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Common Neo-Hakka: A Comparative Reconstruction

by

W. South Coblin



Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan

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Summary

This work undertakes a comparative phonological reconstruction for the Neo-Hakka dialect group. The term Neo-Hakka is an English rendering of Chinese 新客家話, a new expression now increasingly being used by Chinese dialectologists and Hakka specialists to refer to what was earlier simply called “Hakka” (客家話). This Neo-Hakka group includes both the better known “Mainstream Hakka” dialects of the Méixiàn type and the lesser known ones of southern Jiāngxī and contiguous areas, whose speakers do not self-identify as ethnically Hakka or understand Mainstream Hakka when they hear it spoken. Thus, the Common Neo-Hakka comparative system developed here goes beyond the earlier Proto-Hakka phonological reconstruction of Keven O’Connor (1976), who worked exclusively with a number of Mainstream Hakka dialects.

Beyond the broad Neo-Hakka group alluded to above is a set of hitherto unclassified dialects that bear certain similarities to Neo-Hakka but for various taxonomic reasons cannot be classified as Hakka proper. These dialects are phonologically archaic in various ways and so are now called 老客家話 by Chinese linguists, a term we render in English as “Paleo-Hakka”. The present study will not deal with the Paleo-Hakka dialects, which in our view deserve a special study of their own.

The reconstructive approach adopted in the present work is the classical comparative method. The reconstruction is based on data from twenty-seven Neo-Hakka dialects, which have been chosen to epitomize the maximum number of phonological distinctions required in the hypothetical proto-language. The work consists of six chapters, a data appendix of 1368 cognate sets and reconstructed forms, and an index to the text proper. The first chapter introduces background, methodology, and the specific materials to be used. The second, third, and fourth chapters deal with syllable initials, syllable finals, and tones respectively. The fifth chapter is concerned with dialect lexicon and the problems involved in reconstruction of full lexical forms, as opposed to single syllables. The sixth and final chapter discusses relevant Hakka historical and demographic questions, specific historical phonological problems, and possible avenues for future research in the history of the Hakka dialects.

Keywords: Hakka dialects, historical phonology, historical dialectology, comparative reconstruction

Preface

The Hakka (or Kèjiā 客家) dialects are unique among Sinitic language branches in that their name does not associate them with a particular geographical area. Instead, they are usually viewed as a cultural artifact of their speakers' ethnicity. One Hakka sub-variety, that of the greater Méixiàn 梅縣 region, has played an important role in the field of Chinese historical phonology, because the Swedish Sinologist, Bernhard Karlgren, used data from it to develop his Ancient Chinese philological system. And, indeed, Méixiàn-type Hakka continues to be viewed as prototypical of the dialect group by sinologists in particular and Sinologists in general. However, since the 1980's many new Hakka varieties have been reported, which differ in significant ways from those of the Méixiàn prototype. And, additionally, yet another type of language, which appears to be "Hakka-like" but nonetheless lacks a number of what have hitherto been considered diagnostic Hakka features, is beginning to be described and discussed in print. Since aberrant lects of this type seem to point to linguistic stages that predate the origins of Hakka proper, they are often characterized as Lǎo Kèjiāhuà 老客家話 ("Paleo-Hakka"), while the previously recognized grouping is now called Xīn Kèjiāhuà 新客家話 ("Neo-Hakka"). But even these elaborations on earlier views do not exhaust the new developments in the field of Hakka studies. For it has become increasingly clear that the dialects spoken by the Shē 畬 ethnic minority are also related to Hakka in intimate ways and are in fact even considered archaic forms of Hakka by some authorities today. In the past, adopting Karlgren's general phylogenetic model for Chinese dialect development, Hakka has simply been viewed as one branch derived from a hypothesized older "Ancient Chinese" unity. But the new discoveries adumbrated above challenge that older model, for it is clear that no cogent account of Hakka dialect history can be formulated without taking them into account. In other words, the evolutionary process through which Hakka became what it is today was much more complex than Karlgren and his epigones believed.

