzau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzau]; DC2 [dzau];
AY [ts'au]; NC [ts'au]; FX [ts'au]; GA [—];
CL [ts'au]; PX [ts'au]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'au]; LH1 [ts'ao]; LH2 [ts'au];
JA1 [ts'au]; JA2 [ts'au];
SC [ts'au]; LnC [ts'au]; NnC1 [t'ou]; NnC2 [t'ou]; LC [t'ou] CG *tshou

cè 测 QYS tshjak CDC *chek
TS [ts'ei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts'et];
TC [dzet]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzet]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'et]; NC [ts'et]; FX [ts'et]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'ei]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'ei]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'ei]; JA1 [ts'et];
JA2 [ts'et];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'ei]; NnC1 [t'ei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'ei] CG *ts'ek

Cê 测 QYS tshjak CDC *chek
TS [ts'ei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ts'ei]; WN3 [ts'et];
TC [dzet]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzet]; DC2 [dzet] no tone;
AY [—]; NC [ts'et]; FX [ts'et]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'ei]; AF1 [ts'ei]; AF2 [ts'ei]; LH1 [ts'ei]; LH2 [ts'ei]; JA1 [ts'et];
JA2 [ts'et];
SC [ts'ei]; LnC [ts'ei]; NnC1 [t'ei]; NnC2 [ts] no tone; LC [t'ei] CG *ts'ek

*JXFY. Tone missing.
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céng QYS dzàng CDC *dzeng?

chā QYS tsha CDC *cha¹

chā QYS tsha CDC *cha¹
The WN2 tone is irregular.
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The ŭīnshǎng tonal reading for the first reconstruction is conjectural, since the determinative dialects have only the second form.

The LH2 form must derived from the second reconstruction, but this is not supported by comparative evidence.

*Neutral tone.
The NnC1 tone is irregular.

In this set, wén readings ending in -e and -ɛ can probably be derived from loan forms in *-ie. The second wén reconstruction is a reading pronunciation, reflected in FX and LnC. In actual speech, it occurs in the name of a chess piece.

The NnC1 tone is irregular.

The NnC1 tone is irregular.
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AY [son\]
NC [son\]  SC – LnC [sin\]
PX [ṣəŋ\]  AF1 [cin\]  AF2 [cin\]  LH1 [—]  LH2 [tsʰəŋ\]  JA1 [sin\]  JA2 [cin\]
SC [—]  LnC [sin\]  NnC1 [cin\]  NnC2 [—]  LC [cin\]  CG *sin\ ~ *dzən\n
ché̍n 詹 QYS ĵen CDC *jìn²
TS [son\]  WN1 [—]  WN2 [—]  WN3 [dzən\]  TC [dzən\]  XZ [—]  YX [—]  DC1 [dzən\]  DC2 [—]  AY [t'ən\]  NC [ts'ən\]  FX [t'ən\]  GA [—]
CL [—]  PX [ṣəŋ\]  AF1 [—]  AF2 [tʰəŋ\]  LH1 [—]  LH2 [tsʰəŋ\]  JA1 [tʰəŋ\]  JA2 [—]
SC [—]  LnC [sin\]  NnC1 [cin\]  NnC2 [—]  LC [cin\]  CG *sin\ ~ *dzən\n
chéng 成 QYS じゃŋ CDC *chiang⁵ ~ *jiang²
TS [son\]  WN1 [—]  WN2 [tein\]  WN3 [dzən\]  TC [dzən\]  XZ [dzəŋ\ ~ dzəŋ\]  YX [dzən\]  DC1 [dzəŋ\]  DC2 [dzəŋ\ ~ dzəŋ\]  AY [t'ən\ ~ t'əŋ\]  NC [ts'ən\ ~ ts'əŋ\ ~ san\]  FX [t'ən\]  GA [t'ən\]
CL [ts'əŋ\]  PX [ts'əŋ\ ~ sa\ ~ ts'əŋ\]  AF1 [tʰəŋ\]  AF2 [tʰəŋ\]  LH1 [ts'əŋ\]  LH2 [tsʰəŋ\]  JA1 [tʰəŋ\]  JA2 [cin\]
SC [sa\]  LnC [sin\ ~ sa\]  NnC1 [sa\]  NnC2 [cin\ ~ sa\]  LC [cin\ ~ ts'əŋ\ ~ sa\]  CG *siaŋ\ ~ *dziaŋ\ ~ *siŋ\ ~ *dzįŋ\n
chéng 称 QYS じゃŋ CDC *chiang⁵ ~ *jiang²
TS [tsen\]  WN1 [—]  WN2 [tein\]  WN3 [dzən\]  TC [dzən\]  XZ [—]  YX [—]  DC1 [dzən\]  DC2 [—]  AY [t'ən\ ~ san\]  NC [ts'ən\ ~ san\]  FX [t'ən\ ~ san\]  GA [—]
CL [—]  PX [ts'əŋ\ ~ sa\ ~ təŋ\]  AF1 [tʰəŋ\]  AF2 [tʰəŋ\]  LH1 [ts'əŋ\]  LH2 [tsʰəŋ\]  JA1 [tʰəŋ\]  JA2 [—]
SC [ts'əŋ\]  LnC [sin\ ~ sa\]  NnC1 [sa\]  NnC2 [—]  LC [~ sa\]  CG *siaŋ\ ~ *siŋ\ ~ *dzįŋ\n
chéng 盛 QYS じゃŋ CDC *chiang⁵ ~ *jiang²
TS [—]  WN1 [—]  WN2 [—]  WN3 [—]  TC [—]  XZ [—]  YX [—]  DC1 [sa\]  DC2 [—]  AY [t'ən\]  NC [sa\ ~ san\]  FX [—]  GA [—]
CL [—]  PX [təŋ\ ~ AF1 [—]  AF2 [—]  LH1 [—]  LH2 [—]  JA1 [sin\]  JA2 [cin\]
SC [—]  LnC [sin\]  NnC1 [—]  NnC2 [—]  LC [—]  CG *siŋ\n
The DC1 form points to an earlier *siaŋ\, while the AY form must come from *dzįŋ\.
However, these forms cannot be reconstructed comparatively due to scantness of the data.

The GA bái reading and the AF2 form are tonally irregular. The AY initial is irregular.

This set has the typical correspondence signature pattern for *k'- before *-i-, with the exception of the LC form, where we would expect initial k'- rather than a palatal. The reason for this is uncertain. It is possible that the LC form has been borrowed from some other neighboring or more prestigious Gàn dialect.
|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|--------|------|--------|----|--------|-----|------|

**Chí** QYS dí  
CDC *ji²

The JA2 initial is irregular.

**Chí** QYS tshí:  
CDC *chí³

The WN2 form is given as [ʦʰɿ] in the source. We suspect a misprint, since this is an impossible syllable type in this dialect. The JA1 form irregularly lacks aspiration. The LH2 tone is irregular.

**Chí** QYS tshják  
CDC *chìak⁷

**Chí** QYS śje-  
CDC *chì⁵

**Chóng** QYS tshjung  
CDC *chì⁹
Appendix: Data

TC [dzaŋ̩]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'ɑŋ̩]; NC [ts'uŋ̩]; FX [t'uŋ̩]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'sɑŋ̩]; AF1 [t'ɑŋ̩]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [teʰyŋ̩]; LH2 [teʰyŋ̩]; JA1 [tʰəŋ̩]; JA2 [t'uŋ̩];
SC [ts'ɑŋ̩]; LnC [t'uŋ̩]; NnC1 [t'uŋ̩]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ts'uŋ̩] CG *ts'iuŋ̩

chóng 重 QYS djwong  CDC *jiung^2
TS [tsen̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzin̩];
TC [dzaŋ̩]; XZ [dzaŋ̩]; YX [dzəŋ̩]; DC1 [tʂuŋ̩]; DC2 [dzun̩];
AY [t'ɑŋ̩]; NC [ts'uŋ̩]; FX [t'uŋ̩]; GA [tʰuŋ̩];
CL [tce'yŋ̩]; PX [t'sɑŋ̩]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰəŋ̩]; LH1 [teʰyŋ̩]; LH2 [teʰyŋ̩];
JA1 [tʰəŋ̩]; JA2 [t'uŋ̩];
SC [—]; LnC [t'uŋ̩]; NnC1 [t'uŋ̩]; NnC2 [t'uŋ̩]; LC [ts'uŋ̩] CG *dzjwɔŋ

chóng 龍 QYS djwong  CDC *jiung^2
TS [tsen̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsen̩]; WN3 [dzin̩];
TC [dzaŋ̩]; XZ [dzaŋ̩]; YX [dzəŋ̩]; DC1 [tʂuŋ̩]; DC2 [dzun̩];
AY [t'ɑŋ̩]; NC [ts'uŋ̩]; FX [t'uŋ̩]; GA [tʰuŋ̩];
CL [tce'yŋ̩]; PX [t'sɑŋ̩]; AF1 [tʰəŋ̩]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [teʰyŋ̩]; LH2 [teʰyŋ̩];
JA1 [tʰəŋ̩]; JA2 [t'uŋ̩];
SC [ts'ɑŋ̩]; LnC [t'uŋ̩]; NnC1 [t'uŋ̩]; NnC2 [t'uŋ̩]; LC [ts'uŋ̩] CG *dzun̩

chóng 虫 QYS djwong  CDC *chiung^3
TS [ts'en̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsen̩]; WN3 [dzəŋ̩];
TC [dzaŋ̩]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzun̩]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'ɑŋ̩]; NC [ts'uŋ̩]; FX [t'uŋ̩]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'sɑŋ̩]; AF1 [tsʰəŋ̩]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [tsʰəŋ̩]*; LH2 [—]; JA1 [tsʰəŋ̩]; JA2 [tʰəŋ̩];
SC [ts'ɑŋ̩]; LnC [ts'uŋ̩]; NnC1 [t'uŋ̩]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *dzun̩ *

The TC form is irregular. It seems possible that the word has been read off from the graphic form 龍 according to its phonetic element, lóng 龍, whose pronunciation in this dialect is [naŋ̩].
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The tone of the DC2 form is unexpectedly of the lower register. That of the second

The YX tone is irregular. We should expect yángpíng. The final of the second

The tone on the YX form may be a typographical error for yángpíng. The final of the second

The tone on the DC2 form is unexpectedly of the lower register. That of the second

The tone on the DC2 form is unetymological.
Appendix: Data

chū 出 QYS tshjwet CDC *chiut
TS [təjButtonDown]
WN1 [təjButtonDown]; WN2 [təjButtonDown]; WN3 [təjButtonDown]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzəjButtonDown]; YX [dzəjButtonDown]; DC1 [dzəjButtonDown]; DC2 [dzəjButtonDown]
AY [təjButtonDown]; NC [təjButtonDown]; FX [təjButtonDown]; GA [təjButtonDown]
CL [təjButtonDown]; PX [təjButtonDown]; AF1 [təjButtonDown]; AF2 [təjButtonDown]; LH1 [təjButtonDown]; LH2 [təjButtonDown]; JA1 [təjButtonDown]; JA2 [təjButtonDown]
SC [təjButtonDown]; LnC [təjButtonDown]; NnC1 [təjButtonDown]; NnC2 [təjButtonDown]; LC [təjButtonDown] CG *təjButtonDown

chū 初 QYS tshjwö CDC *chu
TS [tsəjButtonDown]; WN1 [tsəjButtonDown]; WN2 [tsəjButtonDown]; WN3 [tsəjButtonDown]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzəjButtonDown]; YX [dzəjButtonDown]; DC1 [dzəjButtonDown]; DC2 [dzəjButtonDown]
AY [tsəjButtonDown]; NC [tsəjButtonDown]; FX [tsəjButtonDown]; GA [tsəjButtonDown]
CL [tsəjButtonDown]; PX [tsəjButtonDown]; AF1 [tsəjButtonDown]; AF2 [tsəjButtonDown]; LH1 [tsəjButtonDown]; LH2 [tsəjButtonDown]; JA1 [tsəjButtonDown]; JA2 [tsəjButtonDown]
SC [tsəjButtonDown]; LnC [tsəjButtonDown]; NnC1 [təjButtonDown]; NnC2 [təjButtonDown]; LC [təjButtonDown] CG *tsəjButtonDown *

chú 前 QYS dzjwö CDC *je (~ *ju)
TS [tsəjButtonDown]; WN1 [tsəjButtonDown]; WN2 [dzəjButtonDown]; WN3 [dzəjButtonDown]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzəjButtonDown]; YX [dzəjButtonDown]; DC1 [dzəjButtonDown]; DC2 [dzəjButtonDown]
AY [tsəjButtonDown]; NC [tsəjButtonDown]; FX [tsəjButtonDown]; GA [tsəjButtonDown]
CL [tsəjButtonDown]; PX [tsəjButtonDown]; AF1 [tsəjButtonDown]; AF2 [tsəjButtonDown]; LH1 [tsəjButtonDown]; LH2 [tsəjButtonDown]; JA1 [tsəjButtonDown]; JA2 [tsəjButtonDown]
SC [tsəjButtonDown]; LnC [tsəjButtonDown]; NnC1 [təjButtonDown]; NnC2 [təjButtonDown]; LC [təjButtonDown] CG *dzəjButtonDown

chú 斥 QYS dzjwö CDC *jie (~ *jiu)
TS [təjButtonDown]; WN1 [təjButtonDown]; WN2 [dzy阳性]; WN3 [dzy阳性]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzυ阳性]; YX [dzυ阳性]; DC1 [dzυ阳性]; DC2 [dzυ阳性]
AY [tυ阳性]; NC [tε阳性]; FX [tυ阳性]; GA [tυ阳性]
CL [tυ阳性]; PX [tε阳性]; AF1 [tυ阳性]; AF2 [tυ阳性]; LH1 [tε阳性]; LH2 [tε阳性]; JA1 [tυ阳性]; JA2 [tυ阳性]
SC [tε阳性]; LnC [tυ阳性]; NnC1 [tε阳性]; NnC2 [tε阳性]; LC [tε阳性] CG *dzy阳性

chú 嵼 QYS dzjwö CDC *jiu
TS [təjButtonDown]; WN1 [tε阳性]; WN2 [dzy阳性]; WN3 [dzy阳性]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzυ阳性]; YX [dzυ阳性]; DC1 [dzυ阳性]; DC2 [dzυ阳性]
AY [tυ阳性]; NC [tε阳性]; FX [tυ阳性]; GA [tυ阳性]
CL [tε阳性]; PX [tε阳性]; AF1 [tε阳性]; AF2 [tε阳性]; LH1 [tε阳性]; LH2 [tε阳性]; JA1 [tε阳性]; JA2 [tε阳性]
SC [tε阳性]; LnC [tυ阳性]; NnC1 [tε阳性]; NnC2 [tε阳性]; LC [tε阳性] CG *dzy阳性

chú 剁 QYS dzjwö CDC *jiu
TS [tε阳性]; WN1 [tε阳性]; WN2 [tε阳性]; WN3 [tε阳性]
TC [dzəjButtonDown]; XZ [dzυ阳性]; YX [dzυ阳性]; DC1 [dzυ阳性]; DC2 [dzυ阳性]
AY [tε阳性]; NC [tε阳性]; FX [tε阳性]; GA [tε阳性]
CL [tε阳性]; PX [tε阳性]; AF1 [tε阳性]; AF2 [tε阳性]; LH1 [tε阳性]; LH2 [tε阳性]; JA1 [tε阳性]; JA2 [tε阳性]
SC [tε阳性]; LnC [tε阳性]; NnC1 [tε阳性]; NnC2 [tε阳性]; LC [tε阳性] CG *dzy阳性

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chù 楚 QYS .Observable:  CDC *chei\(^3\) (~ *chu\(^3\))
TS [ts'au\(^1\)]; WN1 [tshu\(^1\)]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts'au\(^1\)];
TC [dzou\(^1\)- dz]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzou\(^1\)]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'ə\(^1\)]; NC [ts'au\(^1\)]; FX [ts'au\(^1\)]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'u\(^1\)]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'ya\(^1\)]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'u\(^1\)]; JA1 [ts'u\(^1\)]; JA2 [ts'u\(^1\)];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'u\(^1\)]; NnC1 [t'u\(^1\)]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'u\(^1\)] CG *ts'q\(^1\)

The LC bái form reflects an archaic Common Gàn *t'ie\(^1\)\(^*\), for which we lack other comparative evidence in our data.

chù 虢 QYS  Observable- CDC *chiei\(^2\) (~ *chui\(^2\))
TS [te'y\(^1\)]; WN1 [te'y\(^1\)]; WN2 [te'y\(^1\)]; WN3 [te'iuk\(^2\)];
TC [dzy\(^1\)]; XZ [dzu\(^1\)]; YX [dz\(^1\)u\(^2\)]; DC1 [dzu\(^1\)]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'u\(^1\)]; NC [ts'uk\(^2\)]; FX [t'u\(^2\)]; GA [t'u\(^2\)];
CL [—]; PX [ts'u\(^1\)]; AF1 [t'œ\(^2\)]; AF2 [ci'œ\(^2\)]; LH1 [te'yo\(^2\)]; LH2 [te'io\(^2\)]; JA1 [ci'œ\(^2\)]; JA2 [t'œ\(^2\)];
SC [ts'u\(^1\)]; LnC [t'u\(^2\)]; NnC1 [t'u\(^2\)]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ts'u\(^2\)] CG *ts'iu\(^2\)

The JA1 initial is irregular.

chuan 穿 QYS  Observable:  CDC *chion\(^1\)
TS [te'y\(^2\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [te'y\(^2\)]; WN3 [te'y\(^2\)];
TC [dzën\(^1\)]; XZ [dzën\(^1\)]; YX [dz\(^2\)en\(^2\)]; DC1 [dzën\(^1\)]; DC2 [dz\(^2\)en\(^2\)];
AY [t'en\(^1\)]; NC [ts'ən\(^2\)]; FX [t'on\(^1\)]; GA [t'on\(^1\)];
CL [te'y\(^2\)]; PX [ts'q\(^2\)]; AF1 [t'œn\(^2\)]; AF2 [t'œn\(^2\)]; LH1 [te'y\(^2\)]; LH2 [te'yo\(^2\)]; JA1 [t'œn\(^2\)]; JA2 [t'œn\(^2\)];
SC [ts'œn\(^2\)]; LnC [t'on\(^2\)]; NnC1 [t'œn\(^2\)]; NnC2 [t'œn\(^2\)]; LC [t'on\(^2\)] CG *ts'yon\(^2\)

chuan 傳 QYS  Observable:  CDC *jion\(^2\)
TS [te'y\(^2\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dz\(^2\)en\(^2\)];
TC [dzën\(^1\)]; XZ [dzën\(^1\)]; YX [dz\(^2\)en\(^2\)]; DC1 [dzën\(^1\)]; DC2 [dz\(^2\)en\(^2\)];
AY [t'en\(^1\)]; NC [ts'ən\(^2\)]; FX [t'on\(^1\)]; GA [t'on\(^1\)];
CL [te'y\(^2\)]; PX [ts'q\(^2\)]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [t'œn\(^2\)]; LH1 [te'y\(^2\)]; LH2 [te'yo\(^2\)]; JA1 [t'œn\(^2\)]; JA2 [t'œn\(^2\)];
Appendix: Data

SC [— ]; LnC [t'on 陽平 ]; NnC1 [t'on 陽平 ]; NnC2 [t'on 陽平 ]; LC [te'ien 陽平 ] CG *dzyon

chuán 船 QYS dźjwán CDC *jion^2
TS [eye 陽平 ]; WN1 [eįwɔn 陽平 ]; WN2 [eyon 陽平 ]; WN3 [eįn 陽平 ];
TC [dzen 陽平 ]; XZ [dzɛn 陽平 ]; YX [sɛn 陽平 ]; DC1 [sɛn 陽平 ]; DC2 [sɔn 陽平 ];
AY [sɛn 陽平 ]; NC [sɔn 陽平 ]; FX [sɔn 陽平 ]; GA [eion 陽平 ];
CL [eỳa]; PX [ts'ug ]; AF1 [sɔŋ ]; AF2 [sɔŋ ]; LH1 [êy 陽平 ]; LH2 [eyon 陽平 ];
JA1 [suán ]; JA2 [suon ];
SC [suɔn ]; LnC [sɔn ]; NnC1 [sɔn ]; NnC2 [sɔŋ ]; LC [eîen ] CG *zyon 陽平 ~ *dzyon 陽平

chuâng 窗 QYS tśhâng CDC *chong^1
TS [ts'ong ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [tsʰɔŋ 陽平 ]; WN3 [— ];
TC [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; XZ [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; YX [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; DC1 [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; DC2 [dzɔŋ 陽平 ];
AY [ts'ɔŋ ]; NC [ts'ɔŋ 陽平 ]; FX [ts'ong ]; GA [tsʰɔŋ ];
CL [ts'ɔŋ ]; PX [ts'ɔŋ ]; AF1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; AF2 [tsʰɔŋ ]; LH1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; LH2 [tsʰɔŋ ];
JA1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; JA2 [ts'ɔŋ ];
SC [ts'ɔŋ ]; LnC [ts'ong ]; NnC1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; NnC2 [tɔŋ ]; LC [tɔŋ 陽平 ] CG *ts'ɔŋ

chuâng 窗 QYS tśhjang CDC *chong^1
TS [ts'ong ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [tsʰɔŋ 陽平 ]; WN3 [— ];
TC [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; XZ [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; YX [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; DC1 [dzɔŋ 陽平 ]; DC2 [dzɔŋ 陽平 ];
AY [ts'ɔŋ ]; NC [ts'ɔŋ 陽平 ]; FX [ts'ong ]; GA [tsʰɔŋ ];
CL [ts'ɔŋ ]; PX [ts'ɔŋ ]; AF1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; AF2 [tsʰɔŋ ]; LH1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; LH2 [tsʰɔŋ ];
JA1 [tsʰɔŋ ]; JA2 [ts'ɔŋ ];
SC [ts'ɔŋ ]; LnC [ts'ong ]; NnC1 [— ]; NnC2 [tɔŋ ]; LC [tɔŋ 陽平 ] CG *ts'ɔŋ

chui 吹 QYS tśhwe CDC *chui^1
TS [te'yei ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [te'b y ]; WN3 [te'y 陽平 ];
TC [dzy 陽平 ]; XZ [dzu 陽平 ]; YX [dzu 陽平 ]; DC1 [dzu 陽平 ]; DC2 [dzu 陽平 ];
AY [te'i ]; NC [ts'ui ]; FX [te'i ]; GA [tsʰɔ ];
CL [te'ye ]; PX [ts'u ]; AF1 [tʰy ]; AF2 [tʰy ]; LH1 [te'b y ]; LH2 [te'b y ];
JA1 [tʰy ]; JA2 [tui ];
SC [te'b y ]; LnC [tui ]; NnC1 [te'y 陽平 ]; NnC2 [te'y 陽平 ]; LC [te'y 陽平 ] CG *tš'yi 陽平

chui 錘 QYS dźjwi CDC *jui^2
TS [teya 陽平 ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [te'y 陽平 ]; WN3 [dzy 陽平 ];
TC [dzy 陽平 ]; XZ [dzu 陽平 ]; YX [dzu 陽平 ]; DC1 [dzu 陽平 ]; DC2 [dzu 陽平 ];
AY [te'i ]; NC [ts'ui ]; FX [te'i ]; GA [tsʰɔ ];
CL [te'ye ]; PX [ts'u ]; AF1 [tʰy ]; AF2 [tʰy ]; LH1 [te'b y ]; LH2 [te'b y ];

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The second reconstructed form may be of late and external origin. If it is not, it presumably had Common Gàn initial *dz-.
Appendix:  Data

TC [dz]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [——];
AY [——]; NC [ts]; FX [tsu]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [ts]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [——]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [suo];
JA2 [ts];
SC [——]; LnC [ts]; NnC1 [ts]; NnC2 [——]; LC [s] CG *dz

ci 詞 QYS zǐ CDC *zi²
TS [ts]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [dz];
TC [dz]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [——];
AY [——]; NC [ts]; FX [tsu]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [ts]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [——]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [suo];
JA2 [ts];
SC [——]; LnC [ts]; NnC1 [ts]; NnC2 [——]; LC [s] CG *dz

The JA2 initial irregularly lacks aspiration.

ci 磁 QYS dzǐ CDC *dzi²
TS [ts]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [dz];
TC [dz]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [——];
AY [ts]; NC [ts]; FX [tsu]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [ts]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [——]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [tsuo];
JA2 [ts];
SC [——]; LnC [ts]; NnC1 [ts]; NnC2 [——]; LC [s] CG *dz

The JA2 initial irregularly lacks aspiration.

ci 此 QYS tshje: CDC *tshi³
TS [ts]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [ts];
TC [dz]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [——]; DC2 [dz];
AY [ts]; NC [ts]; FX [tsu]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [ts]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [——]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [tsuo];
JA2 [ts];
SC [——]; LnC [ts]; NnC1 [ts]; NnC2 [ts]; LC [s] CG *ts

The JA2 initial irregularly lacks aspiration.

ci 次 QYS tshi- CDC *tshi⁴
TS [ts]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [ts];
TC [dz]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [——];
AY [ts]; NC [ts]; FX [tsu]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [ts]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [ts]; LH1 [——]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [tsuo];
JA2 [ts];
SC [——]; LnC [ts]; NnC1 [ts]; NnC2 [ts]; LC [——] CG *ts
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**ci 刺** QYS tshje-  
CDC *tshi⁵
TS [ts'⁵]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ts'⁵]; WN3 [ts'⁵];
TC [dz]; XZ [ — ]; YX [ — ]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [ts'⁵]; NC [ts'⁵]; FX [ts'⁵]; GA [ — ];
CL [ — ]; PX [ts'⁵]; AF1 [ts'⁵]; AF2 [ts'⁵]; LH1 [ts'⁵]; LH2 [ts'⁵]; JA1 [ts'⁵];
JA2 [ts'⁵];
SC [ts'⁵]; LnC [ts'⁵]; NnC1 [ts'⁵]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [s'⁵] CG *ts'⁵
*JXFY.

**ci 賜** QYS sje-  
CDC *si⁵ ~ *tshi⁵
TS [ts'⁵]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ — ]; WN3 [ts'⁵];
TC [dz]; XZ [ — ]; YX [ — ]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [s]; NC [ts'⁵]; FX [ts'⁵]; GA [ — ];
CL [ — ]; PX [ — ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [s]; LH1 [ — ]; LH2 [ts'⁵]; JA1 [ts'⁵]; JA2 [s];
SC [ — ]; LnC [ — ]; NnC1 [s]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [s] CG *ts'⁵

cóng 從 QYS dzjwong  
CDC *dziu²
TS [ts'⁵]; WN1 [ts'⁵]; WN2 [ts'⁵]; WN3 [ts'⁵];
TC [dz]; XZ [ — ]; YX [ — ]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [dz];
AY [ts'⁵]; NC [ts'⁵]; FX [ts'⁵]; GA [ts'⁵];
CL [ts'⁵]; PX [ts'⁵]; AF1 [ts'⁵]; AF2 [ts'⁵]; LH1 [ts'⁵]; LH2 [ts'⁵]; JA1 [ts'⁵];
JA2 [ts'⁵];
SC [ts'⁵]; LnC [ts'⁵]; NnC1 [ts'⁵]; NnC2 [ts'⁵]; LC [s] CG *ts'⁵

A CG form *dziu² can be posited on the basis of the FX and GA data. This is a literary form which is limited to the compound cong &gt; "at ease, free and easy".

cū 粗 QYS tshuo  
CDC *ts'⁴
TS [ts'⁴]; WN1 [ts'⁴]; WN2 [ts'⁴]; WN3 [ts'⁴];
TC [dz]; XZ [dz]; YX [dz]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [dz];
AY [ts'⁴]; NC [ts'⁴]; FX [ts'⁴]; GA [ts'⁴];
CL [ts'⁴]; PX [ts'⁴]; AF1 [ts'⁴]; AF2 [ts'⁴]; LH1 [ts'⁴]; LH2 [ts'⁴]; JA1 [ts'⁴];
JA2 [ts'⁴];
SC [ts'⁴]; LnC [ts'⁴]; NnC1 [t'u]; NnC2 [t'u]; LC [t'u] CG *ts'⁴

cūn 村 QYS tshuan  
CDC *ts'⁴
TS [ts'⁴]; WN1 [ — ]; WN2 [ts'⁴]; WN3 [ts'⁴];
TC [dz]; XZ [dz]; YX [dz]; DC1 [dz]; DC2 [dz];
AY [ts'⁴]; NC [ts'⁴]; FX [ts'⁴]; GA [ts'⁴];
CL [ts'⁴]; PX [ts'⁴]; AF1 [ts'⁴]; AF2 [ts'⁴]; LH1 [ts'⁴]; LH2 [ts'⁴];
Appendix: Data

JA1 [tsʰuən]; JA2 [ts'uen];
SC [tsʰɛ̃]; LnC [ts'uən]; NnC1 [t'yn]; NnC2 [t'yn]; LC [t'ən] CG *ts'un
cùn 平 QYS tshuan-
CDC *tshun
TS [ts'en]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts'an];
TC [dʒən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dʒən]; DC2 [dʒən];
AY [ts'an]; NC [ts'un]; FX [ts'an]; GA [—];
CL [ts'ɛ]; PX [ts'an]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'un]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'en]; JA1 [tsʰuən]; JA2 [ts'uen];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'uən]; NnC1 [t'yn]; NnC2 [t'yn]; LC [t'ən] CG *ts'un
The NnC2 tone is irregular.

cuo 錯 QYS tshâk
CDC *tshok
TS [ts'o]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts'o];
TC [dzən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'o]; NC [ts'ən]; FX [ts'o]; GA [—];
CL [ts'o]; PX [ts'ən]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'o] ~ ts'o; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'o]; JA1 [tsʰuən]; JA2 [ts'ən];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'o]; NnC1 [t'ən]; NnC2 [t'ən]; LC [—] CG *ts'o ~ *ts'o
This set is heavily mixed. The LC form may descend from an earlier *ts'o'k, which would agree with the Common Dialectal Chinese and QYS forms.

D

dá 答 QYS tāp  CDC *top
TS [təp]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [təp]; WN3 [təp];
TC [taʔp]; XZ [—]; YX [taʔp]; DC1 [taʔp]; DC2 [taʔp];
AY [təp]; NC [taʔp]; FX [top] ~ tap; GA [taʔp];
CL [taʔ]; PX [taʔ]; AF1 [teʔ]; AF2 [teʔ]; LH1 [taʔ]; LH2 [taʔ]; JA1 [teʔ]; JA2 [teʔ];
SC [taʔ]; LnC [tap]; NnC1 [taiʔ]; NnC2 [taiʔ]; LC [tap] CG *tap ~ *top

dá 達 QYS dā  CDC *dat
TS [təp]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dəʔp]; WN3 [dəʔp];
TC [daʔp]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [lal];
AY [təp] ~ tat; NC [təp]; FX [tat]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [taʔ]; AF1 [teʔ]; AF2 [teʔ]; LH1 [təp]; LH2 [teʔ]; JA1 [teʔ]; JA2 [teʔ];
SC [təp]; LnC [taiʔ]; NnC1 [haiʔ]; NnC2 [haiʔ]; LC [haiʔ] CG *dat
*JXFY.
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dà 大 QYS (tong: )

CDC *ta³
TS [tə²]; WN1 [ta³]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ta³];
TC [ta³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ta³]; DC2 [—];
AY [ta³]; NC [ta³]; FX [ta³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ta³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ta³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ta³]; JA1 [ta³]; JA2 [ta³];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [ta³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ta³] CG *ta³

dà 大 QYS dà-, dài-

CDC *do⁶ ~ *dai⁶
TS [ta³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ta³]; WN3 [ta³];
TC [ta³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ta³]; DC2 [—];
AY [ta³]; NC [ta³]; FX [ta³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ta³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ta³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [ta³];
SC [ta³]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *do⁶ ~ *dai⁶

dài 待 QYS tái-

CDC *tai⁵
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *tai⁵

dài 待 QYS dài:

CDC *doi⁴
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *doi⁴ ~ *doi⁶

dài 代 QYS dài-

CDC *doi⁶
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *doi⁶
Appendix: Data

dài QYS dǎi: CDC *doi⁴
TS [dæi̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dǎi];
TC [dài]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'ai̯]; NC [t'ai̯]; FX [t'ai̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'ai̯]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [t'ai̯]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [høi̯]; JA1 [t'uai̯];
JA2 [t'ai̯];
SC [—]; LnC [t'ai̯]; NnC1 [hai̯]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hai̯] CG *doi

dàn QYS dàn: CDC *tan¹
TS [tæ̯]; WN1 [tæ̯]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tæ̯];
TC [tan]; XZ [tæ̯]; YX [tæ̯]; DC1 [tan]; DC2 [tæ̯];
AY [t'an]; NC [t'an]; FX [t'an]; GA [—];
CL [t'a̯]; PX [t'a̯]; AF1 [t'a̯]; AF2 [t'a̯]; LH1 [t'a̯]; LH2 [t'æ̯]; JA1 [t'an];
JA2 [t'an];
SC [t'a̯]; LnC [t'a̯]; NnC1 [t'a̯]; NnC2 [t'a̯]; LC [t'a̯] CG *tan

dàn QYS dàn: dàn- CDC *dan⁶
TS [tæ̯]; WN1 [tæ̯]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tæ̯];
TC [dan]; XZ [dan]; YX [dan]; DC1 [dan]; DC2 [dan];
AY [t'an]; NC [t'an]; FX [t'an]; GA [—];
CL [t'a̯]; PX [t'a̯]; AF1 [t'a̯]; AF2 [t'a̯]; LH1 [hâ] LH2 [han]; JA1 [t'an];
JA2 [t'an];
SC [t'a̯]; LnC [t'a̯]; NnC1 [han]; NnC2 [—]; LC [han] CG *dan

dàn QYS dàn: dàn- CDC *dam⁴
TS [tæ̯]; WN1 [tan]; WN2 [t'an]; WN3 [tan];
TC [dan]; XZ [dan]; YX [dan]; DC1 [dan]; DC2 [lan];
AY [t'am]; NC [t'am]; FX [t'am]; GA [han];
CL [t'a̯]; PX [t'a̯]; AF1 [t'a̯]; AF2 [t'a̯]; LH1 [hâ]; LH2 [han];
JA1 [t'an];
SC [t'a̯]; LnC [t'a̯]; NnC1 [han]; NnC2 [han]; LC [han] CG *dam

The initial of the WN1 form is irregularly aspirated.

dâng QYS dàng CDC *tong¹
TS [toŋ]; WN1 [toŋ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [toŋ];
TC [toŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [toŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [toŋ]; NC [toŋ]; FX [toŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [toŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [toŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [toŋ]; JA1 [toŋ];
JA2 [toŋ];
SC [..]; LnC [toŋ]; NnC1 [toŋ]; NnC2 [..]; LC [toŋ] CG *toŋ

dàng 蕩 QYS dàng: CDC *dong⁴
TS [toŋ]; WN1 [toŋ]; WN2 [..]; WN3 [toŋ];
TC [dɔŋ]; XZ [dɔŋ]; YX [dɔŋ]; DC1 [dɔŋ]; DC2 [dɔŋ];
AY [t'ɔŋ]; NC [t'ɔŋ]; FX [t'ɔŋ]; GA [t'ɔŋ];
CL [(t')ɔŋ]; PX [(t')ɔŋ ~ t'ɔŋ]; AF1 [..]; AF2 [t'ɔŋ]; LH1 [hɔŋ]; LH2 [hɔŋ]; JA1 [t'ɔŋ]; JA2 [t'ɔŋ];
SC [..]; LnC [t'ɔŋ]; NnC1 [t'ɔŋ]; NnC2 [ḥɔŋ]; LC [hɔŋ] CG *dɔŋ ~ *dɔŋ ~ *dɔŋ

dào 倒 QYS tâu: CDC *tou⁵
TS [tau³]; WN1 [tau]; WN2 [..]; WN3 [tau];
TC [tau]; XZ [[..]; YX [[..]; DC1 [tau]; DC2 [[..];
AY [tau]; NC [tau]; FX [tau]; GA [[..];
CL [t'au]; PX [t'au]; AF1 [t'au]; AF2 [t'au]; LH1 [tai]; LH2 [tai]; JA1 [tau]; JA2 [tau];
SC [t'au]; LnC [t'au]; NnC1 [tou]; NnC2 [..]; LC [tou] CG *tou *JXFY.

The SC form is irregularly of lower register. The NnC2 final is irregular.

dào 道 QYS dâu: "road, principle" CDC *dou⁴
TS [tau]; WN1 [tau]; WN2 [t'au]; WN3 [tau];
TC [dau]; XZ [dau]; YX [d'au]; DC1 [dau]; DC2 [dau];
AY [t'au]; NC [t'au ~ tau]; FX [t'au]; GA [t'au];
CL [t'au]; PX [t'au]; AF1 [t'au]; AF2 [t'au]; LH1 [hɔʊ]; LH2 [hau]; JA1 [t'au]; JA2 [t'au];
SC [t'au]; LnC [t'au]; NnC1 [hau]; NnC2 [hau]; LC [hau] CG *dou ~ *dou
Appendix: Data

dé 得 QYS tak CDC *tek
TS [tên]; WN1 [tie²]; WN2 [tie²]; WN3 [tie²];
TC [tie²]; XZ [tie²]; YX [tie²]; DC1 [tie²]; DC2 [tie²];
AY [tie²]; NC [tie²]; FX [tie²]; GA [tie²];
CL [tie²]; PX [tie²]; AF1 [tie²]; AF2 [tie²]; LH1 [tie²]; LH2 [tie²]; JA1 [tie²];
JA2 [tie²];
SC [tie²]; LnC [tie²]; NnC1 [tie²]; NnC2 [tie²]; LC [tie²] CG *tie

děng 澶 QYS tang CDC *teng
TS [ten]; WN1 [tien]; WN2 [tien]; WN3 [tien];
TC [tien]; XZ [tien]; YX [tien]; DC1 [tien]; DC2 [tien];
AY [tien]; NC [tien]; FX [tien]; GA [tien];
CL [tien]; PX [tien]; AF1 [tien]; AF2 [tien]; LH1 [tien]; LH2 [tien]; JA1 [tien];
JA2 [tien];
SC [tien]; LnC [tien]; NnC1 [tien]; NnC2 [tien]; LC [tien] CG *teng

děng 等 QYS tang: CDC *teng
TS [tæi̯]; WN1 [tien]; WN2 [tien]; WN3 [tien];
TC [tien]; XZ [tien]; YX [tien]; DC1 [tien]; DC2 [tien];
AY [tien]; NC [tien]; FX [tien]; GA [tien];
CL [tæi̯]; PX [tæi̯]; AF1 [tæi̯]; AF2 [tæi̯]; LH1 [tæi̯]; LH2 [tæi̯]; JA1 [tæi̯];
JA2 [tæi̯];
SC [tæi̯]; LnC [tæi̯]; NnC1 [tæi̯]; NnC2 [tæi̯]; LC [tæi̯] CG *tæi̯

dì 低 QYS tiei CDC *tiei
TS [tei³]; WN1 [ti³]; WN2 [ti³]; WN3 [ti³];
TC [ti³]; XZ [ti³]; YX [ti³]; DC1 [ti³]; DC2 [ti³];
AY [ti³]; NC [ti³]; FX [ti³]; GA [ti³];
CL [ti³]; PX [ti³]; AF1 [ti³]; AF2 [ti³]; LH1 [ti³]; LH2 [ti³]; JA1 [ti³];
JA2 [ti³];
SC [ti³]; LnC [ti³]; NnC1 [ti³]; NnC2 [ti³]; LC [ti³] CG *ti³

dì 笛 低 陽入 QYS diek CDC *diek
TS [tei³]; WN1 [ti³]; WN2 [dia³]; WN3 [liak³];
TC [dia³]; XZ [dia³]; YX [dia³]; DC1 [dia³]; DC2 [dia³];
AY [dia³]; NC [dia³]; FX [dia³]; GA [dia³];
CL [dia³]; PX [dia³]; AF1 [dia³]; AF2 [dia³]; LH1 [dia³]; LH2 [dia³]; JA1 [dia³];
JA2 [dia³];
SC [dia³]; LnC [dia³]; NnC1 [dia³]; NnC2 [dia³]; LC [dia³] CG *diek

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The third reconstructed form appears to represent a loan from a language in which both voicing and aspiration have been lost. This borrowing may have been very late, when the phonetic form of the loanword was actually *tiʔ, rather than *tiek. The LnC bái form irregularly lacks aspiration. It may have been contaminated by the wén reading. The initial of the WN3 form is irregular. It may have been borrowed from another dialect, such as DC2.

\[ \text{dì} \quad \text{QYS: tiei-} \quad \text{CDC: tiai}^{5} \]

TS [tæi²]; WN1 [ti³]; WN2 [ti³]; WN3 [ti³];
TC [t[i³]; XZ [t[i³]; YX [di⁵]; DC1 [di⁵]; DC2 [li⁵];
AY [t[i³]; NC [ti³]; FX [ti³]; GA [ti³];
CL [t[i³]; PX [t[i³]; AF1 [t[i³]; AF2 [t[i³]; LH1 [t[i³]; LH2 [t[i³]; JA1 [ti³];
JA2 [t[i³];
SC [t[i³]; LnC [ti³]; NnC1 [t[i³]; NnC2 [t[i³]; LC [hi³] CG *di⁶ ~ di⁵ (~ *dei⁴)

The initial of the WN3 form is irregular.

\[ \text{dì} \quad \text{QYS: tiem:} \quad \text{CDC: tiam}^{3} \]

TS [t[i̯³]; WN1 [ti³]; WN2 [ti³]; WN3 [ti³];
TC [t[i̯³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [ti̯³]; NC [ti̯³]; FX [ti̯³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t[i̯³]; AF1 [t[i̯³]; AF2 [t[i̯³]; LH1 [t[i̯³]; LH2 [t[i̯³]; JA1 [t[i̯³];
JA2 [t[i̯³];
SC [t[i̯³]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hi³] CG *ti̯³ ~ *ti̯⁴ (~ *dei⁴)

The second form is etymologically obscure. It may derive from an otherwise unattested earlier reading in *di⁵.

\[ \text{diàn} \quad \text{QYS: tiem:} \quad \text{CDC: *tiem}^{3} \]

TS [ti⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tien⁴]; WN3 [tien⁴];
TC [tien⁴]; XZ [tien⁴]; YX [tien⁴]; DC1 [tien⁴]; DC2 [tien⁴];
AY [tiem⁴]; NC [tien⁴]; FX [tiem⁴]; GA [tien⁴ ~ lien⁴];
CL [tien⁴]; PX [ti⁴]; AF1 [ti⁴]; AF2 [ti⁴]; LH1 [ti⁴]; LH2 [ti⁴]; JA1 [tien⁴];
JA2 [tian⁴];
SC [tien⁴]; LnC [tiem⁴]; NnC1 [tian⁴]; NnC2 [tian⁴]; LC [tiam⁴] CG *tiem⁴
Appendix: Data

The stylistic register of the third reconstructed form is indeterminate. It is a bái form in TC but a wén reading in LnC. It is also unetymological.

The second PX form must derive from an earlier *tiaŋ\(^{1}\), which however cannot be reconstructed comparatively.

*Informant vascillates between dental and retroflex before -iŋ.

The tone of the AF2 form is irregular.
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dòng 動 QYS dung: CDC *dung
TS [tʊ́ŋ]; WN1 [təʊŋ]; WN2 [dəʊŋ]; WN3 [təŋ];
TC [dəŋ]; XZ [dəŋ]; YX [dəʊŋ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [lʊŋ];
AY [tʰəʊŋ]; NC [tʰəʊŋ]; FX [tʰəʊŋ]; GA [tʰəʊŋ];
CL [tʰəʊŋ]; PX [tʰəʊŋ]; AF1 [tʰəʊŋ]; AF2 [tʰəʊŋ]; LH1 [tʰəʊŋ]; LH2 [həʊŋ]; JA1 [həʊŋ]; JA2 [tʰəʊŋ];
SC [tʰə̃ŋ]; LnC [tʰə̃ŋ]; NnC1 [tʰə̃ŋ]; NnC2 [tʰə̃ŋ]; LC [həʊŋ]; CG *dʊŋ
The tone of the AF2 form is irregular. Those of the DC2 and the NnC2 bái forms are, on the other hand regular and are diagnostic for an earlier Common Gàn yángshāng tone.

dōu 豆 QYS dou- CDC *deu
TS [tœ̃u]; WN1 [tjau]; WN2 [tʰiau]; WN3 [tjau];
TC [dɪau]; XZ [də̃u]; YX [də̃u]; DC1 [deu]; DC2 [lœ̃u];
AY [t′au]; NC [t′œ̃u]; FX [t′au]; GA [hə̃u];
CL [t′œ̃u]; PX [t′œ̃u]; AF1 [t′œ̃u]; AF2 [t′õu]; LH1 [hœ̃u]; LH2 [hõu]; JA1 [hiu]; JA2 [t′eu];
SC [tʰə̃u]; LnC [t′ẽu]; NnC1 [hе̃u]; NnC2 [hе̃u]; LC [hе̃u]; CG *deu
The tone of the AF2 form is irregular. The AF1 tone is irregular.

dū 都 QYS tuo CDC *tu
TS [toʊ̃u]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [toʊ];
TC [dou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tu]; DC2 [tu];
AY [toʊ̃u]; NC [toʊ̃u]; FX [toʊ̃u]; GA [—];
CL [toʊ̃u]; PX [toʊ̃u]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tu]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tu]; JA1 [tu]; JA2 [tu];
SC [—]; LnC [tu]; NnC1 [tu]; NnC2 [tu]; LC [tu]; CG *tu
The vowel and tone of the AF2 form are irregular. The reading may be a loan from some dialect that had the main vowel -u- here. The vowel of the WN3 form is irregular.

dú 頃 QYS duk CDC *duk
TS [toʊ̃u]; WN1 [tuʔ]; WN2 [duʔ]; WN3 [toʊ];
TC [dou]; XZ [—]; YX [dʊʔ]; DC1 [dʊʔ]; DC2 [lʊʔ];
AY [tʰuʔ]; NC [tʰuʔ]; FX [tʰuʔ]; GA [tʰuʔ];
CL [tʰuʔ]; PX [tʰuʔ]; AF1 [tʰõu]; AF2 [tʰu]; LH1 [hʊ̃u]; LH2 [hõu]; JA1 [tʰõu]; JA2 [tʰu];
SC [tʰõu]; LnC [tʰu]; NnC1 [tʰu]; NnC2 [tʰu]; LC [hʊ̃u]; CG *duk
The vowel and tone of the AF2 form are irregular. The reading may be a loan from some dialect that had the main vowel -u- here. The vowel of the WN3 form is irregular.
Appendix: Data

dù 毒 QYS duok  CDC *duk
TS [täu̯]; WN1 [tuʔ]; WN2 [duʔ]; WN3 [duk];
TC [douʔ]; XZ [duʔ]; YX [duʔ]; DC1 [duk]; DC2 [luk];
AY [t'ʔ]; NC [tuk]; FX [t'uʔ]; GA [t'uʔ];
CL [t'uʔ]; PX [t'uʔ]; AF1 [t'uo]; AF2 [t'uo]; LH1 [huo]; LH2 [ho]; JA1 [t'uo];
JA2 [t'uʔ];
SC [t'uo]; LnC [t'uo]; NnC1 [t'uo]; NnC2 [t'uo]; LC [huʔ] CG *duk

dù 笛 QYS tuok  CDC *tuk
TS [täu̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tuk];
TC [touʔ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tuk]; DC2 [—];
AY [tuʔ]; NC [—]; FX [tuʔ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [to]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [to]; JA1 [tu]; JA2 [tu];
SC [—]; LnC [tuʔ]; NnC1 [tuʔ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tuʔ] CG *tuk

dù 杜 QYS duo:  CDC *du
TS [täu̯]; WN1 [tuʔ]; WN2 [duʔ]; WN3 [tuʔ];
TC [douʔ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [duʔ]; DC2 [luʔ];
AY [t'uʔ]; NC [—]; FX [t'ʔ]; GA [—];
CL [t'uʔ]; PX [t'uʔ]; AF1 [t'uo]; AF2 [tuʔ]; LH1 [t'uo]; LH2 [t'uo]; JA1 [t'uo];
JA2 [t'uʔ];
SC [t'uo]; LnC [t'uo]; NnC1 [t'uo]; NnC2 [t'uo]; LC [huʔ] CG *du *du *JXFY.
The AF2 initial is irregular.

duān 端 QYS tuān  CDC *ton
TS [tuə̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [toŋ]; WN3 [toŋ];
TC [toŋ]; XZ [toŋ]; YX [toŋ]; DC1 [toŋ]; DC2 [toŋ];
AY [toŋ]; NC [toŋ]; FX [toŋ]; GA [toŋ];
CL [t'ŋ]; PX [t'ŋ]; AF1 [t'ŋ]; AF2 [toŋ]; LH1 [t'ŋ]; LH2 [toŋ]; JA1 [tuŋ];
JA2 [t'uŋ];
SC [t'uŋ]; LnC [toŋ]; NnC1 [toŋ]; NnC2 [toŋ]; LC [toŋ] CG *tuŋ

duān 端 QYS tuān:  CDC *ton
TS [tə̯]; WN1 [toŋ]; WN2 [toŋ]; WN3 [toŋ];
TC [toŋ]; XZ [toŋ]; YX [toŋ]; DC1 [toŋ]; DC2 [toŋ];
AY [toŋ]; NC [toŋ]; FX [toŋ]; GA [toŋ];
CL [t'ŋ]; PX [t'ŋ]; AF1 [t'ŋ]; AF2 [toŋ]; LH1 [t'ŋ]; LH2 [toŋ]; JA1 [tuŋ];
JA2 [t'uŋ];
SC [t'uŋ]; LnC [toŋ]; NnC1 [toŋ]; NnC2 [toŋ]; LC [toŋ] CG *tuŋ
duán 斷 QYS tuán- ~ tuán- ~ duán: CDC *ton⁵ ~ *ton⁵ ~ *don⁴
TS [tœ; 陰入去] ~ [te; 陽入]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰon⁴]; WN3 [ton⁵];
TC [ton⁴ ~ don⁵]; XZ [don⁵]; YX [dʰon⁴]; DC1 [ton⁴ ~ don⁵]; DC2 [lon⁵];
AY [tœ; 陰入]; NC [tœn⁴ ~ tœn⁵]; FX [ton⁴ ~ tœn⁴]; GA [hon⁴];
CL [tœ]; PX [tœ ~ tœn⁴]; AF1 [tœn⁴]; AF2 [tœn⁵]; LH1 [tʰ5 ~ h5]; LH2 [hœn⁴]; JA1 [tœn⁵]; JA2 [tœn⁵ ~ tœn⁵];
SC [—]; LnC [tœ ~ hon⁴]; NnC1 [hœn⁴]; NnC2 [hœn⁴]; LC [ton⁴ ~ ton⁴ ~ hon⁴] CG *duon⁴; *tœn⁴.