An important milestone in the development of comparative Hakka studies was the publication of a fully reconstructed Proto-Hakka phonological system by Kevin O'Connor in 1976. This was the first systematic comparative reconstruction based on Hakka dialect data, and to date it has been the only such system to appear in print. The Hakka materials used by

O'Connor were of necessity all derived from Méixiàn-type dialects, which were the only Hakka speech forms for which full systematic descriptions were available at the time he was working. Today, as indicated above, far more field data have been published; and this suggests that the time is ripe to undertake a new comparative reconstruction. This task is the primary object of the present work; and, given that the dialects to be compared are now called Neo-Hakka, we identify our new reconstructed system as “Common Neo-Hakka”.

It will also become necessary to address the question of Neo-Hakka's relationship to both the Shē dialects and Paleo-Hakka. Dealing systematically with this problem will require us first to reconstruct a Common Shē comparative system. That undertaking we shall defer to a future study, because our own position is that Common Shē is not a branch of Neo-Hakka proper but instead a closely related sister dialect of Common Neo-Hakka as a whole. Ultimately, the system at which we arrive by comparing Neo-Hakka and Shē, which we would call “Common Hakka-Shē”, must then be compared with the Paleo-Hakka dialects. This undertaking lies even further in the future.

Recent decades have seen significant advances in the study of Chinese demographic and migration history. In future it is mandatory that we integrate information from these specialties into the field of dialect history. Earlier dialect historical models, which of course could not fully benefit from such detailed research in population dynamics, tend to be defective in this respect. It is imperative that such deficiencies be remedied in the future, if we are ever to arrive at a valid picture of Chinese dialect history.

All matters raised in the preceding paragraphs will to one degree or another inform our efforts in the present work. The specific order of procedure will be as follows. In Chapter I we introduce the general problems we wish to study, the materials to be used, and the theoretical and methodological framework within which we shall work. In particular, it will be noted that the reconstructed protosystem will be multilayered or multi-stratal, in that it is viewed as comprising more than one chronological stratum of lexical material. The second, third, and fourth chapters discuss respectively our reconstructions for the syllable initials, finals, and tones of Common Neo-Hakka. Chapter V is an experimental exercise in lexical reconstruction, where we work not simply with syllables but rather with entire spoken words, both monosyllabic and

polysyllabic, as represented by their reflexes in the modern dialects. The sixth chapter deals with various residual matters. It begins with a discussion of the demographic and migration history underlying the linguistic evolution we hypothesize for Neo-Hakka and for the higher order stages of Chinese from which we believe it derives. We then turn to the problem of lexical layering in the Common Neo-Hakka protosystem, with particular attention to the identification of the oldest, i.e., Primitive Neo-Hakka, stages of that system. A full appendix of data and a brief index conclude the volume.

In writing this book I have benefitted from the help and encouragement of many friends and colleagues. Professor Ting Pang-Hsin read the entire text very closely and made numerous useful and perceptive comments. Professor Axel Schuessler offered the same level of candid advice and support he has tendered me for many decades. The late Professor Jerry Norman's correspondence and conversations dealing with Hakka and Shē studies, which continued by telephone into the final hours of his life, remain an inspiring and sustaining influence on all my work in this as well as other branches of Chinese comparative and historical dialectology. To Laurent Sagart I owe a special and continuing debt of gratitude, both for his early work on Hakka, which first aroused in me a deeper interest in both Gàn and Hakka, and for his unfailingly sincere critical guidance since that time. Professor Zhuāng Chūshēng, in both his numerous publications and in private correspondence, has made me aware of many salient materials and significant new theoretical developments of which I had hitherto been ignorant; and he has also enabled me to read the unpublished dissertation of his doctoral student, and now professional colleague, Dr. Zhāng Qiàn, whose work has been fundamentally important to my own. Finally my old friends, Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-Ch'ien, aided me on a number of occasions by supplying me with lexical data from their native Taiwanese Hakka dialects, Hǎilù and Sixiàn respectively, which would not otherwise have been available to me.

To all of these individuals, and to many further friends, colleagues, and students not mentioned by name here, I remain deeply indebted. All remaining errors and deficiencies in the present work, which are unfortunately rife, are of course entirely my own responsibility.

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Map III: The Hakka Heartland (orange), enclosing the Ancestral Shē Settlement Area (olive),
ca. 1500

Map IV: Possible Ancestral Paleo-Hakka Migration Routes

List of Abbreviations and Signs

~	Sine wave (separating alternate modern data forms)
/	Right slanting slash (separating competing variant reconstructed forms)
//	Double right slanting slash (separating reconstructed forms for different etyma represented by the same sinograph in dialect data sources)
AY	Ānyuǎn 安遠
b	bái 白 “vernacular register”
BJYJ	<i>Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiù</i> 客贛方言比較研究 (Liú 1999)
BMH	Basil Mission Hakka archival material
CDC	Common Dialectal Chinese (Norman 2006; Ms. 1)
CN	Cāngnán-1 蒼南
CNH	Common Neo-Hakka
CS	Common Shē
CT	Chángtīng 長汀
CZ	CháoZhōu 潮州
DB	Diànbái 電白
DCBG	<i>Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá bàogào</i> 客贛方言調查報告(Lǐ & Zhāng 1992)
EC	Early Chinese (Norman 1994; 2014; Ms. 1)
FA	Fú’ān 福安
FD	Fúǎng 福鼎
FJFYZ	<i>Fújiàn shěngzhì: Fāngyánzhì</i> 福建省誌：方言誌
FS	Fēngshùn 豐順
FYCH	<i>Hànyǔ fāngyáncíhuì</i> 漢語方言詞彙
FYZH	<i>Hànyǔ fāngyīnzìhuì</i> 漢語方音字彙
GX	Guìxī 貴溪
HA	Huá’ān 華安

HL	Hǎilù 海陸
HY	Héyuán 河源
JN1	Jǐngníng-1 景寧
L	Reconstructed form of purely literary register
LC1	Liánchéng-1 連城 (Lán 1999)
LC2	Liánchéng-2 連城 (Luó & Dèng 1995)
LF	Lùfēng 陸豐
LngY	Lóngyóu 龍游
LY	Luóyuán 羅源
LS	Lìshuǐ 麗水
LZ	Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊
MSC	Modern Standard Chinese
MX	Méixiàn 梅縣
ND1	Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (Liú 1999; 2001)
ND2	Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (Xiè 2003)
ND3	Níngdū-3 寧都 (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992)
NK	Nánkāng 南康
OPH	O'Connor Proto-Hakka (O'Connor 1976)
QN	Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮
QYS	<i>Qièyùn</i> System
s	Sú 俗 “highly vernacular or informal register”
SC	Shùrchāng 順昌
SH	Shàngháng 上杭
SHT	Song Him Tong (Chóngqiāntáng) 崇謙堂
SM	Sānmíng 三明
SX	Sìxiàn 四縣

SY	Shàngyóu, Shèxīxiāng 上猶社溪鄉
TY	Tàiyuán 太源
WP	Wǔpíng (Píngchuān) 武平平川
XC	Xīchāng 西昌
XS	Xiūshuǐ, Huángshāqiáo 修水黃沙橋
XY	Xìnyí sīhè 信宜思賀
w	wén 文 “literary register”
YD	Yǒngdìng 永定
YL	Yílǒng 儀隴

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Preliminaries

The Hakka dialects form one of the major Sinitic language families. Uncharacteristically for Chinese dialects in general, their Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) name, Kèjiā 客家, meaning “guest people, outsiders”, which is the autonym of many, but by no means all, of their speakers, is ethnolinguistic rather than geographical. It derives from the fact that the Hakkas, or Kèjiārén 客家人, as the numerical majority of these people refer to themselves and are called by others, are renowned migrants who have intersettled among other Chinese speakers across broad reaches of south and southwest China, as well as in various other parts of the world. Nonetheless, there is a cluster of contiguous or nearly contiguous areas where Hakka is predominantly spoken and which has recently been called the “Hakka heartland” (Leong 1997). This region straddles the upland and mountainous region lying astride the “three corners area” of the provinces of Jiāngxī 江西, Guǎngdōng 廣東, and Fújiàn 福建 and extends outward from this nuclear area in various directions.