The SC form appears to derive from Common Gàn *duon⁴. Other forms, such as that of AF1, may be blends of some sort.

dui 對 QYS tuái- ~ tuái: CDC *tuoi⁵
TS [tœ⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tœ⁴];
TC [tœ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tœ]; DC2 [tœ];
AY [tœ]; NC [tœ]; FX [tœ]; GA [—];
CL [tœ]; PX [tœ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tœ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tœ]; JA1 [tœ]; JA2 [tœ];
SC [—]; LnC [tœ]; NnC1 [tœ]; NnC2 [tœ]; LC [tœ] CG *tuoi⁵ ~ *tœ.

dún 顿 QYS tuân- ~ tuân: CDC *tun⁵
TS [tun⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tun⁴];
TC [tun⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tun⁴]; DC2 [tun⁴];
AY [tun⁴]; NC [tun⁴]; FX [tun⁴]; GA [—];
CL [tœ]; PX [tœ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tœ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tœ]; JA1 [tœ]; JA2 [tœ];
SC [—]; LnC [tœ]; NnC1 [tœ]; NnC2 [tœ]; LC [tœ] CG *tun⁵.

duō 多 QYS tâ ~ tâ: CDC *to⁴
TS [tœ]; WN1 [tœ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tœ];
TC [tœ]; XZ [tœ]; YX [tœ]; DC1 [tœ]; DC2 [tœ];
AY [tœ]; NC [tœ]; FX [tœ]; GA [tœ];
CL [tœ]; PX [tœ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tœ]; LH1 [tœ]; LH2 [tœ]; JA1 [tœ]; JA2 [tœ];
SC [—]; LnC [tœ]; NnC1 [tœ]; NnC2 [tœ]; LC [tœ] CG *to⁴.

duó 多 QYS duâ ~ duâ: CDC *dot⁸
TS [tœ]; WN1 [tœ]; WN2 [dœ]; WN3 [—];
TC [dœ]; XZ [dœ]; YX [dœ]; DC1 [dœ]; DC2 [dœ];
AY [tœ]; NC [tœ]; FX [tœ]; GA [tœ];
CL [tœ]; PX [tœ]; AF1 [tœ]; AF2 [tœ]; LH1 [hœ]; LH2 [hœ]; JA1 [t⁸].

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JA2 [t'œ陽去];
SC [t'œ]; LnC [t'œ]; NnC1 [høy?]; NnC2 [høy?]; LC [høj?] CG *dot
*The coda of this form is anomalous. In Liú (1999) it is reported to be -t, which is expected.

duǒ 朵 QYS tuâ: CDC *to⁵
TS [to⁵]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [do⁴]; WN3 [to⁴];
TC [—]; XZ [do⁴]; YX [do⁴]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [to⁴];
AY [t'o⁵]; NC [t'o⁵]; FX [t'o⁵]; GA [—];
CL [to⁴]; PX [t'o⁵]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [to⁴]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [to⁴]; JA1 [to⁴]; JA2 [to⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [to⁴]; NnC1 [to⁴]; NnC2 [to⁴]; LC [to⁴] CG *to⁴

E

e 額 QYS ngêk CDC *ngak⁸
TS [ŋê]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋet陽人];
TC [ŋê]; XZ [ŋê]; YX [ŋaʔ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ŋek陽人];
AY [ŋê]; NC [ŋet; ~ ȵiâ]; FX [ŋê]; GA [ŋet];
CL [ŋê]; PX [ŋa; 陽平 ~ ȵiâ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [e; 陰平]; LH2 [nie];
JA1 [nia]; JA2 [ŋê; 陰平];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋê; ~ naʔ; 陽人]; NnC1 [ŋei; 陰去 ~ naʔ; 陽人]; NnC2 [ŋei; 陰去 ~ naʔ; 陽人];
SC [ŋê; 陰去 ~ naʔ; 陽人]; NnC1 [ŋei; 陰去 ~ naʔ; 陽人]; LC [ŋê; 陰去 ~ naʔ; 陽人];
The initial of the second NnC1 form is unexpected.

e 搬 QYS ngâ CDC *ngo²
TS [ŋo]; WN1 [ŋo]; WN2 [ŋo]; WN3 [ŋo];
TC [ŋo]; XZ [ŋo]; YX [ŋo]; DC1 [ŋo]; DC2 [ŋo];
AY [ŋo]; NC [ŋo]; FX [ŋo]; GA [ŋo];
CL [ŋo]; PX [ŋo]; AF1 [ŋo]; AF2 [ŋo; 陽平 ~ 陽平]; LH1 [ŋo; 陽平]; LH2 [ŋo; 陽平];
JA1 [ŋo; 陽平]; JA2 [ŋo; 陽平];
SC [ŋo; 陽平]; LnC [ŋo; 陽平]; NnC1 [ŋo; 陽平]; NnC2 [ŋo; 陽平]; LC [ŋo; 陽平] CG *ŋo²
è QYS ?āk
TS [ŋo]; WN1 [ŋo]; WN2 [ŋo]; WN3 [ŋo]; TC [ŋo]; XZ [ŋo]; YX [ŋo]; DC1 [ŋo]; DC2 [ŋo];
AY [ŋo]; NC [ŋo]; FX [ŋo]; GA [ŋo]; CL [ŋo]; PX [ŋo]; AF1 [ŋo]; AF2 [ŋo]; LH1 [ŋo];
LH2 [ŋo]; JA1 [ŋo]; JA2 [ŋo];
SC [ŋo]; LN [ŋo]; LN2 [ŋo]; NnC1 [ŋo]; NnC2 [ŋo]; LC [ŋo]; CG [ŋo];

èn QYS ?èn
TS [ŋè]; WN1 [ŋè]; WN2 [ŋè]; WN3 [ŋè];
TC [ŋè]; XZ [ŋè]; YX [ŋè]; DC1 [ŋè]; DC2 [ŋè];
AY [ŋè]; NC [ŋè]; FX [ŋè]; GA [ŋè]; CL [ŋè]; PX [ŋè]; AF1 [ŋè]; AF2 [ŋè]; LH1 [ŋè];
LH2 [ŋè]; JA1 [ŋè]; JA2 [ŋè];
SC [ŋè]; LN [ŋè]; LN2 [ŋè]; NnC1 [ŋè]; NnC2 [ŋè]; LC [ŋè]; CG [ŋè];

èr QYS ñỳì
TS [ŋ̥]; WN1 [ŋ̥]; WN2 [ŋ̥]; WN3 [ŋ̥];
TC [ŋ̥]; XZ [ŋ̥]; YX [ŋ̥]; DC1 [ŋ̥]; DC2 [ŋ̥];
AY [ŋ̥]; NC [ŋ̥]; FX [ŋ̥]; GA [ŋ̥]; CL [ŋ̥]; PX [ŋ̥]; AF1 [ŋ̥]; AF2 [ŋ̥]; LH1 [ŋ̥];
LH2 [ŋ̥]; JA1 [ŋ̥]; JA2 [ŋ̥];
SC [ŋ̥]; LN [ŋ̥]; LN2 [ŋ̥]; NnC1 [ŋ̥]; NnC2 [ŋ̥]; LC [ŋ̥]; CG [ŋ̥];

èr QYS ñỳje
TS [ŋ̥]; WN1 [ŋ̥]; WN2 [ŋ̥]; WN3 [ŋ̥];
TC [ŋ̥]; XZ [ŋ̥]; YX [ŋ̥]; DC1 [ŋ̥]; DC2 [ŋ̥];
AY [ŋ̥]; NC [ŋ̥]; FX [ŋ̥]; GA [ŋ̥]; CL [ŋ̥]; PX [ŋ̥]; AF1 [ŋ̥]; AF2 [ŋ̥]; LH1 [ŋ̥];
LH2 [ŋ̥]; JA1 [ŋ̥]; JA2 [ŋ̥];
SC [ŋ̥]; LN [ŋ̥]; LN2 [ŋ̥]; NnC1 [ŋ̥]; NnC2 [ŋ̥]; LC [ŋ̥]; CG [ŋ̥];

èr QYS ñì: CDC *ne
TS [ŋ̥]; WN1 [ŋ̥]; WN2 [ŋ̥]; WN3 [ŋ̥];
TC [ŋ̥]; XZ [ŋ̥]; YX [ŋ̥]; DC1 [ŋ̥]; DC2 [ŋ̥];
AY [ŋ̥]; NC [ŋ̥]; FX [ŋ̥]; GA [ŋ̥];

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CL [e^1]; PX [ʅ^1 ~ ŋ^1]; AF1 [n^1]; AF2 [o^1]; LH1 [ŋ^1 ~ ʅ^1]; LH2 [min^1]; JA1 [n^1]; JA2 [e^1]; SC [ŋ^1]; LnC [ś^1]; NnC1 [o^1]; NnC2 [o^1]; LC [o^1 ~ ni^1] CG *ni^1 ~ *ŋ^1 ~ *ʃi^1 ~ *JXFY: [i^1 ~ ].

cér 隱 QYS ñźje:CDC *nhí^4
TS [z^1]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [œ^1]; WN3 [—];
TC [y^1]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [œ^1]; NC [—]; FX [œ^1]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [œ^1]; LH2 [œ^1]; JA1 [œ^1]; JA2 [œ^1];
SC [—]; LnC [œ^1]; NnC1 [œ^1]; NnC2 [—]; LC [œ^1] CG *œ^1 ~ *œ^1 ~
The SC form reflects an even earlier form *ni^1, which cannot be comparatively reconstructed on the basis of the available data.

F

fá 發 QYS pjwøt CDC *fat^7
TS [fa^]; WN1 [hwæ^1]; WN2 [fæ^1]; WN3 [fæt];
TC [fa^]; XZ [fa^]; YX [fa^]; DC1 [fəat]; DC2 [fəat];
AY [fat^]; NC [fat]; FX [fat]; GA [fat];
CL [fa^]; PX [fa^]; AF1 [fæ^]; AF2 [fæ^]; LH1 [hwa^1]; LH2 [fa^]; JA1 [fæ^]; JA2 [fæ^];
SC [fa^]; LnC [fat]; NnC1 [fat]; NnC2 [fai^]; LC [fai^] CG *f(u)at

fá 法 QYS pjwøp CDC *fap^7
TS [fa^]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fæt]; WN3 [fæt];
TC [fa^]; XZ [fa^]; YX [fa^]; DC1 [fəat]; DC2 [fəat];
AY [fat^]; NC [fat]; FX [fat]; GA [fat];
CL [fa^]; PX [fa^]; AF1 [fæ^]; AF2 [fæ^]; LH1 [hwa^1]; LH2 [fa^]; JA1 [fæ^]; JA2 [fæ^];
SC [fa^]; LnC [fat]; NnC1 [fat]; NnC2 [fai^]; LC [fap] CG *f(u)ap
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fàn 凡 QYS bjwom: CDC *vam\(^2\)
TS [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; WN3 [f\(\text{ā}^1\)];
TC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; XZ [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; YX [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; DC1 [f\(\text{uān}^3\)]; DC2 [f\(\text{uān}^3\)];
AY [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; FX [huan\(\text{g}^1\)]; GA [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
CL [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; PX [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; AF1 [f\(\text{ān}^1\)]; AF2 [f\(\text{ān}^1\)]; LH1 [hua\(\text{ā}^1\)]; LH2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; JA1 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
JA2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
SC [f\(\text{ān}^2\)]; LnC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NnC1 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NnC2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; LC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)] CG *f(u)am

fàn 反 QYS pjwom: CDC *fan\(^3\)
TS [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; WN3 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
TC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; XZ [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; YX [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; DC1 [f\(\text{uān}^3\)]; DC2 [f\(\text{uān}^3\)];
AY [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; FX [huan\(\text{g}^1\)]; GA [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
CL [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; PX [f\(\text{ā}^1\)]; AF1 [f\(\text{ān}^1\)]; AF2 [f\(\text{ān}^1\)]; LH1 [hua\(\text{ā}^1\)]; LH2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; JA1 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
JA2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)];
SC [f\(\text{ān}^2\)]; LnC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NnC1 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; NnC2 [fan\(\text{g}^1\)]; LC [fan\(\text{g}^1\)] CG *fuan

fāng 方 QYS pjwong: CDC *fong\(^1\)
TS [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; WN1 [hwong\(\text{ī}^1\)]; WN2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; WN3 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
TC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; XZ [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; YX [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; DC1 [f\(\text{uōn}^1\)]; DC2 [f\(\text{uōn}^1\)];
AY [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; FX [huan\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; GA [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
CL [f\(\text{ī}^1\)]; PX [f\(\text{ūn}^2\)]; AF1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; AF2 [f\(\text{ūn}^2\)]; LH1 [hua\(\text{ī}^1\)]; LH2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; JA1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
JA2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
SC [hō\(\text{ī}^1\)]; LnC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NnC1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NnC2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; LC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)] CG *fō

fāng 方 QYS bjwong: CDC *vong\(^2\)
TS [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)] ~ xo; WN1 [hwong\(\text{ī}^1\)]; WN2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; WN3 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
TC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; XZ [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; YX [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; DC1 [f\(\text{uōn}^1\)]; DC2 [f\(\text{uōn}^1\)];
AY [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; FX [huan\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; GA [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
CL [f\(\text{ī}^1\)]; PX [f\(\text{ūn}^2\)]; AF1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; AF2 [f\(\text{ūn}^2\)]; LH1 [hua\(\text{ī}^1\)]; LH2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; JA1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
JA2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)];
SC [hō\(\text{ī}^1\)]; LnC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NnC1 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; NnC2 [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)]; LC [f\(\text{ōn}^1\)] CG *fō
Appendix: Data

The NnC1 tone is irregular.

*Deduced from a lacuna in the source.*
A Study of Comparative Gàn

fen 境 QYS bjuan CDC *vun²
TS [fen³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fan⁴]; WN3 [fan⁴];
TC [fan⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [funj]; DC2 [funan];
AY [fan⁴]; NC [fan⁴]; FX [huang]; GA [—];
CL [feⁿ]; PX [feⁿ]; AF1 [fen⁴]; AF2 [fen⁴]; LH1 [feⁿ]; LH2 [fen⁴]; JA1 [fen⁴]; JA2 [fen⁴];
SC [fen⁴]; LnC [fan⁴]; NnC1 [fan⁴]; NnC2 [fen⁴]; LC [fen⁴] CG *fun
*Deduced from a lacuna in the source.

fen 焦 QYS bjuan CDC *vun²
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fan⁴];
TC [fan⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [fan⁴]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [feⁿ]; AF1 [fen⁴]; AF2 [fen⁴]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [fen⁴]; JA1 [fen⁴]; JA2 [fen⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [fan⁴]; NnC1 [fan⁴]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fen⁴] CG *fun

fen 無 QYS pjuan- CDC *fun⁵
TS [fen⁴]; WN1 [hwan⁴]; WN2 [fan⁴]; WN3 [fan⁴];
TC [fan⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [fan⁴]; NC [—]; FX [huan⁴]; GA [fen⁴];
CL [feⁿ]; PX [feⁿ]; AF1 [fen⁴]; AF2 [fen⁴]; LH1 [hue⁴]; LH2 [fen⁴]; JA1 [fen⁴]; JA2 [fen⁴];
SC [fen⁴]; LnC [fan⁴]; NnC1 [fan⁴]; NnC2 [fen⁴]; LC [fen⁴] CG *fun
**Deduced from a lacuna in the source.

fen 慎 QYS bjuan: CDC *vun⁴
TS [fen⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fan⁴];
TC [fan⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [fan⁴]; NC [fan⁴]; FX [huan⁴]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [feⁿ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fen⁴]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [fen⁴]; JA1 [fen⁴]; JA2 [fen⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [fan⁴]; NnC1 [fan⁴]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fen⁴] CG *fun

feng 風 QYS pjun⁴ CDC *fung⁴
TS [fen⁴]; WN1 [hao⁴]; WN2 [hao⁴]; WN3 [xan];
TC [fan⁴]; XZ [hao⁴]; YX [fan⁴]; DC1 [funj]; DC2 [funan];
AY [hao]; NC [fun]; FX [huang]; GA [fun];
CL [fan⁴]; PX [fan⁴]; AF1 [fan⁴]; AF2 [fun]; LH1 [huan⁴]; LH2 [fan⁴]; JA1
Appendix: Data

[fəŋ] ; JA2 [fuŋ] ;
SC [hɔː]; LnC [fuŋ]; NnC1 [fuŋ]; NnC2 [fuŋ]; LC [fuŋ] CG *fuŋ

féng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung¹
TS [fəŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [hɔŋ]; WN3 [xəŋ];
TC [fəŋ ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fəŋ ]; DC2 [fəŋ ];
AY [hɔŋ]; NC [fuŋ]; FX [huu]; GA [—];
CL [fəŋ ]; PX [fəŋ ]; AF1 [fəŋ ]; AF2 [fuŋ ]; LH1 [fəŋ ]*; LH2 [fəŋ ]; JA1 [fəŋ ]; JA2 [fuŋ ];
SC [hɔː]; LnC [fuŋ ]; NnC1 [fuŋ ]; NnC2 [fuŋ ]; LC [fuŋ ] CG *fuŋ
*XFY.

féng 縫 QYS bjwong CDC *vung²
TS [xʊŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xəŋ];
TC [fəŋ ]; XZ [hɔŋ ]; YX [fəŋ ]; DC1 [fəŋ ]; DC2 [fəŋ ];
AY [hɔŋ ]; NC [fuŋ ]; FX [huu]; GA [—];
CL [fəŋ ]; PX [fəŋ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fuŋ ]; LH1 [hun]; LH2 [fəŋ ]; JA1 [fəŋ ]; JA2 [fuŋ ];
SC [—]; LnC [fuŋ ]; NnC1 [fuŋ ]; NnC2 [fuŋ ]; LC [fuŋ ] CG *fuŋ

fó 佛 QYS bjwog: CDC *vut³
TS [fʊŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xəŋ];
TC [fəʊ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [fəʊ]; NC [fuŋ ]; FX [huu]; GA [—];
CL [fʊŋ ]; PX [fəʊ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fʊŋ ]; LH1 [hun]; LH2 [fəʊ ]; JA1 [fəʊ ]; JA2 [fʊŋ ];
SC [—]; LnC [fʊŋ ]; NnC1 [fʊŋ ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fʊŋ ] CG *fʊŋ

The finals of the AY and LC forms may be irregular. The matter is uncertain, since the syllable type is unique in the Common Gān system.

fǒu 否 QYS pjou: CDC *feu³
TS [fəʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fieʊ];
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TC [fiiau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fueu]; DC2 [—];
AY [fiiau]; NC [feu]; FX [huau]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [fœ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fœ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [foi]; JA1 [fiiau]; JA2 [fœ];
SC [—]; LnC [fe:u]; NnC1 [fieu]; NnC2 [—]; LC [feu] CG *feu

ลอย QYS pju     CDC *fu
TS [fu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fu]; WN3 [fu];
TC [fu]; XZ [fu]; YX [fu]; DC1 [fœ]; DC2 [fœ];
AY [fu]; NC [fu]; FX [fu]; GA [fu];
CL [fu]; PX [fœ]; AF1 [fœ]; AF2 [fu]; LH1 [fu]; LH2 [fu]; JA1 [fu];
JA2 [fu];
SC [fu]; LnC [fu]; NnC1 [fu]; NnC2 [fu]; LC [fu] CG *fu

ลอย QYS bju     CDC *veu/EC *bo
TS [feu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fiiau]; WN3 [fieu];
TC [fiiau]; XZ [fu]; YX [fu]; DC1 [fœ]; DC2 [fœ];
AY [fu]; NC [feu] ~ p'au; FX [huau] ~ p'au; GA [feu];
CL [fo]; PX [fœ]; AF1 [fœ]; AF2 [fu]; LH1 [huœ]; LH2 [foi]; JA1 [fu];
JA2 [feu];
SC [fo]; LnC [fe:u]; NnC1 [fieu]; NnC2 [fu]; LC [feu] CG *p'au ~ *feu

ลอย QYS bju     CDC *vu
TS [fu]; WN1 [hwu]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fu];
TC [fu]; XZ [fu]; YX [fu]; DC1 [fœ]; DC2 [fœ];
AY [fu]; NC [fu] ~ p'au; FX [hu] ~ p'au; GA [fu];
CL [fu]; PX [fu]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fu]; LH1 [fu]; LH2 [fu]; JA1 [fu];
JA2 [fu];
SC [—]; LnC [fu]; NnC1 [fu]; NnC2 [fu]; LC [fu] CG *fu

โหลด QYS njuk     CDC *vuk
TS [fu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fuk];
TC [fu]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fuk]; DC2 [—];
AY [fu]; NC [fuk] ~ p'uk; FX [hu?]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [fœ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fo]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [foi]; JA1 [fo]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [fu]; NnC1 [fu?]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fu?] CG *fuk

เท้า QYS njuk     CDC *vuk
TS [fu]; WN1 [hwu]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fuk];
Appendix: Data

TC [fu?]; XZ [fy]; YX [fu?]; DC1 [fuk]; DC2 [fuk];
AY [fu?]; NC [fuk]; FX [hu]; GA [fuk];
CL [fu]; PX [fu]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fo]; LH1 [huo]; LH2 [fo]; JA1 [fo]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [fu]; NnC1 [fu?]; NnC2 [fu?]; LC [fu?]; CG [fuk];

The FX initial is irregular.

The Nánchéng-1 form is unique in the it combines the bilabial initial of one variant type with the yángqù tone of the other.

The Nánchéng-1 form is unique in the it combines the bilabial initial of one variant type with the yángqù tone of the other.
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The LH2 form must derive from an earlier *feu, which cannot be comparatively reconstructed for the the set as a whole.

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The LH2 form must derive from an earlier *feu, which cannot be comparatively reconstructed for the the set as a whole.
The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

The AF1 tone is irregular.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

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The AF1 tone is irregular.

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The AF1 tone is irregular.
Appendix: Data

gāng 銅 QYS kāng CDC *kong¹
TS [konŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [konŋ]; WN3 [kɔŋ əŋ];
TC [konŋ]; XZ [kɔŋ]; YX [kɔŋ]; DC1 [kɔŋ}; DC2 [kɔŋ];
AY [kɔŋ]; NC [kɔŋ]; FX [kɔŋ]; GA [kɔŋ];
CL [kɔŋ]; PX [kɔŋ]; AF1 [kɔŋ]; AF2 [kɔŋ]; LH1 [kɔŋ]; LH2 [kɔŋ]; JA1 [kɔŋ]; JA2 [kɔŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [kɔŋ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [kɔŋ]; LC [kɔŋ] CG *kong²

玫瑰 QYS kāng: CDC *kong³
TS [kɔŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kɔŋ]; WN3 [kɔŋ];
TC [kɔŋ]; XZ [kɔŋ]; YX [kɔŋ]; DC1 [kɔŋ]; DC2 [kɔŋ];
AY [kɔŋ]; NC [kɔŋ]; FX [kɔŋ]; GA [—];
CL [kɔŋ]; PX [kɔŋ]; AF1 [kɔŋ]; AF2 [kɔŋ]; LH1 [kɔŋ]; LH2 [kɔŋ]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kɔŋ];
SC [kɔŋ]; LnC [kɔŋ]; NnC1 [kɔŋ]; NnC2 [kɔŋ]; LC [kɔŋ] CG *kong²

gāo 高 QYS kāu CDC *kou¹
TS [kau]; WN1 [kau]; WN2 [kau]; WN3 [kau];
TC [kau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kau]; DC2 [kau];
AY [kau]; NC [kau]; FX [kau]; GA [—];
CL [kɔŋ]; PX [kɔŋ]; AF1 [kɔŋ]; AF2 [kau]; LH1 [kau]; LH2 [kau]; JA1 [kau]; JA2 [kau];
SC [kau]; LnC [kau]; NnC1 [kau]; NnC2 [kau]; LC [kau] CG *kou²

ge 割 QYS kāp CDC *kot²
TS [kɔp]; WN1 [kɔp]; WN2 [kɔp]; WN3 [kɔpt];
TC [kɔp]; XZ [kɔp]; YX [kɔp]; DC1 [kɔp]; DC2 [kɔp];
AY [kɔpt]; NC [kɔpt]; FX [kɔpt]; GA [kɔpt];
CL [kɔpt]; PX [kɔpt]; AF1 [kɔpt]; AF2 [kɔpt]; LH1 [kɔpt]; LH2 [kɔpt]; JA1 [kɔpt]; JA2 [kɔpt];
SC [kɔpt]; LnC [kɔpt]; NnC1 [kɔpt]; NnC2 [kɔpt]; LC [kɔpt] CG *kot²

ge 鵝 QYS kāp CDC *kop²
TS [kɔp]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kɔp]; WN3 [kɔp];
TC [kɔp]; XZ [kɔp]; YX [kɔp]; DC1 [kɔp]; DC2 [kɔp];
AY [kɔp]; NC [kɔp]; FX [kɔp]; GA [kɔp];
CL [kɔp]; PX [kɔp]; AF1 [kɔp]; AF2 [kɔp]; LH1 [kɔp]; LH2 [kɔp]; JA1 [kɔp]; JA2 [kɔp];
SC [kɔp]; LnC [kɔp]; NnC1 [kɔp]; NnC2 [kɔp]; LC [kɔp] CG
*kop

*The source has ko, which is a misprint.
The AF1 form is anomalous.

gē 哥 QYS  kâ CDC *ko
TS [ko]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ko]; WN3 [ko];
TC [ko]; XZ [ko]; YX [ko]; DC1 [ko]; DC2 [ko];
AY [ko]; NC [ko]; FX [ko]; GA [ko];
CL [ko]; PX [ko]; AF1 [ko]; AF2 [ko]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [ko]; JA1 [ko]; JA2 [ko];
SC [ko]; LnC [ko]; NnC [ko]; NnC1 [ko]; NnC2 [ko]; LC [ko]; CG *ko

The AF1 tone is irregular. The SC tone is an apparent misprint for yínqù in the source.

gē 歌 QYS  kâ CDC *ko
TS [ko]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ko]; WN3 [ko];
TC [ko]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ko]; DC2 [ko];
AY [ko]; NC [ko]; FX [ko]; GA [—];
CL [ko]; PX [ko]; AF1 [ko]; AF2 [ko]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [ko]; JA1 [ko]; JA2 [ko];
SC [ko]; LnC [ko]; NnC1 [ko]; NnC2 [ko]; LC [ko]; CG *ko

*JXFY.

The AF1 tone is irregular.

ge 格 QYS  kâ CDC *kak
TS [ke]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ka]; WN3 [ket];
TC [ke]; XZ [ke]; YX [ka]; DC1 [ke]; DC2 [ke];
AY [ke]; NC [ke]; FX [ke]; GA [ke];
CL [ke]; PX [ka]; AF1 [ke]; AF2 [tet]; LH1 [ka]; LH2 [ke]; JA1 [ka]; JA2 [—];
SC [ke]; LnC [ke]; NnC1 [ka]; NnC2 [ke]; LC [ka]; CG *kak

The AF1 tone is irregular.

gè 節 個 QYS  kâ- CDC *ko
TS [ko]; WN1 [ko]; WN2 [ko]; WN3 [ko];
TC [ko]; XZ [ko]; YX [ko]; DC1 [ko]; DC2 [—];
AY [ko]; NC [ko]; FX [ko]; GA [ko];
CL [—]; PX [ko]; AF1 [ko]; AF2 [ko]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [ko]; JA1 [ko]; JA2 [ko];
SC [ko]; LnC [ko]; NnC1 [ko]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ko]; CG *ko

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Appendix: Data

gè 各 QYS kâk CDC *kok
TS [kò]; WN1 [kò]; WN2 [kò]; WN3 [kò];
TC [kò]; XZ [kò]; YX [kò]; DC1 [kò]; DC2 [kò];
AY [kò]; NC [kò]; FX [kò]; GA [kò];
CL [kò]; PX [kò]; AF1 [kò]; AF2 [kò]; LH1 [kò]; LH2 [kò]; JA1 [kò];
JA2 [kò];
SC [kò]; LnC [kò]; NnC1 [kò]; NnC2 [kò]; LC [kò] CG *kok

gēn 根 QYS kân CDC *ken
TS [kè]; WN1 [kè]; WN2 [kè]; WN3 [kè];
TC [kè]; XZ [kè]; YX [kè]; DC1 [kè]; DC2 [kè];
AY [kè]; NC [kè]; FX [kè] ~ teien; GA [kè];
CL [kè]; PX [kè]; AF1 [teien]; AF2 [kè]; LH1 [kè]; LH2 [kè]; JA1 [kè];
JA2 [kè];
SC [kè]; LnC [kè]; NnC1 [kè]; NnC2 [kè]; LC [kè] CG *ken

gēng 更 QYS kâng “to change” CDC *kang
TS [kè]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [kè]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kè]; DC2 [—];
AY [kè]; NC [kè]; FX [kè] ~ kan; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kè]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [kè]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [kè]; JA1 [kè];
JA2 [kè];
SC [—]; LnC [kè] ~ kan; NnC1 [kè]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kè] CG *kang ~ *ken

gēng 耕 QYS keng CDC *kang
TS [kè]; WN1 [teien]; WN2 [kæŋ]; WN3 [kæŋ];
TC [kè]; XZ [kæŋ]; YX [kæŋ]; DC1 [kæŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [kæŋ]; NC [kæŋ]; FX [kæŋ] ~ kan; GA [kæŋ];
CL [—]; PX [kæŋ]; AF1 [teien]; AF2 [kæŋ] ~ teien; LH1 [—]; LH2 [kæŋ];
JA1 [kæŋ]; JA2 [kæŋ];
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SC [ken]; LnC [ken]; NnC1 [ken ~ kau]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *kau ~ *kau

gōng 功 QYS kung CDC *kung¹
TS [kuen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kau]; WN3 [kau];
TC [kau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kun]; DC2 [kun];
AY [kau]; NC [ku]; FX [ku]; GA [—];
CL [kau]; PX [kuau]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [kun]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [kun]; JA1 [kau]; JA2 [kau];
SC [—]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [kun]; LC [kun] CG *kun

*JXFY.

gōng 功 QYS kung CDC *kung¹
TS [kuen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kau]; WN3 [kau];
TC [kau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kun]; DC2 [—];
AY [kau]; NC [ku]; FX [ku]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kuau]; AF1 [ku]; AF2 [kun]; LH1 [kun]*; LH2 [kun]; JA1 [kau]; JA2 [kau];
SC [ku]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kun] CG *kun

*JXFY.

gōng 功 QYS kjwong CDC *kiung¹
TS [kuen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kau]; WN3 [kau];
TC [kau]; XZ [kau]; YX [kau]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [kun];
AY [kau]; NC [ku]; FX [kun]; GA [ku];
CL [kau]; PX [kuau]; AF1 [kau]; AF2 [kun]; LH1 [kau]; LH2 [kun]; JA1 [kau]; JA2 [kau];
SC [ku]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [kun]; LC [kun] CG *kun

*JXFY.

gōu 狗 QYS kou: CDC *keu³
TS [keu³]; WN1 [tejau³]; WN2 [kiau³]; WN3 [keu³];
TC [kiau³]; XZ [keu³]; YX [keu³]; DC1 [keu³]; DC2 [kau³ ~ kau³];

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AY [kiau]; NC [kieu]; FX [keu; ~ t'ieau]; GA [kieu];
CL [kò]; PX [ku]; AF1 [t'ieau]; AF2 [kieu]; LH1 [kæ]; LH2 [koi]; JA1 [kiau]; JA2 [keu];
SC [kau]; LnC [k'ieu]; NnC1 [kieu]; NnC2 [kieu]; LC [k'ieu] CG *keu~*kau

古 QYS kuo:   CDC *ku³
TS [ku³]; WN1 [ku³]; WN2 [ku³]; WN3 [ku³];
TC [ku³]; XZ [–]; YX [–]; DC1 [ku³]; DC2 [–];
AY [ku³]; NC [ku³]; FX [ku³]; GA [–];
CL [–]; PX [–]; AF1 [ku]; AF2 [ku]; LH1 [ku]; LH2 [ku]; JA1 [ku]; JA2 [ku];
SC [ku]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [–]; LC [ku] CG *ku

骨 QYS ku⁴t CDC *kut⁷
TS [ku⁴t ~ kuei]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [ku⁷]; WN3 [ku⁷];
TC [ku⁷]; XZ [ku]; YX [ku]; DC1 [ku⁷]; DC2 [ku⁷];
AY [ku⁷]; NC [ku⁷]; FX [ku⁷]; GA [ku⁷];
CL [kuei]; PX [ku]; AF1 [ku⁷]; AF2 [ku⁷]; LH1 [ku⁷]; LH2 [ku⁷]; JA1 [ku⁷]; JA2 [ku⁷];
SC [kue]; LnC [kut]; NnC1 [kui]; NnC2 [kui]; LC [kut] CG *kut

固 QYS kuo- CDC *ku⁵
TS [ku⁵]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [–]; WN3 [ku⁵];
TC [ku⁵]; XZ [–]; YX [–]; DC1 [ku⁵]; DC2 [–];
AY [ku⁵]; NC [ku⁵]; FX [ku⁵]; GA [–];
CL [–]; PX [ku⁵]; AF1 [–]; AF2 [ku⁵]; LH1 [–]; LH2 [ku]; JA1 [ku]; JA2 [ku];
SC [–]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [–]; NnC2 [ku⁵]; LC [ku⁷] CG *ku⁵

故 QYS kuo- CDC *ku⁵
TS [ku⁵]; WN1 [ku⁵]; WN2 [–]; WN3 [ku⁵];
TC [ku⁵]; XZ [–]; YX [–]; DC1 [ku⁵]; DC2 [–];
AY [ku⁵]; NC [ku⁵]; FX [ku⁵]; GA [–];
CL [–]; PX [ku⁵]; AF1 [–]; AF2 [ku⁵]; LH1 [–]; LH2 [ku]; JA1 [ku]; JA2 [ku];
SC [–]; LnC [ku]; NnC1 [ku]; NnC2 [–]; LC [ku⁵] CG *ku⁵

雇 QYS kuo- CDC *ku⁵
TS [ku⁵]; WN1 [–]; WN2 [ku⁵]; WN3 [ku⁵];
TC [ku⁵]; XZ [–]; YX [–]; DC1 [ku⁵]; DC2 [–];
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AY [ku̯]; NC [ku̯]; FX [ku̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ku̯]; AF1 [ku̯]; AF2 [ku̯]; LH1 [ku̯]; LH2 [ku̯]; JA1 [ku̯]; JA2 [ku̯];
SC [ku̯]; LnC [ku̯]; NnC1 [ku̯]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ku̯] CG *ku̯
gù 顧 QYS kuo-
TS [ku̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ku̯];
TC [ku̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ku̯]; DC2 [—];
AY [ku̯]; NC [ku̯]; FX [ku̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ku̯]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ku̯]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ku̯]; JA1 [ku̯]; JA2 [ku̯];
SC [—]; LnC [ku̯]; NnC1 [ku̯]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ku̯] CG *ku̯
guā 刮 QYS kwa
TS [kua̯]; WN1 [kwa̯]; WN2 [kua̯]; WN3 [kua̯];
TC [kua̯]; XZ [kua̯]; YX [kua̯]; DC1 [kua̯]; DC2 [kua̯];
AY [kua̯]; NC [kua̯]; FX [kua̯]; GA [kua̯];
CL [kua̯]; PX [kua̯]; AF1 [kua̯]; AF2 [kua̯]; LH1 [kua̯]; LH2 [kua̯]; JA1 [kua̯]; JA2 [kua̯];
SC [kua̯]; LnC [kua̯]; NnC1 [kua̯]; NnC2 [kua̯]; LC [kua̯] CG *kua̯
guāi 乖 QYS kwái
TS [kua̯]; WN1 [kwa̯]; WN2 [kua̯]; WN3 [kuæ];
TC [kua̯]; XZ [kua̯]; YX [kua̯]; DC1 [kua̯]; DC2 [kua̯];
AY [kua̯]; NC [kua̯]; FX [kua̯]; GA [kua̯];
CL [kua̯]; PX [kua̯]; AF1 [kuæ]; AF2 [kuæ]; LH1 [kua̯]; LH2 [kua̯]; JA1 [kua̯]; JA2 [kua̯];
SC [kua̯]; LnC [kua̯]; NnC1 [kua̯]; NnC2 [kua̯]; LC [kua̯] CG *kua̯
guān 官 QYS kuän
TS [kuæ]; WN1 [kwa̯]; WN2 [kuæ]; WN3 [—];
TC [kuæ]; XZ [kuæ]; YX [kuæ]; DC1 [kuæ]; DC2 [kuæ];
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AY [kuɔ́]; NC [kuɔ́]; FX [kuen]; GA [kuɔ́];
CL [kuá́]; PX [kuɔ́]; AF1 [kuɔ́]; AF2 [kuɔ́]; LH1 [kuá́]; LH2 [kuan];
JA1 [kuɔ́]; JA2 [kuɔ́];
SC [kuɔ́]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuɔ́]; NnC2 [kuɔ́]; LC [kuɔ́] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.

AY [kuon]; NC [kuon]; FX [kuon]; GA [kuon];
CL [kuon]; PX [kuon]; AF1 [kuon]; AF2 [kuon]; LH1 [kuon]; LH2 [kuon];
JA1 [kuon]; JA2 [kuon];
SC [kuon]; LnC [kuon]; NnC1 [kuon]; NnC2 [kuon]; LC [kuon] CG *kuon

The initial of the AF1 form is irregularly aspirated.
TC [kui]; XZ [kui]; YX [kui]; DC1 [kui]; DC2 [kui];
AY [kui]; NC [kui]; FX [kui]; GA [kui];
CL [kue]; PX [kui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [kui]; LH1 [kuœ]; LH2 [kuoi]; JA1 [kue]; JA2 [kui];
SC [—]; LnC [kui]; NnC1 [kui]; NnC2 [kui]; LC [kui] CG *kyi

鬼 QYS kjwei: CDC *kui

The SC form is irregularly of lower register.

贵 QYS kjwei- CDC *kui

The SC form is irregularly of lower register.

滚 QYS --- CDC *kun

The tones of the TC and DC2 forms are irregular.
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guó 国 QYS kwak
CDC *kuek⁷
TS [kuæ]; WN1 [kue]; WN2 [kue]; WN3 [kure]; TC [kue]; XZ [kue]; YX [kue]; DC1 [kue]; DC2 [kue]; AY [kue]; NC [kue]; FX [kue]; GA [kue]; CL [kue]; PX [kue]; AF1 [kue]; AF2 [kue]; LH1 [kue]; LH2 [kue]; JA1 [kue]; JA2 [kue]; SC [kue]; LnC [kue]; NnC1 [kue]; NnC2 [kue]; LC [kue]; CG *kuek

guó 果 QYS kuâ:
CDC *kuo³
TS [kø]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kuo]; WN3 [ko]; TC [kuo]; XZ [kuo]; YX [kuo]; DC1 [kuo]; DC2 [kuo]; AY [kuo]; NC [kuo]; FX [kuo]; GA [kuo]; CL [kuo]; PX [kuo]; AF1 [ko]; AF2 [ko]; LH1 [ko]; LH2 [ko]; JA1 [kuo]; JA2 [kuo]; SC [ko]; LnC [kuo]; NnC1 [kuo]; NnC2 [kuo]; LC [kuo]; CG *kuo

*Tone corrected from yínqù on the basis of example phrases in the source.

H

hái 海 QYS xài:
CDC *xoi³
TS [xa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [hoi]; WN3 [xoi]; TC [hai]; XZ [hai]; YX [xai]; DC1 [xai]; DC2 [hai]; AY [hai]; NC [hai]; FX [hai]; GA [hoi]; CL [xæ]; PX [hoe]; AF1 [hoe]; AF2 [hoi]; LH1 [hoe]; LH2 [hoi]; JA1 [hoe]; JA2 [xai]; SC [hoi]; LnC [hoi]; NnC1 [hoi]; NnC2 [hoi]; LC [hoi]; CG *hoi

hàn 罕 QYS xân:
CDC *xon³
TS [xœ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xon]; TC [hon]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xon]; DC2 [—]; AY [hon]; NC [hon]; FX [hon]; GA [—];
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AY [ho]; NC [ha]; FX [ho]; GA [ho];
CL [xuo]; PX [ho]; AF1 [ho]; AF2 [ho ]; LH1 [ho ]; LH2 [ho ]; JA1 [ho ];
JA2 [x o ];
SC [ho ]; LnC [ho ]; NnC1 [ho ]; NnC2 [ho ]; LC [ho ] CG *ho

hé 合 QYS γɨp CDC *hop (~ kop)
TS [xo ]; WN1 [ho ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [x t ];
TC [ho ]; XZ [ho ]; YX [g o ]; DC1 [x o ]; DC2 [ho ];
AY [k o ]; NC [ho ]; FX [hop ]; GA [ho ];
CL [x o ]; PX [ho ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ho ]; LH1 [ho ]; LH2 [ho ]; JA1 [ho ]; JA2 [x o ];
SC [ho ]; LnC [hop ]; NnC1 [ho ]; NnC2 [ho ]; LC [hop ] CG *hop ~ kop

hēi 黑 QYS xek CDC *xek
TS [xe ]; WN1 [he ]; WN2 [he ]; WN3 [x e ];
TC [he ]; XZ [he ]; YX [g e ]; DC1 [x ek ]; DC2 [he ];
AY [he ]; NC [he ]; FX [he ]; GA [he ];
CL [xe ]; PX [he ]; AF1 [he ]; AF2 [he ]; LH1 [he ]; LH2 [he ]; JA1 [he ]; JA2 [xe ];
SC [he ]; LnC [he ]; NnC1 [he ]; NnC2 [he ]; LC [he ] CG *he

hēn 很 QYS yon: CDC *xen
TS [x e ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [h i ]; WN3 [x e ];
TC [hien ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xen ]; DC2 [—];
AY [hien ]; NC [hien ]; FX [hien ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [he ]; AF1 [he ]; AF2 [hien ]; LH1 [he ]; LH2 [he ]; JA1 [hien ]; JA2 [hien ];
SC [hien ]; LnC [hien ]; NnC1 [hien ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hien ] CG *he

*JXFY.
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hèn 恨 QYS yan- CDC *xen
TS [xə~]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xə];
TC [hə]; XZ [hə]; YX [gə]; DC1 [xə]; DC2 [hə];
AY [hə]; NC [hə]; FX [hə]; GA [hə];
CL [xə]; PX [hə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [hə]; LH1 [hə]; LH2 [hə]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [hə];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [hə]; NnC2 [hə]; LC [hə] CG *hə

héng 恆 QYS xang CDC *xang
TS [xə~]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xə];
TC [hə]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xə]; DC2 [—];
AY [hə]; NC [hə]; FX [hə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [hə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [hə]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [hə]; JA1 [hə]; JA2 [hə];
SC [—]; LnC [hə]; NnC1 [hə]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hə] CG *hə

héng, 恆 横 QYS 竖 “horizontal” CDC *huang
TS [xue~]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xə];
TC [hə]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xə]; DC2 [—];
AY [hə]; NC [hə]; FX [hə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [hə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [hə]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [hə]; JA1 [hə]; JA2 [hə];
SC [—]; LnC [hə]; NnC1 [hə]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hə] CG *hə

The AF2 tone is irregular.

héng, 恆 橫 QYS 竖 “horizontal” CDC *huang
TS [xue~]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [xə];
TC [hə]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [xə]; DC2 [—];
AY [hə]; NC [hə]; FX [hə]; GA [—];
CL [xue~]; PX [hə]; AF1 [xə]; AF2 [hə]; LH1 [hə]; LH2 [hə]; JA1 [hə]; JA2 [hə];
SC [—]; LnC [hə]; NnC1 [hə]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hə] CG *hə

The AF2 tone is irregular.
The tone of the YX form is irregular.

The tone of the YX form is irregular.
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hū 忽 QYS xuat CDC *xuā
TS [fù]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fù]; TC [fù]; XZ [fù]; YX [fù]; DC1 [fù]; DC2 [fù];
AY [fù]; NC [fù]; FX [fù]; GA [fù]; CL [xu]; PX [fù]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fù]; LH1 [hù]; LH2 [hù];
JA1 [fù]; JA2 [fù]; SC [—]; LnC [hù]; NnC1 [fù ~ fuei ]; NnC2 [fù ]; LC [fù ]; CG *hù

hú 湖 QYS yuo “foreign, non-Sinitic; a surname” CDC *hu
TS [fù]; WN1 [hwù]; WN2 [fù]; WN3 [fù];
TC [fù]; XZ [fù]; YX [fù]; DC1 [fù]; DC2 [fù];
AY [fù]; NC [fù]; FX [hù]; GA [fù];
CL [xu]; PX [fù]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fù]; LH1 [hù]; LH2 [fù]; JA1 [fù]; JA2 [fù];
SC [—]; LnC [hù]; NnC1 [fù ]; NnC2 [fù ~ vu]; LC [fù ]; CG *u ~ *hu

hù 戶 QYS yuo: CDC *hu
TS [fù]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fù];
TC [fù]; XZ [fù]; YX [fù]; DC1 [ — ]; DC2 [fù];
AY [fù]; NC [fù]; FX [hù]; GA [fù];
CL [xu]; PX [fù]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fù]; LH1 [hù]; LH2 [fù]; JA1 [fù]; JA2 [fù];
SC [—]; LnC [xu]; NnC1 [fù ]; NnC2 [fù ]; LC [fù ]; CG *u ~ *hu

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua
TS [xuā]; WN1 [hwa]; WN2 [fā]; WN3 [fā];
TC [fā]; XZ [hua]; YX [fā ]; DC1 [fā ]; DC2 [fā ];
AY [fā ]; NC [fā ]; FX [hua]; GA [fā ];
CL [xua]; PX [fā ]; AF1 [fā ]; AF2 [fā ]; LH1 [hua ]; LH2 [fā ]; JA1 [fā ]; JA2 [fā ];
SC [hua]; LnC [fā ]; NnC1 [fā ]; NnC2 [fā ]; LC [fā ]; CG *hua

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huá 滑 QYS ɣwàt  CDC *huat
TS [xua’]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [væ]; WN3 [væ];
TC [fa’]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [uat]; DC2 [—];
AY [uat]; NC [ua’]; FX [uat]; GA [—];
CL [xua’]; PX [ua’]; AF1 [væ]; AF2 [uε]; LH1 [uε]; LH2 [uε]; JA1 [uε];
JA2 [uε];
SC [ua’]; LnC [fat]; NnC1 [uai]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uai] CG *uat
~ *huat

huà 话 QYS xwā-  CDC *xua
TS [xuɒ]; WN1 [hwu’]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fa’];
TC [fa’]; XZ [hua’]; YX [fa’]; DC1 [φua’]; DC2 [φua’];
AY [fa’]; NC [fa’]; FX [hua’]; GA [fa’];
CL [xua’]; PX [fa’]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fa’]; LH1 [hua’]; LH2 [fa’]; JA1 [fa’]; JA2 [fa’];
SC [—]; LnC [fa’]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [fa’]; LC [fa’] CG *hua
The LH2 tone is irregular.

huái 晦 QYS ɣwaï-  CDC *hua
TS [xuɒ]; WN1 [hwu’]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fa’];
TC [fa’]; XZ [hua’]; YX [fa’]; DC1 [ua’]; DC2 [ua’];
AY [ua’]; NC [fa’]; FX [hua’]; GA [ua’];
CL [xua’]; PX [fa’]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [fa’]; LH1 [hua’]; LH2 [fa’]; JA1 [fa’]; JA2 [fa’];
SC [fa’]; LnC [fa’]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [fa’]; LC [fa’] CG *hua

huái 晦 QYS ɣwái-  CDC *huai
TS [xuɒ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fa’]; WN3 [fa’];
TC [fa’]; XZ [hua’]; YX [fa’]; DC1 [φua’]; DC2 [φua’];
AY [fa’]; NC [fa’]; FX [hua’]; GA [fa’];
CL [xua’]; PX [fa’]; AF1 [fa’]; AF2 [fa’]; LH1 [hua’]; LH2 [fa’]; JA1 [fa’];
JA2 [fa’];
SC [fa’]; LnC [fa’]; NnC1 [fa’]; NnC2 [fa’]; LC [fa’] CG *hua

huái 晦 QYS ɣwái-  CDC *huai
TS [xuɒ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fa’]; WN3 [fa’];
TC [fa’]; XZ [hua’]; YX [fa’]; DC1 [φua’]; DC2 [φua’];
AY [fa’]; NC [fa’]; FX [hua’]; GA [fa’];
CL [xua’]; PX [fa’]; AF1 [fa’]; AF2 [fa’]; LH1 [hua’]; LH2 [fa’]; JA1 [fa’];
JA2 [fa’];
SC [fa’]; LnC [fa’]; NnC1 [fa’]; NnC2 [fa’]; LC [fa’] CG *hua

huái 晦 QYS ɣwái-  CDC *huai
TS [xuɒ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fa’]; WN3 [fa’];
TC [fa’]; XZ [hua’]; YX [fa’]; DC1 [φua’]; DC2 [φua’];
AY [fa’]; NC [fa’]; FX [hua’]; GA [fa’];
CL [xua’]; PX [fa’]; AF1 [fa’]; AF2 [fa’]; LH1 [hua’]; LH2 [fa’]; JA1 [fa’];
JA2 [fa’];
SC [fa’]; LnC [fa’]; NnC1 [fa’]; NnC2 [fa’]; LC [fa’] CG *hua

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JA2 [fai];
SC [___]; LnC [fai]; NnC1 [fai]; NnC2 [___]; LC [fai] CG *huai;

huān 歡 QYS xuān CDC *xuon
TS [xuæ]; WN1 [___]; WN2 [fon]; WN3 [fon];
TC [fon]; XZ [fon]; YX [fon]; DC1 [fon]; DC2 [fon];
AY [k'uon]; NC [fon]; FX [k'uan]; GA [fon];
CL [xua]; PX [f5]; AF1 [kua]; AF2 [f]; LH1 [huæ]; LH2 [fuan];
JA1 [k'uan]; JA2 [fon];
SC [huan]; LnC [fon]; NnC1 [fon]; NnC2 [fon]; LC [fon] CG *huan ~ *k'uon

huān 换 QYS ywan CDC *huan
TS [xua];WN1 [___]; WN2 [___]; WN3 [uan];
TC [fan]; XZ [uan]; YX [van]; DC1 [uan]; DC2 [uan];
AY [uan]; NC [fan] ~ uan; FX [huan]; GA [van];
CL [xua]; PX [uan]; AF1 [___]; AF2 [f]; LH1 [huæ]; LH2 [uan];
JA1 [fan]; JA2 [fan];
SC [___]; LnC [fan]; NnC1 [fan]; NnC2 [van]; LC [uan] CG *uan ~ *huan

huǎng 荒 QYS xwâng CDC *xuong
TS [xoe]; WN1 [___]; WN2 [___]; WN3 [fø];
TC [fø]; XZ [fø]; YX [fø]; DC1 [fø]; DC2 [fø];
AY [fø]; NC [fø]; FX [huo]; GA [fø];
CL [xoe]; PX [fø]; AF1 [___]; AF2 [fø]; LH1 [huæ]; LH2 [fø]; JA1 [fø];
JA2 [fø];
SC [___]; LnC [fø]; NnC1 [fø]; NnC2 [fø]; LC [fø] CG *fø ~ *huo

huǎng 黃 QYS ywâng CDC *huong
TS [xoe]; WN1 [___]; WN2 [fø]; WN3 [fø];
TC [fø]; XZ [fø]; YX [fø]; DC1 [fø]; DC2 [fø];
AY [fø]; NC [fø] ~ uo; FX [uo]; GA [uo];
Appendix: Data

CL [xue~uoi]; PX [f3~uoi]; AF1 [vow]; AF2 [fɔŋ]; LH1 [huɔ]; LH2 [uɔŋ];
JA1 [fɔŋ]; JA2 [fɔŋ];
SC [hɔŋ]; LnC [fɔŋ ~ fan ~ uai]; NnC1 [fɔŋ]; NnC2 [fɔŋ ~ vɔŋ];
LC [fɔŋ ~ uai]; CG *uoi ~ *huoi

huáng 皇 QYS ywâng 陽 CDC *huoŋ²
TS [xɔŋ ~ uoŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [fɔŋ];
TC [fɔŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fui]; DC2 [—];
AY [fɔŋ]; NC [fɔŋ ~ uai]; FX [huo ~ uai]; GA [fai];
CL [xue]; PX [f3]; AF1 [fai]; AF2 [fui]; LH1 [hue]; LH2 [fai]; JA1 [fai];
JA2 [fai];
SC [hui]; LnC [fai ~ fai]; NnC1 [fai]; NnC2 [fai]; LC [fai] CG *huoi ~ *huai

hui 会 QYS yuaí- 陽 CDC *huoi⁶
TS [xuaí]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [fai]; WN3 [fai];
TC [fai]; XZ [fai]; YX [fai ~ vi]; DC1 [fui]; DC2 [fui];
AY [fai]; NC [fai ~ uai]; FX [hui ~ uai]; GA [fai ~ uai];
CL [xuaí]; PX [fai]; AF1 [fai]; AF2 [fui]; LH1 [hue]; LH2 [fai]; JA1 [fai];
JA2 [fui];
SC [hui ~ uai]; LnC [fai ~ uai]; NnC1 [fai]; NnC2 [fai ~ fai]; LC [fai ~ *faked ~ *faked];
This set is highly mixed, involving combinations of two sets of initials and finals. The derivation of the LC bái form is particularly uncertain, since it does not correspond regularly to any forms in the other dialects. In our view, the etymon represented here is actually xiè 解 (QYS yaï:/CDC *hai³) “(to understand >) know how, be able to”.

hūn 婚 QYS xuan 陽 CDC *xun¹
TS [xuan]; WN1 [hwan]; WN2 [fɔn]; WN3 [fɔn];
TC [fɔn]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [fui*]; DC2 [—];
AY [fɔn]; NC [fɔn]; FX [huan]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [fɔn]; AF1 [fɛ]; AF2 [fɛ]; LH1 [fɛ]; LH2 [fɛ]; JA1 [fɛ];
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JA2 [fɛŋ 陰平];
SC [huŋ 陰平]; LnC [fən 陰平]; NnC1 [fyn 陰平]; NnC2 [—]**; LC [fən 陰平] CG *hun

*Deduced from a lacuna in the source.