Among Chinese historical linguists, one variety of Hakka, that of Méixiàn 梅縣 in Guǎngdōng, has been particularly well known for over a century. This is because Méixiàn-related Hakka was one of the modern Chinese dialects from which Bernhard Karlgren drew data when formulating his orthographical representation of the sound classes of the traditional philological framework widely known today as the *Qìyùn* System (Ch. *Qìyùn xìtǒng* 切韻系統), which he called “Ancient Chinese”, and which some today call “Middle Chinese” (Karlgren 1915–26; 1954). Indeed, this dialect became in a sense iconic of Hakka during most of the twentieth century, in that standard handbook characterizations with lists of salient Hakka characteristics tended to be based mainly on the Méixiàn variety. After the end of the Second World War, new field data from other Hakka dialects began to appear, and archival material from older textual sources was also analyzed. Particularly noteworthy among Western works of this period was a major study by Hashimoto (1973), who also brought his command of Hakka data into play in his own revisions of Karlgren’s Ancient Chinese system (Hashimoto 1978; 1979). Most of the new dialect material from this period derived from languages that were in one way or another closely associated with Méixiàn, either because they were located in

geographical contiguity with it, or were spoken by ethnically Hakka groups whose ancestors had emigrated from the wider Méixiàn area in previous centuries.

From our own standpoint, a particularly significant publication of the 1970's was Kevin O'Connor's long article, "Proto-Hakka", comprising a full reconstruction of the ancestral Hakka sound system (O'Connor 1976). O'Connor was a student of Jerry Norman,¹ who himself had pioneered the use of the comparative method for the reconstruction of Proto-Mǐn (Norman 1973; 1974) and was actively involved in research of this type at the time O'Connor studied under him. O'Connor's work is a major contribution to our understanding of Hakka linguistic history.

Subsequent to the publication of O'Connor's paper (which was completed as an MA thesis in 1975), and with the end of the Cultural Revolution in China, new Hakka field data began to appear in print. This included numerous studies of individual dialects, as well as a dedicated monograph (Sagart 1993) and two major synoptic compendia, *Kè-Gàn fāngyán diàochá bàogào* 客贛方言調查報告 (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992) and *Kè-Gàn fāngyán bǐjiào yánjiù* 客贛方言比較研究 (Liú 1999). A number of the dialects reported in these works were significantly different from those of the "Méixiàn Lineage" (Ch. Méixiàn xì 梅縣系) and showed that the family was phonologically more diverse than had originally been thought. Nevertheless, there was still considerable homogeneity within the group; and how this homogeneity could be utilized in the identification and classificatory subgrouping of Hakka dialects became an active topic of discussion and debate, as epitomized by Norman's famous article "What is a Kèjiā Dialect?" (1989), together with differing views expressed by other scholars, such as Laurent Sagart (e.g., 1988; 2002).

What has not followed since the 1970's, however, is the systematic application of the comparative method to the wider corpus of data that has emerged since O'Connor published his Proto-Hakka system. And it is in fact to this endeavor that the present work is specifically devoted. For we view as our primary task a review of O'Connor's system, carried out in the light of material that has been published since 1976. To the extent that his reconstructions still

¹ See O'Connor (1975: i).

account satisfactorily for all currently available Hakka data, we shall let it stand, with a few minimal orthographic emendations. But where the need arises, we shall suggest emendations, some minor and some more substantive. Additionally, however, we shall adopt a new stance regarding the problem of lexical layering in the common system, a question that was as yet barely recognized in O'Connor's time, and with which he was consequently not methodologically equipped to deal.