**Compare: 昏 [fin 陰平].

huó 活 QYS ūât CDC *huot
TS [xuə~uə 陽去白~uə]; WN1 [wəʔ 陽入]; WN2 [uəʔ 陽入]; WN3 [vət 陽入];
TC [foʔ 陽入]; XZ [fə 陽去]; YX [və 陽入]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uə 陽入];
AY [uə 陽入]; NC [uə 陽入]; FX [huet 陽入]; GA [fel 陽入];

CL [xue 陽入]; PX [fe 陽入]; AF1 [fe]; AF2 [fe]; LH1 [hue 陽入]; LH2 [fe 陽入]; JA1 [fo 陽入];
JA2 [fə 陽入];
SC [huo 陽入]; LnC [fot 陽入文~uot 陽入白]; NnC1 [fueiʔ 陽入]; NnC2 [fɛiʔ 陽入]; LC [foiʔ 陽入] CG *uot 陽入白~*huot 陽入文

huò 禍 QYS xuâ: CDC *xuo
TS [xuə]; WN1 [hvo 陽去]; WN2 [fo 陽入]; WN3 [fə 陽入];
TC [fo 陽入]; XZ [hvo 陽入]; YX [fo 陽入]; DC1 [φuo 陽入]; DC2 [φu 陽入];
AY [fə 陽入]; NC [fə 陽入]; FX [hvo 陽入]; GA [fo 陽入];

CL [xuo 陽入]; PX [fə 陽入]; AF1 [fə 陽入]; AF2 [fə 陽入]; LH1 [hvo 陽入]; LH2 [fə 陽入]; JA1 [fo 陽入];
JA2 [fə 陽入];
SC [xo 陽入]; LnC [fə 陽入]; NnC1 [fə 陰入]; NnC2 [fə 陰入]; LC [fə 陽入] CG *huo 陽入

The SC tone may be a misprint for yángshàng or yángqù in the source.

huò 或 QYS ūwak CDC *huek
TS [xuə]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ho 陽去]; WN3 [xo 陽去];
TC [—]; XZ [hvo 陽入]; YX [fo 陽入]; DC1 [φuo 陽入]; DC2 [φu 陽入];
AY [fə 陽入]; NC [fə 陽入]; FX [hvo 陽入]; GA [—];

CL [xuo 陽入]; PX [fə 陽入]; AF1 [fə 陽入]; AF2 [fə 陽入]; LH1 [hvo 陽入]; LH2 [fə 陽入]; JA1 [fo 陽入];
JA2 [fə 陽入];
SC [—]; LnC [fə 陽入]; NnC1 [fueiʔ 陽入]; NnC2 [—]; LC [fə 陽入] CG *huek
Appendix: Data

J

ji 雞 QYS kieī CDC *kieī
TS [tɕie]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕie]; WN3 [tɕie];
TC [tɕie]; XZ [tɕie]; YX [tɕie]; DC1 [tɕie]; DC2 [tɕie];
AY [tɕie]; NC [tɕie]; FX [tɕie]; GA [kai];
CL [tɕie]; PX [tɕie]; AF1 [tɕie]; AF2 [tɕie]; LH1 [tɕie]; LH2 [tɕie]; JA1 [tɕie];
JA2 [tɕie];
SC [tɕie]; LnC [tɕie]; NnC1 [tɕie]; NnC2 [tɕie]; LC [kai] CG *kiei ~ *kiei

ji 疾 QYS dzjet CDC *dzjie
TS [tɕie]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzjie];
TC [tɕie]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzjie]; DC2 [—];
AY [tɕie]; NC [tɕie]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tɕie]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tɕie]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tɕie]; JA1 [tɕie];
JA2 [tɕie];
SC [—]; LnC [tɕie]; NnC1 [tɕie]; NnC2 [tɕie]; LC [tɕie] CG *dzjie

ji 極 QYS giak CDC *giak
TS [tɕie]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕie]; WN3 [dzjie];
TC [dzjie]; XZ [dzjie]; YX [dzjie]; DC1 [dzjie]; DC2 [ik];
AY [tɕie]; NC [tɕie]; FX [tɕie]; GA [tɕie];
CL [tɕie]; PX [tɕie]; AF1 [tɕie]; AF2 [tɕie]; LH1 [tɕie]; LH2 [tɕie]; JA1 [tɕie];
JA2 [tɕie];
SC [tɕie]; LnC [tɕie]; NnC1 [tɕie]; NnC2 [tɕie]; LC [tɕie] CG *giak

ji 急 QYS kjap CDC *kip
TS [tɕie]; WN1 [tɕie]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tɕie];
TC [tɕie]; XZ [tɕie]; YX [tɕie]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tɕie];
AY [tɕie]; NC [tɕie]; FX [tɕie]; GA [tɕie];
CL [tɕie]; PX [tɕie]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tɕie]; LH1 [tɕie]; LH2 [tɕie]; JA1 [tɕie];
JA2 [tɕie];
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SC [-]; LnC [tei¹]; NnC1 [tei²]; NnC2 [tei²]; LC [kip³] CG *kip³

ji 及 QYS giap CDC *gip⁸
TS [tei³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzi³];
TC [dzi³]; XZ [dzi³]; YX [dzi³]; DC1 [dzi³]; DC2 [dzi³];
AY [tei³]; NC [tei³]; FX [tei³]; GA [tei³];
CL [tei³]; PX [tei³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei³]; LH1 [tei³]; LH2 [tei³]; JA1 [tei³]; JA2 [tei³];
SC [—]; LnC [tei³]; NnC1 [tei³]; NnC2 [tei³]; LC [kip³] CG *gip³

This set is mixed, comprising forms having two different final types.

ji 即 QYS tsjak CDC *tsik⁷
TS [tsai³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tei⁰³];
TC [tei³]; XZ [tei³]; YX [tei³]; DC1 [tei²]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei³]; NC [tei³]; FX [tei³]; GA [tei³];
CL [—]; PX [tsie³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [tei³];
SC [—]; LnC [tei³]; NnC1 [tei³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tei³] CG *tsik³ ~ *tsi³

The JA1 initial is irregular.

ji 當 QYS kjej CDC *ki³
TS [tei³]; WN1 [tei³]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [tei³]; XZ [tei³]; YX [tei³]; DC1 [tei³]; DC2 [tei³];
AY [tei³]; NC [tei³]; FX [tei³]; GA [tei³];
CL [—]; PX [tei³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei³]; LH1 [tei³]; LH2 [tei³]; JA1 [tsi³]; JA2 [tei³];
SC [—]; LnC [tei³]; NnC1 [tei³]; NnC2 [tei³]; LC [ki³] CG *ki³

ji 際 QYS tsjai- CDC *tsiæi⁵
TS [tsai³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [tei³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsi³]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei³]; NC [tei³]; FX [tei³]; GA [—];
Appendix: Data

The final and tone of the AY form are irregular.

The JA1 initial is irregular.

The JA1 initial is irregular.
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AY [ka\text{-}]；NC [ka\text{-}]；FX [kap\text{-}]；GA [kal\text{-}]；
CL [ka\text{-}～tea\text{-}]；PX [ka\text{-}]；AF1 [tei\text{-}]；AF2 [kie\text{-}]；
LH1 [ka\text{-}]；LH2 [ka\text{-}]；JA1 [ka\text{-}]；JA2 [ka\text{-}]；
SC [ka\text{-}]；LnC [kap\text{-}]；NnC1 [kai\text{-}]；NnC2 [kai\text{-}]；LC [kap\text{-}] CG *kap\text{-} (~ *kiap\text{-})

jiǎ 向 QYS ka: CDC *ka$^3$
TS [tea\text{-}]；WN1 [—]；WN2 [kap\text{-}]；WN3 [ka\text{-}]；
TC [tea\text{-}～ka\text{-}]；XZ [ka\text{-}]；YX [ka\text{-}]；DC1 [tea\text{-}～ka\text{-}]；DC2 [ka\text{-}]；
AY [ka\text{-}]；NC [ka\text{-}]；FX [ka\text{-}]；GA [ka\text{-}]；
CL [tea\text{-}～ka\text{-}]；PX [ka\text{-}]；AF1 [ka\text{-}]；AF2 [ka\text{-}]；LH1 [ka\text{-}]*；LH2 [ka\text{-}]；JA1 [ka\text{-}]；JA2 [ka\text{-}]；
SC [ka\text{-}]；LnC [kap\text{-}]；NnC1 [ka\text{-}]；NnC2 [ka\text{-}]；LC [ka\text{-}] CG *ka~ *kia~
*JXFY.

jiā 架 QYS ka- CDC *ka$^5$
TS [tea\text{-}]；WN1 [ka\text{-}]；WN2 [ka\text{-}]；WN3 [ka\text{-}]；
TC [tea\text{-}]；XZ [—]；YX [—]；DC1 [ka\text{-}]；DC2 [—]；
AY [ka\text{-}]；NC [ka\text{-}]；FX [ka\text{-}]；GA [—]；
CL [—]；PX [ka\text{-}]；AF1 [ka\text{-}]；AF2 [ka\text{-}]；LH1 [ka\text{-}]*；LH2 [ka\text{-}]；JA1 [ka\text{-}]；JA2 [ka\text{-}]；
SC [ka\text{-}]；LnC [ka\text{-}]；NnC1 [ka\text{-}]；NnC2 [—]；LC [ka\text{-}] CG *ka~ *kia~
*JXFY.

jiān 間 QYS kän CDC *kan$^1$
TS [tei\text{-}～kan\text{-}]；WN1 [kan\text{-}]；WN2 [—]；WN3 [kan\text{-}]；
TC [teien\text{-}～kan\text{-}]；XZ [kan\text{-}]；YX [kan\text{-}]；DC1 [kan\text{-}]；DC2 [kan\text{-}]；
AY [kan\text{-}]；NC [kan\text{-}]；FX [kan\text{-}]；GA [kan\text{-}]；
CL [tei\text{-}～ka\text{-}]；PX [ka\text{-}]；AF1 [—]；AF2 [kan\text{-}]；LH1 [ka\text{-}]；LH2 [kan\text{-}]；
JA1 [kan\text{-}]；JA2 [kan\text{-}]；
SC [—]；LnC [kan\text{-}]；NnC1 [kan\text{-}]；NnC2 [kan\text{-}]；LC [kan\text{-}] CG *kan~ *kian~
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Appendix: Data

jiān 建 QYS kian CDC *kian
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teiën 陰平]; WN3 [teiën 陰平];
TC [teiën 陰平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [teiën 陰平]; DC2 [—];
AY [teiën 陰平]; NC [teiën 陰平]; FX [teiën 陰平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [teië 陰平]; AF1 [teiën 陰平]; AF2 [teiën 陰平]; LH1 [teië 陰平]; LH2 [teië 陰平];
JA1 [teiën 陰平]; JA2 [teiën 陰平];
SC [teiën 陰平]; LnC [teiën 陰平]; NnC1 [teiën 陰平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kien 陰平] CG *kien 陰平
*JXFY.

jiàn 建 QYS kam-, (kam) CDC *kam
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [teiën 陰去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [kam 陰平]; NC [kam 陰平]; FX [kam 陰平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kã 陰平 ~ kã 陰去]; AF1 [kã 陰平]; AF2 [kã 陰平]; LH1 [kã 陰平]; LH2 [kan 陰平]; JA1 [kã 陰平]; JA2 [kã 陰平];
SC [kã 陰平]; LnC [kã 陰平 ~ kã 陰去]; NnC1 [kã 陰平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kam 陰平] CG *kam 陰平 ~ *kiam
*JXFY.

jiān 建 QYS kam- CDC *kam
TS [teië 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kan 陰平]; WN3 [kan 陰平];
TC [teiën 陰去]; XZ [kan 陰去]; YX [kan 陰去]; DC1 [kan 陰去]; DC2 [—];
AY [kam 陰平]; NC [kan 陰平]; FX [kan 陰平]; GA [kan 陰平];
CL [—]; PX [kã 陰平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [kã 陰平]; LH1 [kã 陰平]; LH2 [kan 陰平]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [kan 陰平];
SC [—]; LnC [kan 陰平]; NnC1 [kan 陰平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kan 陰平] CG *kam 陰平 ~ *kiam 陰平
*JXFY.

jiān 建 QYS kjon- CDC *kian
TS [teië 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teiën 陰去]; WN3 [teiën 陰去];
TC [teiën 陰去]; XZ [teiën 陰去]; YX [teiën 陰去]; DC1 [kan 陰去]; DC2 [teiën 陰去];
AY [teiën 陰去]; NC [teiën 陰去]; FX [teiën 陰去]; GA [teiën 陰去];
CL [teië 陰去]; PX [teië 陰去]; AF1 [teiën 陰去]; AF2 [teiën 陰去]; LH1 [teië 陰去]; LH2 [teië 陰去]; JA1
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[teiən̩]; JA2 [teiən̩];
SC [teiən̩]; LnC [teiən̩]; NnC1 [teiən̩]; NnC2 [teiən̩]; LC [kien̩] CG *kien̩

jian 见 QYS kien-
CDC *kian^5
TS [tei̯]; WN1 [teiən̩]; WN2 [tei̯]; WN3 [tei̯];
TC [tei̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tei̯]; DC2 [tei̯];
AY [tei̯]; NC [tei̯]; FX [tei̯]; GA [—];
CL [tei̯]; PX [tei̯]; AF1 [tei̯]; AF2 [tei̯]; LH1 [tei̯]; LH2 [tei̯]; JA1 [tei̯];
JA2 [tei̯];
SC [tei̯]; LnC [tei̯]; NnC1 [tei̯]; NnC2 [tei̯]; LC [kien̩] CG *kien̩
*JXFY.

jian 漓 QYS dzäm:
CDC *dziam^6
TS [tsi̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dziem]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei̯]; NC [tei̯]; FX [tei̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei̯]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tei̯];
JA1 [tei̯];
JA2 [tei̯];
SC [—]; LnC [tei̯];
NnC1 [tei̯]; NnC2 [—];
LC [tiam] CG *dziem

jiàng 將 QYS tsjang
CDC *tsiong^1
TS [tsion̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tei̯];
TC [tei̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsion̩]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei̯]; NC [tei̯]; FX [tei̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsi̯]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei̯]; LH1 [—];
JA1 [tei̯];
JA2 [tei̯];
SC [—]; LnC [tei̯];
NnC1 [tei̯];
NnC2 [—];
LC [tei̯] CG *tsiong

jiàng 讲 QYS kàng:
CDC *k(i)ong^3
TS [tei̯]; WN1 [kɔŋ ]; WN2 [kɔŋ ]; WN3 [kɔŋ ];
TC [tei̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tei̯ ~ kɔŋ ]; DC2 [—];
AY [kɔŋ ]; NC [kɔŋ ]; FX [kɔŋ ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [kɔŋ ]; AF1 [kɔŋ ]; AF2 [kɔŋ ]; LH1 [kɔŋ ];
JA1 [kɔŋ ];
JA2 [kɔŋ ];
SC [kɔŋ ]; LnC [kɔŋ ];
NnC1 [kɔŋ ];
NnC2 [—];
LC [kɔŋ ]*kioŋ
*JXFY.

jiàng 降 QYS kàng-
CDC *k(i)ong^5
TS [tei̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kɔŋ ]; WN3 [tei̯ ~ kɔŋ ];
TC [tei̯]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tei̯ ~ kɔŋ ]; DC2 [—];

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The lower register tone of the SC form is irregular.

The AY tone is irregular.
jiē 接 QYS tsjäp CDC *tsiap⁷
TS [tsjäp]; WN1 [tejeʔ]; WN2 [tejeʔ]; WN3 [tejeʔ];
TC [tejeʔ]; XZ [tsieʔ]; YX [tejeʔ]; DC1 [tsieʔ]; DC2 [tsieʔ];
AY [tejeʔ]; NC [tejeʔ]; FX [tejeʔ]; GA [tejeʔ];
CL [tejeʔ]; PX [tsieʔ]; AF1 [teieʔ]; AF2 [teieʔ]; LH1 [teieʔ]; LH2 [teieʔ]; JAJ [teieʔ]; JA2 [teieʔ];
SC [teieʔ]; LN1 [teieʔ]; LN2 [teieʔ]; LN3 [teieʔ]; LC [teieʔ] CG *tsiap⁷

jiē 街 QYS kai CDC *kai¹
TS [kai¹]; WN1 [kai¹]; WN2 [kai¹]; WN3 [kai¹];
TC [kai¹]; XZ [kai¹]; YX [kai¹]; DC1 [kai¹]; DC2 [kai¹];
AY [kai¹]; NC [kai¹]; FX [kai¹]; GA [kai¹];
CL [kai¹]; PX [kai¹]; AF1 [kai¹]; AF2 [kai¹]; LH1 [kai¹]; LH2 [kai¹]; JAJ [kai¹]; JA2 [kai¹];
SC [kai¹]; LN1 [kai¹]; LN2 [kai¹]; LN3 [kai¹]; LC [kai¹] CG *kai¹
The TS wén form clearly represents a loan form *kai¹. However, no such form can be reconstructed comparatively for CG.

jiē 結 QYS tsiet CDC *tsiät⁷
TS [tsiät]; WN1 [tejeʔ]; WN2 [tejeʔ]; WN3 [tejeʔ];
TC [tejeʔ]; XZ [tsieʔ]; YX [tejeʔ]; DC1 [tsieʔ]; DC2 [tsieʔ];
AY [tejeʔ]; NC [tejeʔ]; FX [tejeʔ]; GA [tejeʔ];
CL [tejeʔ]; PX [tsieʔ]; AF1 [teieʔ]; AF2 [teieʔ]; LH1 [teieʔ]; LH2 [tsieʔ]; JAJ [teieʔ]; JA2 [teieʔ];
SC [teieʔ]; LN1 [teieʔ]; LN2 [teieʔ]; LN3 [teieʔ]; LC [teieʔ] CG *tsiet⁷
The initial of the AF2 for is unexpectedly aspirated.

jiē 潔 QYS kiet CDC *kiat⁵
TS [kiet]; WN1 [tejeʔ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tejeʔ];
TC [tejeʔ]; XZ [tejeʔ]; YX [tejeʔ]; DC1 [tejeʔ]; DC2 [tejeʔ];
AY [tejeʔ]; NC [tejeʔ]; FX [tejeʔ]; GA [tejeʔ];
CL [tejeʔ]; PX [tejeʔ]; AF1 [tejeʔ]; AF2 [tejeʔ]; LH1 [tejeʔ]; LH2 [tejeʔ]; JAJ [tejeʔ]; JA2 [tejeʔ];
SC [—]; LN1 [tejeʔ]; LN2 [tejeʔ]; LN3 [tejeʔ]; LC [tejeʔ] CG *kiat⁵
The AF2 initial is irregular.
Appendix: Data

The AF2 initial is irregular.

jié 竭 QYS gjät³ CDC *giat³
TS [tei³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ziet³]; WN3 [ziet³];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [teïet³]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [teïe³]
SC [—]; LnC [teïet³]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ktei²³] CG *kiët³

SC kai³

jiè 戒 QYS kai³ CDC *kai³
TS [teia³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [kai³]; WN3 [kai³];
TC [kai³]; XZ [kai³]; YX [kai³]; DC1 [kai³]; DC2 [—];
AY [kai³]; NC [kai³]; FX [kai³]; GA [kai³];
CL [—]; PX [kai³]; AF1 [kai³]; AF2 [kai³]; LH1 [kai³]; LH2 [kai³]; JA1 [kai³];
JA2 [kai³];
SC [kai³]; LnC [kai³]; NnC1 [kai³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kai³] CG *kai³

jiè 今 QYS kjam³ CDC *kim³
TS [tein³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein³]; WN3 [tein³];
TC [tein³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tein³]; DC2 [—];
AY [tein³]; NC [tein³]; FX [teïem³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [tein³]; AF2 [tein³]; LH1 [teï³⁺]; LH2 [teï³⁺]; JA1 [teï¹];
JA2 [teï³⁺];
SC [tei³⁺]; LnC [teïm³⁺]; NnC1 [teï³⁺]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kin³⁺] CG *kim³
*JXFY.

The final of the LC form is irregular.

jìn 金 QYS kjam³ CDC *kim³
TS [tein³⁺]; WN1 [tein³⁺]; WN2 [tein³⁺]; WN3 [tein³⁺];
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TC [tein]; XZ [tein]; YX [tein]; DC1 [tein]; DC2 [tein];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tein]; GA [tein];
CL [tei]; PX [tei]; AF1 [tei]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [tei]; LnC [tei]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [kim] CG *kin

jin _markup_ QYS kjen³  CDC *kin¹
TS [tein]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tein]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tein]; DC2 [tein];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tein]; GA [—];
CL [tei]; PX [tei]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [—]; LnC [tei]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [kin ~ kyn] CG *kin

*JXFY.
The LC bái form has a very interesting rounded final, which is not found at our other points.

jin  Markup_ QYS kjen⁴  CDC *kin³
TS [tein]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tein]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tein]; DC2 [—];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tein]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tein]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [—]; LnC [tei]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [kin] CG *kin

jin  Markup_ QYS gjen³  CDC *kin⁵
TS [tein]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tein]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzin]; DC2 [—];
AY [tein]; NC [tein]; FX [tein]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tein]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [—]; LnC [tei]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *kin ~ *gin

阴平

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The AF2 tone is irregular.

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TC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; XZ [tein̖]; YX [tein̖]; DC1 [tein̖]; DC2 [tein̖];
AY [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; NC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; FX [teian̖]; GA [tein̖];
CL [tsi̖] no tone; PX [tein̖]; AF1 [tein̖]; AF2 [tein̖]; LH1 [tein̖]; LH2 [tsi̖];
JA1 [tein̖]; JA2 [tein̖];
SC [tsi̖]; LnC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; NnC1 [tein̖]; NnC2 [tein̖ ~ ta̖];
LC [kin̖ ~ kian̖] CG *kian̖ *kij 🅟 JXFY.

jing 驚 QYS kjong: CDC *tsiang 🅟
TS [tein̖]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein̖]; WN3 [—];
TC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tein̖]; DC2 [—];
AY [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; NC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; FX [teian̖ ~ teian̖]; GA [tein̖];
CL [—]; PX [tein̖ ~ teia̖]; AF1 [tein̖]; AF2 [tein̖]; LH1 [tein̖];
JA1 [tein̖]; JA2 [tein̖];
SC [tein̖]; LnC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; NnC1 [tein̖]; NnC2 [—];
LC [tein̖] CG *tsi̖ *tsi̖ 🅟

jing 井 QYS tsjàng: CDC *tsiang 🅟
TS [tsin̖ ~ tei̖]; WN1 [tein̖]; WN2 [tein̖]; WN3 [tein̖];
TC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; XZ [tein̖]; YX [tein̖]; DC1 [tein̖ ~ tsian̖];
AY [tein̖]; NC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; FX [teian̖]; GA [tein̖];
CL [tein̖ ~ teia̖]; PX [tein̖ ~ tsian̖]; AF1 [tein̖]; AF2 [tein̖]; LH1 [tein̖ ~ teia̖];
JA1 [tein̖]; JA2 [tein̖]; SC [tein̖]; LnC [tein̖ ~ teian̖];
LC [tein̖] CG *tsi̖ *tsi̖ 🅟

jing 淨 QYS dzjàng: CDC *dziang 🅟
TS [tsin̖]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [dsin̖]; XZ [dsin̖]; YX [dsin̖]; DC1 [dsin̖]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; FX [teian̖]; GA [tein̖];
CL [tein̖]; PX [tsin̖]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tein̖]; LH1 [tein̖];
JA1 [tein̖]; JA2 [tein̖];
SC [—]; LnC [tein̖ ~ teian̖]; NnC1 [tein̖]; NnC2 [—];
LC [—] CG *dzian̖ *dzian̖ 🅟

The AF2 tone is irregular.

jing 竅 QYS kjong: CDC *kiang 🅟
TS [tein̖]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein̖]; WN3 [tein̖];
TC [tein̖]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tein̖]; DC2 [—];

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AY [teiŋ]; NC [teiŋ]; FX [teiŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [teiŋ]; AF1 [teiŋ]; AF2 [teiŋ]; LH1 [teiŋ]; LH2 [teiŋ]; JA1 [teiŋ];
JA2 [teiŋ];
SC [teiŋ]; LnC [teiŋ]; NnC1 [teiŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kkiŋ] CG *kiiŋ
*JXY.

jiǔ 久 QYS kjāu: CDC *kiiŋ³
TS [teiŋ¹]; WN1 [teiŋ¹]; WN2 [teiŋ¹]; WN3 [teiŋ¹];
TC [teiŋ¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [teiŋ¹]; DC2 [teiŋ¹];
AY [teiŋ¹]; NC [teiŋ¹]; FX [teiŋ¹]; GA [—];
CL [teiŋ¹]; PX [teiŋ¹]; AF1 [teiŋ¹]; AF2 [teiŋ¹]; LH1 [teiŋ¹]; LH2 [teiŋ¹]; JA1 [teiŋ¹];
JA2 [teiŋ¹];
SC [—]; LnC [teiŋ¹]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [teiŋ¹]; LC [kkiŋ] CG *kiiŋ
*JXY.

jiǔ 九 QYS kjāu: CDC *kiiŋ³
TS [teiŋ¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teiŋ¹]; WN3 [teiŋ¹];
TC [teiŋ¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [teiŋ¹]; DC2 [teiŋ¹];
AY [teiŋ¹]; NC [teiŋ¹]; FX [teiŋ¹]; GA [—];
CL [teiŋ¹]; PX [teiŋ¹]; AF1 [teiŋ¹]; AF2 [teiŋ¹]; LH1 [teiŋ¹]; LH2 [teiŋ¹]; JA1 [teiŋ¹];
JA2 [teiŋ¹];
SC [teiŋ¹]; LnC [teiŋ¹]; NnC1 [teiŋ¹]; NnC2 [teiŋ¹]; LC [kkiŋ] CG *kiiŋ
*JXY.

jiǔ 酒 QYS tsjāu: CDC *tsiŋ³
TS [tsiŋ³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teiŋ¹]; WN3 [teiŋ¹];
TC [teiŋ¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsiŋ³]; DC2 [tsiŋ³];
AY [teiŋ¹]; NC [teiŋ¹]; FX [teiŋ¹]; GA [—];
CL [teiŋ¹]; PX [teiŋ¹]; AF1 [teiŋ¹]; AF2 [teiŋ¹]; LH1 [teiŋ¹]; LH2 [teiŋ¹]; JA1 [teiŋ¹];
JA2 [teiŋ¹];
SC [teiŋ¹]; LnC [teiŋ¹]; NnC1 [teiŋ¹]; NnC2 [teiŋ¹]; LC [teiŋ¹] CG *tsiŋ
*JXY.
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jiù 舅 QYS gjâu: CDC *gieu⁴
TS [teiu¹]; WN1 [tejou¹]; WN2 [teʰiu¹]; WN3 [teiu¹];
TC [dziou¹]; XZ [dziu¹]; YX [dz'iu¹]; DC1 [dziu¹]; DC2 [iui¹ ~ iu¹];
AY [te'i¹]; NC [te'i¹]; FX [te'i¹]; GA [ei¹];
CL [te'ei²]; PX [te'iu²]; AF1 [te'iu²]; AF2 [te'iu²]; LH1 [te'i¹*]; LH2 [te'iu²];
JA1 [te'iu²]; JA2 [te'iu²];
SC [te'i²]; LnC [te'i¹²]; NnC1 [te'i¹²]; NnC2 [te'i¹²]; LC [k'iu¹] CG *gjâu ~ *gjiu *JXFY: [te'i¹]

The LH1 initial is unexpected. Compare the regular reading in JXFY.

jiù 上 QYS dzjâu- CDC *dzieu⁶
TS [tsiu¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teiu¹];
TC [dziou¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzia¹]; DC2 [dzia¹];
AY [te'iu¹]; NC [te'iu¹]; FX [te'iu¹]; GA [—];
CL [te'io¹]; PX [ts'iu¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'iu²]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [te'iu²];
JA1 [te'iu²]; JA2 [te'iu²];
SC [—]; LnC [te'iu¹]; NnC1 [te'iu¹]; NnC2 [te'iu¹ ~ t'u¹]; LC [t'i¹u¹] CG *dziu
The CL tone is irregular.

jū 居 QYS kjwo CDC *kie¹ (~ *kio¹)
TS [tey³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tey³]; WN3 [tey³];
TC [tey³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tei³]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei³]; NC [tey¹]; FX [tei³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'u³]; AF1 [tey³]; AF2 [tey³]; LH1 [tey³*]; LH2 [tey³];
 JA1 [tey³]; JA2 [tey³];
SC [tey³³]; LnC [tei³³]; NnC1 [tey³³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ky³] CG *ky³
*JXFY.

jū 基 QYS kju: CDC *kio³
TS [tey³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tey³];
TC [tey³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tei¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei³]; NC [tey¹]; FX [tei³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'u³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tey³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tey³];
 JA1 [tey³]; JA2 [tey³];
SC [—]; LnC [tei³³]; NnC1 [tey³³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ky³] CG *ky³

jū 具 QYS gju- CDC *giu⁶
TS [tey³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dzy²]; WN3 [tey³];
TC [dz'yu³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzi³]; DC2 [i³];
AY [te'i³]; NC [te'y³]; FX [te'i³]; GA [—];
CL [te'y³]; PX [ts'iu³]; AF1 [te'y³]; AF2 [te'y³]; LH1 [te'y³*]; LH2 [te'y³];
 JA1
The wén and bái designations for the GA forms appear to have been reversed in the source.

Here we reconstruct Common Gàn *-e and *-ie as variant popular forms. Palatalization before the latter final occurs in some dialects but not in others, for uncertain reasons. The syllable *ky regularly yields modern kui in XZ.
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jù 聚 QYS dzju:, dzju-  CDC *dziu⁶
TS [ts'ei⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tey^2];
TC [dzi¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [te'y¹]; FX [te'i¹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'i¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'y²]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [te'iu]; JA1 [ts'y²];
JA2 [te'y²];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'i¹]; NnC1 [te'y¹]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'y¹] CG *dziu⁶

juan 捲 QYS kjwän.⁵  CDC *kion⁶
TS [teyê]; WN1 [tejwan¹]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teyen¹];
TC [tsen¹]; XZ [kuien¹]; YX [kuen¹]; DC1 [teiën¹]; DC2 [teion¹];
AY [teiën¹]; NC [te'yon²]; FX [te'ien²]; GA [—];
CL [teyê¹]; PX [ts'ê]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teyen²]; LH1 [teyê]; LH2 [teyên²]; JA1
[teyan²]; JA2 [teyôn²];
SC [—]; LnC [te'yên²]; NnC1 [teyon²]; NnC2 [kuan²]; LC [kuan²] CG *kyon

juan 倒 QYS gjwän-  CDC *gion⁶
TS [teyê]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teyen²];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzien²]; DC2 [—];
AY [teiën²]; NC [te'yot²]; FX [te'iet²]; GA [ts'iel²];
CL [teyê¹]; PX [ts'ê]; AF1 [ts'ê]; AF2 [teyô]; LH1 [ts'ê]; LH2 [ts'ê]; JA1
[ts'yê]; JA2 [—];
SC [ts'ê]; LnC [te'yêt²]; NnC1 [ts'ê]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'ê] CG *gion²

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät  CDC *dziot⁸
TS [tsie²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dz'i;²]; WN3 [dzyet²];
TC [dzië]; XZ [dzit²]; YX [dzet²]; DC1 [dziet²]; DC2 [dzial²];
AY [tie²]; NC [te'ot²]; FX [te'iet²]; GA [ts'iel²];
CL [teyê²]; PX [ts'ê]; AF1 [ts'ê]; AF2 [teyô]; LH1 [ts'ê]; LH2 [ts'ê]; JA1
[ts'yê]; JA2 [—];
SC [ts'ê]; LnC [te'yêt²]; NnC1 [ts'ê]; NnC2 [te'yô]; LC [t'ê] CG *dzyot²

jué 決 QYS kwiet  CDC *kiot⁷
TS [teyê]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teyêt²];
TC [—]; XZ [kuie²]; YX [kuê²]; DC1 [teiê]; DC2 [teial²];
AY [tie²]; NC [teyot²]; FX [teiê]; GA [teiuol²];
CL [teyê²]; PX [ts'ê]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teyô]; LH1 [teye²]; LH2 [teye²]; JA1
[teye²]; JA2 [teyô];
SC [—]; LnC [teyêt²]; NnC1 [kuai²]; NnC2 [teye²]; LC [kuai²] CG *kioù
Appendix: Data

jūn 君 QYS kjw ən CDC *kiun¹
TS [tiɛn]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tiɛn]; WN3 [tiɛn];
TC [tsɔn]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tiɛn]; DC2 [—];
AY [tiɛn]; NC [tiɛn]; FX [teiə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tɻʊŋ]; AF1 [tiɛn]; AF2 [tiɛn]; LH1 [teyə]; LH2 [teyøn];
JA1 [tiɛn]; JA2 [tiɛn];
SC [teiŋ]; LnC [teiŋ]; NnC1 [teiŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kyn] CG *kyn
*JXFY.

jùn 君 QYS giwèn³ CDC *giun⁴
TS [tiɛn]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [te'yn]; WN3 [te'yn];
TC [tsɔn]; XZ [guin]; YX [dʑin]; DC1 [teiŋ]; DC2 [teiŋ];
AY [teiŋ]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [tsɔŋ];
CL [te'yø]; PX [tʃʊŋ]; AF1 [teiŋ]; AF2 [teiŋ]; LH1 [kʰu̯]; LH2 [teyøn];
JA1 [tsyn]; JA2 [teiŋ];
SC [teiŋ]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [teiŋ]; NnC2 [teiŋ]; LC [teiŋ] CG *gyn  kyn ~ *gyn  kyn ~ *kyn
*JXFY: [teyø].
This word has upper register tonal readings at various points. These are probably fairly late literary loans. The third reconstructed form may be a loan/blend from some form of Guānhuà. The LC form is almost certainly such a hybrid, probably based in some way on the Modern Standard Chinese koine. The syllabic shape of the LC form implies derivation from a Common Gān *tsyn rather *kyn. The word is probably actually a late loan from some other dialect.

jūn 君 QYS giw ən- CDC *giun⁶
TS [tiɛn]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [te'yn]; WN3 [te'yn];
TC [tsɔn]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [teiə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tʃʊŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teiŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [teyøn];
JA1 [—]; JA2 [teiŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [te'yn]; NnC1 [te'yn]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k'yøn] CG *gyn

jūn 君 QYS tʃw ən- CDC *tiuⁿ⁵
TS [tsin]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teyə]; WN3 [teyə];
TC [tʃiə]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsin]; DC2 [—];
AY [teiŋ]; NC [teiŋ]; FX [teiə]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsɔn]; AF1 [teiŋ]; AF2 [tsun]; LH1 [teyə]; LH2 [teiŋ];
JA1 [tsun];
SC [teiŋ]; LnC [teiŋ]; NnC1 [teiŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *tsyn

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kāi 開 QYS 打 CDC *khoi¹
TS [kʰai̯]; WN1 [khoi̯]; WN2 [khoi̯]; WN3 [k'oi̯];
TC [hai̯]; XZ [gaı̯]; YX [gʰai̯]; DC1 [gaı̯]; DC2 [gaı̯];
AY [k'ai̯]; NC [k'ai̯]; FX [k'ai̯]; GA [k'oi̯];
CL [k'æ̯]; PX [k'œ̯]; AF1 [kʰœ̯]; AF2 [kʰɔŋ]; LH1 [kʰœ̯]; LH2 [kʰi̯];
JA1 [huɔ̯]; JA2 [k'ɔ̯];
SC [k'æ̯]; LnC [k'œ̯]; NnC1 [k'øy]; NnC2 [k'øy]; LC [k'oi̯] CG *k'oi̯

kān 坎 QYS 坎 CDC *khon¹
TS [k'æ̯]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [-];
TC [hon]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [gon]; DC2 [-];
AY [-]; NC [k'on]; FX [k'on]; GA [-];
CL [-]; PX [k'æ̯]; AF1 [-]; AF2 [kʰɔŋ]; LH1 [-]; LH2 [kʰɔŋ]; JA1 [k'uo̯];
JA2 [k'œ̯];
SC [-]; LnC [-]; NnC1 [k'øy]; NnC2 [-]; LC [k'oni̯] CG *k'oni̯

kān 坎 QYS 坎 CDC *khom¹
TS [k'æ̯]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [k'oni̯];
TC [hon]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [gon]; DC2 [-];
AY [-]; NC [k'on]; FX [k'on]; GA [-];
CL [-]; PX [k'æ̯]; AF1 [-]; AF2 [kʰɔŋ]; LH1 [-]; LH2 [kʰɔŋ]; JA1 [k'uo̯];
JA2 [k'œ̯];
SC [-]; LnC [k'oni̯]; NnC1 [k'øy]; NnC2 [-]; LC [k'oni̯] CG *k'oni̯

kàn 坎 QYS 坎 CDC *khom³
TS [k'æ̯]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [k'an];
TC [hon]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [gon]; DC2 [-];
AY [-]; NC [k'an]; FX [k'on]; GA [-];
CL [-]; PX [k'æ̯]; AF1 [-]; AF2 [kʰɔŋ]; LH1 [-]; LH2 [kʰɔŋ]; JA1 [k'uo̯];
JA2 [k'œ̯];
SC [-]; LnC [k'oni̯]; NnC1 [k'øy]; NnC2 [-]; LC [k'oni̯] CG *k'oni̯

kàn 坎 QYS 坎 CDC *khon⁵
TS [k'æ̯]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [k'oni̯]; WN3 [k'on];
TC [hon]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [gon]; DC2 [gon];
AY [k'on]; NC [k'œ̯]; FX [k'œ̯]; GA [k'oni̯];
CL [k'œ̯]; PX [k'œ̯]; AF1 [k'œ̯]; AF2 [k'œ̯]; LH1 [k'œ̯]; LH2 [k'œ̯]; JA1 [k'uo̯];
JA2 [k'œ̯];

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The DC2 form is irregular.

The SC initial is irregular and may be a misprint in the source.

The SC initial is irregular and may be a misprint in the source.
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AY [k'iḛ k'ei]; NC [k'iet]; FX [k'et]; GA [k'ie];
CL [k'æ]; PX [k'æ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [tḛe ]; LH1 [k'æ]; LH2 [k'æ];
JA1 [k'ie]; JA2 [k'æ];
SC [ ]; LnC [k'æ]; NnC1 [k'ei]; NnC2 [k'ei]; LC [k'æ] CG *k'ek

kê 客 QYS khhk CDC *khak
TS [k'æ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [k'æ]; WN3 [k'æ];
TC [hḛ ]; XZ [gḛ ]; YX [gæ̰ ]; DC1 [gḛ ]; DC2 [gḛ ];
AY [k'æ]; NC [k'æ]; FX [k'æ]; GA [k'æ];
CL [k'æ]; PX [k'æ]; AF1 [k'æ]; AF2 [k'æ]; LH1 [k'æ]; LH2 [k'æ];
JA1 [k'æ]; JA2 [k'æ];
SC [k'æ]; LnC [k'æ]; NnC1 [k'æ]; NnC2 [k'æ]; LC [k'æ] CG *k'ak

kên 坑 QYS khng: CDC *kheng
TS [k'æ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [k'æ]; WN3 [k'æ];
TC [hḭ ]; XZ [ga̰ ]; YX [k'iḛ ]; DC1 [ga̰ ]; DC2 [ga̰ ];
AY [k'æ]; NC [k'æ]; FX [k'æ]; GA [k'æ];
CL [k'æ]; PX [k'æ]; AF1 [k'æ]; AF2 [k'æ]; LH1 [k'æ]; LH2 [k'æ];
JA1 [k'æ]; JA2 [k'æ];
SC [k'æ]; LnC [k'æ]; NnC1 [k'æ]; NnC2 [k'æ]; LC [k'æ] CG *k'êng

kông 空 QYS khng: CDC *khung
TS [k'æ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [k'æ]; WN3 [k'æ];
TC [ha̰ ]; XZ [ga̰ ]; YX [gæ̰ ]; DC1 [ga̰ ]; DC2 [ga̰ ];
AY [k'æ]; NC [k'æ]; FX [k'æ]; GA [k'æ];
CL [k'æ]; PX [k'æ]; AF1 [k'æ]; AF2 [k'æ]; LH1 [k'æ]; LH2 [k'æ];
JA1 [k'æ]; JA2 [k'æ];
SC [k'æ]; LnC [k'æ]; NnC1 [k'æ]; NnC2 [k'æ]; LC [k'æ] CG *k'ūng
 Appendix: Data

kòng [k'ung] QYS khjwong: CDC *khung³
TS [k'uŋ ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [kʰuŋ ]; WN3 [k'uŋ ];
TC [haj ]; XZ [ŋaŋ ]; YX [gʰaŋ ]; DC1 [guŋ ]; DC2 [guŋ ];
AY [k'aj ]; NC [k'aj ]; FX [k'aj ]; GA [k'aj ];
CL [k'aj ]; PX [k'aj ]; AF1 [teʰiŋ ]; AF2 [kʰuŋ ]; LH1 [teʰiŋ ]; LH2 [kʰuŋ ];
JA1 [k'aj ]; JA2 [k'aj ];
SC [k'aj ]; LNC [t'ıuŋ ]; NNC1 [ ]; NNC2 [k'uiŋ ~ t'uiŋ ]; LC [k'uiŋ ] CG *k'iuŋ ~ *k'uŋ 陸上文

kōu □ QYS həu: CDC *kheu³
TS [k'eu ]; WN1 [tehjau ]; WN2 [kʰiæu ]; WN3 [k'eu ];
TC [dzæu ]; XZ [geu ]; YX [gʰeu ~ heu ]; DC1 [geu ]; DC2 [gəu ~ gau ];
AY [k'iau ]; NC [k'ieu ]; FX [k'eu ~ teiæu ]; GA [kʰiæu ];
CL [k'ø ]; PX [k'er ]; AF1 [teʰiæu ]; AF2 [teʰiæu ]; LH1 [kʰæu ~ hæ ];
LA1 [k'iau ]; JA1 [k'iau ~ hiau ]; JA2 [k'eu ];
SC [hau ]; LN [k'eu ]; NNC1 [k'ieu ]; NNC2 [k'ieu ]; LC [k'eu ] CG *k'eu 陸上 ~ *k'eu 陸上

kū Ḣ QYS kuo: CDC *khu³
TS [k'u ]; WN1 [khu ]; WN2 [kʰ u ]; WN3 [k'u ];
TC [u ]; XZ [gu ]; YX [gʰu ]; DC1 [gu ]; DC2 [gu ];
AY [k'u ]; NC [k'ieu ]; FX [k'u ]; GA [k'u ];
CL [k'ıu ]; PX [k'o ]; AF1 [teʰiæu ]; AF2 [teʰiæu ]; LH1 [k'ıu ]; LH2 [k'ö ];
JA1 [k'ıu ]; JA2 [k'ıu ];
SC [k'ıu ]; LN [k'ıu ]; NNC1 [k'ıu ]; NNC2 [ ]; LC [k'ıu ]; CG *k'ıu ( ~ *k'ıu )

JXFY.

kuài ㄘ QYS khwai- CDC *khuaí⁵
TS [k'u ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [k'uai ]; WN3 [k'uai ];
TC [uai ]; XZ [gai ]; YX [gʰai ]; DC1 [guai ]; DC2 [gai ];
AY [k'uai ]; NC [k'uai ]; FX [k'uai ]; GA [k'hui ];

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CL [k'ua\]_; PX [k'uai\]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [k'uai\]; LH1 [k'uai\]; LH2 [k'uai\]; JA1 [k'uai\]; JA2 [k'uai\];
SC [—]; LnC [k'uai\]; NnC1 [k'uai\]; NnC2 [k'uai\]; LC [k'uai\] CG *k'uai

kuài 塊 QYS khuài- CDC *kuoι
TS [k'ua\]_; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uai\]; WN3 [k'uai\];
TC [uai\]; XZ [guai\]; YX [g'uai\]; DC1 [guai\]; DC2 [uai\];
AY [k'uai\]; NC [k'uai\]; FX [k'uai\]; GA [k'uai\];
CL [k'uai\]; PX [k'uai\]; AF1 [k'uai\]; AF2 [k'uai\]; LH1 [k'uai\]; LH2 [k'uai\];
JA1 [k'uai\]; JA2 [k'uai\];
SC [k'uai\]; LnC [k'uai\]; NnC1 [k'uai\]; NnC2 [k'uai\]; LC [k'uai\] CG *k'uai

kuān 容 QYS khuān- CDC *kuoι
TS [k'ua\]_; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uo\]; WN3 [k'uo\];
TC [uo\]; XZ [guo\]; YX [g'uo\]; DC1 [guo\]; DC2 [uo\];
AY [k'uo\]; NC [k'uo\]; FX [k'uo\]; GA [k'uo\];
CL [k'uo\]; PX [k'u\]; AF1 [k'uo\]; AF2 [k'uo\]; LH1 [k'uo\]; LH2 [k'uo\];
JA1 [k'uo\]; JA2 [k'uo\];
SC [k'uo\]; LnC [k'uo\]; NnC1 [k'uo\]; NnC2 [k'uo\]; LC [k'uo\] CG *k'uo

kuàng 旷 QYS khwâng- CDC *kuoι
TS [k'ou\]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uo\]; WN3 [k'uo\];
TC [uo\]; XZ [guo\]; YX [g'uo\]; DC1 [guo\]; DC2 [uo\];
AY [k'uo\]; NC [k'uo\]; FX [k'uo\]; GA [k'uo\];
CL [k'uo\]; PX [k'u\]; AF1 [k'uo\]; AF2 [k'uo\]; LH1 [k'uo\]; LH2 [k'uo\];
JA1 [k'uo\]; JA2 [k'uo\];
SC [k'uo\]; LnC [k'uo\]; NnC1 [k'uo\]; NnC2 [k'uo\]; LC [k'uo\] CG *k'uo

kuáng 冒 QYS xjwang- CDC *kuoι
TS [k'ou\]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'ou\]; WN3 [k'ou\];
TC [uo\]; XZ [guo\]; YX [g'uo\]; DC1 [guo\]; DC2 [uo\];
AY [k'ou\]; NC [k'ou\]; FX [k'ou\]; GA [k'ou\];
CL [k'ou\]; PX [k'u\]; AF1 [k'ou\]; AF2 [k'ou\]; LH1 [k'ou\]; LH2 [k'ou\];
JA1 [k'ou\]; JA2 [k'ou\];
SC [k'ou\]; LnC [k'ou\]; NnC1 [k'ou\]; NnC2 [k'ou\]; LC [k'ou\] CG *k'ou

kuí 虚 QYS khjwe3 CDC *khui
TS [k'uei\]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uei\]; WN3 [k'uei\];
TC [ui\]; XZ [gui\]; YX [g'ui\]; DC1 [gui\]; DC2 [ui\];
Appendix: Data

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AY [k'ui]; NC [k'ui]; FX [k'ui]; GA [k'ui];
CL [k'ue]; PX [k'ui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [k'ui]; LH1 [k'ue]; LH2 [k'ui];
JA1 [k'uei]; JA2 [k'ui];
SC [—]; LnC [k'ui]; NnC1 [k'ui]; NnC2 [k'ui]; LC [k'ui] CG *k'yi

kuī 窺 QYS khjwie4 CDC *khuī4
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [k'ui];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [gui]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [k'ui]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [k'ui]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [k'ui]; JA1 [k'uei];
JA2 [k'ui];
SC [—]; LnC [k'ui]; NnC1 [k'ui]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k'ui] CG *k'yi
The initial of the JA2 irregularly lacks aspiration.

kùn 困 QYS khuon- CDC *khuon5
TS [k'uen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uen]; WN3 [k'uen];
TC [uen]; XZ [gun]; YX [k'uen]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uen];
AY [k'un]; NC [k'un]; FX [k'uen]; GA [k'uen];
CL [k'uē]; PX [k'uiæ]; AF1 [k'uen]; AF2 [k'uen]; LH1 [k'uæ]; LH2 [k'uen];
JA1 [k'uen]; JA2 [k'uæ];
SC [k'ün]; LnC [k'uen]; NnC1 [k'uin]; NnC2 [k'uin]; LC [k'uen] CG *k'un

kuò 寬 QYS khwâk CDC *khuok7
TS [k'uo]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [k'uo]; WN3 [k'uo];
TC [uo]; XZ [guo]; YX [g'uo]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [uo];
AY [k'ue]; NC [k'uo]; FX [k'ue]; GA [k'uo];
CL [k'uæ]; PX [k'uo]; AF1 [k'uæ]; AF2 [k'uæ]; LH1 [k'uæ]; LH2 [k'uæ];
JA1 [k'uo]; JA2 [k'uæ];
SC [k'uo]; LnC [k'uo]; NnC1 [k'oy]; NnC2 [k'uai]; LC [k'oi]; CG *k'uo

kuò 廊 QYS khwâk CDC *khuok5
TS [k'o]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [kuok]; DC2 [—];
AY [k'oi]; NC [k'uo]; FX [k'oi]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [k'oi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [k'oi]; JA1 [k'oi]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [k'uo]; NnC1 [k'uo]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k'uo] CG *k'uo
The final of the TC word is irregular and likely unrelated. The remaining items are probably intrusive and of northern origin.

The initial of the AF2 form is irregular.

The second reconstructed form is based on modern forms with a unique correspondence pattern. It may in fact simply be a special development after *l-.

The initial of the AF2 form is irregular.