1.2 Neo-Hakka, Paleo-Hakka, and Shē relationships

At this point we must consider possible interrelationships between Hakka as we shall define it here and other dialect groups. A theory that has been current in the field since the third decade of the last century is that Hakka and Gàn 贛 are closely related and in fact belong to a common branch of Sinitic (Luó 1940). This view has had both proponents and opponents in the intervening years (e.g., Norman 1988a, 1989; Sagart 1988, 2002) and is still considered a controversial issue. Our opinion on the matter is that the relationship between Hakka and Gàn is a subtle and complex one and requires a nuanced interpretation involving lexical stratification in both families. We have dealt with it in considerable detail elsewhere (Coblin 2015: Chapter 6) and shall not address it again here, for it has no direct bearing on the specific task of reviewing O'Connor's Proto-Hakka system, which is our primary goal in the present work.

Less easily dealt with is the question of a possible close connection between Hakka and the language of the Shē 畲 ethnic minority. Among the various published views on this matter, only one directly concerns us here, i.e., that Shē is in fact a Hakka dialect proper. For, if this is correct, it means that any up-to-date comparative reconstruction of Hakka phonology must include Shē data. Jerry Norman, O'Connor's mentor, believed unequivocally that Shē was an archaic form of Hakka (1988b and p.c.), but he reached this conclusion well after the time that O'Connor had worked under him. And in any case, data from the Shē dialects would not have been readily available to O'Connor in the early 1970's.

Much more recently, Nakanishi (2010) has demonstrated that the Shē dialects share common innovations with Hakka. This would support Norman's view and has in fact led

Nakanishi to combine Shē into the Hakka dialect family. But in addition, he has also found that the Shē dialects possess among themselves unique common innovations that are *not* shared with the rest of Hakka. This suggests that they do differ *en bloc* from the “traditional” Hakka group in significant ways. Finally, it is noteworthy that if one compares reconstructed Common or Proto-Shē (Dèng 2013; Coblin Ms.1), with O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka, it is clear that the latter cannot have been directly ancestral to the former. The reason for this is that Common Shē possesses phonological distinctions which are neither present in the Hakka dialects today nor predictable from reconstructed Proto-Hakka.² This indicates that what are currently called Shē and Hakka should be viewed as highly similar daughters of some earlier common ancestor. Nakanishi would view this common entity as his newly proposed general Hakka. Our view is that Shē and Hakka as currently constituted derive from an ancestral Common Hakka-Shē proto-language. It is important to note here that our difference with Nakanishi’s position is mainly one of terminological nomenclature rather than substance. What we would call Common Hakka-She, Nakanishi would perhaps call Common Hakka or Proto-Hakka, which for him must then have split into two discrete and cohesive sub-branches, whose names would be Shē and, for the nonce perhaps, “Non-Shē”. This “Non-Shē” would correspond directly to what O’Connor and other authorities have heretofore called “Hakka”. But in the last analysis, the way the entire reconstructive problem must be approached is the same in both cases. To wit, the Shē dialects, which share the unique innovations identified by Nakanishi, should first be compared with one another to arrive at a Common Shē or Proto-Shē system. And the Hakka (or “Non-Shē”) dialects must in like manner be subjected to mutual comparison. Only when these steps have been completed should the two reconstructed branch systems be compared with each other to arrive at the common ancestor of both branches. What name we assign to that ancestor is ultimately of secondary importance from the standpoint of the comparative exercise itself. This, then, is our view of the Shē problem; and, if it is correct, then the upshot is that one may validly compare the currently constituted Hakka dialects without concern for Shē.

Our final problem in the present context involves the distinction between the general type of Hakka dialect with which we have so far been concerned and another variety which appears

² This will be systematically discussed and demonstrated in §6.3 of Chapter VI below.

to be aberrant in various ways. Most of these deviant languages have come to light in the last three decades or so. They tend either to be called *tǔhuà* 土話 “local patois”, or simply are denoted by the names of the locations where they are spoken. Those linguists who have studied them feel that they are “Hakka-like” in character but also note that they lack to one degree or another the usually cited diagnostic features of Hakka. Often, their problematic features seem to point in one way or another to archaic linguistic stages that predate Hakka proper. For this reason, the term currently used for them among Chinese dialectologists is *Lǎo Kèjiāhuà* 老客家話, for which we suggest the English translation “Paleo-Hakka”.³ There is in print today a growing literature on Paleo-Hakka. We shall eschew full references to it here and instead cite two representative works, i.e., Zhuāng (2008), which explains the concept and provides a tabular breakdown of currently known varieties and sub-varieties, plus references to a number of relevant sources and Zhuāng (2004), which serves as a convenient handbook and reference source for the individual Paleo-Hakka dialects of Guǎngdōng.⁴ In contradistinction to this, the “traditional” group of Hakka dialects is now called in Chinese *Xīn Kèjiāhuà* 新客家話, which we shall accordingly translate as “Neo-Hakka”. Most Paleo-Hakka dialects are found in northern and northeastern Guangdong; but recent studies have begun to report them elsewhere as well, e.g., in southern Jiāngxī (Zhāng 2014a).⁵ In our view, the Paleo-Hakka dialects should be viewed as having diverged from the general “Ur-Hakka” phylum at an earlier period, before

³ The translation “Old Hakka”, which is sometimes seen in English abstracts of Chinese publications, is problematic, because English “Old” in such contexts normally means the oldest *written* stage of a language, as in “Old English”, “Old French”, “Old Norse”, etc. We substitute “Paleo-” to obviate this difficulty.

⁴ For a useful survey of the literature connected with the emerging concepts of Paleo-Hakka and Neo-Hakka, see especially Zhuāng (2008: 45–46). The earliest use of the actual terms “Paleo-Hakka” and “Neo-Hakka” in the literature may be by Xiàng and Cáo (2005: 165).

⁵ Zhāng (2014a), which deals specifically with Jiāngxī Hakka dialects, complements Zhuāng (2004) and provides convenient cross references to it.

the Common Hakka-Shē stage and well before the time when Hakka and Shē diverged and then evolved into their numerous constituent lects.⁶

With these points in mind we are now able to add precision to our view of Hakka linguistic history and also to reformulate our goals in the present work. To wit, O'Connor's "Proto-Hakka" is really a study of a subset of Neo-Hakka dialects. Our task will be to expand his work to whatever degree newly published data permit and then reconstruct the sound system of "Common Neo-Hakka", in order to cover the broad range of those Neo-Hakka varieties which have been reported since 1976. Ultimately, we must compare Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē, to reconstruct a higher Common Hakka-Shē stage. And finally, we must compare the Paleo-Hakka dialects with Common Hakka-Shē, arriving thereby at the most archaic stage attainable using the comparative method. As will be outlined in §6.1 and §6.4.3 of Chapter VI, we shall suggest that that stage be called "Early Central Highlands Chinese".

1.3 Identification of Hakka Dialects — Selection Criteria

If we are to compare Neo-Hakka dialects, then we must decide upon selection criteria for our choice of languages that qualify for comparison. Of course, by definition, the dialects originally used by O'Connor, and others of essentially the same type, must be includable according to any criteria we adopt. Norman in his 1989 article, "What is a Kèjiā Dialect", proposed the following diagnostic procedure for identifying such a language (1989: 340):⁷

To determine whether a dialect is Kèjiā or not, one should examine shǎng tone words having sonorant (nasal or lateral) initials. If the dialect is truly Kèjiā, such words will fall into two groups, one in the yīnpíng category, and other in the yīnshǎng category; the incidence of one tone or the other will be determined lexically...

⁶ We shall deal with this question in more detail in §6.4.3 of Chapter VI.

⁷ Norman specifically notes that his approach was inspired by ideas expressed earlier by Hashimoto (1973: 440). In this connection, see also Ting (1982: esp. §2, Table) and Huáng (1988; 1989).