The second reconstructed form is based on modern forms with a unique correspondence pattern. It may in fact simply be a special development after *l-.
Appendix: Data

TC [nan]; XZ [lan]; YX [lan]; DC1 [lan]; DC2 [lan];
AY [lan]; NC [lan]; FX [lan]; GA [lan];
CL [lā]; PX [lā]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lā]; LH1 [nā]; LH2 [nan]; JA1 [lan]; JA2 [lan];
SC [—]; LnC [lan]; NnC1 [lan]; NnC2 [lan]; LC [lan] CG *lan ~ *lan

láng 郎 QYS lâng CDC *long²
TS [lon]; WN1 [lən]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lən];
TC [non]; XZ [lən]; YX [lən]; DC1 [lon]; DC2 [lən];
AY [lon]; NC [lən]; FX [lon]; GA [lən];
CL [lā]; PX [lā]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lən]; LH1 [nā]; LH2 [nc]; JA1 [lən];
JA2 [lən];
SC [—]; LnC [lən]; NnC1 [lən]; NnC2 [lən]; LC [lən] CG *lən

làng 浪 QYS lâng- CDC *long⁶
TS [lon]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lən];
TC [non]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lon]; DC2 [lən];
AY [lon]; NC [lən]; FX [lon]; GA [—];
CL [lā]; PX [lā]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lən]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lən]; JA1 [lən];
JA2 [lən];
SC [—]; LnC [lən]; NnC1 [lən]; NnC2 [lən]; LC [lən] CG *lən

láo 撈 QYS lâu CDC *lou¹ ~ *lou²
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ləu];
TC [nau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lau]; DC2 [lau];
AY [lau]; NC [lau]; FX [lau]; GA [—];
CL [lā]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lau]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lau]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [lau];
SC [—]; LnC [lau]; NnC1 [lau]; NnC2 [lau]; LC [lau] CG *lau ~ *lou

láo 労 QYS lâu CDC *lou²
TS [lau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lau];
TC [nau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lau]; DC2 [—];
AY [lau]; NC [lau]; FX [lau]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lau]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lau]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lau]; JA1 [lau];
JA2 [lau];
SC [—]; LnC [lau]; NnC1 [lau]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lau] CG *lau

láo 老 QYS lâu CDC *lou⁴
TS [lau]; WN1 [lau]; WN2 [lau]; WN3 [lau];
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TC [nau]; XZ [lau]; YX [lau]; DC1 [lau]; DC2 [lau]; AY [lau]; NC [lau~lau]; FX [lau]; GA [lou]; CL [lou]; PX [lau]; AF1 [lau]; AF2 [lau]; LH1 [lau]; LH2 [lau]; JA1 [lau]; JA2 [lau]; SC [lau]; LnC [lau]; NnC1 [lau]; NnC2 [lau]; LC [lou] CG *lau

lè 劫 QYS  lâk CDC *lek
TS [le]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [le]; TC [ne]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [le]; DC2 [—]; AY [le]; NC [le]; FX [le]; GA [—]; CL [—]; PX [le]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [le]; JA1 [le]; JA2 [le]; SC [—]; LnC [le]; NnC1 [le]; NnC2 [—]; LC [le] CG *le

lè 樂 QYS  lâk CDC *lok
TS [lo]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lok]; TC [no]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lok]; DC2 [—]; AY [lo]; NC [lo]; FX [lo]; GA [—]; CL [—]; PX [lo]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lo]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lo]; JA1 [lo]; JA2 [lo]; SC [—]; LnC [lo]; NnC1 [lo]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lo] CG *lo

lèi 涕 QYS  ljwi- CDC *lui
TS [læi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ly]; WN3 [li]; TC [di]; XZ [di]; YX [li]; DC1 [di]; DC2 [li]; AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li]; CL [le]; PX [li]; AF1 [ti]; AF2 [lui]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [lui]; JA2 [li]; SC [le]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [ty]; LC [ti] CG *lui *Neutral tone.

The finals and tone of the GA forms are irregular. The first reading occurs in the syllabary section of the source, while the second is found in the lexical section, sub “lacrima”. The second reconstruction is supported by the AF2 and JA1 forms. These dialects do not distinguish upper and lower register for the qù tone.

lèng 冷 QYS  long: CDC *lang
TS [læŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lan]; WN3 [lan]; TC [non~nan]; XZ [lan]; YX [lan]; DC1 [lan]; DC2 [lan]; AY [lan]; NC [len~lan]; FX [len~lan]; GA [lan]; CL [—]; PX [læŋ]; AF1 [læŋ]; AF2 [læŋ]; LH1 [nê]; LH2 [nan]; JA1 [lan]; JA2 [len~lan];
Though one may guess that the wen reading of this word actually had final *-ŋ, our data do not provide direct evidence for this final element.

The tone of the JA1 form is irregular.
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| CL  | [liʔ] | PX  | [liʔ] | AF1 | [tie] | AF2 | [lie] |
| CG  | *lik | CL  | [liʔ] | PX  | [liʔ] | AF1 | [tie] |
| LC  | [tiʔ] | AF1 | [tie] | LH1 | [tie] | LH2 | [tie] |
| CG  | *lik | CL  | [liʔ] | PX  | [liʔ] | AF1 | [tie] |

The second and third LnC forms are irregular.

| lián 連 QYS | ljän | CDC *lian² |
| CL  | [liʔ] | PX  | [liʔ] | AF1 | [tie] | AF2 | [tie] |
| LC  | [tie] | CN  | [tie] | CG  | *lian² |

*JXFY: [tie]
Appendix: Data

liàn 當 QYS ljwän- CDC *liôn⁶ (~ *liān⁶)
TS [lii̯ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liẹ̃];
TC [dien⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'ien⁶]; NC [liẹ̃]; FX [liẹ̃]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [liè̃]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [liẹ̃]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [niè̃]; JA1 [liẹ̃]; JA2 [liān];
SC [—]; LnC [tyẹ̃]; NnC1 [tian⁴]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tien⁴] CG *liē̃
The AY tone is irregular. The LnC final can only derive from Common Gàn *-yon, which, however, cannot be reconstructed here for lack of comparative evidence.

liàng 量 QYS ljang “to measure” CDC *liông⁵
TS [liō̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liọ̃];
TC [diõ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [diõ]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'iõ]; NC [liọ̃]; FX [liō̃]; GA [—];
CL [lĩ]; PX [lĩ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [liọ̃]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [liọ̃]; JA1 [liọ̃]; JA2 [liān];
SC [—]; LnC [tiõ]; NnC1 [tiõ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tiõ] CG *liō̃

liàng 兩 QYS ljang: CDC *liông⁴
TS [liọ̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liọ̃];
TC [diõ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [diõ]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'iõ]; NC [liọ̃]; FX [liō̃]; GA [liọ̃ ~ liọ̃];
CL [lĩ]; PX [lĩ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [liọ̃]; LH1 [nĩ]; LH2 [liọ̃]; JA1 [liọ̃]; JA2 [liọ̃];
SC [—]; LnC [tiõ]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tiõ]; LC [tiõ] CG *liō̃

liáo 營 QYS ljäu CDC *liau²
TS [liâu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [liäu⁴];
TC [dian⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dian⁴]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'iau]; NC [liâu]; FX [liâu]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lĩ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [liọ̃]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [liọ̃]; JA1 [liọ̃]; JA2 [liọ̃];
SC [—]; LnC [tiõ]; NnC1 [tiõ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tiõ] CG *liō̃
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SC [——]; LnC [tian⁰]; NnC1 [tiau⁰]; NnC2 [——]; LC [tiau⁰] CG *liau⁰

The AF2 tone is irregular.

liǎo 了  QYS lieu;  CDC *liau⁴
TS [liau⁴]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [liau⁴]; WN3 [liau⁴];
TC [niau⁴]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [dieu⁴]; DC2 [liau⁴];
AY [t'iau⁴]; NC [lieu⁴]; FX [liau⁴]; GA [——];
CL [lin⁴]; PX [liau⁴]; AF1 [liau⁴]; AF2 [liau⁴]; LH1 [liau⁴]*; LH2 [liau⁴]; JA1 [liau⁴]; JA2 [liau⁴];
SC [liau⁴]; LnC [tiau⁴]; NnC1 [tiau⁴]; NnC2 [tiau⁴]; LC [tiau⁴] CG *liau⁴ *JXFY.

The SC tone is probably a misprint in the source for yángshǎng.

liè 裂  QYS ljät  CDC *liat⁸
TS [liat⁸]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [——]; WN3 [liet⁸];
TC [dieɔ³]; XZ [die⁴]; YX [lie⁸]; DC1 [die⁸]; DC2 [lie⁸];
AY [t'iet⁸]; NC [liet⁸]; FX [liet⁸]; GA [liet⁸];
CL [lie⁴]; PX [lie⁸]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [lie⁸]; LH1 [lie⁸]; LH2 [lie⁸]; JA1 [lie⁸]; JA2 [lie⁸];
SC [——]; LnC [tie⁷]; NnC1 [tie⁸]; NnC2 [tie⁸]; LC [——] CG *liet⁸

The XZ tone is irregular.

lín 林  QYS ljäm  CDC *lim²
TS [lim²]; WN1 [lin²]; WN2 [lin²]; WN3 [lin²];
TC [din²]; XZ [lin²]; YX [lin²]; DC1 [din²]; DC2 [lin²];
AY [t'äm²]; NC [lin²]; FX [liam²]; GA [lin²];
CL [lin²]; PX [lin²]; AF1 [lën²]; AF2 [lin²]; LH1 [lin²]; LH2 [lin²]; JA1 [lin²]; JA2 [lin²];
SC [lin²]; LnC [tim²]; NnC1 [tin²]; NnC2 [tin²]; LC [tim²] CG *lim²

The XZ tone is irregular.

lín 林 QYS ljäm  CDC *lim²
TS [lin²]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [lin²]; WN3 [lin²];
TC [din²]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [din²]; DC2 [——];
AY [t'äm²]; NC [lin²]; FX [liam²]; GA [——];
CL [——]; PX [lin²]; AF1 [lën²]; AF2 [lin²]; LH1 [lin²]*; LH2 [——]; JA1 [lin²]; JA2 [lin²];
SC [tin²]; LnC [tim²]; NnC1 [tin²]; NnC2 [——]; LC [tim²] CG *lim² *JXFY.

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Appendix: Data

líng 靈 QYS liäng CDC *liäng²
TS [lin²]; WN1 [lin²]; WN2 [lin²]; WN3 [liang²];
TC [din²]; XZ [din²]; YX [lin²]; DC1 [lin²]; DC2 [lin²];
AY [t'ian²]; NC [lin²]; PX [liang²]; GA [lin²];
CL [lin²]; PX [liang²]; AF1 [liang²]; AF2 [liang²]; LH1 [liang²]; LH2 [liang²];
JA1 [lin²]; JA2 [lin²];
SC [lin²]; LnC [lin²]; NnC1 [lin²]; NnC2 [lin²]; LC [lin²] CG *liäng ~ *lin

líng 衝 QYS ljäng CDC *liäng²
TS [lin²]; WN1 [lin²]; WN2 [lin²]; WN3 [lin²];
TC [din²]; XZ [dian²]; YX [lian²]; DC1 [lin²]; DC2 [lin²];
AY [t'ian²]; NC [lin²]; PX [liang²]; GA [lin²];
CL [liang²]; PX [liang²]; AF1 [liang²]; AF2 [liang²]; LH1 [liang²]; LH2 [liang²];
JA1 [liang²]; JA2 [liang²];
SC [lin²]; LnC [lin²]; NnC1 [lin²]; NnC2 [lin²]; LC [lin²] CG *liäng ~ *lin

líng 頭 QYS ljäng: CDC *liäng⁴
TS [lin⁴]; WN1 [lin⁴]; WN2 [lin⁴]; WN3 [liang⁴];
TC [din⁴]; XZ [dian⁴]; YX [lian⁴]; DC1 [lin⁴]; DC2 [lin⁴];
AY [t'ian⁴]; NC [lin⁴]; PX [liang⁴]; GA [lin⁴];
CL [liang⁴]; PX [liang⁴]; AF1 [liang⁴]; AF2 [liang⁴]; LH1 [liang⁴]; LH2 [liang⁴];
JA1 [liang⁴]; JA2 [liang⁴];
SC [lin⁴]; LnC [lin⁴]; NnC1 [liang⁴]; NnC2 [liang⁴]; LC [liang⁴] CG *liäng ~ *lin

líng 頭 QYS ljäng: CDC *liäng⁴
TS [lin⁴]; WN1 [lin⁴]; WN2 [liang⁴]; WN3 [liang⁴];
TC [din⁴]; XZ [dian⁴]; YX [lian⁴]; DC1 [lin⁴]; DC2 [liang⁴];
AY [t'ian⁴]; NC [lin⁴]; PX [liang⁴]; GA [lin⁴];
CL [liang⁴]; PX [liang⁴]; AF1 [liang⁴]; AF2 [liang⁴]; LH1 [liang⁴]; LH2 [liang⁴];
JA1 [liang⁴]; JA2 [liang⁴];
SC [liang⁴]; LnC [liang⁴]; NnC1 [liang⁴]; NnC2 [liang⁴]; LC [liang⁴] CG *liäng ~ *lin

líng 頭 QYS ljäng, ljäng- CDC *liäng⁶
TS [lin⁶]; WN1 [lin⁶]; WN2 [lin⁶]; WN3 [lin⁶];
TC [din⁶]; XZ [lin⁶]; YX [lin⁶]; DC1 [lin⁶]; DC2 [lin⁶];
AY [t'ian⁶]; NC [lin⁶]; PX [liang⁶]; GA [lin⁶];
CL [lin⁶]; PX [liang⁶]; AF1 [liang⁶]; AF2 [liang⁶]; LH1 [liang⁶]; LH2 [liang⁶];
JA1 [liang⁶];
JA2 [liu⁸ 去]; SC [liu⁸]; LnC [tin⁸ 去]; NnC1 [tin⁸ 去]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tin⁸ 去] GC *liu⁸ (~ *lian⁸ 去)
The AF2 form reflects an earlier *lian⁸ that cannot be comparatively reconstructed.
Appendix: Data

AY [lau]; NC [leu]; FX [lau]; GA [leu];
CL [lø]; PX [leu]; AF1 [leø]; AF2 [leiu]; LH1 [lø]; LH2 [loî]; JA1 [lø]; JA2 [leu];
SC [lø]; LnC [le:u]; NnC1 [lie]; NnC2 [lie]; LC [leu] CG *leu

lòu 陽平 且 QYS luo- CDC *leu
TS [lø]; WN1 [lø]; WN2 [lø]; WN3 [lø];
TC [niuo]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [leu]; DC2 [lø];
AY [lø]; NC [lø]; FX [lø]; GA [—];
CL [lø]; PX [leø]; AF1 [leø]; AF2 [leiu]; LH1 [leu]; LH2 [loî]; JA1 [lø]; JA2 [leu];
SC [lø]; LnC [le:u]; NnC1 [lie]; NnC2 [lie]; LC [leu] CG *leu

lù 阳平 羅 QYS ljwo CDC *lie\(^2\) (~ *liu\(^2\))
TS [lø]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ly]; WN3 [—];
TC [niuo]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [—];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [li]; AF1 [ly]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [ly]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [ly]; JA2 [li];
SC [lø]; LnC [t]; NnC1 [ty]; NnC2 [ty]; LC [ty] CG *ly ~ *liu *JXFY.

lù 喻 QYS ljwo: CDC *lie\(^4\) (~ *liu\(^4\))
TS [—]; WN1 [ly]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [li];
TC [—]; XZ [li]; YX [li]; DC1 [li]; DC2 [li];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
CL [ly]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [li]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [ly]; JA2 [ly];
SC [—]; LnC [t]; NnC1 [ty]; NnC2 [ty]; LC [—] CG *ly

lù 養 QYS ljwo- CDC *leu\(^6\) (~ *liu\(^6\))
TS [lø]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
A Study of Comparative Gàn

TC [di]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [li]; JA1 [ly]; JA2 [ly];
SC [—]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [ty]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ty] CG *ly

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The DC1 final is irregular. The expected coda would be -t.

luàn 亂 QYS  luàn-  CDC *lon

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lüè 略 QYS  ljak  CDC *liok

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lùn 论 QYS  lu, luan, lu-  CDC *lun (~ *liun)

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466
Appendix: Data

luó 驟 QYS luá CDC *lo²
TS [lo²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lo²];
TC [no²]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lo²]; DC2 [—];
AY [lo²]; NC [lo²]; FX [lo²]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lo²]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lo²]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lo²]; JA1 [lo²]; JA2 [lo²];
SC [—]; LnC [lo²]; NnC1 [lo²]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *lo²

luò 落 QYS lâk CDC *lok⁶
TS [lo⁶]; WN1 [lo⁶]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lok⁶];
TC [no⁶]; XZ [lo⁶]; YX [lo⁶]; DC1 [lok⁶]; DC2 [lo⁶];
AY [lo⁶]; NC [lo⁶]; FX [lo⁶]; GA [lo⁶];
CL [lo⁶]; PX [lo⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lo⁶]; LH1 [lo⁶]; LH2 [lo⁶]; JA1 [lo⁶]; JA2 [lo⁶];
SC [—]; LnC [lo⁶]; NnC1 [lo⁶]; NnC2 [lo⁶]; LC [lo⁶] CG *lok⁶ ~ *lok⁶

luó 落 QYS lâk CDC *lok⁶
TS [lo⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lok⁶];
TC [no⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lok⁶]; DC2 [—];
AY [lo⁶]; NC [lo⁶]; FX [lo⁶]; GA [lo⁶];
CL [—]; PX [lo⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lo⁶]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [lo⁶]; JA1 [lo⁶]; JA2 [lo⁶];
SC [—]; LnC [lo⁶]; NnC1 [lo⁶]; NnC2 [lo⁶]; LC [lo⁶] CG *lok⁶

M

má 麻 QYS ma CDC *ma²
TS [ma²]; WN1 [ma²]; WN2 [ma²]; WN3 [ma²];
TC [ma²]; XZ [ma²]; YX [ma²]; DC1 [ma²]; DC2 [ma²];
AY [ma²]; NC [ma²]; FX [ma²]; GA [ma²];
CL [ma²]; PX [ma²]; AF1 [ma²]; AF2 [ma²]; LH1 [ma²]; LH2 [ma²]; JA1 [ma²]; JA2 [ma²];
SC [ma²]; LnC [ma²]; NnC1 [ma²]; NnC2 [ma²]; LC [ma²] CG *ma²

mǎ 駒 QYS ma: CDC *ma⁴
TS [ma⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ma⁴]; WN3 [ma⁴];
TC [ma⁴]; XZ [ma⁴]; YX [ma⁴]; DC1 [ma⁴]; DC2 [ma⁴];
AY [ma⁴]; NC [ma⁴]; FX [ma⁴]; GA [ma⁴];
CL [ma⁴]; PX [ma⁴]; AF1 [ma⁴]; AF2 [ma⁴]; LH1 [ma⁴]; LH2 [ma⁴]; JA1 [ma⁴];
JA2 [mą];
SC [ma̩]; LnC [mą]; NnC1 [mą]; NnC2 [mą]; LC [mą] CG *ma

mǎi 買 QYS mai:
CDC *mai⁴
TS [mą]; WN1 [mą]; WN2 [mą]; WN3 [mą];
TC [mą]; XZ [mą]; YX [mą]; DC1 [mą]; DC2 [mą];
AY [mą]; NC [mą]; FX [mą]; GA [mą];
CL [mą]; PX [mą]; AF1 [mą]; AF2 [mą]; LH1 [mą]; LH2 [mą]; JA1 [mą]; JA2 [mą];
SC [mą]; LnC [mą]; NnC1 [mą]; NnC2 [mą]; LC [mą] CG *ma

mài 賣 QYS mai-
CDC *mai⁶
TS [mą]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [mą]; WN3 [mą];
TC [mą]; XZ [mą]; YX [mą]; DC1 [mą]; DC2 [mą];
AY [mą]; NC [mą]; FX [mą]; GA [mą];
CL [mą]; PX [mą]; AF1 [mą]; AF2 [mą]; LH1 [mą]; LH2 [mą]; JA1 [mą]; JA2 [mą];
SC [mą]; LnC [mą]; NnC1 [mą]; NnC2 [mą]; LC [mą] CG *ma

màn 慢 QYS màn:
CDC *man⁴
TS [mæ̃ ~ mœ̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [mon]; WN3 [mon];
TC [mon]; XZ [mon]; YX [mon]; DC1 [mon]; DC2 [mon];
AY [mon]; NC [mon]; FX [men]; GA [men];
CL [mæ̃]; PX [mã]; AF1 [mã]; AF2 [mã]; LH1 [mã]; LH2 [mã]; JA1 [mã]; JA2 [mã];
SC [mên]; LnC [mon]; NnC1 [mon]; NnC2 [mon]; LC [mon] CG *man

mān 慢 QYS màn-
CDC *man⁶
TS [mæ̃ ~ mœ̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [man]; WN3 [man];
TC [man]; XZ [man]; YX [man]; DC1 [man]; DC2 [man];
AY [man ~ mon]; NC [man]; FX [man]; GA [men];
CL [mã]; PX [mã]; AF1 [mã]; AF2 [mã]; LH1 [mã]; LH2 [mã]; JA1 [mã]; JA2 [mã];
SC [män]; LnC [man]; NnC1 [man]; NnC2 [man]; LC [man] CG *man
Appendix: Data

māo 毛 QYS mau: CDC *mou⁴
TS [mou⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [mou⁴]; XZ [mou⁴]; YX [mou⁴]; DC1 [mou⁴]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—];
JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *mou⁴

mēi 美 QYS mji:³ CDC *mi⁶
TS [mēi³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [mi³]; XZ [mi³]; YX [mi³]; DC1 [mi³]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—];
JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *mi⁶
The Jiān-2 form irregularly takes the yīnqù tone. This is oddly similar to Hakka, where the word usually also has this tone. There may be a connection of some sort.

The register of the CG shǎng tone in the bái reading is indeterminate, since it does not occur in any of the determinative dialects.

The GA tone is irregular. An anonymous reviewer observes that in a different GA subvariety the word has the shǎng tone.

The register of the CG shǎng tone in the bái reading is indeterminate, since it does not occur in any of the determinative dialects.

The GA tone is irregular. An anonymous reviewer observes that in a different GA subvariety the word has the shǎng tone.
Appendix: Data

TC [məŋ]; XZ [məŋ]; YX [məŋ]; DC1 [muŋ]; DC2 [muŋ];
AY [məŋ]; NC [muŋ]; FX [muŋ]; GA [muŋ];
CL [məŋ]; PX [məŋ]; AF1 [məŋ]; AF2 [muŋ]; LH1 [məŋ]; LH2 [məŋ]; JA1 [məŋ]; JA2 [muŋ];
SC [məŋ]; LnC [muŋ]; NnC1 [muŋ]; NnC2 [muŋ]; LC [muŋ]; CG *muŋ

mì 彌 QYS mjie4 CDC *mi2
TS [mæi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [mi];
TC [mi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [mi]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [mi]; FX [mi]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [mi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [mi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [mi]; JA1 [mi]; JA2 [mi];
SC [—]; LnC [mi]; NnC1 [mi]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *mi

mì 米 QYS miei: CDC *miae4
TS [mæi]; WN1 [mi]; WN2 [mi]; WN3 [mi];
TC [mi]; XZ [mi]; YX [mi]; DC1 [mi]; DC2 [mi];
AY [mi]; NC [mi]; FX [mi]; GA [—];
CL [mi]; PX [mi]; AF1 [mi]; AF2 [mi]; LH1 [mi]*; LH2 [mi ~ mi]; JA1 [mi]; JA2 [mi];
SC [mi]; LnC [mi]; NnC1 [mi]; NnC2 [mi]; LC [mi] CG *mi
*JXFY.

miàn 面 QYS mjiean4 CDC *mian6
TS [miən]; WN1 [miən]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [miən];
TC [miən]; XZ [miən]; YX [miən]; DC1 [miən]; DC2 [miən];
AY [miən]; NC [miən]; FX [miən]; GA [miən];
CL [miən]; PX [miən]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [miən]; LH1 [miən]; LH2 [miən]; JA1 [miən]; JA2 [miən];
SC [—]; LnC [miən]; NnC1 [miən]; NnC2 [miən]; LC [miən] CG *miən

mìn 民 QYS mjien4 CDC *min2
TS [min]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [min]; WN3 [min];
TC [min]; XZ [min]; YX [min]; DC1 [min]; DC2 [min];
AY [min]; NC [min]; FX [min]; GA [min];
CL [min]; PX [min]; AF1 [min]; AF2 [min]; LH1 [min]; LH2 [min]; JA1 [min]; JA2 [min];
SC [min]; LnC [min]; NnC1 [min]; NnC2 [min]; LC [min] CG *min

The AF2 tone is irregular.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.
Appendix: Data

mó 磨 QYS  muât CDC *mo2
TS [mu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [mo]; WN3 [mo];
TC [mo]; XZ [mo]; YX [mo]; DC1 [mo]; DC2 [mo];
AY [mo]; NC [mo]; FX [mo]; GA [mo];
CL [mo]; PX [mo]; AF1 [mo]; AF2 [mo]; LH1 [mo]; LH2 [mo]; JA1 [mo];
JA2 [mo];
SC [—]; LnC [mo]; NnC1 [mo]; NnC2 [—]; LC [mo] CG *mo

mó 扮 QYS  muât CDC *mot8
TS [mo]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [mo];
TC [mo]; XZ [mo]; YX [mo]; DC1 [mot]; DC2 [ma];
AY [mot]; NC [ma]; FX [me]; GA [ma];
CL [mo]; PX [mo]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [mo]; LH1 [mo]; LH2 [ma]; JA1 [mo];
JA2 [mo];
SC [—]; LnC [mo]; NnC1 [mei?]; NnC2 [—]; LC [mo] CG *mot

mó 墨 QYS  mak CDC *mek8
TS [me]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [me];
TC [me]; XZ [me]; YX [me]; DC1 [me]; DC2 [me];
AY [me]; NC [me]; FX [me]; GA [me];
CL [me]; PX [me]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [me]; LH1 [me]; LH2 [me]; JA1 [me];
JA2 [me];
SC [—]; LnC [me]; NnC1 [mei?]; NnC2 [mei?]; LC [me] CG *mek

mó 没 QYS  muat CDC *mut8
TS [me]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [me];
TC [me]; XZ [me]; YX [me]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [mat]; NC [mat]; FX [mat]; GA [—];
A Study of Comparative Gàn

CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [mɛ̃]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [mɛ̃]; JA1 [mɛ̃]; JA2 [mɛ̃];
SC [—]; LnC [mut]; NnC1 [meiʔ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *mut

mò 莫 QYS mâk CDC *mok
TS [mu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [mok];
TC [moʔ]; XZ [moʔ]; YX [moʔ]; DC1 [mok]; DC2 [mok];
AY [moʔ]; NC [mok ~ mɔ]; FX [moʔ]; GA [moʔ];
CL [moʔ]; PX [moʔ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [moʔ]; LH1 [moʔ]; LH2 [moʔ]; JA1 [moʔ];
JA2 [moʔ];
SC [—]; LnC [moʔ]; NnC1 [moʔ]; NnC2 [moʔ]; LC [moʔ] CG *mok

móu 某 QYS mjau CDC *meu
TS [miau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [miau]; WN3 [miau];
TC [miau]; XZ [miu]; YX [miu]; DC1 [meu]; DC2 [meu];
AY [meu]; NC [meu]; FX [mau]; GA [—];
CL [mo]; PX [mo]; AF1 [mɔu]; AF2 [miou]; LH1 [meu]*; LH2 [mo]; JA1 [mou];
JA2 [mou];
SC [mou]; LnC [meu]; NnC1 [mieu]; NnC2 [meiu]; LC [meu] CG *meu
*JXFY.

mòu 某 QYS m̖au CDC *meu
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [miau];
TC [miu]; XZ [miu]; YX [miu]; DC1 [meu]; DC2 [—];
AY [meu]; NC [meu]; FX [mau]; GA [meu];
CL [—]; PX [mo]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [meu]; LH1 [meu]; LH2 [mo]; JA1 [miou];
JA2 [meu];
SC [—]; LnC [meu]; NnC1 [mieu]; NnC2 [meiu]; LC [meu] CG *meu

mù 母 QYS m̖au CDC *mu
TS [mu]; WN1 [mu]; WN2 [mu]; WN3 [mu];
TC [mo]; XZ [miu]; YX [miu]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [mu];
AY [mu]; NC [mu]; FX [mu]; GA [—];
CL [mu]; PX [mu]; AF1 [mu]; AF2 [mu]; LH1 [mu]*; LH2 [—]; JA1 [mu ~ mɔŋ];
JA2 [mu];
SC [m̖u]; LnC [mu]; NnC1 [mu]; NnC2 [mu]; LC [mu] CG *mu
*JXFY.

The SC form is irregular.
Appendix: Data

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.

The LH1 and JA1 forms are anomalous. It seems possible that they are derived from an earlier *muŋ.
JA1 [mo]; JA2 [ma];
SC [mu]; LnC [mu]; NnC1 [mu]; NnC2 [mu]; LC [mu] CG *muk

The first form appears to represent a native, or at least very old, Gàn etymon, while the second, whose tone agrees with the QYS reading, must be an importation. The third form is unique and may in fact represent an entirely different word from that embodied in the first two forms.

The tone of the LH2 form is irregular for the sense “difficult”.
Appendix: Data

nan 南 QYS nâm CDC *nom²
TS [næ²]; WN1 [løn²]; WN2 [løn²]; WN3 [løn²];
TC [non²]; XZ [non²]; YX [løn²]; DC1 [non²]; DC2 [non²];
AY [løm²]; NC [læn²]; FX [løm²]; GA [løn²];
CL [læn²]; PX [læn²]; AF1 [læn²]; AF2 [læn²]; LH1 [næn²]; LH2 [næn²]; JA1 [næn²];
JA2 [næn²];
SC [læn²]; LnC [læn²]; NnC1 [næn²]; NnC2 [næn²]; LC [næn²] CG *nom

nan 男 QYS nâm CDC *nom²
TS [næ²]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [løn²]; WN3 [løn²];
TC [non²]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [non²]; DC2 [non²];
AY [løm²]; NC [læn²]; FX [løm²]; GA [—];
CL [læn²]; PX [læn²]; AF1 [læn²]; AF2 [læn²]; LH1 [næn²]*; LH2 [næn²]; JA1 [næn²];
JA2 [næn²];
SC [læn²]; LnC [læn²]; NnC1 [næn²]; NnC2 [næn²]; LC [næn²] CG *nom
*JXFY.

não 腦 QYS nâu: CDC *nou⁴
TS [nau⁴]; WN1 [lau⁴]; WN2 [lau⁴]; WN3 [lau⁴];
TC [nau⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nau⁴]; DC2 [nau⁴];
AY [lau⁴]; NC [lau⁴]; FX [lau⁴]; GA [—];
CL [lau⁴]; PX [lau⁴]; AF1 [lau⁴]; AF2 [lau⁴]; LH1 [lau⁴]*; LH2 [lau⁴]; JA1 [nau⁴];
JA2 [nau⁴];
SC [lau⁴]; LnC [lau⁴]; NnC1 [nau⁴]; NnC2 [nau⁴]; LC [nau⁴] CG *nou
*JXFY.

nái 聲 QYS nâu— CDC *nau⁶
TS [nau⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lau⁶];
TC [nau⁶]; XZ [nau⁶]; YX [lau⁶]; DC1 [nau⁶]; DC2 [nau⁶];
AY [lau⁶]; NC [lau⁶]; FX [lau⁶]; GA [—];
CL [lau⁶]; PX [lau⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lau⁶]; LH1 [lau⁶]*; LH2 [lau⁶]; JA1 [nau⁶];
JA2 [nau⁶];
SC [—]; LnC [lau⁶]; NnC1 [nau⁶]; NnC2 [nau⁶]; LC [lau⁶] CG *nau

nẻi 內 QYS nuĩi— CDC *nuoi⁶
TS [næi⁶]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [nøi⁶];
TC [ni⁶~gi⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ni⁶]; DC2 [—];
AY [li⁶]; NC [li⁶]; FX [li⁶]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [li⁶~le⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [luοi⁶]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [løi⁶]; JA1 [nøi⁶];
JA2 [nui⁶];
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SC [—]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [ny]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ly]; CG *nuoi ~ *nu

The AF2 and LH2 tones are irregular.

ni 泥 QYS niei CDC *nai2

ni 拟 QYS ngi: CDC *ngi4

ni 你 QYS niche CDC *nhie4
Syllabic nasal forms, together with those ending in modern -e, -ɛ, and -ie, derive from a Common Gān 汝 *nie, whose tone is indeterminate. Other forms derive from 你 *ni₃, which was borrowed from some later, probably northern, source. The PX form he₃ and the LH2 form are of uncertain origin. Certain forms in this set, both bái and wén, point to earlier píngshēng or qūshēng readings. Their origins are obscure.

Appendix: Data

ni 脳 QYS ńi- CDC *ni⁶
TS [ńi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńiæ];
TC [ńi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nie]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [ńiæ]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [ńi]; PX [niej]; AF1 [niej]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [ńiæ]; LH2 [ńiæ]; JA1 [ńia]; JA2 [—];
SC [ńi]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [niæ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *ni₃ ~ *ni₄;

The second reconstructed form, which is unetymological, can be reconstructed on the basis of the WN3 and AF2 readings. The DC1 and JA1 forms are of obscure origin.

ni 逆 QYS ngipk CDC *ngiak⁸
TS [ńi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńiæ];
TC [ńi]; XZ [ńiæ]; YX [ńiæ]; DC1 [nie]; DC2 [ńik];
AY [ńiæ]; NC [ńiæ]; FX [ńiæ]; GA [ńiæ];
CL [ńiæ]; PX [ńiæ]; AF1 [niej]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [ńiæ]; LH2 [ńiæ]; JA1 [ńiæ]; JA2 [ńiæ];
SC [ńiæ]; LnC [ńiæ]; NnC1 [ńiæ]; NnC2 [ńiæ];

CG *niak ~ *niak;

ni 潺 QYS niek CDC *niak⁸ (~ *nik⁸ ?)
TS [ńiæ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńiæ];
TC [ńiæ]; XZ [ńiæ]; YX [ńiæ]; DC1 [nie]; DC2 [—];
AY [ńiæ]; NC [ńiæ]; FX [ńiæ]; GA [ńiæ];
CL [ńiæ]; PX [ńiæ]; AF1 [niej]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [ńiæ]; LH2 [ńiæ]; JA1 [niej]; JA2 [niej];
SC [ńiæ]; LnC [ńiæ]; NnC1 [ńiæ]; NnC2 [ńiæ];

CG *nik;

nián 年 QYS nien CDC *nian²
TS [ńiæ]; WN1 [ńiæ]; WN2 [ńiæ]; WN3 [ńiæ];
TC [ńiæ]; XZ [ńiæ]; YX [ńiæ]; DC1 [ńiæ]; DC2 [ńiæ];
AY [ńiæ]; NC [ńiæ]; FX [ńiæ]; GA [ńia];
CL [ńiæ]; PX [ńiæ]; AF1 [ńiæ]; AF2 [ńiæ]; LH1 [ńiæ]; LH2 [ńiæ]; JA1 [ńiæ]; JA2 [ńian];
The TS bái form is a different etymon from that found elsewhere in the set. It may be related in some way to the form suī 尿 “urine”, which is found in various dialect families.

In addition to the TS and TC forms, there is a SC form 尿 that differs in tone. The SC form is anomalous, as is the tone of the LH1 bái form. The SC form reflects an earlier lower register tone reading.

The TS form and the TC bái form are anomalous, as is the tone of the LH1 bái form. The SC form reflects an earlier lower register tone reading.

The TS bái form is a different etymon from that found elsewhere in the set. It may be related in some way to the form suī 尿 “urine”, which is found in various dialect families.
Appendix: Data

niú 牛 QYS ngjau CDC *niu€
TS [niu]; WN1 [niou]; WN2 [niu]; WN3 [niu];
TC [niou]; XZ [niu]; YX [niu]; DC1 [niu]; DC2 [niu];
AY [nju]; NC [niu]; FX [niou]; GA [nju];
CL [niou]; PX [niu]; AF1 [niu]; AF2 [niu];
LA1 [niou]; J A1 [niou];
SC [niou]; LnC [niou]; NC1 [niu]; NC2 [niu];
LC [niou] CG *nu ～ *niu

niǔ 紐 QYS njou: CDC *niuo 4
TS [niou]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [niu];
TC [niou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [niu]; DC2 [—];
AY [nju]; NC [niu]; FX [niou]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [niu]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [niu];
LA1 [niu]; J A1 [niu]; J A2 [niu];
SC [—]; LnC [niu]; NC1 [niu]; NC2 [—];
LC [niu] CG *niu ～ *nu

nóng 濃 QYS njwong, (nung) CDC *niung ～ *nung
TS [nɛŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lɛŋ]; WN3 [lɛŋ];
TC [nʌŋ]; XZ [nij]; YX [lɛŋ]; DC1 [niŋ]; DC2 [nŋ];
AY [nŋ]; NC [niŋ]; FX [lŋ]; GA [lŋ];
CL [lŋ]; PX [ŋŋ]; AF1 [lŋ]; AF2 [lŋ];
LA1 [ŋŋ]; LH1 [ŋŋ]; LH2 [ŋŋ];
LA1 [ŋŋ]; J A1 [ŋŋ];
SC [ŋŋ]; LnC [niŋ]; NC1 [luŋ]; NC2 [nuŋ];
LC [niŋ] CG *niuŋ ～ *nuŋ

nòng 弄 QYS lung- CDC *nung ～ *lung
TS [nɛŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lɛŋ]; WN3 [lɛŋ];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [luŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [lŋ]; NC [luŋ]; FX [luŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lŋ]; AF1 [lŋ]; AF2 [lŋ];
LA1 [lŋ]; LH1 [lŋ]*; LH2 [ŋŋ];
LA1 [lŋ];
SC [ŋŋ]; LnC [luŋ]; NC1 [luŋ]; NC2 [—];
LC [luŋ] CG *lŋ ～ *JXFY.

nú 奴 QYS nu CDC *nu 2
TS [nau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lu]; WN3 [lu];
TC [nou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nu]; DC2 [—];
AY [lu]; NC [lu]; FX [lu]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lu]; AF1 [lu]; AF2 [lu];
LA1 [lu]*; LH1 [lu]*; LH2 [lu];
LA1 [lu];
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JA2 [nu阴平];
SC [lu阴平]; LnC [lu阳平]; NnC1 [nu阳平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lu阳平] CG *nu阳平*
*JXFY.

nù 努 QYS nuo: CDC *nu4
TS [nau阳去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lu上]; WN3 [lu阳平];
TC [nou阴去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nu上]; DC2 [—];
AY [lu上]; NC [lu上]; FX [lu上]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [lu上]; AF1 [lu上]; AF2 [lu阳去]; LH1 [lu阳去]; LH2 [lu上]; JA1 [lu上]; JA2 [nu上];
SC [lu阳去]; LnC [lu上]; NnC1 [nu上]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lu上] CG *nu阳去*
*JXFY.

nù 女 QYS njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)
TS [nau阴去]; WN1 [lu阴去]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [lu阴去];
TC [nou阴去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nu阴去]; DC2 [—];
AY [lu阴去]; NC [lu阴去]; FX [lu阴去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [nu上]; AF1 [nu上]; AF2 [nu上]; LH1 [nu上]; LH2 [nu上]; JA1 [nu上]; JA2 [nu上];
SC [nu上]; LnC [nu上]; NnC1 [nu上]; NnC2 [—]; LC [nu上] CG *nu阳去*
*Sense of “daughter”.

nuǎn 暖 QYS nuǎn: CDC *non4
TS [nɔn]; WN1 [lon]; WN2 [lon]; WN3 [lon];
TC [non]; XZ [non]; YX [lon]; DC1 [non阴去]; DC2 [lon];
AY [lon]; NC [lon]; FX [lon]; GA [lon];
CL [lɔ阳去]; PX [lɔ阳去]; AF1 [lɔ阳去]; AF2 [lɔ阴去]; LH1 [nɔ阴去]; LH2 [nɔ]; JA1 [nuon]; JA2 [nuon];
SC [luon]; LnC [lon]; NnC1 [non]; NnC2 [non]; LC [non] CG *nuon 阳去白
*nuon
The tone of the DC1 form is irregular.

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Appendix: Data

O

ōu 歐 QYS ʔəu            CDC *eu⁰
TS [ʔəu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ʔəu];
TC [nɪou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʔəu]; DC2 [—];
AY [nɪou]; NC [nɪeu]; FX [ʔəu]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [nə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [nɪeu]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ʊi]; JA1 [iə]; JA2 [nɪeu];
SC [—]; LnC [ɛːu]; NnC1 [ŋiu]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ɛːu] CG *eu

P

pà 拍 QYS pha-            CDC *pha⁵
TS [pʰə]; WN1 [pha']; WN2 [pʰə]; WN3 [pʰə];
TC [ba]; XZ [ba]; YX [bʰa]; DC1 [ba';] DC2 [ba];
AY [pʰə]; NC [pʰə]; FX [pʰə]; GA [pʰə];
CL [pʰə]; PX [pʰə]; AF1 [pʰə]; AF2 [pʰə]; LH1 [pʰə]; LH2 [pʰə]; JA1 [pʰə];
JA2 [pʰə];
SC [pʰə]; LnC [pʰə]; NnC1 [pʰə]; NnC2 [pʰə]; LC [pʰə] CG *pʰə

The tone of AF1 form is unexpected.

páng 旁 QYS bâng            CDC *bong²
TS [pʰə]; WN1 [phə]; WN2 [pʰə]; WN3 [bə];
TC [bə]; XZ [bə]; YX [bʰə]; DC1 [bə]; DC2 [bə];
AY [pʰə]; NC [pʰə]; FX [pʰə]; GA [pʰə];
CL [pʰə]; PX [pʰə]; AF1 [pʰə]; AF2 [pʰə]; LH1 [pʰə]; LH2 [pʰə]; JA1 [pʰə];
JA2 [pʰə];
SC [pʰə]; LnC [pʰə]; NnC1 [pʰə]; NnC2 [pʰə]; LC [pʰə] CG *bə

The tone of AF1 form is irregular.

*JXFY.

The AF1 tone is irregular.
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páo 票 QYS báo  CDC *bou²
TS [pau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bau];
TC [bau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bau]; DC2 [bau²];
AY [p'au]; NC [p'au]; FX [p'au]; GA [—];
CL [p'au]; PX [p'au]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [p'au]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [p'au]; JA1 [p'au]; JA2 [p'au];
SC [—]; LnC [p'au]; NnC1 [p'au]; NnC2 [p'au]; LC [p'au] CG *bou.

péi 陪 QYS buāi  CDC *buoi²
TS [pæi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bi];
TC [bi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bi]; DC2 [bi²];
AY [p'i]; NC [p'i]; FX [p'i]; GA [—];
CL [p'i]; PX [p'i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [p'ui]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [p'oi]; JA1 [p'ei]; JA2 [p'ui];
SC [—]; LnC [p'i ~ p'ou ~ p'oi]; NnC1 [p'ei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [p'oi] CG *buoi.
The first LnC form appears to be derived from a borrowed form *bui.

pén 盆 QYS buan  CDC *bun³
TS [pən]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bən];
TC [bən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bən]; DC2 [bən²];
AY [p'an]; NC [p'an]; FX [p'an]; GA [—];
CL [p'e]; PX [p'en]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [p'en]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [p'en]; JA1 [p'en]; JA2 [p'en];
SC [—]; LnC [p'an ~ p'ou ~ p'oi]; NnC1 [p'en]; NnC2 [p'en]; LC [p'en] CG *bun.

péng 篷 QYS bung  CDC *bung³
TS [pəŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bəŋ];
TC [bəŋ]; XZ [bəŋ]; YX [bəŋ]; DC1 [bəŋ]; DC2 [bəŋ²];
AY [p'an]; NC [p'an]; FX [p'an]; GA [p'əŋ];
CL [p'əŋ]; PX [p'əŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [p'əŋ]; LH1 [p'əŋ]; LH2 [p'əŋ]; JA1 [p'əŋ]; JA2 [p'əŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [p'əŋ]; NnC1 [p'əŋ]; NnC2 [p'əŋ]; LC [p'əŋ] CG *bung.
The initial of the LH1 form is irregular.

pěng 彭 QYS bung  CDC *bang²
TS [pəŋ]; WN1 [pəŋ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bəŋ];
TC [bəŋ]; XZ [bəŋ]; YX [bəŋ]; DC1 [bəŋ]; DC2 [bəŋ];
AY [p'əŋ]; NC [p'əŋ]; FX [p'əŋ]; GA [p'əŋ];
CL [p'əŋ]; PX [p'əŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [p'əŋ]; LH1 [p'əŋ]; LH2 [p'əŋ]; JA1 [p'əŋ]; JA2 [p'əŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [p'əŋ]; NnC1 [p'əŋ]; NnC2 [p'əŋ]; LC [p'əŋ] CG *bang.
The initial of the LH1 form is irregular.
Though one may guess that the wén reading of this word actually had final *-ŋ, our data do not provide direct evidence for this final element.

The NnC1 tone is irregular.
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pin [phim] QYS phjam: CDC *phim³
TS [pin⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pʰin⁴]; WN3 [pʰin⁴];
TC [bin⁴]; XZ [bin⁴]; YX [bʰin⁴]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [bin⁴];
AY [pʰin⁴]; NC [pʰin⁴]; FX [pʰiən¹]; GA [pʰin⁴];
CL [pʰi]; PX [pʰin⁴]; AF1 [pʰen⁴]; AF2 [pʰin⁴]; LH1 [pʰin⁴]; LH2 [pʰin⁴]; JA1 [pʰin⁴]; JA2 [pʰin⁴];
SC [pʰi]; LnC [pʰi]; NnC1 [pʰi]; NnC2 [pʰi]; LC [pʰi] CG *pʰin⁴

ping [bing] QYS bjang: CDC *bing²
TS [pin⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bin⁴];
TC [bin⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [pʰin⁴]; NC [pʰin⁴]; FX [pʰiən¹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [pʰi]; AF1 [pʰi]; AF2 [pʰi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [pʰi];
JA1 [pʰi]; JA2 [pʰi];
SC [—]; LnC [pʰi]; NnC1 [pʰi]; NnC2 [—]; LC [pʰi] CG *pʰi

pò [pho⁵] QYS buā-: CDC *pho⁵
TS [pʰu⁵]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [pʰu⁵]; WN3 [pʰu⁵];
TC [bo⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bo¹]; DC2 [bo¹];
AY [pʰu⁴]; NC [pʰu⁴]; FX [pʰu⁴]; GA [—];
CL [pʰu⁴]; PX [pʰu⁴]; AF1 [pʰu⁴]; AF2 [pʰu⁴]; LH1 [pʰu⁴]; LH2 [pʰu⁴];
JA1 [pʰu⁴]; JA2 [pʰu⁴];
SC [pʰu⁴]; LnC [pʰu⁴]; NnC1 [pʰu⁴]; NnC2 [pʰu⁴];

pù [bu²] QYS buo: CDC *bu²
TS [pu⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [bu⁴];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [bu¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [pʰu⁴]; NC [pʰu⁴]; FX [pʰu⁴]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [pʰu⁴]; AF1 [pʰu⁴]; AF2 [pʰu⁴]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [pʰu⁴];
JA1 [pʰu⁴]; JA2 [pʰu⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [pʰu⁴]; NnC1 [pʰu⁴]; NnC2 [—]; LC [pʰu⁴] CG *pʰu⁴

Q

qì [ts̈i⁵] QYS tshjiet: CDC *ts̈i⁵
TS [ts̈i⁵]; WN1 [teʰi⁵]; WN2 [teʰi⁵]; WN3 [teʰi⁵];
TC [dzi⁵]; XZ [dzi⁵]; YX [dzi⁵]; DC1 [dzi⁵]; DC2 [dzi⁵];
AY [teʰi⁵]; NC [teʰi⁵]; FX [teʰi⁵]; GA [ts̈i⁵];
CL [teʰi⁵]; PX [ts̈i⁵]; AF1 [teʰi⁵]; AF2 [teʰi⁵]; LH1 [teʰi⁵]; LH2 [teʰi⁵];
Appendix: Data

JA1 [tʰi̋], JA2 [tʰi̋];
SC [tʰi̋]; LnC [tʰi̋]; NnC1 [tʰi̋]; NnC2 [tʰi̋]; LC [tʰi̋] CG *tsʰi̋

qǐ 妻 QYS tshiei CDC *tshiai¹
TS [tsʰi̋]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰi̋]; WN3 [tʰi̋];
TC [dzï]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzï]; DC2 [dzï];
AY [tʰi̋]; NC [tʰi̋]; FX [tʰi̋]; GA [ — ];
CL [tʰi̋]; PX [tsʰi̋]; AF1 [tʰi̋]; AF2 [tʰi̋]; LH1 [tʰi̋]; LH2 [tʰi̋]; JA1 [tʰi̋]; JA2 [tʰi̋];
SC [tʰi̋]; LnC [tʰi̋]; NnC1 [tʰi̋]; NnC2 [tʰi̋]; LC [tʰi̋] CG *tsʰi̋

qǐ 欺 QYS khjì CDC *khï¹
TS [tʰi̋]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰi̋]; WN3 [tʰi̋];
TC [dzï]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzï]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʰi̋]; NC [tʰi̋]; FX [tʰi̋]; GA [ — ];
CL [—]; PX [tʰi̋]; AF1 [tʰi̋]; AF2 [tʰi̋]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰi̋]; JA1 [tʰi̋]; JA2 [tʰi̋];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi̋]; NnC1 [tʰi̋]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kʰi̋] CG *kʰi̋

qǐ 其 QYS gjì  CDC *gi²
TS [tʰi̋]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ — ]; WN3 [dzï];
TC [dzï]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzï]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʰi̋]; NC [tʰi̋]; FX [tʰi̋]; GA [ — ];
CL [—]; PX [tʰi̋]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi̋]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰi̋]; JA1 [tʰi̋]; JA2 [tʰi̋];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi̋]; NnC1 [tʰi̋]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kʰi̋] CG *gi²

qǐ 奇 QYS gje³  CDC *gi²
TS [tʰi̋]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzï];
TC [dzï]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzï]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʰi̋]; NC [tʰi̋]; FX [tʰi̋]; GA [ — ];
CL [—]; PX [tʰi̋]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi̋]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰi̋]; JA1 [tʰi̋]; JA2 [tʰi̋];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi̋]; NnC1 [tʰi̋]; NnC2 [—]; LC [kʰi̋] CG *gi²

qǐ 齊 QYS dziei CDC *dziai²
TS [tsʰei]; WN1 [tei]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzï];
TC [dzï]; XZ [dzï]; YX [dzï]; DC1 [dzï]; DC2 [dzï];
AY [tei]; NC [tei]; FX [tei]; GA [tsʰi];
CL [tei]; PX [tsʰi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tsʰi];

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JA2 [te'i阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'i阴平]; NnC1 [te'i阳平]; NnC2 [te'i阳平]; LC [ti阴平] CG *dzi

The GA tone is irregular. A reviewer reports for another GA variety the reading [ts'e]阳平. This form presumably derives from CG *ts'e2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form presumably derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

The initials of the JA1 forms and that of the TS form are irregular. FYZH identifies the TS form possibly derives from CG *ts'ei2, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.
Appendix: Data

This set comprises four entirely different etyma for the word “lead (metal)”. The fourth one is clearly a northern loanword from some recent koine. The first two are probably competing popular forms, while the third may be borrowed from a medieval koine. The TC bái form appears to be related to Common Gàn *nyon in some way but cannot be regularly derived from it.

qián 錢 QYS dzjän CDC *dzian²
TS [ts'ien²]; WN1 [te'ien²]; WN2 [te'ien²]; WN3 [dzien²];
TC [dzien²]; XZ [te'ien²]; YX [dzien²]; DC1 [dzien²]; DC2 [dzien²];
AY [te'ien²]; NC [te'ien²]; FX [te'ien²]; GA [te'ien²];
CL [te'ien²]; PX [ts'ien²]; AF1 [te'ien²]; AF2 [te'ien²]; LH1 [te'ien²]; LH2 [te'ien²]; JA1 [te'ien²]; JA2 [te'ien²];
SC [ts'ien²]; LnC [te'ien²]; NnC1 [te'ian]; NnC2 [te'ian]; LC [te'ian] CG *ts'ien² ~ *ts'ien²

qián 鋼 QYS jiwän CDC *ts'ian¹ ~ *ion² (~ *khan¹)
TS [ts'ian²]; WN1 [te'ien²]; WN2 [te'ien²]; WN3 [te'ien²];
TC [dzien² ~ nen²]; XZ [dzien²]; YX [nien²]; DC1 [nien²]; DC2 [dzien²];
AY [te'ien² ~ k'an²]; NC [nien² ~ k'an²]; FX [nien²]; GA [te'ien²];
CL [te'ien²]; PX [u'en²]; AF1 [te'ien²]; AF2 [yen²]; LH1 [yon²]; LH2 [te'ien²]; JA1 [yan²]; JA2 [yan²];
SC [te'ien²]; LnC [yen²]; NnC1 [yon²]; NnC2 [te'ian]; LC [yen²] CG *nyon² ~ *k'an² ~ *yon² ~ *ts'ien²

qián 鉛 QYS tshiei- CDC *tshiai
TS [ts'ei¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [te'ien²];
TC [ts'ei¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [te'ien²]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'ei¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'ie²]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [ts'ei¹]; JA2 [te'ie²];
SC [—]; LnC [ts'ei¹]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *ts'ei¹ ~ *ts'ei¹ ~
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 qián 前  QYS  dzien  CDC *dzian²
 TS [tsi¹]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [teʰien¹]; WN3 [dzien¹];
 TC [dzien²]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [dzien²]; DC2 [dzien³];
 AY [teʰien¹]; NC [teʰien¹]; FX [teʰien¹]; GA [ ];
 CL [teʰi]; PX [tsʰien¹]; AF1 [teʰien¹]; AF2 [teʰien¹]; LH1 [teʰi]*; LH2 [teʰi];
 JA1 [teʰien¹]; JA2 [teʰian²];
 SC [teʰien¹]; LnC [teʰien¹]; NnC1 [teʰian]; NnC2 [teʰian³]; LC [tʰi¹] CG *dzien²
 *JXFY.

 qián 欠  QYS  khjpm-  CDC *khiam⁵
 TS [teʰi³]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [teʰi³]; WN3 [teʰi⁵];
 TC [dzien²]; XZ [dzien²]; YX [dz⁵]; DC1 [dzien³]; DC2 [dzien³];
 AY [teʰi³]; NC [teʰi³]; FX [teʰi³]; GA [ ];
 CL [teʰi³]; PX [teʰi³]; AF1 [teʰi³]; AF2 [teʰi³]; LH1 [teʰi³]; LH2 [teʰi³];
 JA1 [teʰi³]; JA2 [teʰian²];
 SC [teʰi³]; LnC [teʰi³]; NnC1 [teʰian³]; NnC2 [teʰian³]; LC [kʰiam¹] CG *kʰiɛm

 qiáng 强  QYS  giang  CDC *giong²
 TS [teʰion]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [teʰion]; WN3 [dzion];
 TC [dzion²]; XZ [dzion²]; YX [dz⁵]; DC1 [dzion³]; DC2 [ion²];
 AY [teʰion]; NC [teʰion]; FX [teʰion]; GA [ion²];
 CL [teʰi³]; PX [teʰi³]; AF1 [teʰi³]; AF2 [teʰi³]; LH1 [teʰi³]; LH2 [teʰion³];
 JA1 [teʰi³]; JA2 [teʰi³];
 SC [teʰi³]; LnC [teʰion²]; NnC1 [tʰion⁺]; NnC2 [tʰion⁺]; LC [kʰion⁷] CG *giong²
 The YX tone is irregular. It may be a misprint in the source.

 qiáo 巧  QYS  khau:  CDC *khau³
 TS [teʰi¹]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [teʰiau¹];
 TC [dziau⁺]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [dzieu³]; DC2 [ ];
 AY [kʰau¹]; NC [teʰiu¹]; FX [ ]; GA [ ];
 CL [ ]; PX [kʰau¹]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [kʰau¹]; LH1 [ ]; LH2 [kʰiau¹]; JA1 [kʰiau³];
 SC [ ]; LnC [kʰau¹]; NnC1 [kʰau¹]; NnC2 [ ]; LC [kʰau¹] CG *kʰau³

 qió 行  QYS  gia  CDC *gio²
 TS [te³]; WN1 [te³]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [dzia³];
 TC [te³ue³]; XZ [guia³]; YX [dzia³]; DC1 [dzia³]; DC2 [dzia³];
 AY [te³]; NC [te³]; FX [te³]; GA [ts³io³];
It is possible that a Common Gân form *gia should be reconstructed for the northern area. The matter is very uncertain due to the rareness of this syllable type. The JA1 tone is unexpected.

qíê 且 QYS tshja  CDC *tshía
TS [tsʰiː]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [teʰia];
TC [-]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [dzia]; DC2 [-];
AY [teʰia]; NC [teʰia]; FX [teʰia]; GA [-];
CL [-]; PX [tsʰiː]; AF1 [-]; AF2 [teʰia];
LC [tsʰiː]; ANC [-]; NHC [tsʰiː];
SA [-]; LN [-]; NF [-]; NH [-];
NC [teʰia]; NC [-]; NC [-];
AJ [-]; AJ [-];
FN [-]; FN [-];

qín 親 QYS tshjam  CDC *tshim
TS [tsʰin]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [teʰin]; WN3 [teʰin];
TC [dzin]; XZ [dzin]; YX [dzin]; DC1 [dzin]; DC2 [dzin];
AY [teʰin]; NC [teʰin]; FX [teʰiam]; GA [tsʰin];
CL [tsʰin]; PX [tsʰin]; AF1 [tsʰin]; AF2 [tsʰin];
LC [tsʰin]; ANC [-]; NHC [tsʰin];
SA [-]; LN [-]; NF [-]; NH [-];
NC [teʰin]; NC [-]; NC [-];
AJ [tsʰin]; AJ [-];
FN [-]; FN [-];

qín 欽 QYS khjam  CDC *khim
TS [teʰin]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [teʰin]; WN3 [teʰin];
TC [dzin]; XZ [-]; YX [-]; DC1 [dzin]; DC2 [-];
AY [teʰim]; NC [teʰim]; FX [teʰiam]; GA [-];
CL [-]; PX [tsʰin]; AF1 [teʰin]; AF2 [teʰin];
LC [teʰin]; ANC [-]; NHC [teʰin];
SA [-]; LN [-]; NF [-]; NH [-];
NC [teʰin]; NC [-]; NC [-];
AJ [tsʰin]; AJ [-];
FN [-]; FN [-];
The origin of the NC bái form is uncertain. The second or wén reconstruction is probably represented by the NC wén reading and the CL, LH1 and 2 and NnC1 forms. It may be a loan from some northern koine. The initial of the GA form suggests that it is derived at some stage from an earlier *k'yn'. See Chapter II, §2.5.2.
Appendix: Data

TC [dzìn] ~ dzìn]; XZ [dzìn]; YX [dzìn]; DC1 [dzìn ~ dzìn]; DC2 [dzìn ~ dzìn];
AY [te'ın] ~ te'ían]; NC [te'ın ~ te'ían]; FX [te'ían] ~ te'ían]; GA [tsʰián];
CL [te'ì] ~ te'ía]; PX [te'ìá]; AF1 [te'ìán]; AF2 [te'ìán]; LH1 [te'ìá];
LH2 [te'ìá]; JA1 [tsʰiá]; JA2 [te'ìn];
SC [te'ìá]; LnC [ts'in ~ te'ían]; NnC1 [te'ía]; NnC2 [te'ın ~ te'ían];
LC [t'ía] CG *dzìán ~ dzìn

qíng 請 QYS tshjäng: CDC *tshiang³
TS [ts'ın] ~ ts'iä]; WN1 [~]; WN2 [te'שיח]; WN3 [te'יח];
TC [dzìn ~ dzìn]; XZ [dzìn]; YX [dzìn]; DC1 [dzìn ~ dzìn]; DC2 [dzìn ~ dzìn];
AY [te'ın ~ te'ían]; NC [te'ın ~ te'ían]; FX [te'ían ~ te'ían]; GA [tsʰián];
CL [te'ì ~ te'ía]; PX [ts'ın ~ ts'iä]; AF1 [te'ìán]; AF2 [te'ìán]; LH1 [te'ìá ~];
LH2 [te'ìá]; JA1 [ts'hì ~]; JA2 [te'ìn];
SC [te'ìá]; LnC [ts'in ~ te'ían]; NnC1 [te'ía]; NnC2 [te'ìn ~ te'ían];
LC [t'ía] CG *ts'ian ~ *ts'ın
*The tone of the JA1 form is anomalous.

qióng 穷 QYS giung CDC *giung²
TS [te'ıu]; WN1 [te'ıu]; WN2 [dzıu]; WN3 [dzıu];
TC [dzıou]; XZ [dzıu]; YX [dzıu]; DC1 [dziu]; DC2 [iu];
AY [te'ıu]; NC [te'ıu]; FX [te'ıu]; GA [iu];
CL [te'ıu]; PX [ts'ıu]; AF1 [te'ıu]; AF2 [te'ıu]; LH1 [te'ıu]; LH2 [te'ıu];
JA1 [te'ıu]; JA2 [te'ıu];
SC [te'ıu]; LnC [te'ıu]; NnC1 [te'ıu]; NnC2 [te'ıu];
LC [k'ıu] CG *giu

qiú 求 QYS giou CDC *giou²
TS [te'ıu]; WN1 [te'ıou]; WN2 [te'ıu]; WN3 [dziu];
TC [dzıou]; XZ [dziu]; YX [dziu]; DC1 [dziou]; DC2 [~];
AY [te'ıu]; NC [te'ıu]; FX [te'ıu]; GA [ıu];
CL [~]; PX [te'ıu]; AF1 [te'ıu]; AF2 [te'ıu]; LH1 [te'ıu]; LH2 [te'ıu];
JA1 [te'ıu]; JA2 [te'ıu];
SC [te'ıu]; LnC [te'ıu]; NnC1 [te'ıu]; NnC2 [~];
LC [k'ıou] CG *giu

qiú 球 QYS giou CDC *giou²
TS [te'ıu]; WN1 [~]; WN2 [~]; WN3 [dziu];
TC [dzıou]; XZ [~]; YX [~]; DC1 [dziou]; DC2 [iu];
AY [te'ıu]; NC [te'ıu]; FX [te'ıu]; GA [~];
The TS bái form is the regular reflex of CG *ts'y. 

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CL [teʻi]; PX [teʻi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teʻi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [teʻi]; JA1 [teʻi]; JA2 [teʻi];
SC [—]; LnC [teʻi]; NnC1 [teʻi]; NnC2 [teʻi]; LC [k′iu] CG *giu

qū 趨 QYS tshju CDC *tshiu
TS [tsʻæi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teʻy];
TC [dzi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [—];
AY [teʻi]; NC [teʻi]; FX [teʻi]; GA [—];
CL [tsʻæi]; PX [tsʻæi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teʻi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [teʻi]; JA1 [teʻi];
JA2 [teʻi];
SC [—]; LnC [tsʻæi]; NnC1 [teʻi]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tʻy] CG *ts'y

qū 屈 QYS kjiuat CDC *khiut
TS [teʻy]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teʻy];
TC [uəʔ]; XZ [gui]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [—];
AY [teʻi]; NC [teʻi]; FX [teʻi]; GA [teʻi];
CL [teʻy]; PX [tsʻæi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teʻi]; LH1 [teʻy]; LH2 [teʻi]; JA1 [teʻi];
JA2 [teʻy];
SC [—]; LnC [teʻy]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [teʻy]; LC [k′u] CG *k′y

qū 曲 QYS kjiwok CDC *khiu
TS [teʻi]; WN1 [tehjou]; WN2 [teʻi]; WN3 [teʻi];
TC [dzi]; XZ [dzi]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [—];
AY [teʻi]; NC [teʻi]; FX [teʻi]; GA [teʻi];
CL [teʻy]; PX [tsʻæi]; AF1 [teʻi]; AF2 [teʻi]; LH1 [teʻi]; LH2 [teʻi]; JA1 [teʻi];
JA2 [teʻy];
SC [teʻi]; LnC [teʻi]; NnC1 [teʻi]; NnC2 [teʻi]; LC [k′u] CG *k′i

qū 取 QYS tshju: CDC *tshiu
TS [teʻy]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teʻy]; WN3 [teʻy];
TC [dzi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [—];
AY [teʻi]; NC [teʻi]; FX [teʻi]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsʻæi]; AF1 [teʻi]; AF2 [teʻi]; LH1 [teʻi]; LH2 [teʻi]; JA1 [teʻi];
JA2 [teʻy];
SC [teʻy]; LnC [tsʻæi]; NnC1 [teʻy]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tʻy] CG *ts'y

*JXY.

The TS bái form is the regular reflex of CG *ts'y.
Appendix: Data

qu 娶 QYS tshju-, (tshju:) CDC *tshiu³ ~ *tshiu⁵
TS [tse³]; WN1 [teh³]; WN2 [te³]; WN3 [te³];
TC [dzi²]; XZ [dzi²]; YX [dzhi²]; DC1 [dzi²]; DC2 [dzi²];
AY [te³]; NC [te³]; FX [te³]; GA [tsì¹];
CL [te³]; PX [tsi¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te³]; LH1 [te³]; LH2 [te³]; JA1 [tsy²];
JA2 [te³];
SC [—]; LnC [tsi¹ ～ ts'ie²]; NnC1 [te³]; NnC2 [te³]; LC [t'y³] CG *tsy³
The final of the LH1 form is irregular. The word is perhaps a loan from some other Gàn dialect, or even from the modern standard koine.

qu 去 QYS khjwo- CDC *khie⁵ (~ *kiu)
TS [te³ ～ te³]; WN1 [tehie³ ～ te³]; WN2 [te³]; WN3 [te³];
TC [ui³ ～ dzie³]; XZ [dzie³]; YX [dzie³]; DC1 [dzi³ ～ dzie³]; DC2 [i³];
AY [te³]; NC [te³]; FX [te³ ～ te³]; GA [he³ ～ eie³];
CL [te³ ～ te³]; PX [te³]; AF1 [te³]; AF2 [te³]; LH1 [te³ ～ k'e³];
LH2 [k'e³]; JA1 [k'e³];
SC [—]; LnC [tsi¹ ～ ts'ie² ～ k'e³]; NnC1 [k'e³]; NnC2 [k'e³];
LC [te³ ～ te³ ～ k'e³] CG *k'e³ ～ *k'e³ ～ k'y³
*The source gives no corresponding wén form.
LnC and LC preserve reflexes of all three Common Gàn forms.

qu 趣 QYS tshju- CDC *tshiu⁵
TS [ts'ie²]; WN1 [teh³]; WN2 [te³]; WN3 [te³];
TC [dzi²]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [te³]; NC [te³]; FX [te³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsi¹]; AF1 [te³]; AF2 [te³]; LH1 [te³]; LH2 [te³]; JA1 [tsy²];
JA2 [te³];
SC [te³]; LnC [tsi¹]; NnC1 [te³];
NnC2 [—]; LC [t'y³] CG *tsy³ *JXFY.

quán 全 QYS dzjwän CDC *dzion²
TS [tsi¹]; WN1 [tejwɔn¹]; WN2 [teyɔn¹]; WN3 [dzyen¹];
TC [dzi¹]; XZ [dzi¹]; YX [dzien¹]; DC1 [dzi¹]; DC2 [dzi¹];
AY [tei¹]; NC [teyɔn¹]; FX [tei¹]; GA [tsi¹];
CL [teyɛ̃¹]; PX [tsi¹]; AF1 [tsi¹]; AF2 [teyɛn¹]; LH1 [tei¹]; LH2 [tsi¹];
JA1 [teyɛn¹]; JA2 [teyɔn¹];
SC [teyɔn¹]; LnC [teyɛn¹]; NnC1 [teyɔn¹]; NnC2 [teyɔn¹];
LC [t'ien¹] CG *dzion¹
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quán 靄 QYS dzjwān CDC *dzion²
TS [tsin^{2 \text{阳平}}]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dziyen^{3 \text{阴平}}];
TC [dzien^{2 \text{阳平}}]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzien^{2 \text{阴平}}]; DC2 [—];
AY [te'ien¹]; NC [te'yon¹]; FX [te'ien¹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsi'psilon²]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'yon¹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsi'epsilon²]; JA1 [te'yan^{5 \text{阴平}}]; JA2 [te'yon¹];
SC [—]; LnC [te'yen^{1 \text{阴平}}]; NnC1 [te'yon¹]; NnC2 [—]; LA [t'ien¹] CG *dzion³

quán 犬 QYS khiwen: CDC *khion³
TS [te'yε^{2 \text{阴平}}]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [te'yen^{1 \text{阴平}}];
TC [dzien^{2 \text{阳平}}]; XZ [guien^{2 \text{阴平}}]; YX [g^{2 \text{阳平}}]; DC1 [dzien^{2 \text{阴平}}]; DC2 [—];
AY [k'uen¹]; NC [te'yon¹]; FX [te'ien¹]; GA [te'ion¹];
CL [te'yε^{2 \text{阴平}}]; PX [tsi'epsilon²]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'yen^{1 \text{阴平}}]; LH1 [te'yan^{5 \text{阴平}}]; LH2 [te'yon¹]; JA1 [te'yan^{5 \text{阴平}}]; JA2 [te'yon¹];
SC [—]; LnC [te'yen^{1 \text{阴平}}]; NnC1 [k'uan^{1 \text{阴平}}]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k'uan^{1 \text{阴平}}] CG *k'yon³

qué 闇 QYS guā CDC *giuo²
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [te'yen^{1 \text{阴平}}];
TC [dzien^{2 \text{阳平}}]; XZ [guien^{2 \text{阴平}}]; YX [—]; DC1 [dziə^{2 \text{阳平}}]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [—]; FX [kue^{2 \text{阴平}}]; GA [te'iio^{2 \text{阳平}}];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te'iio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; LH1 [te'yo^{2 \text{阳平}}]; LH2 [te'iio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; JA1 [te'iio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; JA2 [te'iyo^{2 \text{阳平}}];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [t'o^{2 \text{阴平}}]; NnC2 [—]; LC [k'io^{2 \text{阴平}}] CG *gyo^{2 \text{阳平}} (~ *ku^{2 \text{阴平}})

què 雀 QYS tsjak CDC *tsiok⁷
TS [tsio^{2 \text{阴平}}]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [te'iok^{2 \text{阴平}}];
TC [dziə^{2 \text{阳平}}]; XZ [dziə^{2 \text{阳平}}]; YX [te'iio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; DC1 [dziok^{2 \text{阴平}}]; DC2 [dziok^{2 \text{阴平}}];
AY [te'iio^{2 \text{阴平}}]; NC [te'iok^{2 \text{阴平}}]; FX [teiok^{2 \text{阴平}}]; GA [tsiok^{2 \text{阴平}}];
CL [teio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; PX [tsiok^{2 \text{阴平}}]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teiio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; LH1 [tsio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; LH2 [teiio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; JA1 [teiio^{2 \text{阳平}}]; JA2 [te'iyo^{2 \text{阳平}}];
SC [—]; LnC [te'iio^{2 \text{阴平}}]; NnC1 [te'iio^{2 \text{阴平}}]; NnC2 [teiio^{2 \text{阴平}}]; LC [t'io^{2 \text{阴平}}] CG *tsiok^{2 \text{阴平}} (~ *tsiok^{2 \text{阴平}})
In this complex and heavily layered set, the second and third reconstructions represent earlier and later Guānhú period borrowings. The NnC2 bài reading conceivably derives from a very archaic form *nan. The matter remains uncertain. The CL and JA2 forms probably represent a very late northern borrowing in *ian from the modern standard koine.
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răn 燃 QYS ńżjăn  CDC *nhian²
TS [zẽ³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ię̀];
TC [yćen⁻]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [len⁺]; DC2 [—];
AY [ię́]; NC [len⁺]; FX [len⁺]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ię́ ~ ńię́]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [len⁺]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [nen⁺]; JA1 [ień⁺]; JA2 [ián⁺];
SC [—]; LnC [len⁺]; NnC1 [ian⁺]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ień⁺] CG *nię́ ~ *ńien ~ *ńen ~ *iän ~ *iän
The LH2 tone is irregular.

răn 染 QYS ńżjäm:  CDC *nhiam⁴
TS [zẽ⁺]; WN1 [ńjen⁺]; WN2 [ńjen⁺]; WN3 [ńjen⁺];
TC [ńien⁺]; XZ [ian⁺]; YX [ńien⁺]; DC1 [len⁺]; DC2 [len⁺];
AY [ńjem⁺]; NC [len⁺ ~ ńien ~ ńen]; FX [ńen⁺ ~ ńiem⁺]; GA [len⁺];
CL [là⁺]; PX [ię́ ~ ię́]; AF1 [ię́⁺ ~ ńę́]; AF2 [len⁺]; LH1 [ńę́⁺ ~ ńen⁺]; LH2 [ńen⁺]; JA1 [ień⁺]; JA2 [ián⁺];
SC [ńen⁺ ~ ńen⁺]; LnC [łam ~ ńiem⁺]; NnC1 [ńian⁺]; NnC2 [ńian⁺]; LC [ńiam⁺] CG *nię́ ~ *ńem～
The XZ and JA2 forms may be a very late northern loans having the form ıän⁺.

ràng 讓 QYS ńžjiang-  CDC *nhiong⁶
TS [zıŋ~]; WN1 [ńıŋ~]; WN2 [ńıŋ~]; WN3 [ńıŋ~];
TC [ńıŋ~ ~ ńıŋ~]; XZ [ńıŋ~]; YX [ńıŋ~]; DC1 [ńıŋ~ ~ ńıŋ~]; DC2 [ńıŋ~];
AY [ńıŋ~]; NC [ńıŋ~ ~ ńıŋ~]; FX [ńıŋ~]; GA [ńıŋ~];
CL [ńıŋ~]; PX [ńıŋ~]; AF1 [ńıŋ~]; AF2 [ńıŋ~]; LH1 [ńıŋ~]; LH2 [ńıŋ~]; JA1 [ńıŋ~]; JA2 [ńıŋ~];
SC [ńıŋ~ ~ ńıŋ~]; LnC [ńıŋ~ ~ ńıŋ~]; NnC1 [ńıŋ~]; NnC2 [ńıŋ~]; LC [ńıŋ~] CG *ńıŋ~ ~ *ńıŋ~ ~ *ńıŋ~
Both wén readings can also be reconstructed with yínqū variant readings. NC also has this tone for its bái reading.

rào 饒 QYS ńźjau  CDC *nhiau²/EC *new
TS [zau⁺]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńiau⁺];
TC [ńau⁺ ~ ńıau⁺]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ńiau⁺];
AY [ńiau⁺]; NC [ńiau⁺ ~ ńıau⁺]; FX [ńau⁺]; GA [—];
CL [ńıu⁺]; PX [ńiau⁺]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ńiau⁺]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ńiau⁺]; JA1 [ńau⁺]; JA2 [ńau⁺];
SC [—]; LnC [ńiau⁺]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [ńiau⁺]; LC [ńiau⁺] CG *ńiau ~ *ńiau ~ *ńiau
The WN2 form may derive from an earlier form *nim*. The second reconstructed form has unetymological modern readings in shàngshēng and in final -m at some points. The LH2 form irregularly has an upper register tone. The word, meaning “blade of a weapon or tool”, is learned and bookish, and perhaps consequently particularly susceptible to such anomalies.
The coda of *n in the first GA form appears to be a misprint for *n in the source.
The first AY form again shows the mysterious unetymological final *-m.
The coda of [it] in the first GA form appears to be a misprint for [il] in the source.
Appendix: Data

CL [—]; PX [iu]; AF1 [lœ̣]; AF2 [lœ̣]; LH1 [iu]; LH2 [lo]; JA1 [lœ̣]; JA2 [lœ̣];
SC [lœ̣]; LnC [lœ̣]; NnC1 [lœ̣]; NnC2 [—]; LC [lœ̣] CG *iu ⏐* u阳平

ròu 肉 QYS ńʒjuk CDC *nhiu⁸
TS [zaʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋiu]; WN3 [ŋiuk];
TC [ŋiu]; XZ [ŋiu]; YX [ŋiu]; DC1 [lʊk]; DC2 [ŋiuk];
AY [ŋiu]; NC [ŋiuk]; FX [ŋiuk]; GA [ŋiuk];
CL [ŋiu]; PX [ŋiu]; AF1 [ŋio]; AF2 [nio]; LH1 [io]; LH2 [io]; JA1 [nio]; JA2 [ŋio];
SC [ŋio]; LnC [ŋiu]; NnC1 [ŋiu]; NnC2 [ŋiu]; LC [ŋiu] CG *niuk ⏐* niuk

rǔ 如 QYS ńʒjwo, (ńʒjwo-) CDC *nhie² (⏊*nhiu²)
TS [y]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [lu]; WN3 [lu];
TC [y]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [lu]; DC2 [—];
AY [ŋo]; NC [ŋo]; FX [ŋo]; GA [ŋo];
CL [—]; PX [ŋu]; AF1 [ŋu]; AF2 [ŋu]; LH1 [ŋu]; LH2 [ŋu]; JA1 [ly]; JA2 [—];
SC [ŋu]; LnC [ŋo]; NnC1 [ŋo]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ŋo] CG *ly ⏐* ly

rǔ 汝 QYS ńʒjwo: CDC *nhie⁴ “you” See sub nǐ 你.

rǔ 乳 QYS ńʒjwok CDC *niu⁸
TS [zaʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [iu]; WN3 [iu];
TC [iu]; XZ [iu]; YX [iu]; DC1 [lu]; DC2 [—];
AY [iu]; NC [iu]; FX [iu]; GA [iu];
CL [—]; PX [iu]; AF1 [iu]; AF2 [iu]; LH1 [iu]; LH2 [iu]; JA1 [iu]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [iu]; NnC1 [iu]; NnC2 [—]; LC [iu] CG *iuk ⏐* iuk
*Sandhi tone 45.

The GA form is an entirely different etymon from that represented by the other forms in this set and corresponds to modern standard nǎi 奶.

rǔ 膏 QYS ńʒjwok CDC *niu⁸
TS [zaʊ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [iu]; WN3 [iu];
TC [iu]; XZ [iu]; YX [iu]; DC1 [lu]; DC2 [—];
AY [iu]; NC [iu]; FX [iu]; GA [iu];
CL [—]; PX [iu]; AF1 [lo]; AF2 [lo]; LH1 [yo]; LH2 [io]*; JA1 [lo]; JA2 [lo];
SC [lo]; LnC [lu]; NnC1 [iu]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *iūk ⏐* iūk
*Sandhi tone 45.
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ruì 銳 QYS ńžjwok  CDC *nhiuk⁸
TS [zau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [luk];
TC [iou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [luk];
AY [lu]; NC [luk]; FX [lu]; GA [—];
CL [iio]; PX [iue]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [io]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [io*]; JA1 [lo]; JA2 [le];
SC [—]; LnC [lue]; NnC1 [iu]; NnC2 [lu]; LC [iu]  CG *tiuk ~ *uku
*Sandhi tone 45.

ruì 銳 QYS ńžjap  CDC *nhip⁸
TS [zj]; WN1 [iip]; WN2 [lu]; WN3 [luk ~ i];
TC [yi]; XZ [le]; YX [le]; DC1 [le]; DC2 [le];
AY [lat]; NC [lat]; FX [lap]; GA [lo];
CL [zi]; PX [l]; AF1 [le]; AF2 [le]; LH1 [le]; LH2 [le]; JA1 [le]; JA2 [le];
SC [lu]; LnC [lip]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [oy?]; LC [ip]  CG *tip ~ *uku
The wén layer reconstruction has an unetymological coda. It must be of very late loan provenance. Both readings show by their initial that they are not inherited from earlier stages of Common Gân. Cf. §2.7 of Chapter II. Thus, this word for “enter” is clearly not of primary origin in Gân.

ruăn 軟 QYS ńżjwän:  CDC *nhion⁴
TS [nyə]; WN1 [nju]; WN2 [nyon]; WN3 [nyen];
TC [nien]; XZ [nien]; YX [nien]; DC1 [nien]; DC2 [nien];
AY [nen]; NC [nyn]; FX [nien]; GA [ion];
CL [nwa]; PX [nuy]; AF1 [nyen]; AF2 [nyen]; LH1 [ye]; LH2 [yon*]; JA1 [nyan]; JA2 [yOn];
SC [nyon]; LnC [nyn]; NnC1 [uan]; NnC2 [van]; LC [uan]  CG *nyon ~ *nuy
*Sandhi tone 45.

ruí 銳 QYS jiwái-  CDC *yui⁶
TS [ya]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [y]; XZ [d]; YX [li]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [li]; NC [li]; FX [li]; GA [li];
CL [li]; PX [li]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [li]; LH1 [ey]; LH2 [loi]; JA1 [ly]; JA2 [li];
SC [—]; LnC [li]; NnC1 [t'y]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ly]  CG *yi ~ *yi ~ *li
The TS and LH2 forms have upper register tones, a typical marker of literary provenance. The word itself is basically learned in all dialects.
Appendix: Data

ruò 弱 QYS ńžjak  CDC *nhiok
TS [zo`; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńžjak];
TC [ńjo̞`; XZ [lo`; YX [lo`; DC1 [lo`; DC2 [lo`; 
AY [lo`; NC [lo`; CL [lo`; PX [ńio]; FX [ńio]; GA [ńio];
CL [lo`; PX [ńio]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [lo`; LH1 [ny`; LH2 [io`; JA1 [ńio];
JA2 [lo`; SC [—]; LnC [ńio]; NnC1 [lo`; NnC2 [nio]; LC [ńio]; CG *
ńio

ruò 若 QYS ńžjak  CDC *nhiok
TS [zo`; WN1 [jo`; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńlo`; 
TC [ńjo`; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ńlo`; DC2 [—]; 
AY [ńlo`; NC [ńlo`; CL [ńlo`; PX [ńlo`; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ńlo`; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ńlo`; JA1 [ńlo`; JA2

sà 薩 QYS ńăt  CDC *sat
TS [ńia`; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ńia`; 
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ńia`; DC2 [—]; 
AY [ńia`; NC [ńia`; CL [ńia`; PX [ńia`; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ńia`; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ńia`; JA1 [ńia`; JA2

sń 三 QYS ńän  CDC *sam
TS [ńän`; WN1 [ńän”; WN2 [ńän”; WN3 [ńän”; 
TC [ńän”; XZ [ńän”; YX [ńän”; DC1 [ńän”; DC2 [—]; 
AY [ńän”; NC [ńän”; CL [ńän”; PX [ńän”; AF1 [ńän”; AF2 [ńän”; LH1 [ńän”; LH2 [ńän”; JA1 [ńän”; JA2

sńăng 喪 QYS ńăng  CDC *song
TS [ńăng`; WN1 [ńăng”; WN2 [ńăng”; WN3 [ńăng”; 
TC [ńăng”; XZ [—]; YX [ńăng”; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—]; 
AY [ńăng”; NC [ńăng”; FX [ńăng”; GA [—];
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*JXFY.*
AY [sɛŋ]; NC [sɛŋ]; FX [sɛŋ]; GA [——]; CL [——]; PX [sɛn]; AF1 [sɛŋ]; AF2 [sɛn]; LH1 [sɛn]∗; LH2 [sɛn]; JA1 [tsɛŋ]; JA2 [sɛn]; SC [sɛn]; LnC [sɛn]; NnC1 [sɛn]; NnC2 [——]; LC [tsem] CG *sɛŋ ∼ *tsɛŋ *JXFY.

shā 沙 QYS ša CDC *sha₁
TS [sa]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [sa]; WN3 [sa]; TC [sa]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [sa]; DC2 [sa]; AY [sa]; NC [sa]; FX [sa]; GA [——]; CL [sa]; PX [sa]; AF1 [sa]; AF2 [sa]; LH1 [sa]; LH2 [sa]; JA1 [sa]; JA2 [sa]; SC [sa]; LnC [sa]; NnC1 [sa]; NnC2 [sa]; LC [sa] CG *sa *JXFY.

shā 殺 QYS šǎt CDC *shat²
TS [sa]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [sa]; WN3 [sa]; TC [sa]; XZ [——]; YX [sa]; DC1 [sa]; DC2 [sa]; AY [sa]; NC [sa]; FX [sa]; GA [——]; CL [sa]; PX [sa]; AF1 [sa]; AF2 [sa]; LH1 [sa]; LH2 [sa]; JA1 [sa]; JA2 [sa]; SC [sa]; LnC [sa]; NnC1 [sa]; NnC2 [sa]; LC [sa] CG *sa *JXFY.

shā 傻 QYS ʂwa: CDC *shua³ (?)
TS [sa]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [sa]; WN3 [sa]; TC [sa]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [sa]; DC2 [——]; AY [sa]; NC [sa]; FX [sa]; GA [——]; CL [——]; PX [——]; AF1 [sa]; AF2 [sa]; LH1 [sa]; LH2 [sa]; JA1 [sa]; JA2 [sa]; SC [sa]; LnC [sa]; NnC1 [sa]; NnC2 [——]; LC [——] CG *sa *JXFY.

shāi 篩 QYS şi “sieve” CDC *shai¹
TS [sa]; WN1 [——]; WN2 [sa]; WN3 [sa]; TC [sa]; XZ [——]; YX [——]; DC1 [sa]; DC2 [sa]; AY [sa]; NC [sa]; FX [sa]; GA [——]; CL [sa]; PX [sa]; AF1 [sa]; AF2 [sa]; LH1 [sa]; LH2 [sa]; JA1 [sa]; JA2 [sa]; SC [sa]; LnC [——]; NnC1 [sa]; NnC2 [sa]; LC [sa] CG *sa *JXFY.
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shài 晒 QYS ʂai- CDC *shai⁵
TS [ʂə̃j]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ʂai]; WN3 [ʂai-];
TC [ʂai-]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂai-]; DC2 [ʂai-];
AY [ʂai-]; NC [ʂai-]; FX [ʂai]; GA [—];
CL [ʂə̃]; PX [ʂai]; AF1 [ʂai]; AF2 [ʂai-]; LH1 [ʂai-]*; LH2 [ʂai-]; JA1 [ʂai-];
JA2 [ʂai-];
SC [ʂai-]; LnC [ʂai-]; NnC1 [ʂai-]; NnC2 [ʂai-]; LC [ʂai-] CG *ʂai-~*ʂai- *
*JXFY.
The tone of the LH2 form is anomalous.

shàn 山 QYS ʂan- CDC *shan¹
TS [ʂə̃n]; WN1 [ʂə̃n]; WN2 [ʂə̃n]; WN3 [ʂə̃n];
TC [ʂə̃n]; XZ [ʂə̃n]; YX [ʂə̃n]; DC1 [ʂə̃n]; DC2 [ʂə̃n];
AY [ʂə̃n]; NC [ʂə̃n]; FX [ʂə̃n]; GA [ʂə̃n];
CL [ʂə̃n]; PX [ʂə̃n]; AF1 [ʂə̃n]; AF2 [ʂə̃n]; LH1 [ʂə̃n]; LH2 [ʂə̃n]; JA1 [ʂə̃n];
JA2 [ʂə̃n];
SC [ʂə̃n]; LnC [ʂə̃n]; NnC1 [ʂə̃n]; NnC2 [ʂə̃n]; LC [ʂə̃n] CG *ʂə̃n

shǎn 衫 QYS ʂam CDC *sham¹
TS [ʂə̃m]; WN1 [ʂə̃m]; WN2 [ʂə̃m]; WN3 [ʂə̃m];
TC [ʂə̃m]; XZ [ʂə̃m]; YX [ʂə̃m]; DC1 [ʂə̃m]; DC2 [ʂə̃m];
AY [ʂə̃m]; NC [ʂə̃m]; FX [ʂə̃m]; GA [ʂə̃m];
CL [ʂə̃m]; PX [ʂə̃m]; AF1 [ʂə̃m]; AF2 [ʂə̃m]; LH1 [ʂə̃m]; LH2 [ʂə̃m]; JA1 [ʂə̃m];
JA2 [ʂə̃m];
SC [ʂə̃m]; LnC [ʂə̃m]; NnC1 [ʂə̃m]; NnC2 [ʂə̃m]; LC [ʂə̃m] CG *ʂə̃m

shǎn 山 QYS ʂjam; şjam- CDC *shiam³
TS [ʂə̃j]; WN1 [ɕɛ̃j]; WN2 [ɕɛ̃j]; WN3 [ɕɛ̃j];
TC [ɕɛ̃j]; XZ [ɕɛ̃j]; YX [ɕɛ̃j]; DC1 [ɕɛ̃j]; DC2 [ɕɛ̃j];
AY [ɕɛ̃j]; NC [ɕɛ̃j]; FX [ɕɛ̃j]; GA [ɕɛ̃j];
CL [ɕɛ̃j]; PX [ɕɛ̃j]; AF1 [ɕɛ̃j]; AF2 [ɕɛ̃j]; LH1 [ɕɛ̃j]*; LH2 [ɕɛ̃j]; JA1 [ɕɛ̃j];
JA2 [ɕɛ̃j];
SC [ɕɛ̃j]; LnC [ɕɛ̃j]; NnC1 [ɕɛ̃j]; NnC2 [ɕɛ̃j]; LC [ɕɛ̃j] CG *ɕiem
*JXFY.

shǎn 善 QYS ʂjān; ʐjān- CDC *zhian⁶
TS [ɕə̃j]; WN1 [ɕə̃j]; WN2 [ɕə̃j]; WN3 [ɕə̃j];
TC [ɕə̃j]; XZ [ɕə̃j]; YX [ɕə̃j]; DC1 [ɕə̃j]; DC2 [ɕə̃j];
AY [ɕə̃j]; NC [ɕə̃j]; FX [ɕə̃j]; GA [ɕə̃j];
CL [ɕə̃j]; PX [ɕə̃j]; AF1 [ɕə̃j]; AF2 [ɕə̃j]; LH1 [ɕə̃j]*; LH2 [ɕə̃j]; JA1 [ɕə̃j];
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JA2 [səŋ];  SC [sːŋ̣];  LncC [səŋ];  NnC1 [səŋ];  NnC2 [səŋ];  LC [ŋ̣];  CG *ʃəŋ *JXFY.

shàn 扇 QYS ŝjän-;  CDC *shian^5
TS [səŋ];  WN1 [əŋ];  WN2 [əŋ];  WN3 [əŋ];  TC [səŋ];  XZ [səŋ];  YX [səŋ];  DC1 [səŋ];  DC2 [səŋ];  AY [ʃəŋ];  NC [ʃəŋ];  FX [ʃəŋ];  GA [ʃəŋ];  CL [ʃəŋ];  PX [ʃəŋ];  AF1 [ʃəŋ];  AF2 [ʃəŋ];  LH1 [ʃəŋ];  LH2 [ʃəŋ];  JA1 [ʃəŋ];  JA2 [ʃəŋ];  SC [səŋ];  LnC [səŋ];  NnC1 [səŋ];  NnC2 [səŋ];  LC [səŋ];  CG *ʃəŋ *JXFY.

shàng 商 QYS ŝjang;  CDC *shiong^1
TS [sʊŋ];  WN1 [ʊŋ];  WN2 [ʊŋ];  WN3 [ʊŋ];  TC [sʊŋ];  XZ [ʊŋ];  YX [ʊŋ];  DC1 [ʊŋ];  DC2 [ʊŋ];  AY [ʊŋ];  NC [ʊŋ];  FX [ʊŋ];  GA [ʊŋ];  CL [ʊŋ];  PX [ʊŋ];  AF1 [ʊŋ];  AF2 [ʊŋ];  LH1 [ʊŋ];  LH2 [ʊŋ];  JA1 [ʊŋ];  JA2 [ʊŋ];  SC [ʊŋ];  LnC [ʊŋ];  NnC1 [ʊŋ];  NnC2 [ʊŋ];  LC [ʊŋ];  CG *ʊŋ *JXFY.

shàng 上 QYS ŝjang;  ŝjang-;  CDC *shiong^1 ~ *zhiong^6
TS [sʊŋ];  WN1 [ʊŋ];  WN2 [ʊŋ];  WN3 [ʊŋ];  TC [sʊŋ];  XZ [ʊŋ];  YX [ʊŋ];  DC1 [ʊŋ];  DC2 [ʊŋ “ascend” ~ ʊŋ “upon, top”];  AY [ʊŋ];  NC [ʊŋ];  FX [ʊŋ];  GA [ʊŋ];  CL [ʊŋ];  PX [ʊŋ “top” ~ ʊŋ “ascend”];  AF1 [ʊŋ];  AF2 [ʊŋ “ascend” ~ ʊŋ “upon, top”];  LH1 [ʊŋ];  LH2 [ʊŋ];  JA1 [ʊŋ “upon, top”];  JA2 [ʊŋ];  SC [ʊŋ];  LnC [ʊŋ];  NnC1 [ʊŋ];  NnC2 [ʊŋ “ascend” ~ ʊŋ “upon, top”];  LC [ʊŋ “upon, top”];  CG *ʊŋ ~ *ʊŋ

shàng 尚 QYS ŝjang;  ŝjang-;  CDC *zhiong^6
TS [sʊŋ];  WN1 [ʊŋ];  WN2 [ʊŋ];  WN3 [ʊŋ];  TC [sʊŋ];  XZ [ʊŋ];  YX [ʊŋ];  DC1 [ʊŋ];  DC2 [ʊŋ];  AY [ʊŋ];  NC [ʊŋ];  FX [ʊŋ];  GA [ʊŋ];  CL [ʊŋ];  PX [ʊŋ];  AF1 [ʊŋ];  AF2 [ʊŋ];  LH1 [ʊŋ];  LH2 [ʊŋ];  JA1 [ʊŋ “upon, top”];  JA2 [ʊŋ];  SC [ʊŋ];  LnC [ʊŋ];  NnC1 [ʊŋ];  NnC2 [ʊŋ];  LC [ʊŋ];  CG *ʊŋ

AF2 has an unetymological yinshàng reading for this syllable. It has perhaps been contaminated by association the word shàng 上. The initial of the JA1 form is irregular.
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shāo 烧 QYS ʂjäu  CDC *shiau¹
TS [ʂjuː]; WN1 [ɕjau²]; WN2 [ɕjau²]; WN3 [ɕjau²];
TC [ʂau²]; XZ [ʃuː¹]; YX [ʂuː¹]; DC1 [ʂuː¹]; DC2 [ʂaʊ²];
AY [ʂau²]; NC [ʂau²]; FX [ʂau²]; GA [ʂau²];
CL [ʂɔ¹]; PX [ʂau²]; AF1 [ɕʃəu⁵]; AF2 [ʂau²]; LH1 [ʂau²]; LH2 [ʂau²]; JA1 [ʂau²];
JA2 [ʂau²];
SC [ʂəu²]; LnC [ʂəːu¹ ~ ʂau²]; NnC1 [ʂaʊ¹]; NnC2 [ʂau²]; LC [ʂau²] CG *şiau

shǎo 少 QYS ʂjāu:  CDC *shiau³
TS [ʂəu²]; WN1 [ʂəu²]; WN2 [ɕjau²]; WN3 [ɕjau²];
TC [ʂau²]; XZ [ʂaʊ¹]; YX [ʂaʊ¹]; DC1 [ʂaʊ¹]; DC2 [ʂaʊ¹];
AY [ʂau²]; NC [ʂaʊ¹]; FX [ʂaʊ¹]; GA [ʂaʊ¹];
CL [ʂə¹]; PX [ʂaʊ¹]; AF1 [ɕʃəu⁵]; AF2 [ʂaʊ¹]; LH1 [ʂaʊ¹]; LH2 [ʂaʊ¹]; JA1 [ʂaʊ¹];
JA2 [ʂaʊ¹];
SC [ʂaʊ¹]; LnC [ʂəːu¹ ~ ʂaʊ¹]; NnC1 [ʂaʊ¹]; NnC2 [ʂəʊ¹]; LC [ʂaʊ¹] CG *şiau
The NnC2 tone is not congruent with those of the other dialects. But the meaning given in the source is “few”.

shé 蛇 QYS ḏjàa  CDC *zhia²
TS [ʂə]; WN1 [ɕia¹]; WN2 [ɕia¹]; WN3 [ɕia¹];
TC [ʂə]; XZ [ʂa¹]; YX [ʂa¹]; DC1 [ʂa¹]; DC2 [ʂa¹];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂə]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
CL [ʂə]; PX [ʂə]; AF1 [ɕʃə]; AF2 [ʂə]; LH1 [ʂə]; LH2 [ʂə]; JA1 [ʂə];
JA2 [ʂə];
SC [ʂə]; LnC [ʂə]; NnC1 [ʂə]; NnC2 [ʂə]; LC [ʂə] CG *şia
The CL wén form is surely a loan from some northern or northern-like language. It is not reflected at other points.

shé 舌 QYS ḏʒat  CDC *zhiat⁸
TS [ʂɛ]; WN1 [ɕie²]; WN2 [ɕie²]; WN3 [ɕie²];
TC [ʂɛ]; XZ [ʂɛ]; YX [ʂɛ]; DC1 [ʂɛ]; DC2 [ʂɛ];
AY [ʂɛ]; NC [ʂɛ]; FX [ʂɛ]; GA [ʂɛ];
CL [ʂɛ]; PX [ʂɛ]; AF1 [ɕʃɛ]; AF2 [ʂɛ]; LH1 [ʂɛ]; LH2 [ʂɛ]; JA1 [ʂɛ];
JA2 [ʂɛ];
SC [ʂɛ]; LnC [ʂɛ]; NnC1 [ɕie²]; NnC2 [ɕie²]; LC [ɕie²] CG *şiet

shě 捞 QYS ʃja:  CDC *shia³
TS [ʂə]; WN1 [ʂə]; WN2 [ʂə]; WN3 [ɕia¹];
TC [ʂə]; XZ [ʂa¹]; YX [ʂa¹]; DC1 [ʂa¹]; DC2 [ʂa¹];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂə]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
The NnC1 tone is irregular.

shè 身 QYS ʒjen  CDC *shin¹
TS [sun¹];  WN1 [ein¹];  WN2 [ein¹];  WN3 [ein¹];
TC [son¹];  XZ [son¹];  YX [gen¹];  DC1 [san¹];  DC2 [san¹];
AY [san¹];  NC [son¹];  FX [son¹];  GA [son¹];
CL [se¹];  PX [sha];  AF1 [sen¹];  AF2 [ein¹];  LH1 [se];  LH2 [sen¹];  JA1 [sin¹];
JA2 [ein¹];
SC [ei²];  LnC [sin¹];  NnC1 [ein¹];  NnC2 [ein¹];  LC [eim¹] CG *ʃiá ~ ʃie²

shén 神 QYS ʒjen  CDC *zhin²
TS [sun¹];  WN1 [ein¹];  WN2 [ein¹];  WN3 [ein¹];
TC [son¹];  XZ [son¹];  YX [gen¹];  DC1 [san¹];  DC2 [san¹];
AY [san¹];  NC [son¹];  FX [son¹];  GA [son¹];
CL [se¹];  PX [sha];  AF1 [sen¹];  AF2 [ein¹];  LH1 [se];  LH2 [sen¹];  JA1 [sin¹];
JA2 [ein¹];
SC [ei²];  LnC [sin¹];  NnC1 [ein¹];  NnC2 [ein¹];  LC [eim¹] CG *ʃiá ~ ʃie²

shèn 身 QYS ʒjem;  ʒjem-  CDC *zhim⁴
TS [sun¹];  WN1 [ein¹];  WN2 [ein¹];  WN3 [ein¹];
TC [son¹];  XZ [ein¹];  YX [ein¹];  DC1 [san¹];  DC2 [ein¹];
AY [sam¹];  NC [san¹];  FX [sam¹];  GA [ein¹];
CL [se¹];  PX [sin¹];  AF1 [sen¹];  AF2 [ein¹];  LH1 [se];  LH2 [sen¹];  JA1 [sin¹];
JA2 [ein¹];
SC [ei²];  LnC [sin¹];  NnC1 [ein¹];  NnC2 [ein¹];  LC [eim¹] CG *ʃiá ~ ʃie²

*JXFY.
The NC form and the second PX form may derive from an earlier *ts'am. The matter is very uncertain.

We may suspect that for the GA form wèn and bái designations have been reversed in the source.
Appendix: Data

shèng 織 QYS dzêng CDC *zhing²
TS [sɔn⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɕin⁴]; WN3 [ɕin⁴];
TC [sɔn⁴]; XZ [ʂɔŋ⁴]; YX [ʂɔŋ⁴]; DC1 [ʂɔŋ⁴]; DC2 [ʂɔŋ⁴];
AY [ʂɔŋ⁴]; NC [ʂɔŋ⁴]; FX [ʂɔŋ⁴]; GA [ʂɔŋ⁴];
CL [ɕin⁴]; PX [ʂɔŋ⁴]; AF1 [ɕin⁴]; AF2 [ɕin⁴]; LH1 [ɕi⁴]; LH2 [ɕi⁴]; JA1 [ɕin⁴]; JA2 [ɕin⁴];
SC [ɕi⁴]; LnC [ɕi⁴]; NnC1 [ɕi⁴]; NnC2 [ɕi⁴]; LC [ɕi⁴] CG *ɕiŋ⁴

shèng 盛 QYS zhâng- CDC *ziâng⁶
TS [sɔn⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi⁴];
TC [sɔn⁴]; XZ [― ]; YX [― ]; DC1 [ʂəŋ⁴ ]; DC2 [― ];
AY [ʂəŋ⁴ ]; NC [ʂəŋ⁴ ]; FX [ʂəŋ⁴ ]; GA [― ];
CL [― ]; PX [ʂəŋ⁴ ]; AF1 [― ]; AF2 [ɕi⁴ ]; LH1 [― ]; LH2 [ɕi⁴ ]; JA1 [ɕi⁴ ]; JA2 [ɕi⁴ ];
SC [― ]; LnC [ɕi⁴ ]; NnC1 [ɕi⁴ ]; NnC2 [― ]; LC [ɕi⁴] CG *ɕiŋ⁴

shī 施 QYS sjâng- CDC *shei¹
TS [ɕi⁴]; WN1 [― ]; WN2 [― ]; WN3 [ɕi⁴];
TC [ɕi⁴]; XZ [― ]; YX [― ]; DC1 [ɕi⁴]; DC2 [― ];
AY [ɕi⁴ ]; NC [ɕi⁴ ]; FX [ɕi⁴ ]; GA [― ];
CL [― ]; PX [ɕi⁴ ]; AF1 [― ]; AF2 [ɕi⁴ ]; LH1 [― ]; LH2 [ɕi⁴ ]; JA1 [ɕi⁴ ]; JA2 [ɕi⁴ ];
SC [― ]; LnC [ɕi⁴ ]; NnC1 [ɕi⁴ ]; NnC2 [― ]; LC [ɕi⁴] CG *ɕi⁴

The JA2 tone is irregularly of lower register.

shī 师 QYS ʃje CDC *shei¹
TS [ɕi]; WN1 [― ]; WN2 [― ]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ɕi]; XZ [― ]; YX [― ]; DC1 [ɕi]; DC2 [― ];
AY [ɕi]; NC [ɕi]; FX [ɕi]; GA [― ];
CL [― ]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [― ]; AF2 [ɕi]; LH1 [― ]; LH2 [ɕi]; JA1 [ɕi]; JA2 [ɕi];
SC [― ]; LnC [ɕi]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [― ]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi
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[s] 陰平;
SC [—]; LnC [s] 陰平; NnC1 [s] 陰平; NnC2 [s] 陰平; LC [s] 陰平  CG *s 陰平

The CL form in this set is probably a loan from some form of northern Guān-huà.

shī 獲 QYS ʂɨ CDC *shei¹
TS [s] 陰平; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [s] 陰平;
TC [s] 陰平; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [s] 陰平; DC2 [—];
AY [so]; NC [s] 陰平; FX [so]; GA [so];
CL [—]; PX [s]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [s] 陰平; LH1 [—]; LH2 [s] 陰平; JA1 [sə]; JA2 [s] 陰平;
SC [—]; LnC [s] 陰平; NnC1 [s] 陰平; NnC2 [—]; LC [s] 陰平  CG *s 陰平

shì 時 QYS ʐɨ CDC *zhi²
TS [s] 陽平; WN1 [s] 陽平; WN2 [s] 陽平; WN3 [s] 陽平;
TC [s] 陽平; XZ [ʂ]; YX [ʂ]; DC1 [ʂ]; DC2 [ʂ];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂə]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
CL [ʂə]; PX [ʂə]; AF1 [ʂə]; AF2 [ʂə]; LH1 [ʂə]; LH2 [ʂə]; JA1 [ʂə]; JA2 [ʂə];
SC [ʂə]; LnC [ʂə]; NnC1 [ʂə]; NnC2 [ʂə]; LC [ʂə] 陽平  CG *ʂə 陽平

shí 石 QYS ʐak CDC *zhiak³
TS [ʂ]; WN1 [ɕiʔ]; WN2 [ɕiʔ]; WN3 [ɕiʔ];
TC [ʂə]; XZ [ʂ]; YX [ʂə]; DC1 [ʂə]; DC2 [ʂə];
AY [ʂə]; NC [ʂə]; FX [ʂə]; GA [ʂə];
CL [ʂə]; PX [ʂə]; AF1 [ʂə]; AF2 [ʂə]; LH1 [ʂə]; LH2 [ʂə]; JA1 [ʂə]; JA2 [ʂə];
SC [ʂə]; LnC [ɕiʔ]; NnC1 [ɕiʔ]; NnC2 [ɕiʔ]; LC [ɕiʔ] 陽平  CG *ɕi 陽平

shí 食 QYS ʐak CDC *zhik⁴
TS [ʂ]; WN1 [ɕiʔ]; WN2 [ɕiʔ]; WN3 [ɕiʔ];
TC [ʂə]; XZ [ʂə]; YX [ʂə]; DC1 [ʂə]; DC2 [ʂə];
AY [səʔ]; NC [səʔ]; FX [səʔ]; GA [səʔ];
CL [ʂ́]; PX [ʂ́]; AF1 [se]; AF2 [se]; LH1 [se]; LH2 [se]; JA1 [sei]; JA2 [se];
SC [se]; LnC [ɕiʔ]; NnC1 [ɕiʔ]; NnC2 [ɕiʔ]; LC [ɕiʔ] CG *ɕik

shi 實 QYS džjet CDC *zhit⁸
TS [si]; WN1 [ɕiʔ]; WN2 [ɕiʔ]; WN3 [ɕiʔ];
TC [səʔ]; XZ [ɕiʔ]; YX [ɕiʔ]; DC1 [ɕiʔ]; DC2 [ɕiʔ];
AY [səʔ]; NC [ɕiʔ]; FX [səʔ]; GA [səʔ];
CL [ʂ́]; PX [ʂ́]; AF1 [ɕiʔ]; AF2 [ɕiʔ]; LH1 [ɕiʔ]; LH2 [ɕiʔ]; JA1 [ɕiʔ]; JA2 [ɕiʔ];
SC [ɕiʔ]; LnC [ɕiʔ]; NnC1 [ɕiʔ]; NnC2 [ɕiʔ]; LC [ɕiʔ] CG *ɕi

shi 士 QYS ş́i: CDC *ši³
TS [ʂ́]; WN1 [ʂ́]; WN2 [ʂ́]; WN3 [ʂ́];
TC [ʂ́]; XZ [ʂ́]; YX [ʂ́]; DC1 [ʂ́]; DC2 [ʂ́];
AY [ʂ́]; NC [ʂ́]; FX [ʂ́]; GA [ʂ́];
CL [ʂ́]; PX [ʂ́]; AF1 [ʂ́]; AF2 [ʂ́]; LH1 [ʂ́]; LH2 [ʂ́]; JA1 [ʂ́]; JA2 [ʂ́];
SC [ʂ́]; LnC [ʂ́]; NnC1 [ʂ́]; NnC2 [ʂ́]; LC [ʂ́] CG *ʂ́³

shi 事 QYS dzì- CDC *zheī⁶
TS [s]; WN1 [s]; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
TC [s]; XZ [s]; YX [s]; DC1 [s]; DC2 [s];
AY [s]; NC [s]; FX [s]; GA [s];
CL [s]; PX [s]; AF1 [s]; AF2 [s]; LH1 [s]; LH2 [s]; JA1 [s]; JA2 [s];
SC [s]; LnC [s]; NnC1 [s]; NnC2 [s]; LC [s] CG *s

shi 士 QYS dzì: CDC *zheī⁶
TS [s]; WN1 [s]; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
The AY final and tone are irregular.

The shi is of CDC *shi4.

The shi is of CDC *shiak7.

The shi is of CDC *shi5.

The shi is of CDC *shiai5.

The shi is of CDC *shiak7.

The shi is of CDC *shi5.

The shi is of CDC *shi4.

The shi is of CDC *shiak7.

The shi is of CDC *shi5.

The shi is of CDC *shiak7.

The shi is of CDC *shi5.

The shi is of CDC *shiak7.

The shi is of CDC *shi5.
Appendix: Data

shi 适 QYS dżi-  CDC *zhi
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ʂɨ];
TC [ʂɨ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂɨ]; DC2 [ʂɨ];
AY [ʂɨ]; NC [ʂɨ]; FX [ʂɨ]; GA [—];
CL [ʂɨ]; PX [ʂɨ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ʂɿ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ʂɿ]; JA1 [ʂɿ]; JA2 [ʂɿ];
SC [—]; LnC [ʂɿ]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi
The tone of the JA2 form is irregular.

shi 適 QYS śjak  CDC *shiak
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ʂɿ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂɿ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ʂɿ]; NC [ʂɿ]; FX [ʂɿ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ʂɿ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ʂɿ]; LH1 [ʂɿ]; LH2 [ʂɿ]; JA1 [ʂɿ]; JA2 [ʂɿ];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕɿ]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi

shi 警 QYS ʒi.; ɕi-  CDC *shi
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ʂɿ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂɿ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ʂɿ]; NC [ʂɿ]; FX [ʂɿ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ʂɿ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ʂɿ]; LH1 [ʂɿ]; LH2 [ʂɿ]; JA1 [ʂɿ]; JA2 [ʂɿ];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕɿ]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi

shi 室 QYS śjet  CDC *shit
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ʂɿ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂɿ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ʂɿ]; NC [ʂɿ]; FX [ʂɿ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ʂɿ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ʂɿ]; LH1 [ʂɿ]; LH2 [ʂɿ]; JA1 [ʂɿ]; JA2 [ʂɿ];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕɿ]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕi

shi 識 QYS śjak  CDC *shik
TS [ʂɨ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ʂɿ]; XZ [ʂɿ]; YX [ʂɿ]; DC1 [ʂɿ]; DC2 [ʂɿ];
AY [ʂɿ]; NC [ʂɿ]; FX [ʂɿ]; GA [ɕɿ];
CL [ʂɿ]; PX [ʂɿ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ʂɿ]; LH1 [ʂɿ]; LH2 [ʂɿ]; JA1 [ɕɿ]; JA2 [ʂɿ];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕɿ]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕi] CG *ɕik
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shōu 收 QYS ʂjoʊ  CDC *shiu¹
TS [ʂau²]; WN1 [ɕjou²]; WN2 [ɕiu²]; WN3 [ɕiu²];
TC [ʂou²]; XZ ɕiu²; YX ʂau²; DC1 ʂau²; DC2 ʂau²;
AY ʂau²; NC [ʂau²]; FX [ʂu²]; GA ʂau²;
CL ʂau²; PX ʂu²; AF1 [ɕiu²]; AF2 [ɕiu²]; LH1 ʂαu²; LH2 ʂoi²; JA1 [ɕiu² ~ ɕiu²]; JA2 [ɕiu²];
SC [ɕiu²]; LnC [ɕiu²]; NnC1 [ɕiu²]; NnC2 [ɕiu²]; LC [ɕiu²] CG *ʂiu²

shōu 熟 QYS ʐjuk  CDC *zhiuk⁸
TS [ʂau²]; WN1 [ɕjou²]; WN2 [ɕiu²]; WN3 [ɕiu²];
TC [ɕy?]; XZ ʂu²; YX ʂu²; DC1 ʂuk²; DC2 ʂuk²;
AY ʂu²; NC [ʂuk²]; FX ʂu²; GA ʂu² ~ họ²;
CL ʂu²; PX ʂu²; AF1 [ɕu²]; AF2 [ɕu²]; LH1 [ɕeo²]; LH2 [ɕio²]; JA1 [ɕo²];
JA2 [ɕu²];
SC [ɕo²]; LnC [ɕu²]; NnC1 [ɕu²]; NnC2 [ɕu²]; LC [ɕu²] CG *ʂiuk²

shōu 手 QYS ʂjoʊ  CDC *shiu³
TS [ʂau²]; WN1 [ɕjou²]; WN2 [ɕiu²]; WN3 [ɕiu²];
TC [ʂou²]; XZ [ɕiu²]; YX ʂau²; DC1 ʂau²; DC2 ʂau²;
AY ʂau²; NC [ʂau²]; FX [ʂu²]; GA [ʂu²];
CL [ʂo²]; PX [ʂu²]; AF1 [ɕiu²]; AF2 [ɕiu²]; LH1 ʂαu²; LH2 ʂoi²; JA1 [ɕiu²];
JA2 [ɕiu²];
SC [ɕiu²]; LnC [ɕiu²]; NnC1 [ɕiu²]; NnC2 [ɕiu²]; LC [ɕiu²] CG *ʂiu²

shōu 攝 QYS ʂjoʊ-  CDC *shieu⁴
TS [ʂau³]; WN1 [ɕjou³]; WN2 [ɕiu³]; WN3 [ɕiu³];
TC [ʂou³]; XZ [ɕiu³]; YX [ɕiu³]; DC1 ʂαu³; DC2 ʂαu³;
AY [ɕu³]; NC [].'au³; FX [ʂu³]; GA [ʂu³];
CL [ʂo³]; PX [ʂu³]; AF1 [ɕiu³]; AF2 [ɕiu³]; LH1 [ɕeou³*]; LH2 [ʂoi³]; JA1 [ɕiu³];
JA2 [ɕiu³];
SC [tei³]; LnC [ɕiu³]; NnC1 [ɕiu³]; NnC2 [ɕiu³]; LC [ɕiu³] CG *ʂiu³
  *JXFY.
Appendix: Data

shòu 受 QYS ㄐ慭; ㄐ慭- CDC *zhieu⁴
TS [sæʊ̯ ]; WN1 [ɕeiʊ̯ ]; WN2 —; WN3 [ɕeiʊ̯ ];
TC [sæʊ̯ ]; XZ [ɕiu ula]; YX [ɕaʊ ]; DC1 [ɕaʊ ]; DC2 [ɕaʊ ];
AY [ɕaʊ ]; NC [sæʊ̯ ]; FX [ɕaʊ ]; GA [ɕœu ];
CL [ɕœʊ ]; PX [ɕu ]; AF1 —; AF2 [ɕiʊ ]; LH1 [ɕœʊ ]; LH2 [ɕœʊ ]; JA1 [ɕiʊ ]; JA2 [ɕiʊ ];
SC —; LnC [ɕiʊ ]; NnC1 [ɕiʊ ]; NnC2 [ɕiʊ ]; LC [ɕiʊ ]; CG *ɕiʊ

shòu 瘦 QYS ㄐ慭; ㄐ慭- CDC *zheu⁶
TS [sæʊ̯ ]; WN1 —; WN2 [ɕiau ]; WN3 [ɕiau ];
TC [sæʊ̯ ]; XZ [ɕiu ]; YX [ɕaʊ ]; DC1 [ɕaʊ ]; DC2 [ɕaʊ ];
AY [ɕaʊ ]; NC [ɕœu ]; FX [ɕaʊ ]; GA [ɕœu ];
CL [ɕœʊ ]; PX [ɕo ]; AF1 [ɕœʊ ]; AF2 [ɕœʊ ]; LH1 [ɕœʊ ]; LH2 [ɕœʊ ]; JA1 [ɕiʊ ]; JA2 [ɕiʊ ];
SC —; LnC [ɕiʊ ]; NnC1 [ɕiʊ ]; NnC2 [ɕiʊ ]; LC [ɕiʊ ]; CG *ɕiʊ (?)

shū 書 QYS ㄐㄨ (); CDC *sɥe (~ *shiu¹)
TS [ɕei ]; WN1 [ɕei ]; WN2 [ɕei ]; WN3 [ɕei ];
TC [ɕei ]; XZ [ɕi ]; YX [ɕi ]; DC1 [ɕei ]; DC2 [ɕi ];
AY [ɕei ]; NC [ɕei ]; FX [ɕi ]; GA [hə* ];
CL [ɕei ]; PX [ɕi ]; AF1 [ɕi ]; AF2 [ɕi ]; LH1 [ɕi ]; LH2 [ɕi ]; JA1 [ɕi ]; JA2 [ɕi ];
SC [ɕi ]; LnC [ɕi ]; NnC1 [ɕi ]; NnC2 [ɕi ]; LC [ɕi ]; CG *ɕi

shū 殊 QYS ㄐㄨ (); CDC *zhiu²
TS [ɕei ]; WN1 —; WN2 —; WN3 [ɕei ];
TC [ɕei ]; XZ —; YX —; DC1 —; DC2 —;
AY [ɕei ]; NC [ɕei ]; FX [ɕi ]; GA —;
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CL [-]; PX [ʂʰ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕy]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ɕy]; JA1 [ɕy]; JA2 [ɕy];
SC [—]; Lnc [ʂʰ]; Nnc1 [ɕy]; Nnc2 [—]; LC [ɕy] CG *ɕy ~ *ɕy
Neutral tone.
The JA1 tone is irregular.

shǔ 鼠  QYS  śjwo:       CDC *shie³ (~ *shiu³)
TS [ɕy]; WN1 [ɕy]; WN2 [ɕy]; WN3 [ɕy];
TC [ɕy]; XZ [ʂu]; YX [ʂu]; DC1 [ɕy]; DC2 [ʂu];
AY [ʂu]; NC [ɕy]; FX [ʂu]; GA [ho];
CL [ɕy]; PX [ʂu]; AF1 [ɕy]; AF2 [ɕy]; LH1 [ɕy]; LH2 [ɕy]; JA1 [ɕy]; JA2 [ɕy];
SC [ɕy]; Lnc [ʂu]; Nnc1 [ɕy]; Nnc2 [ɕy]; LC [ɕy] CG *ɕie ~ *ɕy (~ *ɕyi)
*The final in this form is quite irregular.
**This is almost certainly a misprint in the source. Cf. JXFY: [ɕy].
The AF1 and 2 forms are curious and deserve further study. They may represent an archaic pronunciation of the word “rat”.

shù 樹  QYS  śju:       CDC *shu³
TS [ʂ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ʂu];
TC [ʂ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ʂ]; DC2 [—];
AY [—]; NC [ʂ]; FX [ʂ]; GA [—];
CL [ʂ]; PX [ʂu]; AF1 [ʂ]; AF2 [ʂ]; LH1 [ʂ]; LH2 [ʂ]; JA1 [ʂ]; JA2 [ʂ];
SC [ʂ]; Lnc [ʂ]; Nnc1 [ʂ]; Nnc2 [ʂ]; LC [ʂ] CG *ʂu

shù 述  QYS  śjuet       CDC *shiu⁶
TS [ɕy]; WN1 [ɕy]; WN2 [ɕy]; WN3 [ɕy];
TC [ɕy]; XZ [ʂu]; YX [ʂu]; DC1 [ʂu]; DC2 [ʂu];
AY [ʂu]; NC [ɕy]; FX [ʂu]; GA [ho];
CL [ɕy]; PX [ʂu]; AF1 [tɕy]; AF2 [tɕy]; LH1 [ɕy]; LH2 [ɕy]; JA1 [tɕy]; JA2 [tɕy];
SC [ɕiu]; Lnc [ʂ]; Nnc1 [ɕy]; Nnc2 [ɕy]; LC [ɕy] CG *ɕy ~ *dzy (?)
Voicing in the initial of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.
Appendix: Data

shù 數 QYS ʂju- CDC *shu⁵
TS [saʊ̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sui];
TC [saʊ̯]; XZ [sai]; YX [ʂj]; DC1 [sai]; DC2 [sai];
AY [sai]; NC [sai]; FX [sai]; GA [sai];
CL [sai]; PX [sai]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sai]; LH1 [sai]; LH2 [sai]; JA1 [sai]; JA2 [sai];
SC [—]; LnC [sai]; NnC1 [sai]; NnC2 [sai]; LC [sai] CG *sai

The YX form is irregular. It is a special reading found in the word for “integer”.

shuài 帥 QYS ʂwät CDC *shot⁷
TS [saʊ̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sai];
TC [saʊ̯]; XZ [sai]; YX [sai]; DC1 [sai]; DC2 [sai];
AY [sai]; NC [sai]; FX [sai]; GA [sai];
CL [sai]; PX [sai]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sai]; LH1 [sai]; LH2 [sai]; JA1 [sai]; JA2 [sai];
SC [—]; LnC [sai]; NnC1 [sai]; NnC2 [sai]; LC [sai] CG *sai

The forms from TS through GA regularly point to the first reconstruction. The AF2 and LH1 forms must derive from a proto-form such as the third one, i.e., with retroflex initial and final *-yi. The remaining forms point to the second reconstruction as their origin.
shuāng 雙 QYS śàng CDC *shong¹
TS [son˥] ; WN1 [―]; WN2 [son˥]; WN3 [son˥];
TC [son˥]; XZ [son˥]; YX [son˥]; DC1 [son˥]; DC2 [son˥];
AY [son˥]; NC [son˥]; FX [son˥]; GA [son˥];
CL [sɔŋ˥]; PX [sɔŋ˥]; AF1 [sɔŋ˧]; AF2 [sɔŋ˧]; LH1 [sɔŋ˧]; LH2 [sɔŋ˧]; JA1 [son˥];
JÀ2 [sɔŋ˥];
SC [sɔŋ˥]; LnC [son˥]; NnC1 [son˥]; NnC2 [son˥]; LC [son˥] CG *son˥

shuāng 睡 QYS ʒǐɑnɡ CDC *shong¹
TS [son˥]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [son˥]; WN3 [son˥];
TC [son˥]; XZ [son˥]; YX [son˥]; DC1 [son˥]; DC2 [son˥];
AY [son˥]; NC [son˥]; FX [son˥]; GA [son˥];
CL [sɔŋ˥]; PX [sɔŋ˥]; AF1 [sɔŋ˧]; AF2 [sɔŋ˧]; LH1 [sɔŋ˧]; LH2 [sɔŋ˧]; JA1 [son˥];
JÀ2 [sɔŋ˥];
SC [sɔŋ˥]; LnC [son˥]; NnC1 [son˥]; NnC2 [son˥]; LC [son˥] CG *son˥

shuí 水 QYS ɕwiː CDC *shui³
TS [ɕuǐ³]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [ɕuǐ³]; WN3 [ɕuǐ³];
TC [ɕuǐ³]; XZ [ɕuǐ³]; YX [ɕuǐ³]; DC1 [ɕuǐ³]; DC2 [ɕuǐ³];
AY [ɕuǐ³]; NC [ɕuǐ³]; FX [ɕuǐ³]; GA [ɦo³];
CL [ɕuǐ³]; PX [ɕuǐ³]; AF1 [ɕei³]; AF2 [ɕuí³]; LH1 [ɕuí³]; LH2 [ɕuí³]; JA1 [ɕy³];
JÀ2 [ɕuí³];
SC [ɕuí³]; LnC [ɕuí³]; NnC1 [ɕuí³]; NnC2 [ɕuí³]; LC [ɕuí³] CG *ɕyi³
The AF forms may be borrowed, since the expected reflexes would have final -y here. The initial of the YX form is irregular.

shuí 睡 QYS ʒiweed- CDC *zhui⁶
TS [ɕiweː]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [ɕiweː]; WN3 [ɕiweː];
TC [ɕiweː]; XZ [ɕiweː]; YX [ɕiweː]; DC1 [ɕiweː]; DC2 [ɕiweː];
AY [ɕiweː]; NC [ɕiweː]; FX [ɕiweː]; GA [ho³];
CL [―]; PX [ɕiweː]; AF1 [ɕen³]; AF2 [―]; LH1 [ɕen³]; LH2 [―]; JA1 [ɕy³];
JÀ2 [ɕiweː];
SC [ɕen³]; LnC [ɕiweː]; NnC1 [―]; NnC2 [―]; LC [―] CG *ɕyi³
The tone of the TS form is irregular. The AF1 and SC forms belong to a different etymon from that represented in the rest of the set. The XZ form appears to be a loan, perhaps from the Modern Standard koine. The expected modern reflex would be [fi] here.

shùn 順 QYS deaux- CDC *zhui³
TS [ɕiweː]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [ɕiweː]; WN3 [ɕiweː];
TC [ɕiweː]; XZ [ɕiweː]; YX [ɕiweː]; DC1 [ɕiweː]; DC2 [ɕiweː];

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Appendix: Data

AY [son]; NC [sun]; FX [son]; GA [hön];
CL [eye]; PX [sun]; AF1 [sên]; AF2 [sun]; LH1 [eyë]; LH2 [eyën]; JA1 [sun]; JA2 [suen];
SC [eyn]; LnC [suan]; NnC1 [eyn]; NnC2 [eyn]; LC [sæn] CG *syn

shuò 說 QYS šwät CDC *shiot
TS [eyë]; WN1 [eyë]; WN2 —; WN3 [eyë];
TC [sæʔ]; XZ [sue]; YX [seʔ]; DC1 [set]; DC2 [søl];
AY [sæʔ]; NC [sæʔ]; FX [søl]; GA [søl];
CL [eio]; PX [eye]; AF1 —; AF2 [søʔ]; LH1 [eye]; LH2 [eye]; JA1 [sø]; JA2 [sæ];
SC —; LnC [sø]; NnC1 [søʔ]; NnC2 [søʔ]; LC [eio] CG *gyot

shuò 說 QYS šák CDC *shok
TS [sø]; WN1 —; WN2 —; WN3 —;
TC [søʔ]; XZ [sø]; YX [sø]; DC1 [sø]; DC2 —;
AY [søʔ]; NC [sø]; FX [sø]; GA —;
CL —; PX [sø]; AF1 —; AF2 [sø]; LH1 [sø]; LH2 [sø]; JA1 [sø]; JA2 [sø];
SC —; LnC [sø]; NnC1 [søʔ]; NnC2 [søʔ]; LC [sø] CG *sok

sī 思 QYS sī CDC *si
TS [s]; WN1 —; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
TC [s]; XZ [s]; YX [s]; DC1 [s]; DC2 [s];
AY —; NC [s]; FX [s]; GA [s];
CL —; PX [s]; AF1 —; AF2 [s]; LH1 [s]; LH2 [s]; JA1 [suo] CG *suo
JA1 [suo]; JA2 [s];
SC [s]; LnC [s]; NnC1 [s]; NnC2 [s]; LC [s] CG *s

sī 私 QYS si CDC *si
TS [s]; WN1 —; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
TC [s]; XZ [s]; YX [s]; DC1 [s]; DC2 [s];
AY [sø]; NC [s]; FX [s]; GA [s];
CL [s]; PX [s]; AF1 [s]; AF2 [s]; LH1 [s]; LH2 [s]; JA1 [s]; JA2 [s];
SC [s]; LnC [s]; NnC1 [s]; NnC2 [s]; LC [s] CG *s

sī 死 QYS si CDC *si
TS [s]; WN1 [s]; WN2 [s]; WN3 [s];
TC [s]; XZ [s]; YX [s]; DC1 [s]; DC2 [s];
AY [sø]; NC [s]; FX [s]; GA [s];
CL [s\textsuperscript{1}]; PX [s\textsuperscript{1}]; AF1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; AF2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LH1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LH2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; JA1 [suo\textsuperscript{1}]; JA2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; SC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LnC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; CG [s\textsuperscript{1}];

si 四 QYS si- CDC *si\textsuperscript{5}
TS [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN3 [s\textsuperscript{1}];
TC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; XZ [s\textsuperscript{1}]; YX [s\textsuperscript{1}]; DC1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; DC2 [s\textsuperscript{1}];
AY [so\textsuperscript{1}]; NC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; FX [su\textsuperscript{1}]; GA [su\textsuperscript{1}];
CL [s\textsuperscript{1}]; PX [s\textsuperscript{1}]; AF1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; AF2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LH1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LH2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; JA1 [suo\textsuperscript{1}]; JA2 [s\textsuperscript{1}];
SC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LnC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; LC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; CG [s\textsuperscript{1}];

si 似 QYS zi- CDC *zi\textsuperscript{6}
TS [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; WN1 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; WN2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; WN3 [ts\textsuperscript{1}];
TC [tz\textsuperscript{1}]; XZ [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; YX [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; DC1 [tz\textsuperscript{1}]; DC2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}];
AY [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; NC [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; FX [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; GA [ts\textsuperscript{1}];
CL [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; PX [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; AF1 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; AF2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; LH1 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; LH2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; JA1 [suo\textsuperscript{1}]; JA2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}];
SC [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; LnC [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC1 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; NnC2 [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; LC [ts\textsuperscript{1}]; CG [ts\textsuperscript{1}];

sòng 送 QYS sung- CDC *sung\textsuperscript{5}
TS [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN2 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; WN3 [s\textsuperscript{1}];
TC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; XZ [s\textsuperscript{1}]; YX [s\textsuperscript{1}]; DC1 [s\textsuperscript{1}]; DC2 [s\textsuperscript{1}];
AY [s\textsuperscript{1}]; NC [s\textsuperscript{1}]; FX [s\textsuperscript{1}]; GA [s\textsuperscript{1}];
Appendix: Data

The DC2 tone is irregular.

\[ \text{sòng 誦 QYS zjwong- CDC *ziung} \]
\[ \text{TS} [\text{sun}] ]; \text{WN1} [\text{sun}]; \text{WN2} [\text{sun}]; \text{WN3} [\text{sun}]; \]
\[ \text{TC} [\text{sun}]; \text{XZ} [\text{sun}]; \text{YX} [\text{sun}]; \text{DC1} [\text{sun}]; \text{DC2} [\text{sun}]; \]
\[ \text{AY} [\text{sun}]; \text{NC} [\text{sun}]; \text{FX} [\text{sun}]; \text{GA} [\text{sun}]; \]
\[ \text{CL} [\text{sun}]; \text{PX} [\text{sun}]; \text{AF1} [\text{sun}]; \text{AF2} [\text{sun}]; \text{LH1} [\text{sun}]; \text{LH2} [\text{sun}]; \text{JA1} [\text{sun}]; \text{JA2} [\text{sun}]; \]
\[ \text{SC} [\text{sun}]; \text{LnC} [\text{sun}]; \text{NnC1} [\text{sun}]; \text{NnC2} [\text{sun}]; \text{LC} [\text{sun}]; \text{CG} [\text{sun}]; \]

The DC2 tone is irregular.

\[ \text{sōu 搜 QYS sjau CDC *sheu} \]
\[ \text{TS} [\text{sau}]; \text{WN1} [\text{sau}]; \text{WN2} [\text{sau}]; \text{WN3} [\text{sau}]; \]
\[ \text{TC} [\text{sau}]; \text{XZ} [\text{sau}]; \text{YX} [\text{sau}]; \text{DC1} [\text{sau}]; \text{DC2} [\text{sau}]; \]
\[ \text{AY} [\text{sau}]; \text{NC} [\text{sau}]; \text{FX} [\text{sau}]; \text{GA} [\text{sau}]; \]
\[ \text{CL} [\text{sau}]; \text{PX} [\text{sau}]; \text{AF1} [\text{sau}]; \text{AF2} [\text{sau}]; \text{LH1} [\text{sau}]; \text{LH2} [\text{sau}]; \text{JA1} [\text{sau}]; \text{JA2} [\text{sau}]; \]
\[ \text{SC} [\text{sau}]; \text{LnC} [\text{sau}]; \text{NnC1} [\text{sau}]; \text{NnC2} [\text{sau}]; \text{LC} [\text{sau}]; \text{CG} [\text{sau}]; \]

The NnC2 final is irregular.

\[ \text{sú 俗 QYS zjwok CDC *ziuk} \]
\[ \text{TS} [\text{zui}]; \text{WN1} [\text{zui}]; \text{WN2} [\text{zui}]; \text{WN3} [\text{zui}]; \]
\[ \text{TC} [\text{zui}]; \text{XZ} [\text{zui}]; \text{YX} [\text{zui}]; \text{DC1} [\text{zui}]; \text{DC2} [\text{zui}]; \]
\[ \text{AY} [\text{zui}]; \text{NC} [\text{zui}]; \text{FX} [\text{zui}]; \text{GA} [\text{zui}]; \]
\[ \text{CL} [\text{zui}]; \text{PX} [\text{zui}]; \text{AF1} [\text{zui}]; \text{AF2} [\text{zui}]; \text{LH1} [\text{zui}]; \text{LH2} [\text{zui}]; \text{JA1} [\text{zui}]; \text{JA2} [\text{zui}]; \]
\[ \text{SC} [\text{zui}]; \text{LnC} [\text{zui}]; \text{NnC1} [\text{zui}]; \text{NnC2} [\text{zui}]; \text{LC} [\text{zui}]; \text{CG} [\text{zui}]; \]

The GA tone is irregularly of higher register. A reviewer cites for another GA variety a lower register reading.
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suì 素 QYS suo- CDC *su^5
TS [sü]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [―]; WN3 [sü];
TC [sü]; XZ [―]; YX [―]; DC1 [su~]; DC2 [―];
AY [sü]; NC [su~]; FX [su~]; GA [―];
CL [―]; PX [su~]; AF1 [―]; AF2 [su~]: LH1 [―]; LH2 [su~]; JA1 [su~]; JA2 [su~];
SC [―]; LnC [su~]; NnC1 [su~]; NnC2 [―]; LC [su~] CG *su~

suì 素 QYS suo- CDC *su^5
TS [sö]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [―]; WN3 [sö];
TC [sö]; XZ [―]; YX [―]; DC1 [so~]; DC2 [―];
AY [sö]; NC [so~]; FX [so~]; GA [―];
CL [―]; PX [sö]; AF1 [―]; AF2 [so~]; LH1 [―]; LH2 [so~]; JA1 [so~]; JA2 [so~];
SC [―]; LnC [so~]; NnC1 [so~]; NnC2 [―]; LC [so~] CG *so~

suàn 算 QYS suàn- CDC *son^5
TS [sœ̃]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [―]; WN3 [sœ̃];
TC [sœ̃]; XZ [sœ̃]; YX [sœ̃]; DC1 [sœ̃]; DC2 [sœ̃];
AY [sœ̃]; NC [sœ̃]; FX [sœ̃]; GA [sœ̃];
CL [sœ̃]; PX [sœ̃]; AF1 [―]; AF2 [sœ̃]; LH1 [sœ̃]; LH2 [sœ̃]; JA1 [sœ̃]; JA2 [sœ̃];
SC [―]; LnC [sœ̃]; NnC1 [sœ̃]; NnC2 [―]; LC [sœ̃] CG *sœ̃
The AF2 tone is irregular.

sui 歲 QYS sjwäi- CDC *sioi^5
TS [sæi]; WN1 [―]; WN2 [―]; WN3 [sæi];
TC [sæi]; XZ [sæi]; YX [sæi]; DC1 [sæi]; DC2 [sæi];
AY [sæi]; NC [sæi]; FX [sæi]; GA [sæi];
CL [sæi]; PX [sæi]; AF1 [―]; AF2 [sæi]; LH1 [sæi]; LH2 [sæi]; JA1 [sæi]; JA2 [sæi];
SC [sæi]; LnC [sæi]; NnC1 [sæi]; NnC2 [sæi]; LC [sæi] CG *sæi

The AF2 tone is irregular.
Appendix: Data

-suï 碎 QYS suâi- CDC *suoi²
TS [tsʰæi¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ey²];
TC [dzi¹]; XZ [si¹]; YX [ei¹]; DC1 [si¹]; DC2 [si¹];
AY [ei¹]; NC [sui]; FX [—]; GA [sui²];
CL [se⁰]; PX [si¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [suoi²]; LH1 [sæ¹]; LH2 [sœ¹]; JA1 [sœi²];
JA2 [sœi²];
SC [—]; LnC [sui²~sui³]; NnC1 [søy¹]; NnC2 [søy¹]; LC [sœ¹] CG *suoi³~*sui³~*ts’uoi³

The third reconstructed form is unetymological but is supported by the TS and TC forms. The tone of the CL form is unexpectedly of lower register.

-suǒ 索 QYS sâk CDC *sok⁷
TS [sø¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [sok⁷];
TC [so²]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sok⁷]; DC2 [—];
AY [so²]; NC [sok⁷]; FX [so¹]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [so¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [so¹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [so¹]; JA1 [so¹]; JA2 [so¹];
SC [—]; LnC [so⁷]; NnC1 [so⁷]; NnC2 [—]; LC [so³] CG *sok⁷

-suǒ 所 QYS sjwo: CDC *she³ (~ shu³)
TS [so³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [so³];
TC [so³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [su³]; DC2 [—];
AY [su³]; NC [su³~so³]; FX [su³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [so³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [so³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [su³]; JA1 [su³]; JA2 [su³];
SC [—]; LnC [su³]; NnC1 [su³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [su³] CG *so³~*squ³

The AF2 final is irregular and not derivable from either reconstructed form.

-suǒ 鎮 QYS suâ: CDC *so³
TS [so³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [so³]; WN3 [so³];
TC [so³]; XZ [so³]; YX [so³]; DC1 [so³]; DC2 [so³];
AY [so³]; NC [so³]; FX [so³]; GA [so³];
CL [so³]; PX [so³]; AF1 [so³]; AF2 [so³]; LH1 [so³]; LH2 [so³]; JA1 [so³];
JA2 [so³];
SC [so³]; LnC [so³]; NnC1 [so³]; NnC2 [so³]; LC [so³] CG *so³
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T

tā 他  QYS thâ  CDC *tha¹
TS [tʰa];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [tʰa];  WN3 [tʰa];  TC [da];  XZ [—];  YX [—];  DC1 [da];  DC2 [—];  
AY [tʰa];  NC [tʰa];  FX [tʰa];  GA [—];  
CL [—];  PX [tʰa];  AF1 [tʰa];  AF2 [—];  LH1 [tʰa];  LH2 [—];  JA1 [tʰa];  JA2 [—];  
SC [—];  LnC [tʰa]*;  NnC1 [—];  NnC2 [—];  LC [tʰa]  CG *tʰa

*Used only in songs.

This word is probably a late loan in the Gàn dialects. In pronominal use it is found mainly in 
the north. More often, it is a literary word meaning “other”.

tǎ 塔  QYS thâp  CDC *thap⁷
TS [tʰap];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [tʰap];  WN3 [tʰap];  TC [da];  XZ [da];  YX [dʰap];  DC1 [dat];  DC2 [dʰap];  
AY [—];  NC [tʰap];  FX [tʰap];  GA [tʰap];  
CL [tʰap];  PX [tʰap];  AF1 [tʰap];  AF2 [tʰap];  LH1 [tʰap];  LH2 [tʰap];  JA1 [tʰap];  JA2 [tʰap];  
SC [tʰap];  LnC [tʰap];  NnC1 [hai];  NnC2 [hai];  LC [hap]  CG *tʰap

tān 塔  QYS thâm  CDC *thom¹
TS [tʰam];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [tʰom];  WN3 [tʰom];  TC [da];  XZ [da];  YX [dʰom];  DC1 [dat];  DC2 [dʰom];  
AY [tʰom];  NC [tʰom];  FX [tʰom];  GA [tʰom];  
CL [tʰom];  PX [tʰom];  AF1 [tʰom];  AF2 [tʰom];  LH1 [tʰom];  LH2 [han];  JA1 [tʰom];  JA2 [tʰom];  
SC [tʰom];  LnC [tʰom];  NnC1 [han];  NnC2 [han];  LC [han]  CG *tʰom

tán 談  QYS dâm  CDC *dam²
TS [tʰan];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [—];  WN3 [dan];  TC [dan];  XZ [—];  YX [—];  DC1 [dan];  DC2 [—];  
AY [tʰan];  NC [tʰan];  FX [tʰan];  GA [—];  
CL [—];  PX [tʰan];  AF1 [—];  AF2 [tʰan];  LH1 [—];  LH2 [tʰan];  JA1 [tʰan];  JA2 [tʰan];  
SC [—];  LnC [tʰan];  NnC1 [han];  NnC2 [—];  LC [han]  CG *dam

tán 談  QYS dom  CDC *dom²
TS [tʰan];  WN1 [—];  WN2 [—];  WN3 [dan];  TC [dan];  XZ [—];  YX [—];  DC1 [—];  DC2 [—];
Appendix: Data

AY [tʰɔn]; NC [tʰan]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tʰan]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰan]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰan]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [han]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ham] CG *dom

The final of the DC2 form is irregular.

tèng 湘 QYS thâng CDC *thong
TS [tʰɔŋ]; WN1 [thɔŋ]; WN2 [tʰɔŋ]; WN3 [thɔŋ];
TC [dɔŋ]; XZ [dɔŋ]; YX [dɔŋ]; DC1 [dɔŋ]; DC2 [lɔŋ];
AY [tʰɔŋ]; NC [tʰɔŋ]; FX [tʰɔŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tʰɔŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰɔŋ]; LH1 [hɔŋ]; LH2 [hɔŋ]; JA1 [tʰɔŋ]; JA2 [tʰɔŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰɔŋ]; NnC1 [hɔŋ]; NnC2 [hɔŋ]; LC [hɔŋ] CG *tʰɔŋ

The final of the DC2 form is irregular.

tèng 藤 QYS dâng CDC *dông
TS [tʰau]; WN1 [thau]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [thau];
TC [dau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dau]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʰau]; NC [tʰau]; FX [tʰau]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tʰau]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰau]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [hau]; JA1 [tʰau]; JA2 [tʰau];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰau]; NnC1 [hau]; NnC2 [hau]; LC [hau] CG *tʰau

tè 特 QYS dôk CDC *dekk
TS [tʰe]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰe]; WN3 [tʰe];
TC [deʔ]; XZ [deʔ]; YX [dʰeʔ]; DC1 [dekk]; DC2 [lɛʔ];
AY [tʰe]; NC [tʰet]; FX [tʰet]; GA [tʰet];
CL [tʰe]; PX [tʰe]; AF1 [tʰe]; AF2 [tʰe]; LH1 [tʰe]; LH2 [tʰe]; JA1 [tʰe]; JA2 [tʰe];
SC [tʰe]; LnC [tʰe]; NnC1 [heʔ]; NnC2 [tʰei]; LC [heʔ] CG *tʰe

The final of the DC2 form is irregular.

tèng 藤 QYS dông CDC *dêng
TS [tʰe]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
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TC [diɛ̃]; XZ [dær]; YX [dʰen]; DC1 [der]; DC2 [lɛŋ];
AY [tʰɛŋ]; NC [tʰɛŋ]; FX [tʰɛŋ]; GA [hɛŋ];
CL [tʰɛni]; PX [tʰɛni]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰen]; LH1 [hɛŋ]; LH2 [hɛŋ]; JA1 [tʰen];
JA2 [tʰen];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰen]; NnC1 [hɛŋ]; NnC2 [hɛŋ]; LC [hɛŋ] CG *deŋ

tí 梯 QYS thiei CDC *thiai
TS [tʰei]; WN1 [tʰi]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tʰi];
TC [di]; XZ [di]; YX [dʰi]; DC1 [di]; DC2 [li];
AY [tʰi]; NC [tʰi]; FX [tʰi]; GA [hai];
CL [tʰi]; PX [tʰi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi]; LH1 [tʰi]; LH2 [tʰi]; JA1 [tʰi];
JA2 [tʰi];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi]; NnC1 [tʰi]; NnC2 [tʰi]; LC [—] CG *tʰi (~ *tʰei)
The LnC tone is irregular.

tí 題 QYS diei CDC *dai
TS [tʰei]; WN1 [tʰi]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [di];
TC [di]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [di]; DC2 [li];
AY [tʰi]; NC [tʰi]; FX [tʰi]; GA [—];
CL [tʰi]; PX [tʰi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰi]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰi]; JA1 [tʰi];
JA2 [tʰi];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi]; NnC1 [tʰi]; NnC2 [tʰi]; LC [—] CG *tʰi (~ *tʰei)
Appendix: Data

tían 天 QYS thien CDC *thian¹
TS [tʰiən¹]; WN1 [tʰiən¹]; WN2 [tʰiən¹]; WN3 [tʰiən¹];
TC [dian²]; XZ [dian²]; YX [dʰian²]; DC1 [dian²]; DC2 [liən²];
AY [tʰiən¹]; NC [tʰiən¹]; FX [tʰiən¹]; GA [tʰiən¹];
CL [tʰiən¹]; PX [tʰiən¹]; AF1 [tʰiən¹]; AF2 [tʰiən¹]; LH1 [tʰiən¹]; LH2 [tʰiən¹];
JA1 [tʰiən¹]; JA2 [tʰiən¹];
SC [tʰiən¹]; LnC [tʰiən¹]; NnC1 [tʰiən¹]; NnC2 [tʰiən¹]; LC [hiau¹] CG *tʰiən¹

tião 挑 QYS thieu CDC *thiau¹
TS [tʰiəu¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tʰiəu¹];
TC [diau¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dieu¹]; DC2 [liau¹];
AY [tʰiəu¹]; NC [tʰiəu¹]; FX [tʰiəu¹]; GA [—];
CL [tʰiəu¹]; PX [tʰiəu¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰiəu¹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰiəu¹];
JA1 [tʰiəu¹]; JA2 [tʰiəu¹];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰiəu¹]; NnC1 [tʰiəu¹]; NnC2 [tʰiəu¹]; LC [hiau¹] CG *tʰiəu¹

tíng 聽 QYS thien CDC *thiang¹
TS [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; WN1 [tʰian³]; WN2 [tʰian³]; WN3 [tʰian³];
TC [dian³ ~ diaŋ³]; XZ [diaŋ³]; YX [dʰian³]; DC1 [dian³ ~ diaŋ³]; DC2 [liŋ³ ~ liəŋ³];
AY [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; NC [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; FX [tʰiəŋ³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; GA [tʰiəŋ³];
CL [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; PX [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; AF1 [tʰiəŋ³]; AF2 [tʰiəŋ³]; LH1 [tʰi⁴ ~ tʰi⁴]
LH2 [tʰi⁴]; JA1 [tʰiəŋ³]; JA2 [tʰin³ ~ tʰiəŋ³];
SC [tʰiəŋ³]; LnC [tʰiəŋ³ ~ tʰiəŋ³]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [tʰiəŋ³]; LC [tʰiəŋ³] CG *tʰiəŋ³

tōng 通 QYS thung CDC *thung¹
TS [tʰuŋ¹]; WN1 [tʰuŋ¹]; WN2 [tʰuŋ¹]; WN3 [tʰuŋ¹];
TC [dau¹]; XZ [dau¹]; YX [dʰau¹]; DC1 [dau¹]; DC2 [luŋ¹];
AY [tʰau¹]; NC [tʰau¹]; FX [tʰau¹]; GA [tʰau¹];
CL [tʰau¹]; PX [tʰau¹]; AF1 [tʰau¹]; AF2 [tʰau¹]; LH1 [hau¹]; LH2 [hau¹];
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JA1 [tʰəŋ 陰平]; JA2 [t'əŋ 陰平];
SC [tʰə 陰平]; LN1C [t'əŋ 陰平]; LN1C2 [t'əŋ 陰平]; LC [t'əŋ 陰平文 ~ hŋ̩ 陽平] CG *t'əŋ 陰平

tóng 同 QYS dung CDC *dung²
TS [tun 陽平]; WN1 [təŋ 陽平]; WN2 [təŋ 陽平]; WN3 [təŋ 陽平];
TC [təŋ 陽平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [təŋ 陽平]; DC2 [—];
AY [təŋ 陽平]; NC [t'əŋ 陽平]; FX [t'əŋ 陽平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'əŋ 陽平]; AF1 [təŋ 陽平]; AF2 [təŋ 陽平]; LH1 [həŋ 陽平]; LH2 [həŋ 陽平]; JA1 [təŋ 陽平];
JA2 [t'əŋ 陽平];
SC [t³ʊŋ ]; LnC [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'əŋ 陽平文 ~ hŋ̩ 陽平] CG *dun 陽平

tóng 簡 QYS dung CDC *dun²
TS [tun 陽平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [təŋ 陽平];
TC [təŋ 陽平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [təŋ 陽平]; DC2 [—];
AY [təŋ 陽平]; NC [t'əŋ 陽平]; FX [t'əŋ 陽平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'əŋ 陽平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [təŋ 陽平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [təŋ 陽平]; JA1 [təŋ 陽平];
JA2 [t'əŋ 陽平];
SC [—]; LnC [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hŋ̩ 陽平] CG *dun 陽平

tóng 童 QYS dung CDC *dun²
TS [tun 陽平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [təŋ 陽平];
TC [təŋ 陽平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [təŋ 陽平]; DC2 [—];
AY [təŋ 陽平]; NC [t'əŋ 陽平]; FX [t'əŋ 陽平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t'əŋ 陽平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [təŋ 陽平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [təŋ 陽平]; JA1 [təŋ 陽平];
JA2 [t'əŋ 陽平];
SC [—]; LnC [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC1 [t'əŋ 陽平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'əŋ 陽平文 ~ hŋ̩ 陽平] CG *dun 陽平

tóu 頭 QYS dou CDC *deu²
TS [t'əu 陽平]; WN1 [təu 陽平]; WN2 [t'iau 陽平]; WN3 [təu 陽平];
TC [t'iau 陽平]; XZ [deu²]; YX [dəu 陽平]; DC1 [deu 陽平]; DC2 [ləu 陽平²];
AY [t'əu 陽平]; NC [t'əu 陽平]; FX [t'əu 陽平]; GA [heu 陽平];
CL [t'əu 陽平]; PX [t'əu 陽平]; AF1 [t'əu 陽平]; AF2 [t'əu 陽平]; LH1 [heu 陽平]; LH2 [həi 陽平]; JA1 [həi 陽平 ~ həu 陽平]; JA2 [t'əu 陽平²];
SC [t'əu 陽平]; LnC [t'əu 陽平文 ~ həu 陽平]; NnC1 [həu 陽平]; NnC2 [həu 陽平]; LC [heu 陽平] CG *deu 陽平

tú 徒 QYS duo CDC *du²
TS [tou 陽平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [du 陽平];
TC [dou 陽平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [du 陽平]; DC2 [—];

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AY [tʰu̯]; NC [tʰu̯]; FX [tʰu̯]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tʰu ̯]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tʰu ̯]; JA1 [tʰu ̯]; JA2 [tʰu ̯];
SC [—]; Lnc [tʰu ̯]; NnC1 [tʰu ̯]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hu ̯] CG *du ̯

tuán 团 QYS duán CDC *don 2
TS [tuo ̯]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [du ̯]; WN3 [du ̯];
TC [dou ̯]; XZ [—]; YX [du ̯]; DC1 [du ̯]; DC2 [lu ̯];
AY [tuo ̯]; NC [tuo ̯]; FX [tuo ̯]; GA [—];
CL [tuo ̯]; PX [tuo ̯]; AF1 [tuo ̯]; AF2 [tuo ̯]; LH1 [tuo ̯]; LH2 [tuo ̯]; JA1 [tuo ̯]; JA2 [tuo ̯];
SC [tuo ̯]; Lnc [tuo ̯]; NnC1 [tuo ̯]; NnC2 [tuo ̯]; LC [hu ̯] CG *du ̯ *JXFY.

The NnC2 and LC wén forms appear to be post-Common Gàn loans from some other Gàn dialect, such as that of Nánchāng.

tūn 吞 QYS than CDC *then 1 ~ thuen 1
TS [tʰen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʰen]; WN3 [tʰen];
TC [dien]; XZ [den]; YX [den]; DC1 [den]; DC2 [len];
AY [tʰen]; NC [tʰen]; FX [tʰen]; GA [hen];
CL [tʰe]; PX [tʰe]; AF1 [tʰen]; AF2 [tʰun]; LH1 [he]; LH2 [hen]; JA1 [tʰen]; JA2 [—];
SC [tʰen]; Lnc [t’en ~ hen]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [hen]; LC [hen] CG *t’en

tuō 託 QYS thok CDC *thok 7
TS [t’o]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [t’o]; WN3 [t’o];
TC [do]; XZ [do]; YX [do]; DC1 [rok]; DC2 [lok];
AY [t’o]; NC [t’o]; FX [t’o]; GA [t’o];
CL [t’o]; PX [t’o]; AF1 [t’o]; AF2 [t’o]; LH1 [ho]; LH2 [t’o]; JA1 [t’o]; JA2 [t’o];
SC [t’o]; Lnc [t’o]; NnC1 [ho]; NnC2 [ho]; LC [ho] CG *t’o
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tuō 脫 QYS thuât CDC *thot²
TS [t'œ]; WN1 —; WN2 [tʰœʔ]; WN3 [t'œʔ]
TC [doʔ]; XZ [dœʔ]; YX [dœʔ]; DC1 [dot]; DC2 [lœʔ];
AY [t'œʔ]; NC [t'œʔ]; FX [t'œʔ]; GA [hoiʔ];
CL [t'œʔ]; PX [t'œʔ]; AF1 [t'œʔ]; AF2 [tʰœʔ]; LH1 [hoʔ]; LH2 [hoʔ]; JA1 [t'œʔ];
JA2 [t'œʔ];
SC [t'œʔ]; LnC [t'œʔ]; NnC1 [t'œʔ]; NnC2 [t'œʔ]; LC [hoʔ]; CG [t'œʔ]

wā 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *ngua⁴
TS [ua]; WN1 —; WN2 [ŋa]; WN3 [ŋa]
TC [ua]; XZ [ua]; YX [na]; DC1 [na]; DC2 [na]
AY [na]; NC [ua]; FX [na]; GA [na]
CL [va]; PX [na]; AF1 [na]; AF2 [na]; LH1 [a]; LH2 [na]; JA1 [na];
JA2 [ua]
SC [na]; LnC [ua]; NnC1 [ua]; NnC2 [va]; LC [ua]; CG [na] *ua

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *ngou⁶
TS [na]; WN1 [na]; WN2 —; WN3 [na]
TC [na]; XZ [na]; YX [na]; DC1 [na]; DC2 [na]
AY [na]; NC [ua]; FX [na]; GA [na] *na
CL [va]; PX [na]; AF1 [na]; AF2 [na]; LH1 [a]; LH2 —; JA1 [na];
JA2 [na]
SC [na]; LnC [ua]; NnC1 [ua]; NnC2 [va]; LC [ua]; CG [na] *na

The first two CG forms are probably bái in register. The CG tone of the fourth form is indeterminate. The first PX and LH2 forms derive from CG *ngou⁶. The fifth form is may either a northern loan form or derive, together with th Tôngshân form from yet another form, *ŋu". 

wán 完 QYS yuân CDC *huon²
TS [ue ~ ve]; WN1 —; WN2 —; WN3 [uon²]
TC [fon ~ uon]; XZ [uon]; YX [von]; DC1 [uon]; DC2 [uon]
AY [uon ~ fon]; NC [fon ~ uon ~ yon]; FX [uen]; GA [fën];
CL [xua ~ yä]; PX [ua ~ u ~ u3 ~ u5]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [u]; LH1 [huä]; LH2 [uon²]; JA1 [fon²]; JA2 [fon²];
SC [—]; LnC [fon²]; NnC1 [fon²]; NnC2 [von²]; LC [fon ~ uon ~ uon²]; CG [uon ~ *huon², *yon², *uon ~ *huon²]
Appendix: Data

The value $\overline{\text{y}i\text{n}sh\text{ǎ}ng}$ for the tone of the second reconstructed form is conjectural, since the necessary wén readings do not occur in our data for the dialects which are determinative for the register difference in the shǎng tone.

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The value $\overline{\text{y}i\text{n}sh\text{ǎ}ng}$ for the tone of the second reconstructed form is conjectural, since the necessary wén readings do not occur in our data for the dialects which are determinative for the register difference in the shǎng tone.
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AY [uan]; NC [uan] ～ [man]; FX [uan]; GA [uan];
CL [ua]; PX [ua]; AF1 [ván]; AF2 [ma]; LH1 [ua]; LH2 [uan]; JA1 [uan];
JA2 [uan];
SC [uan]; LnC [uan]; NnC1 [uan]; NnC2 [van]; LC [uan] CG *man ～ *uan

The tone in the AF2 form is anomalous.

wáng 王 QYS mjwang: CDC *mvon2
TS [uon]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [uon]; WN3 [vouŋ];
TC [uon]; XZ [uon]; YX [vouŋ]; DC1 [uon]; DC2 [uon];
AY [uon]; NC [uon]; FX [uon]; GA [uon];
CL [v3]; PX [u3]; AF1 [vōŋ]; AF2 [uŋ]; LH1 [u̯]; LH2 [u̯]; JA1 [u̯]; JA2 [u̯];
SC [u̯]; LnC [u̯]; NnC1 [u̯]; NnC2 [v̯]; LC [u̯] CG *u̯

The AF1 tone is irregular.

wáng 往 QYS jwang: CDC *mvon⁴/EC *mangx
TS [uon]; WN1 [v̯]; WN2 [v̯]; WN3 [v̯];
TC [uon]; XZ [uon]; YX [v̯]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [u̯];
AY [u̯]; NC [u̯]; FX [u̯]; GA [u̯];
CL [v̯]; PX [u̯]; AF1 [v̯]; AF2 [u̯]; LH1 [m̥]; LH2 [m̥]; JA1 [m̥]; JA2 [u̯];
SC [m̥]; LnC [m̥]; NnC1 [u̯]; NnC2 [v̯]; LC [m̥] CG *m̥ ～ *u̯

wáng 往 QYS jwang: CDC *wong⁴
TS [uon]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [vouŋ];
TC [uon]; XZ [uon]; YX [vouŋ]; DC1 [uon]; DC2 [—];
AY [uon]; NC [uon]; FX [uon]; GA [uon];
CL [v3]; PX [u3]; AF1 [vōŋ]; AF2 [uŋ]; LH1 [u̯]; LH2 [u̯]; JA1 [u̯]; JA2 [u̯];
SC [u̯]; LnC [u̯]; NnC1 [u̯]; NnC2 [v̯]; LC [u̯] CG *u̯ ～ *u̯
Appendix: Data

wang 望 QYS mjwang- CDC *mvong EC *mangh
TS [uoŋ]; WN1 [woŋ]; WN2 [uoŋ]; WN3 [vuŋ];
TC [uoŋ]; XZ [moŋ]; YX [moŋ]; DC1 [moŋ]; DC2 [uoŋ];
AY [uoŋ ~ moŋ]; NC [uoŋ ~ moŋ]; FX [uoŋ]; GA [uoŋ];
CL [vɔŋ]; PX [mɔŋ ~ uɔŋ]; AF1 [vɔŋ]; AF2 [uɔŋ]; LH1 [u5]; LH2 [moŋ]; JA1 [uoŋ]; JA2 [uoŋ];
SC [moŋ]; LnC [uoŋ]; NnC1 [uoŋ ~ moŋ]; NnC2 [uoŋ ~ moŋ]; LC [uoŋ ~ moŋ] CG *moŋ ~ *uoŋ

wéi 為 QYS jwe CDC *wi2
TS [væi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [vi];
TC [ui]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ui]; DC2 [—];
AY [ui]; NC [ui]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ui]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [uei]; JA2 [ui];
SC [—]; LnC [ui]; NnC1 [ui]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ui] CG *yi
The JA1 tone is irregular.

wéi 唯, 惟 QYS jiwi CDC *yui2
TS [væi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [vi];
TC [ui]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ui]; DC2 [—];
AY [ui]; NC [ui]; FX [ui]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ui]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [uei]; JA1 [uei]; JA2 [ui];
SC [—]; LnC [ui]; NnC1 [ui]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ui] CG *yi
The LH2 and JA2 tones are irregular.

wéi 尾 QYS mjwei CDC *mvui2
TS [væi]; WN1 [wi]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [vi];
TC [ui]; XZ [ui]; YX [vi]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [ui]; NC [ui]; FX [ui]; GA [ui];
CL [—]; PX [ui]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ui]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [uei]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [ui]; NnC1 [ui]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ui] CG *yi ~ *yi

wéi 尾 QYS mjwei CDC *mvui EC *muyx
TS [væi]; WN1 [wi]; WN2 [vi ~ mi]; WN3 [mi];
TC [ui ~ nî]; XZ [ui]; YX [mi]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ui ~ mi];
AY [ui ~ mi]; NC [ui]; FX [ui]; GA [ui ~ mi];
CL [ve ~ mi]; PX [ui ~ ui]; AF1 [mi]; AF2 [mei]; LH1 [ui ~ mi ~ mi]; LH2 [mi]; JA1 [mei]; JA2 [—];
The initial of the TC bái form is irregular. The tone of the Common Gàn form *mei cannot be confidently reconstructed, due to lack of a regular tonal correspondence between AF2 and SC. Whether the wén form should be reconstructed as *ui or *yi is uncertain.
Appendix: Data

CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [y]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [uei]; JA2 [ui]; SC [—]; LnC [ui]; NnC1 [ui]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ui] CG *yi

wén 瘟 QYS ?uan CDC *un
TS [ven]; WN1 [won]; WN2 [won]; WN3 [vøn];
TC [uen]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [uen]; NC [uen]; FX [uan]; GA [uen];
CL [—]; PX [uen]; AF1 [——]; AF2 [uen]; LH1 [uen]; LH2 [uen]; JA1 [uen]; JA2 [uen];
SC [un]; LnC [un]; NnC1 [un]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uen] CG *un

**Restored by us. The source has a lacuna at this point.

wén 溫 QYS ?uan CDC *un
TS [ven]; WN1 [won]; WN2 [won]; WN3 [vøn];
TC [uen]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [uen]; NC [uen]; FX [uan]; GA [uen];
CL [—]; PX [uen]; AF1 [uen]; AF2 [uen]; LH1 [uen]; LH2 [uen]; JA1 [uen]; JA2 [uen];
SC [un]; LnC [un]; NnC1 [un]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uen] CG *un

**Restored by us. The source has a lacuna at this point.

wén 蚊 QYS mjuan CDC *mvun
TS [ven]; WN1 [won]; WN2 [vøn]; WN3 [vøn];
TC [uen]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [uen]; NC [uen]; FX [uan]; GA [uen];
CL [vøn]; PX [vøn]; AF1 [vøn]; AF2 [vøn]; LH1 [vøn]; LH2 [vøn]; JA1 [vøn]; JA2 [vøn];
SC [un]; LnC [un]; NnC1 [un]; NnC2 [—]; LC [vøn] CG *un

**JXFY.

Linchuăn has duplicate readings for both the wén and bái forms. This is attributable to variation among the informants consulted in the source. Some dialects read this word in the yīnpíng...
rather than the yángping tone.

wén 閃 QYS mjuan CDC *mvun\(^2\)
TS [ven]; WN1 [wan]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [wan];
TC [uən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [un]; NC [un]; FX [—]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ue]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [uen]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [uen]; JA1 [uen];
JA2 [uen];
SC [—]; LnC [uen]; NnC1 [uin]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uen] CG *uen

wén 穩 QYS ?uən: CDC *un\(^3\)
TS [ven]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ven]; WN3 [ven];
TC [uən]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [un]; NC [un]; FX [uen]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [uəŋ]; AF1 [vən]; AF2 [uen]; LH1 [ue]; LH2 [uen]; JA1 [uen];
JA2 [uen];
SC [uən]; LnC [uen]; NnC1 [uin]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uen] CG *uen
*JXFY.

wén 問 QYS mjuan- CDC *mvun\(^6\)/EC *munh
TS [ven]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ven]; WN3 [ven];
TC [uən]; XZ [uən]; YX [ven]; DC1 [man]; DC2 [uən];
AY [un]; NC [uən]; FX [uən]; GA [uən];
CL [vən]; PX [ue]; AF1 [vən]; AF2 [uen]; LH1 [ue]; LH2 [uen]; JA1 [uen];
JA2 [uen];
SC [mən]; LnC [uən]; NnC1 [uin]; NnC2 [ven]; LC [uen] CG *un
*Misprinted as vən.

The GA tone is irregular. A reviewer cites from a different GA variety a reading in the expected yángqù tone.

wěng 翁 QYS ?uəŋ CDC *ung
TS [ven]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [ŋ]; WN3 [ŋ];
TC [ŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [ŋ]; DC2 [ŋ];
AY [ŋ]; NC [ŋ]; FX [ŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [ŋ]; AF1 [ŋ]; AF2 [ŋ]; LH1 [ŋ]; LH2 [ŋ]; JA1 [ŋ];
JA2 [ŋ];
SC [ŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋ

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Appendix: Data

Appendix: Data

The TS and LC bái forms, together with the two Nánchéng forms having final -a, appear to descend from our reconstructed bái form, but NnC and LC irregularly lose initial ŋ-. The SC form looks very archaic and “Hakka-like”. Whether it is an ancient retention from an old substrate, or simply a Hakka loan, is indeterminate.

The tone of the WN3 form is irregular.

The tone of the AF2 tone is irregular.

The tone of the WN3 form is irregular.
This syllable is a literary word. The WN1 form, perhaps derived from an earlier *ŋ̩ 上, appears to be an archaic existential negative rather than a direct cognate to the other forms in this set.
Appendix: Data

SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;  SC [ŋ̩]; LnC [ŋ̩]; NnC1 [ŋ̩]; NnC2 [ŋ̩]; LC [ŋ̩~ŋ̩]; CG *ŋ̩;

wù 誤 QYS nguo- CDC *ngu⁶
TS [vuŋ]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [uŋ]; WN3 [uŋ]; TC [uŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [uŋ]; DC2 [ŋ];
AY [uŋ]; NC [uŋ]; FX [uŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [uŋ]; AF1 [uŋ]; AF2 [uŋ]; LH1 [uŋ]*; LH2 [uŋ]; JA1 [uŋ]; JA2 [uŋ];
SC [uŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋu *JXFY.

wù 悟 QYS nguo- CDC *ngu⁶
TS [vuŋ]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [ŋ]; WN3 [ŋ]; TC [uŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [uŋ]; DC2 [ŋ];
AY [uŋ]; NC [uŋ]; FX [uŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [uŋ]; AF1 [ŋ]; AF2 [ŋ]; LH1 [ŋ]; LH2 [ŋ]; JA1 [uŋ]; JA2 [uŋ];
SC [ŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋu *JXFY.

wù 物 QYS mjuat CDC *mvut⁸
TS [vuŋ]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [uŋ]; WN3 [v][ŋ]; TC [uŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [uŋ]; DC2 [uŋ];
AY [uŋ]; NC [uŋ]; FX [uŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [ŋ]; AF1 [v][ŋ]; AF2 [v][ŋ]; LH1 [v][ŋ]; LH2 [v][ŋ]; JA1 [v][ŋ]; JA2 [v][ŋ];
SC [ŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋu *JXFY.

wù 勿 QYS mjuat CDC *mvut⁸
TS [vuŋ]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [ŋ]; WN3 [v][ŋ]; TC [uŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [uŋ]; DC2 [ŋ];
AY [uŋ]; NC [uŋ]; FX [uŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [ŋ]; AF1 [ŋ]; AF2 [ŋ]; LH1 [ŋ]; LH2 [ŋ]; JA1 [ŋ]; JA2 [ŋ];
SC [ŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋu *JXFY.

wù 惡 QYS ?uo- CDC *u⁵
TS [ŋ]; WN1 [ŋ]; WN2 [ŋ]; WN3 [ŋ];
TC [ŋ]; XZ [ŋ]; YX [ŋ]; DC1 [ŋ]; DC2 [ŋ];
AY [ŋ]; NC [ŋ]; FX [uŋ]; GA [ŋ];
CL [ŋ]; PX [ŋ]; AF1 [ŋ]; AF2 [ŋ]; LH1 [ŋ]; LH2 [ŋ]; JA1 [ŋ]; JA2 [ŋ];
SC [ŋ]; LnC [ŋ]; NnC1 [ŋ]; NnC2 [ŋ]; LC [ŋ] CG *ŋu *JXFY.
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X

xì 西 QYS sjiej CDC *siai
TS [sai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ei]; WN3 [ei];
TC [ei]; XZ [si]; YX [ei]; DC1 [si]; DC2 [si];
AY [ei]; NC [ei]; FX [si]; GA [si];
CL [ei]; PX [si]; AF1 [ei]; AF2 [ei]; LH1 [ei]; LH2 [ei]; JA1 [ei]; JA2 [ei];
SC [ei]; LnC [si]; NnC1 [ei]; NnC2 [ei]; LC [ei] CG *si

xī 希 QYS xjiej CDC *xi
TS [ei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ei];
TC [ei]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ei]; DC2 [—];
AY [ei]; NC [ei]; FX [ei]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ei]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ei]; JA1 [ei]; JA2 [ei];
SC [—]; LnC [ei]; NnC1 [ei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [hi] CG *hi

xí 習 QYS sjāk CDC *siaik
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ei\*];
TC [ei\*]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [si\*]; DC2 [—];
AY [ei\*]; NC [ei\*]; FX [ei\*]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [si\*]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei\*]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ei\*]; JA1 [ei\*]; JA2 [ei\*];
TheSC [—]; LnC [si\*]; NnC1 [ei\*]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ei\*] CG *siek

xi 孝 QYS zjāp CDC *zip
TS [saip]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [dzi];
TC [ei\*]; XZ [si]; YX [ei\*]; DC1 [si]; DC2 [dzi];
AY [ei\*]; NC [si]; FX [siaip]; GA [si];
CL [ei\*]; PX [si]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei\*]; LH1 [ei\*]; LH2 [ei\*]; JA1 [ei\*]; JA2 [ei\*];
SC [—]; LnC [sip]; NnC1 [ei\*]; NnC2 [ei\*]; LC [ei\*] CG *sip ~ *zip (?)
The AF2 tone is irregular. The tonal register of the second reconstruction is uncertain.

xi 息 QYS sjäk CDC *sik
TS [sai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ei\*];
TC [ei\*]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [si]; DC2 [—];
AY [ei\*]; NC [ei\*]; FX [si]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [si]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei\*]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ei\*]; JA1 [ei\*]; JA2 [ei\*];
Appendix: Data

SC [—]; LnC [si^2]; NnC1 [ei^2]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ei^2] CG *sie^2

xi 喜 QYS xjiː CDC *xi³
TS [ei^3]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ei^3]; WN3 [ei^3]; TC [ei^3]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ei^3]; DC2 [ei^3];
AY [ei^3]; NC [ei^3]; FX [ei^3]; GA [—];
CL [ei^3]; PX [tei^3]; AF1 [ei^3]; AF2 [ei^3]; LH1 [ei^3*]; LH2 [ei^3]; JA1 [ei^3]; JA2 [ei^3];
SC [ei^3]; LnC [ei^3]; NnC1 [ei^3]; NnC2 [ei^3]; LC [hi^3] CG *hi^3
*JXFY.

xi 洗 QYS sieiː CDC *siai³
TS [sei³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ei^3]; WN3 [ei^3];
TC [ei^3]; XZ [si^3 ]; YX [ei^3 ]; DC1 [si^3 ]; DC2 [si^3 ];
AY [ei^3 ~ sai^3 ]; NC [ei^3 ]; FX [si^3 ]; GA [si^3 ~ sai^3 ];
CL [ei^3 ]; PX [si^3 ]; AF1 [ei^3 ]; AF2 [ei^3 ]; LH1 [ei^3 ]; LH2 [ei^3 ]; JA1 [sei^3 ]; JA2 [ei^3 ];
SC [ei^3 ]; LnC [si^3 ]; NnC1 [ei^3 ]; NnC2 [ei^3 ]; LC [ei^3 ] CG *sei^3
*JXFY.

xi 戲 QYS xje-³ CDC *xi⁵
TS [zi^5 ]; WN1 [ei^5 ]; WN2 [ei^5 ]; WN3 [ei^5 ];
TC [ei^5 ]; XZ [si^5 ]; YX [ei^5 ]; DC1 [ei^5 ]; DC2 [ei^5 ];
AY [ei^5 ]; NC [ei^5 ]; FX [ei^5 ]; GA [ei^5 ];
CL [ei^5 ]; PX [tei^5 ]; AF1 [ei^5 ]; AF2 [tei^5 ]; LH1 [ei^5 ]; LH2 [ei^5 ]; JA1 [tei^5 ]; JA2 [ei^5 ];
SC [ei^5 ]; LnC [ei^5 ]; NnC1 [ei^5 ]; NnC2 [ei^5 ]; LC [hi^5 ] CG *hi^5
The tone of the second reconstructed reading is unetymological but is clearly reflected in TS and LH2.

xi 細 QYS siei- CDC *siai⁵
TS [sei⁵ ]; WN1 [ei^5 ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ei^5 ];
TC [ei^5 ]; XZ [si^5 ]; YX [ei^5 ]; DC1 [si^5 ]; DC2 [si^5 ];
AY [ei^5 ~ sai^5 ]; NC [ei^5 ]; FX [si^5 ~ sei^5 ]; GA [si^5 ~ sai^5 ];
CL [ei^5 ]; PX [si^5 ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ei^5 ]; LH1 [ei^5 ]; LH2 [ei^5 ]; JA1 [si^5 ]; JA2 [ei^5 ];
SC [ei^5 ]; LnC [si^5 ]; NnC1 [ei^5 ]; NnC2 [si^5 ]; LC [ei^5 ] CG *sei^5
*JXFY.

xiā 瞭 QYS xat CDC *xat
TS [xa^1 ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ha^2 ]; WN3 [xat];
TC [sia^2 ]; XZ [ha^2 ]; YX [g^a^2 ]; DC1 [xat]; DC2 [ha^1 ];
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CL [xa] ; PX [he] ; AF1 [he] ; AF2 [he] ; LH1 [he] ; LH2 [he] ; JA1 [he] ;
JA2 [xə̂];
SC [ha] ; LnC [hat] ; NnC1 [haiʔ] ; NnC2 [haiʔ] ; LC [haiʔ] CG *hat (~ *hia)  

The wén reconstruction can only be conjectured, since it is supported only in TC. It may in fact be a very late loan, borrowed as *hiaʔ from some of Guānhuà.

xià 下 QYS yaː; ya- CDC *ha⁴ ~ *ha⁶
TS [eɪəʔ] ~ xo  WN1 [—] ; WN2 [haʔ] ; WN3 [xâ];
TC [eɪa] ; XZ [ha] ; YX [ɡa] ; DC1 [xa] ; DC2 [ha];
AY [ha]; NC [ha] ~ ka; FX [ha] ; GA [ha];
CL [xa]; PX [ha] “down” ~ ha “descend”; AF1 [ha]; AF2 [ha]; LH1 [ha]; LH2 [ha] “down”; JA1 [ha]; JA2 [xa “down” ~ xa “descend”];
SC [ha]; LnC [ha]; NnC1 [ha]; NnC2 [ha] ~ ha “down” ~ ha “descend”; LC [ha] ~ ha “descend”] CG *ha ~ *hia, *ha

xiān 先 QYS sien CDC *sien¹
TS [sien] ; WN1 [—] ; WN2 [cien] ; WN3 [cien];
TC [sien]; XZ [—] ; YX [—] ; DC1 [sien] ; DC2 [sien];
AY [sien]; NC [sien] ~ sien; FX [sien] ; GA [—];
CL [sien]; PX [ɕiɛ̃]; AF1 [ɕiɛ̃]; AF2 [ɕiɛ̃]; LH1 [ɕiɛ̃]*; LH2 [ɕiɛ̃]; JA1 [ɕiɛ̃];
JA2 [ɕiɛ̃];
SC [ɕiɛ̃]; LnC [ɕiɛ̃]; NnC1 [ɕiɛ̃]; NnC2 [ɕiɛ̃]; LC [ɕiɛ̃] CG *sien ~ *JXFY.

xiān 仙 QYS sjān CDC *sien¹
TS [sien] ; WN1 [—] ; WN2 [ɕiɛ̃]; WN3 [ɕiɛ̃];
TC [ɕiɛ̃]; XZ [ɕiɛ̃]; YX [ɕiɛ̃]; DC1 [ɕiɛ̃]; DC2 [ɕiɛ̃];
AY [ɕiɛ̃]; NC [ɕiɛ̃] ~ ɕiɛ̃; FX [ɕiɛ̃]; GA [ɕiɛ̃];
CL [ɕiɛ̃]; PX [ɕiɛ̃]; AF1 [ɕiɛ̃]; AF2 [ɕiɛ̃]; LH1 [ɕiɛ̃]; LH2 [ɕiɛ̃]; JA1
Appendix: Data

[eiən̩]; JA2 [eiən̩]; SC [eiən̩]; LnC [eiən̩]; NnC1 [eiən̩]; NnC2 [eiən̩]; LC [eiən̩] CG *sien̩

xiăn 鮮 QYS sían CDC *sian

TS [siən̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [han̩]; WN3 [xian̩];
TC [siən̩]; XZ [han̩]; YX [gəan̩]; DC1 [xian̩]; DC2 [han̩];
AY [han̩]; NC [han̩]; FX [eiən̩]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [siən̩]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [eiən̩]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [eiən̩]; JA1 [eiən̩];
JA2 [eiən̩];
SC [—]; LnC [eiən̩ ~ sian̩]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [eiən̩] CG *sien̩

xián 嫌 QYS yian CDC *han

TS [eiən̩ ~ xæ̂]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [han̩]; WN3 [xan̩];
TC [eiən̩ ~ han̩]; XZ [han̩]; YX [gəan̩]; DC1 [xan̩]; DC2 [han̩];
AY [han]; NC [han]; FX [han]; GA [han];
CL [eiən̩ ~ xæ̂]; PX [hən]; AF1 [hən]; AF2 [hən]; LH1 [hən]; LH2 [han];
JA1 [han]; JA2 [xan];
SC [hən]; LnC [han]; NnC1 [han]; NnC2 [han]; LC [han] CG *han ~ *hian

xiàn 嫌 QYS yiem CDC *hiam

TS [eiən̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [eiən̩]; WN3 [eiən̩];
TC [eiən̩]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [eiən̩]; DC2 [eiən̩];
AY [eiən̩]; NC [han]; FX [eiən̩]; GA [—];
CL [eiən̩]; PX [eiən̩]; AF1 [eiən̩]; AF2 [eiən̩]; LH1 [eiən̩] * tone sic; LH2 [eiən̩];
JA1 [eiən̩]; JA2 [eiən̩];
SC [eiən̩]; LnC [eiən̩]; NnC1 [eiən̩]; NnC2 [eiən̩]; LC [hiam] CG *hiem *JXFY.

The final of the NC form is irregular.

xiàn 县 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion

TS [eiən̩]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [eiən̩]; WN3 [—];
TC [eiən̩]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [eiən̩]; DC2 [eiən̩];
AY [eiən̩]; NC [eiən̩]; FX [eiən̩]; GA [—];
CL [eiən̩]; PX [—]; AF1 [eyən̩]; AF2 [eyən̩]; LH1 [eiən̩]; LH2 [eiən̩]; JA1 [eyən];
JA2 [eyən];
SC [eyən]; LnC [eyən]; NnC1 [suən]; NnC2 [son]; LC [fiən] CG *hyon *JXFY.
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xiàn 陷 QYS ɣâm-  
CDC *ham⁶
TS [ɕiə̃¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕiə̃].
TC [ɕien]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ɻə̃]; DC2 [—];
AY [ɻə̃]; NC [ɻə̃]; FX [ɻə̃]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [hà]: AF1 [—]; AF2 [hà]: LH1 [—]; LH2 [ɻə̃]; JA1 [ɕien]; JA2 [ɕə̃];
SC [—]; LnC [ɻə̃]; NnC1 [ɻə̃]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ɻə̃] CG *ham 陽去文 × *hiam

xiāng 相 QYS sjang  
CDC *siong¹
TS [ɕiə̃²]; WN1 [ɕiə̃]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕiə̃];
TC [ɕiə̃]; XZ [ɕiə̃]; YX [ɕiə̃]; DC1 [ɕiə̃]; DC2 [ɕiə̃];
AY [ɕiə̃]; NC [ɕiə̃]; FX [ɕiə̃]; GA [ɕiə̃];
CL [ɕiə̃]; PX [ɕiə̃]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕiə̃]; LH1 [ɕiə̃]; LH2 [ɕiə̃]; JA1 [ɕiə̃]; JA2 [ɕiə̃];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕiə̃]; NnC1 [ɕə̃]; NnC2 [ɕə̃]; LC [ɕiə̃] CG *siong 陰平

xiāng 香 QYS sjang  
CDC *siong²
TS [tsiə̃]; WN1 [ɕiə̃]; WN2 [ɕiə̃]; WN3 [ɕiə̃];
TC [dziə̃]; XZ [—]; YX [ɕiə̃]; DC1 [dziə̃]; DC2 [—];
AY [ɕiə̃]; NC [ɕiə̃]; FX [ɕiə̃]; GA [ɕiə̃];
CL [—]; PX [tsiə̃]; AF1 [ɕiə̃]; AF2 [ɕiə̃]; LH1 [ɕiə̃*]; LH2 [ɕiə̃]; JA1 [ɕiə̃]; JA2 [ɕiə̃];
SC [ɕiə̃]; LnC [ɕiə̃]; NnC1 [ɕə̃]; NnC2 [ɕə̃]; LC [ɕiə̃] CG *dziong 陽平 ~ *siong
*JXFY.

xiāng 想 QYS sjang:  
CDC *siong³
TS [ɕiə̃]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕiə̃];
TC [ɕiə̃]; XZ [—]; YX [ɕiə̃]; DC1 [ɕiə̃]; DC2 [ɕiə̃];
AY [ɕiə̃]; NC [ɕiə̃]; FX [ɕiə̃]; GA [—];
CL [ɕiə̃]; PX [ɕiə̃]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕiə̃]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ɕiə̃]; JA1 [ɕiə̃]; JA2 [ɕiə̃];
The initial of the LC form is unexpected. The form may ultimately be a loan of some sort, perhaps from a dialect that reads ts'i (an impossible syllable in LC).

The initial of the LC form is unexpected. The form may ultimately be a loan of some sort, perhaps from a dialect that reads ts'i (an impossible syllable in LC).
hypothesize that it existed. The form *sia in Common Gàn because it is attested only at this point, though we can
supported by comparative evidence.

The TC bái form, which probably derives from earlier *sia, is not really reconstructable comparatively in Common Gàn because it is attested only at this point, though we can hypothesize that it existed. The form *siet, which is unetymological, is on the contrary well supported by comparative evidence.

The DC2 tone is irregular.
The bái form is probably the archaic, native Gàn etymon. The first wén form corresponds directly to the QYS reading and is probably an early loan from some medieval koine. The third reconstructed form is clearly a late loan from the north. The initial of the TC wén reading may be a contamination from the bái form.
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The CG form reconstructed for this set as *hen 陽平 should perhaps really be restored as *hen 陽平, but this form is not reconstructable comparatively, because the appropriate reading does not happen to occur in the dialects that would support final *-en here. The second one, and perhaps also the third, represents a different etymon, meaning “to do, carry out”, whereas the first one means “to walk”.

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Appendix: Data

The wén and bái forms for Píngxiāng are mistakenly inverted in the source, as can be determined by referring to the lexical section of the work. We have corrected this here.
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xióng 熊 QYS jung CDC *yung² ~ *hiung²
TS [ɕioŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ɕiong̃]; WN3 [ɕiong̃]; TC [ɕioŋ]; XZ [ɕiong̃]; YX [ɕiong̃]; DC1 [ɕiong̃]; DC2 [ɕiong̃]; AY [ɕioŋ]; NC [ɕioŋ]; FX [ɕiong̃]; GA [ɕiong̃]; CL [ɕipŋ]; PX [ɕiŋ]; AF1 [ɕiŋ]; AF2 [ɕiŋ]; LH1 [ɕiŋ]; LH2 [ɕiŋ]; JA1 [ɕioŋ]; JA2 [ɕipŋ]; SC [ɕiong̃]; LnC [ɕiong̃]; NnC1 [ɕiong̃]; NnC2 [ɕiong̃]; LC [ɕiong̃] CG *hiung

The LC form is probably a literary loan.

xiū 休 QYS sjōu CDC *sieu¹
TS [ɕiu]; WN1 [ɕiou]; WN2 [ɕiou]; WN3 [ɕiu]; TC [ɕiong̃]; XZ [ɕioŋ]; YX [ɕiy]; DC1 [ɕioŋ]; DC2 [ɕioŋ]; AY [ɕiu]; NC [ɕiu]; FX [ɕiou]; GA [ɕioŋ]; CL [ɕiu]; PX [ɕiu]; AF1 [ɕiu]; AF2 [ɕiu]; LH1 [ɕiu]; LH2 [ɕiu]; JA1 [ɕiu]; JA2 [ɕiu]; SC [ɕiu]; LnC [ɕiu]; NnC1 [ɕiu]; NnC2 [ɕiu]; LC [ɕiu] CG *sieu

The tone of the TC form is irregular.

xiū 秀 QYS sjōu CDC *sieu⁵
TS [ɕiu]; WN1 [ɕiu]; WN2 [ɕiu]; WN3 [ɕiu]; TC [ɕiu]; XZ [ɕiu]; YX [ɕiu]; DC1 [ɕiu]; DC2 [ɕiu]; AY [ɕiu]; NC [ɕiu]; FX [ɕiu]; GA [ɕiu]; CL [ɕiu]; PX [ɕiu]; AF1 [ɕiu]; AF2 [ɕiu]; LH1 [ɕiu]; LH2 [ɕiu]; JA1 [ɕiu]; JA2 [ɕiu]; SC [ɕiu]; LnC [ɕiu]; NnC1 [ɕiu]; NnC2 [ɕiu]; LC [ɕiu] CG *sieu

xū 需 QYS sjuu CDC *sieu¹
TS [ɕjuu]; WN1 [ɕjuu]; WN2 [ɕjuu]; WN3 [ɕjuu]; TC [ɕjuu]; XZ [ɕjuu]; YX [ɕjuu]; DC1 [ɕjuu]; DC2 [ɕjuu]; AY [ɕjuu]; NC [ɕjuu]; FX [ɕjuu]; GA [ɕjuu]; CL [ɕjuu]; PX [ɕjuu]; AF1 [ɕjuu]; AF2 [ɕjuu]; LH1 [ɕjuu]; LH2 [ɕjuu]; JA1 [ɕjuu];
Appendix: Data

JA2 [ey];
SC [—]; LnC [si]; NnC1 [ey]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ey] CG *sy
The TS bài form is the regular reflex of CG *sy. The wén form has probably been borrowed from elsewhere in fairly recent times.

xù 虚 QYS xjwo CDC *xie₁ (~ *xiu₁)
TS [ey]; WN1 [ey]; WN2 [ey]; WN3 [ey];
TC [ey]; XZ [hi]; YX [si]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ei];
AY [ei]; NC [ey]; FX [ei]; GA [ho];
CL [ey]; PX [su]; AF1 [su]; AF2 [ey]; LH1 [ey]; LH2 [ey]; JA1 [ey];
JA2 [ey];
SC [ey]; LnC [ei]; NnC1 [ey]; NnC2 [ey]; LC [hy ~ he ~] CG *hy
The LC bài form may derive from an archaic form in *he. We unfortunately have nothing in our data set with which to compare it.

xù 徐 QYS zjwo CDC *zie² (~ *ziu²)
TS [ey ~ sê]; WN1 [tey]; WN2 [dzi]; WN3 [dzi];
TC [dzi]; XZ [dzi]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [dzi];
AY [tei]; NC [tey]; FX [tei]; GA [tsi];
CL [ey]; PX [si]; AF1 [su]; AF2 [ey]; LH1 [eiu]; LH2 [eiu]; JA1 [sy];
JA2 [ey];
SC [ey]; LnC [si ~ ts'e]; NnC1 [tie]; NnC2 [tie]; LC [tie] CG *dzie ~ *sy ~ *dzi
The LnC bài form is problematic and requires further study. It is possible that early *-ie was reduced to -e after sibilants in LnC. The TS bài form must derive from an earlier *s, which is the regular reflex of *-y in this environment. The wén form presumably derives from a very late loan form, *sy. The AF1 form is anomalous. Its final -u requires derivation from a Common Gân initial *s- syllable (i.e., *sy), for which there is no evidence in the other representative dialects.

xù 許 QYS xjwo: CDC *xie³ (~ *xiu³)
TS [ey]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ey]; WN3 [ey];
TC [ey]; XZ [fi]; YX [ei]; DC1 [ei]; DC2 [ei];
AY [ei]; NC [ey ~ he]; FX [ei]; GA [ho];
CL [ey]; PX [su]; AF1 [su]; AF2 [ey]; LH1 [ey]; LH2 [ey]; JA1 [sy];
JA2 [ey];
SC [ey]; LnC [ei]; NnC1 [ei]; NnC2 [ei]; LC [ey ~ he ~] CG *he ~ *sy

xù 序 QYS zjwo: CDC *zie⁴ (~ *ziu⁴)
TS [saei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ey];
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TC [ɕi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ɕi]; DC2 [—];
AY [ɕi]; NC [ey]; FX [ɕi]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [si]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ey]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ey]; JA1 [sy]; JA2 [ey];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕi]; NnC1 [ɕy]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ey] CG *sy

The LH2 final is irregular, for we would expect final -iu here. The form is probably borrowed from some other Gàn dialect, or even from the modern standard koine.

xù蓄畜 QYS xjuk “to breed, raise” CDC *xiuk

TS [ɕi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ɕiou]; XZ [ɕi]; YX [ɕiou]; DC1 [ɕiuk]; DC2 [ɕiuk];
AY [ɕiou]; NC [ɕy]; FX [ɕiou]; GA [tsu];
CL [ɕi]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕio]; LH1 [ɕyo]; LH2 [ɕio]; JA1 [ɕio]; JA2 [eya];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕiu]; NnC1 [ɕiu]; NnC2 [ɕiu]; LC [hiu] CG *hiuk

The FX bái form and the GA form are contaminations from the reading chù畜“livestock”.

The initial of the first DC1 form is irregular. The second form is specifically designated as yòu又 “alternate” in the source.

xù絮 QYS sjwo- CDC *sie (~ *siu)

TS [si]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ɕi]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ɕi]; DC2 [—];
AY [ɕi]; NC [ɕy]; FX [ɕi]; GA [—];
CL [ɕi]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ɕi]; LH1 [ɕyo]; LH2 [ɕi]; JA1 [sy]; JA2 [ey];
SC [—]; LnC [ɕi]; NnC1 [ɕi]; NnC2 [ɕi]; LC [ɕie] CG *sie (~ *sy

The tone of the third reconstructed form is unetymological.

xuê靴 QYS xuâ CDC *xiuo

TS [ɕi]; WN1 [ɕi]; WN2 [ɕi]; WN3 [ɕi];
TC [ɕi]; XZ [ɕi]; YX [ɕi]; DC1 [ɕi]; DC2 [ɕi];
AY [ɕi]; NC [ɕy]; FX [ɕi]; GA [ɕio];
CL [ɕi]; PX [ɕi]; AF1 [ɕie]; AF2 [ɕio]; LH1 [ɕya]; LH2 [ɕya]; JA1 [ɕio]; JA2 [ɕio];
SC [ɕi]; LnC [ɕio]; NnC1 [ɕio]; NnC2 [ɕio]; LC [ɕio] CG *hya (~ *hya)?

It is possible that a Common Gàn form *hya should be reconstructed for the northern area. The syllable type is unique and difficult to reconstruct with confidence. The NC wén reading is clearly a late northern loan, probably from the modern standard koine or its immediate precursors.
Appendix: Data

xué 學 QYS yǎk CDC *h(0)ok³
TS [ɕio̚ ]; WN1 [hoʔ ]; WN2 [hoʔ ]; WN3 [ɕio̚ ];
TC [ɕio̚ ]; XZ [hoʔ ]; XÇ [ɕio̚ ]; DC1 [xoǩ ]; DC2 [hoǩ ];
AY [—]; NC [hoǩ ]; FX [hoʔ ]; GA [hoʔ ];
CL [xó ]; PX [hoʔ ]; AF1 [hoʔ ]; AF2 [hoʔ ]; LH1 [hoʔ ]; LH2 [hoʔ ]; JA1 [hoʔ ];
JA2 [xó ];
SC [hoʔ ]; LnC [hoʔ ]; NnC1 [hoʔ ]; NnC2 [hoʔ ]; LC [hoʔ ];

xún 順 QYS xjuan CDC *xiun¹
TS [eyn ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eyn ];
TC [ein ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ein ]; DC2 [ein ];
AY [ein ]; NC [eyn ]; FX [ein ]; GA [—];
CL [eyn ]; PX [eyn ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ein ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [eyn ]; JA1 [eyn ];
JA2 [eyn ];
SC [—]; LnC [eyn ]; NnC1 [eyn ]; NnC2 [eyn ]; LC [eyn ];

xún 順 QYS zjuen CDC *ziun²
TS [sin ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eyn ];
TC [ein ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sin ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ein ]; NC [eyn ]; FX [ein ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sun ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ein ]; JA1 [sun ];
JA2 [suen ];
SC [—]; LnC [eyn ]; NnC1 [eyn ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [san ];

xún 順 QYS zjwen CDC *ziun²
TS [sin ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [eyn ];
TC [ein ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [sin ]; DC2 [—];
AY [ein ]; NC [eyn ]; FX [ein ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [sun ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ein ]; JA1 [sun ];
JA2 [suen ];
SC [—]; LnC [eyn ]; NnC1 [eyn ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [san ];

xún 順 QYS zjam CDC *zim²
TS [sin ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [eyn ]; WN3 [dzin ];
TC [sin ]; XZ [dzin ]; YX [dzin ]; DC1 [dzin ]; DC2 [dzin ];
AY [tei ]; NC [eyn ]; FX [tei ]; GA [tsin ];
CL [tei ]; PX [tsi ]; AF1 [tei ]; AF2 [sin ]; LH1 [ein ]; LH2 [tei ]; JA1 [tsi ];
JA2 [tei ];
SC [tei ]; LnC [sin ]; NnC1 [eyn ]; NnC2 [ein ]; LC [tei ];

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*xün* ～ *sim*

The tone of the NnC2 wén form is irregular. The WN2 form may be a misprint in the source. The second Xīngzī form is the vernacular word for “search” in this dialect. Neither of our reconstructions accounts for it.

xùn 訓 QYS xjuan-CDC *xiün*

Y

yā 鴨 QYS ?ap CDC *ap*

yá 牙 QYS nga CDC *nga*

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The initial of the LH2 form is anomalous. The final of the AY form is irregular. We would expect -ai here.

The tone of the DC1 form is irregular.

The LH1 final is irregular.

The LH1 final is irregular.

The LH1 final is irregular.
The JA2 tone is irregular. The reconstruction should perhaps have final *-m rather than *-n, but there is no direct evidence for this in the data. The JA2 tone is irregular.
Appendix: Data

[^1] yáng 羊 QYS bjerg CDC *iiong
TS [iɔn] 阳平; WN1 [iɔŋ]; WN2 [iɔŋ]; WN3 [iɔŋ];
TC [iɔŋ]; XZ [iɔŋ]; YX [iɔŋ]; DC1 [iɔŋ]; DC2 [iɔŋ];
AY [iɔŋ]; NC [iŋ]; FX [iŋ]; GA [iŋ];
CL [iɔŋ]; PX [iɔŋ]; AF1 [iŋ]; AF2 [iŋ]; LH1 [iŋ]; LH2 [iŋ]; JA1 [iŋ];
JA2 [iŋ];
SC [iŋ]; LnC [iŋ]; NnC1 [iŋ]; NnC2 [iŋ]; LC [iŋ] CG *iŋ

[^2] yáng 羊 QYS jiang CDC *yong
TS [iɔŋ] 阳平; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [iɔŋ];
TC [iŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [iŋ]; DC2 [iŋ];
AY [iŋ]; NC [iŋ]; FX [iŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [iŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [iŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [iŋ]; JA1 [iŋ];
JA2 [iŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [iŋ]; NnC1 [iŋ]; NnC2 [iŋ]; LC [iŋ] CG *iŋ

[^4] yàng 仰 QYS ngjiang: CDC *ngiong
TS [ŋiŋ] 仰平; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋiŋ];
TC [ŋiŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [ŋiŋ]; DC2 [ŋiŋ];
AY [ŋiŋ]; NC [ŋiŋ]; FX [ŋiŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ŋiŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ŋiŋ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ŋiŋ]; JA1 [ŋiŋ];
JA2 [ŋiŋ];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋiŋ]; NnC1 [ŋiŋ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ŋiŋ] CG *ŋiŋ *ŋiŋ ~ *ŋiŋ
The tone of the LH2 form is irregular.

[^6] yàng 楂 QYS jiang- CDC *yong
TS [iŋ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [iŋ]; WN3 [iŋ];
TC [iŋ]; XZ [ŋiŋ]; YX [ŋiŋ]; DC1 [ŋiŋ]; DC2 [ŋiŋ];
AY [ŋiŋ]; NC [ŋiŋ]; FX [ŋiŋ]; GA [ŋiŋ];
CL [ŋiŋ]; PX [ŋiŋ]; AF1 [ŋiŋ]; AF2 [ŋiŋ]; LH1 [ŋiŋ]; LH2 [ŋiŋ]; JA1 [ŋiŋ];
JA2 [ŋiŋ];
SC [ŋiŋ]; LnC [ŋiŋ]; NnC1 [ŋiŋ]; NnC2 [ŋiŋ]; LC [ŋiŋ] CG *iŋ

[^7] yáo 摇 QYS jiâu CDC *yau^2/EC *yaw
TS [iau] 摇平; WN1 [—]; WN2 [iau]; WN3 [iau];
TC [iau]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [iau]; DC2 [iau];
AY [iau]; NC [iau]; FX [iau]; GA [—];
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yào 要 QYS ʔjiäu- CDC *iau⁵
TS [iau⁵]; WN1 [iau⁵]; WN2 [iau⁵]; WN3 [iau⁵];
TC [iau⁵]; XZ [iau⁵]; YX [iau⁵]; DC1 [iau⁵]; DC2 [iau⁵];
AY [iau⁵]; NC [iau⁵]; FX [iau⁵]; GA [iau⁵];
CL [iau⁵]; PX [iau⁵]; AF1 [iau⁵]; AF2 [iau⁵]; LH1 [iau⁵]*; LH2 [iau⁵]; JA1 [iau⁵];
JA2 [iau⁵];
SC [iau⁵]; LnC [iau⁵]; NnC1 [iau⁵]; NnC2 [iau⁵]; LC [iau⁵] CG *iau⁵
*JXFY.

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya⁶
TS [ia⁶]; WN1 [ia⁶]; WN2 [ia⁶]; WN3 [ia⁶];
TC [ia⁶]; XZ [ia⁶]; YX [ia⁶]; DC1 [ia⁶]; DC2 [ia⁶];
AY [ia⁶]; NC [ia⁶]; FX [ia⁶]; GA [ia⁶];
CL [ia⁶]; PX [ia⁶]; AF1 [ia⁶]; AF2 [ia⁶]; LH1 [ia⁶]; LH2 [ia⁶]; JA1 [ia⁶];
JA2 [ia⁶];
SC [ia⁶]; LnC [ia⁶]; NnC1 [ia⁶]; NnC2 [ia⁶]; LC [ia⁶] CG *ia⁶
*JXFY.

yě 爺 QYS jia: CDC *ya⁴
TS [ia⁴]; WN1 [ia⁴]; WN2 [ia⁴]; WN3 [ia⁴];
TC [ia⁴]; XZ [ia⁴]; YX [ia⁴]; DC1 [ia⁴]; DC2 [ia⁴];
AY [ia⁴]; NC [ia⁴]; FX [ia⁴]; GA [ia⁴];
CL [ia⁴]; PX [ia⁴]; AF1 [ia⁴]; AF2 [ia⁴]; LH1 [ia⁴]; LH2 [ia⁴]; JA1 [ia⁴];
JA2 [ia⁴];
SC [ia⁴]; LnC [ia⁴]; NnC1 [ia⁴]; NnC2 [ia⁴]; LC [ia⁴] CG *ia⁴
*JXFY.

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya⁶
TS [ia⁶]; WN1 [ia⁶]; WN2 [ia⁶]; WN3 [ia⁶];
TC [ia⁶]; XZ [ia⁶]; YX [ia⁶]; DC1 [ia⁶]; DC2 [ia⁶];
AY [ia⁶]; NC [ia⁶]; FX [ia⁶]; GA [ia⁶];
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CL [ia]; PX [ia]; AF1 [ia]; AF2 [ia]; LH1 [ia]; LH2 [ia]; JA1 [ia]; JA2 [ia]; SC [ia]; LnC [ia]; NnC1 [ia]; NnC2 [ia]; LC [ia] CG *ia ~ *ie

yè 業 QYS ngiap CDC *ngiap
TS [ni]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [niet]; TC [nie]; XZ [nie]; YX [nie]; DC1 [niel]; DC2 [nie];
AY [nie]; NC [nie]; FX [nie]; GA [ie];
CL [nie]; PX [nie]; AF1 [nie]; AF2 [nie]; LH1 [ie]; LH2 [ie]; JA1 [ie]; JA2 [ie];
SC [—]; LnC [nie]; NnC1 [nie]; NnC2 [nie]; LC [nie] CG *nie ~ niep

yī 依 QYS qiet CDC *it
TS [i]; WN1 [ji]; WN2 [ji]; WN3 [it]; TC [i ~ i]; XZ [i]; YX [i]; DC1 [it]; DC2 [it];
AY [it]; NC [it]; FX [it]; GA [it];
CL [i]; PX [i]; AF1 [i]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [i]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [i]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *it

yī 依 QYS qiet CDC *i
TS [i]; WN1 [ji]; WN2 [ji]; WN3 [i]; TC [i]; XZ [i]; YX [i]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [i];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [i];
CL [i]; PX [i]; AF1 [i]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [i]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [i]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *i

yī 捺 QYS qiao CDC *ip
TS [i]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [i]; TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [it]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [ip]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ip] CG *ip

yī 捺 QYS qiao CDC *ip
TS [i]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [i]; TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [it]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [ip]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ip] CG *ip

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yi 宜 QYS ngie³ CDC *ŋi²
TS [ŋî阳平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ŋî阳平]; WN3 [ŋî阳平];
TC [ŋî阳平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nî阳平]; DC2 [—];
AY [ŋî阳平]; NC [ŋî阳去 ~ 陽去]; FX [ŋî阳平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ŋî阳平]; AF1 [ŋî阳平]; AF2 [nî阳平]; LH1 [î阳平*]; LH2 [in̂阴平]; JA1 [nî去]; JA2 [ŋî阳平];
SC [ŋî阳平]; LnC [ŋî阳平]; NnC1 [nî阳平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ŋî阳平] CG *ŋi¹ *JXFY.
The AF2 and LH2 tones are irregular.

yi 疑 QYS ngi³ CDC *ŋi²
TS [ŋî阳平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋî阳平];
TC [ŋî阳平]; XZ [ŋî阳平]; YX [ŋî阳平]; DC1 [nî阳平]; DC2 [ŋî阳平1];
AY [ŋî阳平]; NC [ŋî阳去]; FX [ŋî阳平]; GA [ŋî阳平];
CL [ŋî阳平]; PX [ŋî阳平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [nî阳平]; LH1 [î阳平]; LH2 [in̂阴平 ~ in̂阳平]; JA1 [nî去]; JA2 [ŋî阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋî阳平]; NnC1 [nî阳平]; NnC2 [ŋî阳平]; LC [ŋî阳平] CG *ŋi¹

yi 儀 QYS ngie³ CDC *ŋi²
TS [ŋî阳平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ŋî阳平];
TC [ŋî阳平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [nî阳平]; DC2 [—];
AY [ŋî阳平]; NC [ŋî阳去]; FX [ŋî阳平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ŋî阳平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [nî阳平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [in̂阴平 ~ î阳平]; JA1 [nî去]; JA2 [ŋî阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [ŋî阳平]; NnC1 [nî阳平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [ŋî阳平] CG *ŋi¹

yi 以 QYS jiï: CDC *yï²
TS [î阳平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [î阳平];
TC [î阳平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [î阳平]; NC [î阴去]; FX [î阳平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ŷ阳平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [uɔî阳平]; JA1 [ŷ上]; JA2 [î阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [uî阳平] CG *î阳平 ~ *yi²

yi 以 QYS jiï: CDC *yï²
TS [î阳平]; WN1 [î阳平]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [î阳平];
TC [î阳平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [î阳平]; DC2 [î阳平];
AY [î阳平]; NC [î阴去]; FX [î阳平]; GA [î阳平];
CL [î阳平]; PX [î阳平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ŷ阳平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [î阳平]; JA1 [î阳平]; JA2 [î阳平];
SC [—]; LnC [î阳平]; NnC1 [î阳平]; NnC2 [î阳平]; LC [î阳平] CG *î阳平 ~ *yi²

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The LH2 tone is irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.
yi 意 QYS jì- CDC *i⁵
TS [i¹]; WN1 [i¹]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [i¹];
TC [i¹]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i¹]; DC2 [i¹];
AY [i¹]; NC [i¹]; FX [i¹]; GA [—];
CL [i¹]; PX [i¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i¹]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i¹]; JA1 [i¹]; JA2 [i¹];
SC [—]; LnC [i¹]; NnC1 [i¹]; NnC2 [i¹]; LC [i¹] CG *i¹

yi 易 QYS jìe- CDC *yi⁶
TS [i¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [i¹];
TC [i¹]; XZ [i¹]; YX [i¹]; DC1 [i¹]; DC2 [i¹];
AY [i¹]; NC [i¹]; FX [i¹]; GA [i¹];
CL [i¹]; PX [i¹]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i¹]; LH1 [i¹]; LH2 [i¹]; JA1 [i¹]; JA2 [i¹];
SC [—]; LnC [i¹]; NnC1 [i¹]; NnC2 [i¹]; LC [i¹] CG *i¹

yi 意 QYS ngjài-⁴ CDC *ngiai⁶
TS [n͡i³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [n͡i³];
TC [n͡i³]; XZ [n͡i³]; YX [n͡i³]; DC1 [n͡i³]; DC2 [—];
AY [n͡i³]; NC [i¹]; FX [n͡i³]; GA [i¹];
CL [—]; PX [n͡i³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [n͡i³]; LH1 [i¹]; LH2 [n͡i³]; JA1 [n͡i³]; JA2 [n͡i³];
SC [—]; LnC [n͡i³]; NnC1 [n͡i³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [n͡i³] CG *n³

yi 意 QYS jìi- CDC *yi⁶
TS [i³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [i¹];
TC [i³]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i¹]; DC2 [—];
AY [i³]; NC [i¹]; FX [i³]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [n͡i³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [n͡i³]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i¹]; JA1 [n͡i³]; JA2 [n͡i³];
SC [—]; LnC [i¹]; NnC1 [n͡i³]; NnC2 [—]; LC [n͡i³] CG *i³

yi 役 QYS jiwäk CDC *yuak⁸
TS [y¹]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [y¹];
TC [—]; XZ [i¹]; YX [i¹]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ik¹];
AY [i²]; NC [i¹]; FX [i²]; GA [i¹];

The DC1 tone is irregular.
The coda of the LnC form is irregular.

The LC final nasal is tonally conditioned, i.e., *-n > -ŋ under Tone 1 in the presence of initial zero.

The AY and FX initials are unexpected.
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yìn 雲 QYS jien: CDC *yìn
TS [in',]; WN1 [jin';]; WN2 [in']; WN3 [in'];
TC [in';]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [in']; DC2 [in'];
AY [in']; NC [in']; FX [ian']; GA [—];
CL [i']; PX [in']; AF1 [in';]; AF2 [in']; LH1 [i阴上]; LH2 [in']; JA1 [in']; JA2 [in'];
SC [i阴上]; LnC [in']; NnC1 [in']; NnC2 [—]; LC [in'] CG *in

yīng 英 QYS ?jong CDC *iang
TS [in阴平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [in阴平]; WN3 [in阴平];
TC [in阴平 ]; XZ [i阴平 ]; YX [in阴平 ]; DC1 [i阴平 ]; DC2 [i阴平 ];
AY [i阴平 ]; NC [in阴平 ]; FX [ian阴平 ]; GA [i阴平 ];
CL [i阴平 ]; PX [i阴平 ]; AF1 [i阴平 ]; AF2 [i阴平 ]; LH1 [i阴平 ]; LH2 [i阴平 ]; JA1 [i阴平 ]; JA2 [i阴平 ];
SC [i阴平 ]; LnC [in阴平 ~ en阴平 ]; NnC1 [in阴平 ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [i阴平 ] CG *i阴平 *

yīng 应 QYS ?jong “ought” CDC *ing
TS [in阴平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [in ]; XZ [i阴 ]; YX [in ]; DC1 [i阴 ]; DC2 [i阴 ];
AY [i阴 ]; NC [in ]; FX [ian阴 ]; GA [i阴 ];
CL [i阴 ]; PX [i阴 ]; AF1 [i阴 ]; AF2 [i阴 ]; LH1 [— ]; LH2 [i阴 ]; JA1 [i阴 ]; JA2 [i阴 ];
SC [— ]; LnC [in阴平 ~ en阴平 ]; NnC1 [— ]; NnC2 [i阴 ]; LC [i阴 ] CG *i阴 *

yīng 恩 QYS ?jong CDC *ing
TS [in ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [in ]; WN3 [in ];
TC [in ]; XZ [i阴 ]; YX [in ]; DC1 [i阴 ]; DC2 [i阴 ];
AY [i阴 ]; NC [in ]; FX [ian阴 ]; GA [i阴 ];
CL [i阴 ]; PX [i阴 ]; AF1 [i阴 ]; AF2 [i阴 ]; LH1 [— ]; LH2 [i阴 ]; JA1 [i阴 ]; JA2 [i阴 ];
SC [i阴 ]; LnC [i阴 ~ en阴 ]; NnC1 [— ]; NnC2 [i阴 ]; LC [i阴 ] CG *i阴 *

yīng 羿 QYS jiwāng CDC *yuang ~ *yung
TS [in ]; WN1 [— ]; WN2 [— ]; WN3 [i阴 ];
TC [in ]; XZ [i阴 ]; YX [iao ]; DC1 [i阴 ]; DC2 [i阴 ~ iu阴 ];
AY [i阴 ]; NC [i阴 ]; FX [ian ]; GA [i阴 ];
CL [yε ]; PX [iyn ]; AF1 [— ]; AF2 [i阴 ]; LH1 [i阴 ]; LH2 [iɑ阴 ]; JA1 [y阴 ]; JA2 [y阴 ];

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The Chálíng form in this set probably supports the first reconstruction. Examples of this syllable type are quite rare in the data.

Though one may guess that the wén reading of this word actually had final *-ŋ, our data do not provide direct evidence for this final element.

The AF2 tone is irregular.
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yóu QYS ʔjau  CDC *ieu¹
TS [iu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [iu];
TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [i];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [i]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *iu

yóu 由 QYS jiau  CDC *yeu²
TS [iu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [iu];
TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [—];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *iu

yóu 油 QYS jiau  CDC *yeu²
TS [iu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [iu];
TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [—];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *iu

yóu 犹 QYS jiau  CDC *yeu²
TS [iu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [—];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *iu

yóu 遊～游 QYS jiau  CDC *yeu²
TS [iu]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [i]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [i]; DC2 [—];
AY [i]; NC [i]; FX [i]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [i]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [i]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [i]; JA1 [i]; JA2 [i];
SC [—]; LnC [i]; NnC1 [i]; NnC2 [i]; LC [i] CG *iu
Appendix: Data

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The LH2 tone is irregular.
A Study of Comparative Gân

In this set, we assume that the bái form *ŋie⁴ has been reduced to ŋɛ⁴ in PX, and further to a syllabic nasal in most of its neighboring dialects except JA2, where the wén form has been adopted for the word “fish”. In most other dialects that retain Common Gân *ŋie⁴, the initial becomes a coronal, either palatal or dental. NnC2 has, on the contrary, retained the Common Gân form nearly unchanged as its ordinary word for “fish”; but it has borrowed a bái-derived form ŋie⁴ from some other Gân dialect, probably NC, as its wén reading.

The tone of the LC form is irregular.

In this set, we assume that the bái form *ŋie⁴ has been reduced to ŋɛ⁴ in PX, and further to a syllabic nasal in most of its neighboring dialects except JA2, where the wén form has been adopted for the word “fish”. In most other dialects that retain Common Gân *ŋie⁴, the initial becomes a coronal, either palatal or dental. NnC2 has, on the contrary, retained the Common Gân form nearly unchanged as its ordinary word for “fish”; but it has borrowed a bái-derived form ŋie⁴ from some other Gân dialect, probably NC, as its wén reading.

The tone of the LC form is irregular.
Appendix: Data

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.

The NC and LC initials are irregular. The CL and SC forms should derive from a yángrù form.
The second reconstruction is clearly a loan from the modern standard koine or its proximate precursors. Some forms, such as the first PX reading and the JA1 form may also derive from earlier *-yʔ final syllables, having a final which is not regularly reconstructable in the Common Gàn system. These probably represent loan readings of some sort.

yu đề QYS jiwo- CDC *ye⁶ (~ *yu⁶)
TS [y⁶]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [ ];
TC [ ]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [i¹ ]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [u¹ ]; NC [y⁶ ]; FX [ ]; GA [ — ];
CL [ — ]; PX [ ]; AF1 [ — ]; AF2 [y ]; LH1 [ ]; LH2 [ ]; JA1 [y ]; JA2 [y ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [ ]; NnC1 [ny ]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [y ] CG *ny ~ *y ~ *y

yu 遇 QYS ngju- CDC *ngiu⁶
TS [y⁶ ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [y ]; WN3 [y ];
TC [ ny ]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [ni ]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [ny ]; NC [ny ]; FX [ ]; GA [ — ];
CL [ — ]; PX [ny ]; AF1 [ny ]; AF2 [ny ]; LH1 [y ]; LH2 [y ]; JA1 [y ]; JA2 [y ];
SC [ny ]; LnC [ni ]; NnC1 [ny ]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [y ] CG *ny ~ *y ~ *y

yu 預 QYS jiwo- CDC *ye⁶ (~ *yu⁶)
TS [y ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [y ]; WN3 [ ];
TC [y ]; XZ [u ]; YX [v ]; DC1 [i ]; DC2 [ — ];
AY [i ]; NC [y ]; FX [ ]; GA [ ];
CL [ — ]; PX [ ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [ ]; LH1 [y ]; LH2 [y ]; JA1 [y ]; JA2 [y ];
SC [ — ]; LnC [ ]; NnC1 [y ]; NnC2 [ — ]; LC [y ] CG *y

yuān 冤 QYS jwɔn CDC *ion¹
TS [y ]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [yon ]; WN3 [yen ];
TC [ien ]; XZ [uien ]; YX [ven ]; DC1 [ien ]; DC2 [ion ];
Appendix: Data

yuán 四 QYS jwän CDC *yon
TS [yøn]; WN1 [yøn]; WN2 [yøn]; WN3 [yøn]; TC [yøn]; XZ [yøn]; YX [yøn]; DC1 [yøn]; DC2 [yøn];
AY [yøn]; NC [yøn]; FX [yøn]; GA [—];
CL [yøn]; PX [yøn]; AF1 [yøn]; AF2 [yøn]; LH1 [yøn]; LH2 [yøn]; JA1 [yøn]; JA2 [yøn];
SC [yøn]; LnC [yøn]; NnC1 [yøn]; NnC2 [yøn]; LC [yøn] CG *yon

yuán 掇 QYS jwön CDC *yon
TS [yøn]; WN1 [yøn]; WN2 [yøn]; WN3 [yøn]; TC [yøn]; XZ [yøn]; YX [yøn]; DC1 [yøn]; DC2 [yøn];
AY [yøn]; NC [yøn]; FX [yøn]; GA [—];
CL [yøn]; PX [yøn]; AF1 [yøn]; AF2 [yøn]; LH1 [yøn]; LH2 [yøn]; JA1 [yøn]; JA2 [yøn];
SC [yøn]; LnC [yøn]; NnC1 [yøn]; NnC2 [yøn]; LC [yøn] CG *yon

yuán 元 QYS ngjwön CDC *nion
TS [yøn]; WN1 [yøn]; WN2 [yøn]; WN3 [yøn]; TC [yøn]; XZ [yøn]; YX [yøn]; DC1 [yøn]; DC2 [yøn];
AY [yøn]; NC [yøn]; FX [yøn]; GA [—];
CL [yøn]; PX [yøn]; AF1 [yøn]; AF2 [yøn]; LH1 [yøn]; LH2 [yøn]; JA1 [yøn]; JA2 [yøn];
SC [yøn]; LnC [yøn]; NnC1 [yøn]; NnC2 [yøn]; LC [yøn] CG *yon

yuán 原 QYS jwän CDC *yon
TS [yøn]; WN1 [yøn]; WN2 [yøn]; WN3 [yøn]; TC [yøn]; XZ [yøn]; YX [yøn]; DC1 [yøn]; DC2 [yøn];
AY [yøn]; NC [yøn]; FX [yøn]; GA [—];
CL [yøn]; PX [yøn]; AF1 [yøn]; AF2 [yøn]; LH1 [yøn]; LH2 [yøn]; JA1 [yøn]; JA2 [yøn];
SC [yøn]; LnC [yøn]; NnC1 [yøn]; NnC2 [yøn]; LC [yøn] CG *yon
The LH 2 tone is irregular.

The tone of the GA bái form is missing from the source.

The tone of the GA 白 form is missing from the source.
Appendix: Data

CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [yún]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [yún]; JA1 [yn]; JA2 [yn];
SC [—]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [yn] CG *yn ~ *yn

yùn 運 QYS juən- CDC *yun⁶
TS [yen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [yn];
TC [yn]; XZ [ain]; YX [yn]; DC1 [in]; DC2 [in];
AY [in]; NC [yn]; FX [ion]; GA [on];
CL [yẽ]; PX [ʯŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [in]; LH1 [yẽ]; LH2 [yẽ]; JA1 [yn]; JA2 [yn];
SC [—]; LnC [yn]; NnC1 [yn]; NnC2 [yn]; LC [yn] CG *yn

Z

zài 栽 QYS ts'ai CDC *tsoi¹
TS [tsa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsai]; WN3 [tsai];
TC [tsai]; XZ [tsai]; YX [tsai]; DC1 [tsai]; DC2 [tsai];
AY [tsai]; NC [tsai]; FX [tsai]; GA [tsoi];
CL [tsê]; PX [tsê]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsou]; LH1 [tsë]; LH2 [tsou]; JA1 [tsou]; JA2 [tsoi];
SC [—]; LnC [tsai]; NnC1 [tsai]; NnC2 [tsai]; LC [tsai] CG *tsoi

zài 再 QYS ts'ai; dzài-CDC *dzoï⁴
TS [tsai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [dzoï]; WN3 [—];
TC [dzaí]; XZ [dzaí]; YX [dzaí]; DC1 [dzaí]; DC2 [—];
AY [ts'ai]; NC [ts'ai]; FX [ts'ai]; GA [laï ~ tsbôi];
CL [ts'e]; PX [ts'e]; AF1 [tsbôo]; AF2 [tsbôi]; LH1 [tsbô]; LH2 [tsbôi]; JA1 [tsbôi]; JA2 [tsoi];
SC [tsbôi]; LnC [ts'ai]; NnC1 [t'ai]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'ai ~ t'ai] CG *dzoï ~ *dzai

*Neutral tone. This syllable occurs only in compounds. It is not the ordinary locative verb in this dialect.
The JA2 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

zài 再 QYS ts'ai CDC *tsoi⁵
TS [tsai]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsai]; WN3 [tsai];
TC [tsai]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsai]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsai]; NC [tsai]; FX [tsai]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsê]; AF1 [tsê]; AF2 [tsou]; LH1 [tsê]; LH2 [tsou]; JA1 [tsou];
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[tsuᵢ 陰去]; JA2 [tsuᵢ 陰去];
SC [tsœ 陰去]; LnC [tsai 陰去]; NnC1 [tsai 陰去]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsai 陰去] CG *tsœ 陰去

záì 載 QYS tsâu- CDC *tsou⁵
TS [tsaᵢ 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsai 陰去];
TC [tsai 陰去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsai 陰去]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsai 陰去]; NC [tsai 陰去]; FX [tsai 陰去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsœ 陰去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [—]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsœ 陰去]; JA1 [tsuᵢ 陰去]; JA2 [tsai 陰去];
SC [—]; LnC [tsai 陰去]; NnC1 [tsai 陰去]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsai 陰去] CG *tsœ 陰去

záo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou⁳
TS [tsau 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsau 陰去];
TC [tsau 陰去]; XZ [tsau 陰去]; YX [tsau 陰去]; DC1 [tsau 陰去]; DC2 [tsau 陰去];
AY [tsau 陰去]; NC [tsau 陰去]; FX [tsau 陰去]; GA [tsou 陰去];
CL [—]; PX [tsau 陰去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsau 陰去]; LH1 [tsau 陰去]; LH2 [tsau 陰去]; JA1 [tsau 陰去]; JA2 [tsau 陰去];
SC [tsau 陰去]; LnC [tsau 陰去]; NnC1 [tsou 陰去]; NnC2 [tsou 陰去]; LC [tsou 陰去] CG *tsou 陰去

záo 棲 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou⁵
TS [tsau 陰去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsau 陰去];
TC [tsau 陰去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsau 陰去]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsau 陰去]; NC [tsau 陰去]; FX [tsau 陰去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsau 陰去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsau 陰去]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsau 陰去]; JA1 [tsau 陰去]; JA2 [tsau 陰去];
SC [—]; LnC [tsau 陰去]; NnC1 [tsou 陰去]; NnC2 [tsou 陰去]; LC [tsou 陰去] CG *tsou 陰去

záo 厭 QYS 深: 深- CDC *tsek⁷
TS [tse⁵]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tse⁵];
TC [tse⁵]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsek 陰去]; DC2 [—];
AY [tse⁵]; NC [tse⁵]; FX [tse⁷]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tse⁵]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tse⁷]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tse⁷]; JA1 [tse⁷]; JA2 [tse⁷];

zé 则 QYS tsak CDC *tsek⁷
TS [tse⁷]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tset 陰平];
TC [tse⁷]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsek 陰平]; DC2 [—];
AY [tse⁷]; NC [tset 陰平]; FX [tse⁷ 陰平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tse⁷ 陰平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tse⁷ 陰平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tse⁷ 陰平]; JA1 [tse⁷ 陰平]; JA2 [tse⁷ 陰平];
Appendix: Data

SC [—]; LnC [tseʔ]; NnC1 [tseiʔ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tseʔ]; CG *tsek

The TS tone is irregular.

zhā 渣 QYS tṣa  CDC *ca
TS [tṣa]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tṣa]; WN3 [tṣa];
TC [tṣa]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tṣa]; DC2 [—];
AY [tṣa]; NC [tṣa]; FX [tṣa]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts̥]; AF1 [ts̥]; AF2 [ts̥]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tṣa]; JA1 [tṣa];
JA2 [tṣa];
SC [—]; LnC [tṣa]; NnC1 [t'eiʔ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'arʔ] CG *dzak ~ *dzek

The TS tone is irregular.
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AY [tsa阴平]; NC [tsa阴平]; FX [tsa阴平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsa去]; AF1 [tsa阴平]; AF2 [tsa阴平]; LH1 [tsa阴平]; LH2 [tsa阴平]; JA1 [tsa阴平]; JA2 [tsa阴平];
SC [tsa阴平]; LnC [tsa阴平]; NnC1 [tsa阴平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsa阴平] CG *tsa阴平

zhà 诈 QYS tsa- CDC *ca
TS [tsa阴去]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsa阴去];
TC [tsa阴去]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsa阴去]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsa阴去]; NC [tsa阴去 ~ tsat阴入 ~ ts'at阳入]; FX [tsa阴去]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsa阴去]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsa阴去]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsa阴平]; JA1 [tsa阴去]; JA2 [tsa阴去];
SC [—]; LnC [tsa阴去]; NnC1 [tsa阴去]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsa阴去] CG *tsa阴去

zhà 炸 QYS --- CDC *ca
TS [tsa阴平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsa阴去];
TC [tsa阴平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsa阴平]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsa阴平]; NC [tsa阴平]; FX [tsa阴平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsa阴平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsa阴平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsa阴平]; JA1 [tsa阴平]; JA2 [tsa阴平];
SC [—]; LnC [tsa阴平]; NnC1 [tsa阴平]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsa阴平] CG *tsa阴平

The second and third NC forms are of unknown origin.

zhāi 宅 QYS tṣāi CDC *cai
TS [tsai阴平]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsai阴平];
TC [tsai阴平]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsai阴平]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsai阴平]; NC [tsai阴平]; FX [tsai阴平]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsai阴平]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsai阴平]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsai阴平]; JA1 [tsai阴平]; JA2 [tsai阴平];
SC [—]; LnC [tsai阴平]; NnC1 [t'ei阴入]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tsai阴平] CG *tsai阴平

The LnC tone is irregular.
zhān 占 QYS спеш “to divine” CDC *ciam¹
TS [tsḛ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsen⁶];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsen⁶]; DC2 [—];
AY [ten]; NC [ten]; FX [ten]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsam⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ten⁶]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsen]; JA1 [tan⁶ ~
ţen]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [ten]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *tɕiən

zhān 占 QYS спеш CDC *ciam¹
TS [tsḛ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [—];
TC [tsen⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsen⁶]; DC2 [—];
AY [ten]; NC [ten]; FX [ten]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsam⁶]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ten⁶]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsam⁶]; JA1 [ten⁶];
JA2 [ten];
SC [—]; LnC [ten]; NnC1 [tsam⁶ ~ teian⁵]*; NnC2 [tsam⁶]; LC [tsam⁶] CG *tɕiən

*Second form specifically in the sense “to soak (sc. ordinary, non-sticky rice)”.

zhān 占 QYS спеш: CDC *cian³
TS [tse²]; WN1 [tejen¹]; WN2 [teien¹]; WN3 [teien¹];
TC [tsen³]; XZ [tsen³]; YX [tsen³]; DC1 [tsen³]; DC2 [tsen³];
AY [ten]; NC [tsen⁴]; FX [tḛ]; GA [tḛ];
CL [tsa]; PX [tse²]; AF1 [tɛ̃]; AF2 [ten⁴]; LH1 [tsen]; LH2 [tsen]; JA1 [tḛ];
JA2 [ten];
SC [tsan¹]; LnC [tḛ]; NnC1 [teian]; NnC2 [teian]; LC [teien⁴] CG *tɕiən

zhān 占 QYS спеш- CDC *cian³
TS [tse³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsan⁶]; WN3 [teien¹];
TC [tsen³]; XZ [tsen³]; YX [tsen³]; DC1 [tsen³]; DC2 [tsen³];
AY [ten]; NC [tsen⁴]; FX [tḛ]; GA [tḛ];
CL [tsa]; PX [tse²]; AF1 [tɛ̃]; AF2 [ten⁴]; LH1 [tsen]; LH2 [tsen]; JA1 [tḛ];
JA2 [ten];
SC [tsan]; LnC [tḛ]; NnC1 [tḛ]; NnC2 [tḛ]; LC [teien¹] CG *tɕiən
The WN2 form appears to be a loan, probably from southern Mandarin.

zhān 占 QYS спеш- “to stand” CDC *cam⁵
TS [tse³]; WN1 [tsan⁶]; WN2 [tsan⁶]; WN3 [tsan⁶];
TC [tsam⁶]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsan⁶]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsan⁶]; NC [tsan⁶]; FX [tsan⁶]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsa]; AF1 [tsan⁶]; AF2 [tsa]; LH1 [te²]*; LH2 [—]; JA1 [tsan⁶];
This is not a spoken form for “to stand” in this dialect. It is uncertain in the source whether this reading represents the sense “to stand” or is the late loanword “station”.

The LH1 bái form appears to derive from an archaic substrate form *tioŋ

The LH2 tone is irregular.

The LH2 tone is irregular.
zhàng 瘋 QYS  tʃjæ̃g- CDC *ciong⁵
TS [tʂon]; WN1 [ ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [ ];
TC [tʂoŋ]; XZ [ ]; YX [ ]; DC1 [tʂon]; DC2 [ ];
AY [tɔŋ]; NC [ ]; FX [tɔŋ]; GA [ ];
CL [ ]; PX [tʂɔŋ]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [tɔŋ]; LH1 [ ]; LH2 [tʂɔŋ]; JA1 [tɔŋ]; JA2 [ ];
SC [ ]; LnC [ ]; NnC1 [tɔŋ]; NnC2 [ ]; LC [tʂɔŋ] CG *tʃiong ं
The LH1 and JA1 forms derive from an archaic dental stop initial realization of this word.

zhào 訊 QYS ṭʂiau⁵/ EC *trangh
TS [tʂəu]; WN1 [tʃəŋ]; WN2 [ ]; WN3 [tʃeŋ];
TC [tʃəu]; XZ [tʃə̃]; YX [tʃə̃]; DC1 [tʃə̃]; DC2 [tʃə̃];
AY [t'au]; NC [tʃə̃]; FX [t'au]; GA [ ];
CL [tʂə̃]; PX [tʂ'au]; AF1 [ ]; AF2 [t'au]; LH1 [ ]; LH2 [tʂ'au]; JA1 [t'au]; JA2 [t'au];
SC [ ]; LnC [t'au]; NnC1 [t'au]; NnC2 [ ]; LC [t'au] CG *tʃiong ं ~ *tʃiong ं
The LH1 and JA1 forms derive from an archaic dental stop initial realization of this word.

zhē 遮 QYS tʃja CDC *cia¹
TS [tsɔ]; WN1 [tʃia ]; WN2 [tʃia ]; WN3 [tʃia ];
TC [tʂa ]; XZ [tʂa ]; YX [tʂa ]; DC1 [tʂa ]; DC2 [tʂa ];
AY [tə ]; NC [tʂa ]; FX [te ]; GA [tə ];
The tone of the SC form is unexpected.
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The CL wén form probably derives from an early borrowed *tʰie². Note that the final of the FX form is the regular reflex of Common Gàn *-ia in this position.

The TS tone is irregular.

zhé 摘 QYS ʔek CJC *cak⁷
TS [tse], WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsa]; WN3 [tsak];
TC [tsa]; XZ [tsa]; YX [tsa]; DC1 [tsak]; DC2 [tsak];
AY [tsa]; NC [tsak]; FX [te]; GA [tsa];
CL [tsa]~ tsak; PX [tsa]; AF1 [tsa]; AF2 [tsa]; LH1 [tsa]; LH2 [tsak];
JA1 [tsa]; JA2 [tsak];
SC [tsa]; LnC [tsa]; Nnc1 [tsa]; Nnc2 [tsa]; LC [tsak] CG *tsak ~ *tske
The DC1 form is unexpectedly retroflexed. The set as a whole is not consistent with those normally reflecting CG retroflexes.

zhē 者 QYS ʔja: CJC *cia³
TS [tsè]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teia];
TC [tsè]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsa]; DC2 [—];
AY [ta]; NC [tsa]; FX [te]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsa]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ta]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsa]; JA1 [ta]; JA2 [ta];
SC [—]; LnC [ta]; Nnc1 [ta]; Nnc2 [—]; LC [tsa] CG *tsia ~ *tsie

zhēn 珍 QYS ʔjen CJC *cin¹
TS [tsén]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsén]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsan]; DC2 [—];
AY [ton]; NC [tsan]; FX [ton]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsan]; AF1 [tên]; AF2 [tin]; LH1 [tê]; LH2 [tser]; JA1 [tin]; JA2 [tin];
SC [tei]; LnC [tin]; Nnc1 [tein]; Nnc2 [—]; LC [tein] CG *tsin *

zhēn 真 QYS ʔjen CJC *cin¹
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsen]; XZ [tsan]; YX [tsen]; DC1 [tsan]; DC2 [tsan];
AY [ton]; NC [tsan]; FX [ton]; GA [ton];
CL [tse]; PX [tsen]; AF1 [tên]; AF2 [tin]; LH1 [tse]; LH2 [tsen]; JA1 [tin]; JA2 [tin];
SC [tei]; LnC [tin]; Nnc1 [tein]; Nnc2 [tein]; LC [tein] CG *tsin
Appendix: Data

zhèn 镇  QYS  tjên-  CDC *cin⁵
TS [tsen]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [-]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsan]; XZ [tsan]; YX [tsen]; DC1 [tsan]; DC2 [tsan];
AY [tan]; NC [tsan]; FX [ton⁴]; GA [ton⁴];
CL [tœn]; PX [tœn]: AF1 [—]; AF2 [tin⁵]; LH1 [tœn]; LH2 [tsen]; JA1 [tin⁷];
JA2 [tin⁷];
SC [—]; LnC [tin⁷]; NnC1 [tein⁷]; NnC2 [tein⁷]; LC [tein⁷] CG *tșën

zhěng 爭  QYS  tjêng  CDC *cang¹
TS [tsen]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tsan];
TC [tsen]; XZ [tœn]; YX [tesan¹]; DC1 [tœn]; DC2 [tœn];
AY [tœn]; NC [tœn]; FX [tœn]; GA [tœn];
CL [tœn]; PX [tœn]: AF1 [tœn]; AF2 [tœn]; LH1 [tœn]; LH2 [tœn]; JA1 [tœn];
JA2 [tœn];
SC [tœn]; LnC [tœn]; NnC1 [tœn]; NnC2 [tœn];
LC [tœn] CG *tşen⁷

zhěng 整  QYS  tʃi̯ŋ  CDC *ciang³
TS [tsen]; WN1 [-]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsan]; XZ [tsan]; YX [tsen]; DC1 [tsan]; DC2 [tsan];
AY [tan]; NC [tsan]; FX [ton]; GA [ton];
CL [tœn]: PX [tœn]; AF1 [tœn]; AF2 [tin⁷]; LH1 [tœn]; LH2 [tœn]; JA1 [tin⁷];
JA2 [tin⁷];
SC [tei⁷]; LnC [tin⁷]; NnC1 [tei⁷]; NnC2 [tei⁷]; LC [tei⁷] CG *tʃi̯ŋ⁷

*Second form means “put completely in order”.
**JXFY.

The tone of the first reconstructed form should probably be yǐnshāng, but this is indeterminate from the relevant data.
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zhēng 正 QYS tʃ谅- CDC *ciang⁵
TS [tsen]; WN1 [tein]; WN2 [tein]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsəŋ ~ tsəŋ]; XZ [tsəŋ]; YX [tsen ~ tsəŋ]; DC1 [tsəŋ ~ tsəŋ]; DC2 [tsəŋ]
AY [təŋ ~ təŋ]; NC [tsəŋ ~ tsəŋ]; FX [ten ~ təŋ]; GA [təŋ];
CL [tse ~ tsa]; LH1 [tsə ~ tsə]; AF1 [tən]; AF2 [tin]; LH2 [tsə]; JA1 [təŋ ~ təŋ ~ tin ~ tin];
JA2 [tsən ~ təŋ ~ tin ~ tin]; SC [tsə]; LnC [tən ~ təŋ ~ tin]; NnC1 [tein]; NnC2 [tein]
SC [tɕIan]; NC [tən ~ təŋ ~ təŋ]; LC [tein]; CG *tɕian ~ *tɕian ~ *tɕian

zhēng 政 QYS tʃəng- CDC *ciang⁵
TS [tsen]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tein];
TC [tsəŋ ~ tsəŋ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [təŋ]; DC2 [—];
AY [təŋ]; NC [təŋ]; FX [təŋ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [təŋ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tin]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsə]; JA1 [tin]; JA2
[tin];
SC [—]; LnC [tin]; NnC1 [tein]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tein]; CG *tɕi

zhèng 證 QYS tʃəng- CDC *cī¹
TS [tsi]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsi];
TC [tsi]; XZ [tsi]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsi]; DC2 [tsi];
AY [tə]; NC [tsi]; FX [tə]; GA [—];
CL [tsi]; PX [tsi]; AF1 [tə]; AF2 [te]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsi]; JA1 [tə];
JA2 [tə];
SC [—]; LnC [tʰi]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei]; CG *tɕi

zhī 支 QYS tʃje CDC *ci¹
TS [ts]; WN1 [ts]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts];
TC [ts]; XZ [ts]; YX [ts]; DC1 [ts]; DC2 [ts];
AY [tə]; NC [ts]; FX [tə]; GA [tə];
CL [ts]; PX [ts]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tə]; LH1 [ts]; LH2 [ts]; JA1 [tə];
JA2 [tə];
The NC bái form is irregularly aspirated.

zhí zhí QYS tjē  ČDC *ci¹
TS [tsi¹]; WN1 [tsi¹]; WN2 [tsi¹]; WN3 [tsi¹];
TC [tsi¹]; XZ [tsi¹]; YX [tsi¹]; DC1 [tsi¹]; DC2 [tsi¹];
AY [tə]; NC [tsi¹]; FX [tə]; GA [tsi¹];
CL [tsi¹]; PX [tsi¹]; AF1 [tə]; AF2 [tsi¹]; LH1 [tsi¹]; LH2 [tsi¹]; JA1 [tə]; JA2 [tə];
SC [tsi¹]; LnC [ti¹]; NnC1 [ti¹]; NnC2 [ti¹]; LC [ti¹] ČCD *tsi¹

zhí QYS (djak), dī- ČDC *jik⁸
TS [—]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [džit];
TC [dži⁸]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [t'ə⁸]; NC [ts'ə]; FX [t'ə⁸]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [ts'ə]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts'ə]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts'ə]; JA1 [t'ə]; JA2 [t'ə];
SC [—]; LnC [t'i⁸]; NnC1 [t'i⁸]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'i⁸] ČCD *džik

zhí zhí QYS tjē  ČDC *ji³
TS [tsi³]; WN1 [tsi³]; WN2 [dži³]; WN3 [dži³];
TC [dži³]; XZ [dži³]; YX [dži³]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [dži³];
AY [t'ə³]; NC [ts'ə³]; FX [t'ə³]; GA [t'ø³];
CL [tsi³]; PX [tsi³]; AF1 [t'ø³]; AF2 [t'ø³]; LH1 [ts'ø³]; LH2 [ts'ø³]; JA1 [t'ø³]; JA2 [t'ø³];
SC [tsi³]; LnC [t'i³]; NnC1 [t'i³]; NnC2 [t'i³]; LC [t'i³] ČCD *džik

The vowel of the YX form is misprinted in the source as ɿ, which we have accordingly corrected here.

zhí zhí QYS tsii:  ČDC *ci³
TS [tsi³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsi³];
TC [tsi³]; XZ [tsi³]; YX [tsi³]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tsi³];
AY [tə³ (~to point') ~ tə³ (~finger')] [tsi³]; NC [tsi³]; FX [tə³]; GA [tə³];
CL [tsi³]; PX [tsi³]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tə³]; LH1 [tsi³]; LH2 [tsi³]; JA1 [tə³]; JA2 [tə³];
SC [—]; LnC [ti³]; NnC1 [tei³]; NnC2 [tei³]; LC [tei³] ČCD *tșit ~ *tsi³

The NC bái form is irregularly aspirated.

zhí zhí QYS tsii:  ČDC *ci³
TS [tsi³]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsi³];
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TC [tsʰ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʰ]; NC [tsʰ]; FX [tʰ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsʰ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [teʰ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsʰ]; JA1 [tʃ]; JA2 [tʃ];
SC [—]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tei] CG *tʃi

zhi 至 QYS tši- CDC *ci⁵
TS [tsʰ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsʰ];
TC [tsʰ]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsʰ]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʃ]; NC [tsʰ]; FX [tʃ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsʰ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsʰ]; JA1 [tʃ]; JA2 [tʃ];
SC [—]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tei] CG *tʃi

zhí 制 QYS tʃái- CDC *ciai⁵
TS [tsʰ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tsʰ]; WN3 [tsʰ];
TC [tsʰ]; XZ [tsʰ]; YX [tsʰ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʃ]; NC [tsʰ]; FX [tʃ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsʰ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsʰ]; JA1 [tʃ]; JA2 [tʃ];
SC [tsʰ]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tei] CG *tʃi

zhì 智 QYS tʃe- CDC *ci⁵
TS [tsʰ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tsʰ];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [tʃ]; NC [tsʰ]; FX [tʃ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsʰ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [te]; LH1 [tsʰ]; LH2 [tsʰ]; JA1 [—]; JA2 [—];
SC [—]; LnC [ti]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tei] CG *tʃi
The SC initial is irregularly aspirated.
zhōu 粥 QYS tʃuk — CDC *ciuk
TS [tsau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teiu];
TC [tey]; XZ [tsu]; YX [tsu]; DC1 [tsu]; DC2 [tsu];
AY [tu]; NC [tsu]; FX [tu]; GA [tu];
CL [ts]; PX [ts]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [to]; LH1 [teyo]; LH2 [teio]; JA1 [to];
JA2 [to];
SC [—]; LnC [tu]; NnC1 [tu]; NnC2 [tu]; LC [tsu] CG *tʃiuk

zhōu 周 QYS tʃau — CDC *cieu
TS [tsau]; WN1 [tey]; WN2 [tey]; WN3 [teiu];
TC [tsou]; XZ [—]; YX [tsou]; DC1 [tsou]; DC2 [tsou];
AY [tu]; NC [tsou]; FX [tu]; GA [teu];
CL [ts]; PX [ts]; AF1 [tiu]; AF2 [tiu]; LH1 [tsæ]; LH2 [tsô]; JA1 [tiu];
JA2 [tu];
SC [teiu]; LnC [tiu]; NnC1 [teiu]; NnC2 [teiu]; LC [teiu] CG *tʃiui
*The finals in the the WN1 and WN2 forms are irregular We should expect [jou] and [iu] respectively.

zhōu 州 QYS tʃau — CDC *cieu
TS [tsau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teiu]; WN3 [teiu];
TC [tsou]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tsou]; DC2 [tsou];
AY [tu]; NC [tsou]; FX [tu]; GA [—];
CL [ts]; PX [ts]; AF1 [tiu]; AF2 [tiu]; LH1 [teu]; LH2 [tsê]; JA1 [tiu];
JA2 [tu];
SC [teiu]; LnC [tiu]; NnC1 [teiu]; NnC2 [teiu]; LC [teiu] CG *tʃiui
*JXFY.

zhōu 驟 QYS dzʃau— CDC *jeu
TS [tsau]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [teiu];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dʒeu]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsau]; NC [—]; FX [tsau]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [—]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsə]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [ts]); JA1 [tsau];
JA2 [ts'au];
SC [—]; LnC [ts';u]; NnC1 [t'iäu]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *dzʃau or dʒeu (?)

zhū 豬 QYS tjwo — CDC *cie (~ *ciu)/EC *tra
TS [tey]; WN1 [tey]; WN2 [tey]; WN3 [tey];
TC [tey]; XZ [tsu]; YX [tsu]; DC1 [tsu]; DC2 [tsu];
AY [tu]; NC [tey]; FX [tu]; GA [to];
CL [tey]; PX [ts]; AF1 [ty]; AF2 [ty]; LH1 [tiu]; LH2 [tiu]; JA1 [ty];
The third reconstructed form shows an archaic retention of an initial dental stop. It is supported by the LH1, LH2 and SC forms.

zhú 竹 QYS tjuk  CDC *ciuk^7/EC *truk
TS [tsau]; WN1 [tjeu]; WN2 [tje]; WN3 [tjiu];
TC [tay]; XZ [tšu]; YX [tšu]; DC1 [tšuk]; DC2 [tšuk];
AY [tu]; NC [tšu]; FX [tu]; GA [to];
CL [tay]; PX [tšu]; AF1 [tio]; AF2 [tio]; LH1 [tjo]; LH2 [tjo]; JA1 [tio]; JA2 [tio];
SC [tio]; LnC [tu]; NC [tjiu]; NnC1 [tu]; NnC2 [tu]; LC [tšu]  CG *dziuk

The second reconstructed form is based on the readings found in AF1 and 2, LH2, JA1 and 2, and SC. This appears to be an archaic substrate survival in these dialects.

zhǔ 主 QYS tšju:  CDC *ciu
TS [tay]; WN1 [tay]; WN2 [tay]; WN3 [tay];
TC [tay]; XZ [tšu]; YX [tšu]; DC1 [tšu]; DC2 [tšu];
AY [tu]; NC [tay]; FX [tu]; GA [to];
CL [tay]; PX [tšu]; AF1 [tio]; AF2 [tio]; LH1 [tjo]; LH2 [tjo]; JA1 [ty]; JA2 [ty];
SC [tay]; LnC [tu]; NC [tay]; NnC2 [tay]; LC [tay]  CG *tšy

The XZ initial is irregular.
zhù 助 QYS dzjwo- CDC *je⁶ (~ *ju⁶)
TS [tə] 除去; WN1 [tsu]; WN2 [dzu]; WN3 [tsu]; TC [dzu]; XZ [dzu]; XG [dzu]; DC1 [dzu]; DC2 [dzu];
AY [tsu]; NC [tsu]; FX [tsu]; GA [tsu];
CL [tsu]; PX [tsu]; AF1 [t'su]; AF2 [tsu]; LH1 [tsu]; LH2 [tsu]; JA1 [tsu]; JA2 [tsu];
SC [tsu]; LnC [tsu]; NnC1 [tsu]; NnC2 [tsu]; LC [tsu] CG *dzj

The final and tone of the WN1 form are irregular.

zhù 著 QYS tʃwän CDC *cie⁵ (~ *ciu⁵)
TS [tʃe] 除去; WN1 [tʃen]; WN2 [tʃen]; WN3 [tʃen]; TC [tʃen]; XZ [tʃen]; YX [tʃen]; DC1 [tʃen]; DC2 [tʃen];
AY [tʃen]; NC [tʃen]; FX [tʃen]; GA [tʃen];
CL [tʃen]; PX [tʃen]; AF1 [tʃen]; AF2 [tʃen]; LH1 [tʃen]; LH2 [tʃen]; JA1 [tʃen]; JA2 [tʃen];
SC [tʃen]; LnC [tʃen]; NnC1 [tʃen]; NnC2 [tʃen]; LC [tʃen] CG *tʃe

The final and tone of the WN1 form are irregular.

zhù 爲 QYS tsjuk CDC *ciu⁷
TS [tsau]; WN1 [teiu]; WN2 [teiu]; WN3 [teiu]; TC [teiu]; XZ [teiu]; YX [teiu]; DC1 [tsjuk]; DC2 [teiu];
AY [tu]; NC [tsjuk]; FX [tu]; GA [tu];
CL [tsjuk]; PX [tsjuk]; AF1 [to]; AF2 [to]; LH1 [to]; LH2 [teio]; JA1 [to]; JA2 [to];
SC [to]; LnC [to]; NnC1 [to]; NnC2 [to]; LC [tsu] CG *tsjuk

The third reconstruction is suggested by the AF and LH2 forms. The NnC1 tone is irregularly of higher register.
Appendix: Data

CL [—]; PX [tʂʰ̲], AF1 [—]; AF2 [ts], LH1 [—]; LH2 [tɕʰ̲n]; JA1 [tʂ]; JA2 [tɕn];
SC [—]; LnC [t̲ən]; NnC1 [t̲an]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tɕi̲n] CG *tɕʰ̲n

zhuän 磚 QYS tʃwän CDC *ɕIon
TS [tɕɛ́]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕʰ̲n]; WN3 [tɕʰ̲n];
TC [tɕan]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tɕan]; DC2 [tɕʰ̲n];
AY [tɕ]; NC [tɕan]; FX [tɕʰ̲n]; GA [—];
CL [tɕá]; PX [tɕɛ́]; AF1 [tɕ]; AF2 [tɕ]; LH1 [tɕɛ́]*; LH2 [tɕʰ̲n];
JA1 [tɕ]; JA2 [tɕn];
SC [tɕón]; LnC [t̲ən]; NnC1 [t̲an]; NnC2 [t̲an];
The origins of the LH1 bái form and the JA1 form remain to be clarified.

TS [tɕɛ́]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tɕʰ̲n]; WN3 [tɕʰ̲n];
TC [tʂan]; XZ [tʂɔ̃]; YX [dʐan]; DC1 [tʂan]; DC2 [tʂan];
AY [tɕan]; NC [tɕan]; FX [tɕʰ̲n]; GA [tɕan];
CL [tʂá]; PX [tʂɛ́]; AF1 [tʂʰ̲n]; AF2 [tʂá]; LH1 [tʂʰ̲n]; LH2 [tʂʰ̲n];
JA1 [tʂʰ̲n]; JA2 [tʂan];
SC [tʂán]; LnC [t̲ən]; NnC1 [t̲an]; NnC2 [t̲an];
The origins of the LH1 bái form and the JA1 form remain to be clarified.
A Study of Comparative Gàn

zhuàng 莊 QYS tsjang- CDC *cong¹
TS [tson⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tson⁴]; WN3 [tson⁴];
TC [tson⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [tson⁴]; DC2 [—];
AY [tson⁴]; NC [tson⁴]; FX [tson⁴]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsɔ̃⁴]; AF1 [tson⁴]; AF2 [tson⁴]; LH1 [tsɔŋ⁴]*; LH2 [tson⁴]; JA1 [tson⁴]; JA2 [tson⁴];
SC [tso⁴]; LnC [tson⁴]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tson⁴] CG *tson⁴

zhuàng 壮 QYS tsjang- CDC *cong⁵
TS [tson⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tson⁴];
TC [tson⁴]; XZ [tsɔŋ⁴]; YX [tson⁴]; DC1 [tson⁴]; DC2 [tson⁴];
AY [tson⁴]; NC [tson⁴]; FX [tson⁴]; GA [tson⁴];
CL [tsɔŋ⁴]; PX [tsɔŋ⁴]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tson⁴]; LH1 [tsɔŋ⁴]; LH2 [—]; JA1 [tson⁴]; JA2 [tson⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [tson⁴]; NnC1 [—]; NnC2 [—]; LC [tson⁴] CG *tson⁴

The JA1 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

zhuàng 状 QYS dzjang- CDC *jong⁶
TS [tson⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [tson⁴];
TC [tson⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [dzɔŋ⁴]; DC2 [—];
AY [tsɔŋ⁴]; NC [tsɔŋ⁴]; FX [tsɔŋ⁴]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [tsɔŋ⁴]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [tsɔŋ⁴]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tsɔŋ⁴]; JA1 [t'oŋ⁴]; JA2 [tsɔŋ⁴];
SC [—]; LnC [tsɔŋ⁴]; NnC1 [t'oŋ⁴]; NnC2 [—]; LC [t'oŋ⁴] CG *dzɔŋ⁴

The JA1 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

The initial if the DC1 form is irregular. It appears to be directly comparable to the Common Dialectal Chinese and QYS forms.

The AF2 tone is irregular.

zhuī 追 QYS tjwi CDC *cui¹
TS [tʃwa⁴]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tʃwa⁴]; WN3 [tʃwa⁴];
TC [kui⁴]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [tʂə³]

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Appendix: Data

AY [tei\^p\ ]; NC [tsui\^p\ ]; FX [tei\^p\ ]; GA [—];
CL [teye\^p\ ]; PX [t\^u\^p\ ]; AF1 [tei\^p\ ]; AF2 [t\^u\^p\ ]; LH1 [tey^\ ]; LH2 [tey^\ ]; JA1 [\^y\ ]; JA2 [t\^u\^p\ ];
SC [tey^\ ]; LnC [t\^u\^p\ ]; NnC1 [tey^\ ]; NnC2 [tey^\ ]; LC [tey^\ ] CG *\^yi\ ^\ p\ ;

The AF forms are probably loans from a prestigious source such as Nánchāng. The expected AF reflexes here would have modern -y. The TC initial is unexpected.

zhuǐ 錐 QYS t\^i\ CDC *\^i\ ^1\ 
TS [tey\^p\ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [teyn\ ]; WN3 [tey\ ];
TC [—]; XZ [—]; YX [—]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [—];
AY [tei\^p\ ]; NC [tsui\^p\ ]; FX [tei\^p\ ]; GA [—];
CL [—]; PX [t\^u\^p\ ]; AF1 [—]; AF2 [ty^\ ]; LH1 [—]; LH2 [tey^\ ]; JA1 [\^y\ ]; JA2 [tsui\^p\ ];
SC [—]; LnC [t\^u\^p\ ]; NnC1 [tey^\ ]; NnC2 [—]; LC [—] CG *\^yi\ ^\ p\ ;

zhùn 准 QYS t\^i\ven\ CDC *\^un\ ^3\ 
TS [te\^y\ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tey\ ]; WN3 [tey\ ];
TC [ts\^un\ ]; XZ [t\^\ ]; YX [t\^\ ]; DC1 [t\^\ ]; DC2 [t\^\ ];
AY [ton\ ]; NC [tsun\ ]; FX [ton\ ]; GA [ton\ ];
CL [t\^e\ ]; PX [t\^\ ]; AF1 [t\^\ ]; AF2 [tun^\ ]; LH1 [t\^e\ ]; LH2 [tey\ ]; JA1 [tun^\ ]; JA2 [tuen^\ ];
SC [te\^\ ]; LnC [—]; NnC1 [teyn\ ]; NnC2 [teyn\ ]; LC [ts\^un\ ] CG *\^yn^\ ^\ p\ .
The JA1 tone is irregular.

zhuō 捉 QYS t\^\ k\ CDC *\^\ ^1\ 
TS [ts\^o\ ]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [ts\^o\ ]; WN3 [ts\^o\ ];
TC [ts\^o\ ]; XZ [ts\^\ ]; YX [ts\^o\ ]; DC1 [ts\^o\ ]; DC2 [ts\^o\ ];
AY [ts\^o\ ]; NC [ts\^o\ ]; FX [ts\^o\ ]; GA [ts\^o\ ];
CL [ts\^o\ ]; PX [ts\^o\ ]; AF1 [ts\^o\ ]; AF2 [ts\^o\ ]; LH1 [ts\^o\ ]; LH2 [ts\^o\ ]; JA1 [ts\^o\ ]; JA2 [ts\^o\ ];
SC [ts\^o\ ]; LnC [ts\^o\ ]; NnC1 [ts\^o\ ]; NnC2 [ts\^o\ ]; LC [ts\^o\ ] CG *ts\^o\ ;
The DC1 form is irregular and may be a loan from some northern-type dialect or from Modern Standard Chinese.

zhuō 捉 QYS t\^\ k\ CDC *\^\ ^1\ 
TS [ts\^o\ ]; WN1 [ts\^o\ ]; WN2 [—]; WN3 [ts\^o\ ];
TC [ts\^o\ ]; XZ [ts\^\ ]; YX [ts\^o\ ]; DC1 [—]; DC2 [ts\^o\ ];
AY [ts\^o\ ]; NC [ts\^o\ ]; FX [ts\^o\ ]; GA [ts\^o\ ];
CL [ts\^o\ ]; PX [ts\^o\ ]; AF1 [ts\^o\ ]; AF2 [ts\^o\ ]; LH1 [ts\^o\ ]; LH2 [ts\^o\ ]; JA1 [ts\^o\ ];
The AF and NnC1 tones are irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The AF and NnC1 tones are irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.

The AF2 tone is irregular.
Appendix: Data

AY [tsau]; NC [tseu]; FX [tsau]; GA [tseu];
CL [tsɔ]; PX [tsɔ]; AF1 [tseoi]; AF2 [tseu]; LH1 [tseoi]; LH2 [tsoi]; JA1 [tsa]; JA2 [tseu];
SC [tsau]; LnC [tseu]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tseu] CG *tseu;

zuì QYS tsjwok CDC *tsiuk⁷
TS [tsei]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [tei]; WN3 [tei];
TC [tei]; XZ [tsi]; YX [tei]; DC1 [tsi]; DC2 [tei];
AY [tsei]; NC [tsi]; FX [tei]; GA [tei];
CL [tsi]; PX [tsi]; AF1 [tsi]; AF2 [tsuo]; LH1 [tseoi]; LH2 [tsoi]; JA1 [tsu]; JA2 [tsu];
SC [tse]; LnC [tsu]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tsu ~

The SC tone is irregular.

zui 最 QYS tsuai: CDC *tsuoï⁴
TS [tseï]; WN1 [—]; WN2 [de]; WN3 [de];
TC [dzi]; XZ [dzi]; YX [dzi]; DC1 [dzi]; DC2 [dzi];
AY [tei]; NC [tsu]; FX [tei]; GA [tsu];
CL [tsi]; PX [tsi]; AF1 [tsb]; AF2 [tsuoï]; LH1 [tsb]; LH2 [tsb]; JA1 [tsu]; JA2 [tsu];
SC [tse]; LnC [tsu]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tsuo ~

The SC tone is irregular.

zui 醉 QYS tswi- CDC *tseï⁵
TS [tseï]; WN1 [tey]; WN2 [tey]; WN3 [tey];
TC [tei]; XZ [tei]; YX [tei]; DC1 [tei]; DC2 [tei];
AY [tei]; NC [tei]; FX [tei]; GA [tei];
CL [tei]; PX [tei]; AF1 [tei]; AF2 [tei]; LH1 [tei]; LH2 [tei]; JA1 [tei]; JA2 [tei];
SC [tey]; LnC [tsu]; NnC1 [tei]; NnC2 [tei]; LC [tei] CG *tseï ~

The initial of the AF2 form is irregular. We should expect no aspiration.

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The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.

The tones of the LC bái form and the NnC2 form are irregular.
zuò 作  QYS  tsâk  CDC  *tsok

zuò 做  QYS  (tsuo-, tsâ-)  CDC  *tsok^5  ~  *tsu^5

The JA1 form is irregular. It is perhaps a loan from some prestigious dialect, such as that of Nánchāng.
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