It is very important to understand clearly what Norman means here by the term “incidence” and the modifier “lexically determined”. “Incidence” basically means “occurrence”, i.e., whether or not the required tonal configurations occur. “Lexical determination” means that the property under consideration, in this instance one or the other of the two tones in question, belongs to syllables innately and arbitrarily. That is, they cannot be determined by any external criterion, such as membership in a particular initial, final, or tonal class in the *Qièyùn* System, etc. In effect, they are unpredictable and innate parts of the individual words in which they occur. No other generalization can account for them. Now, in order to apply such a principle as a selection criterion, one must naturally have in hand a list of *Qièyùn* System lower register shǎngshēng syllables belonging to the two modern dialect classes in question, i.e., yīnpíng and yīnshǎng. One cannot derive such a list oneself by ratiocination. And Norman consequently offers his readers such a diagnostic list (1989: 340–341). It is also important here to note that he limits his diagnostic criterion to *sonorant* initial syllables and *ipso facto* excludes *obstruent* initial syllables.⁸ And, finally, it must be noted that a particular dialect need not contain *all* the diagnostic syllables in Norman’s list in order to be considered Hakka. The reason for this is that the inventory of such syllables in a given dialect may have been eroded through replacement by borrowings from other dialects or koinés. What one looks for, then, is agreement with the test inventory in a *substantial number* of cases in the assayed dialect.

It has recently been observed that there are dialects currently called “Hakka” which do not show the particular tonal configurations to which Norman refers (Zhāng 2014b: 144). And this is correct if we interpret the designation “Hakka” in its broadest possible sense. However, it is important to note that the problematic dialects in question belong to the *Paleo-Hakka* group, while Norman was speaking of what we would now call *Neo-Hakka*, although he was of course not aware of these terms and concepts in 1989. But it so happens that our goal in the present work is specifically to identify *Neo-Hakka dialects* and to *exclude Paleo-Hakka* ones for the

⁸ This fact has not always been fully understood by those evaluating his criterion.

purposes of our comparative undertaking. Thus, Norman’s diagnostic procedure remains useful for us.

In addition to this phonological criterion, we shall also adopt three further lexical ones, as introduced in Coblin (2015: Chapter 6), for use in selecting our token dialects.

1. The copula should be a form of xì 系.
2. The popular register first person pronoun should have the segmental shape ηai, or some form which is manifestly derivable from an earlier *ηai in the dialect in question.
3. The verb “to eat” should be a form of shí 食.

Altogether, the four criteria, i.e., the single phonological one discussed by Norman, plus the three lexical ones listed immediately above, will guide us in our selection of token dialects for use in reconstructing Common Neo-Hakka. A practical consideration will naturally also be the availability in print of data for use in the comparisons.

1.4 Dialects to be Compared — Sources and Citation Formats

Applying the criteria outlined above, we have selected the following set of twenty-six dialect points from which our comparanda will be taken.

1. Basil Mission Hakka archival material (BMH). Location: pre-modern Guǎngdōng. Sources: MacIver (1926), supplemented by Chappell & Lamarre (2005), and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).
2. Méixiàn 梅縣 (MX). Location: northeast Guǎngdōng. Sources: *Hànyǔ Fāngyīnzìhuì* 漢語方音字彙 (FYZH, Běijīng dàxué 2003), supplemented by *Hànyǔ Fāngyáncíhuì* 漢語方言詞彙 (FYCH, Běijīng dàxué 2005).
3. Hǎilù 海陸 (HL). Location: Taiwan, Táoyuánxiàn, Yángméizhèn 桃園縣楊梅鎮. Source: Yáng (1957).
4. Sixiàn 四縣 (SX). Location: Taiwan, Yángméixiàn. Source: Yáng (1957).

5. Lùfēng 陸豐 (LF). Location: Sambas, western Borneo. Source: Schaank (1897).
6. Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊 (LZ). Location: Hong Kong, New Territories. Source: Zhāng & Zhuāng (2003).
7. Song Him Tong (Chóngqiāntáng) 崇謙堂 (SHT). Location: Hong Kong, New Territories. Source: Sagart (1982).
8. Héyuán 河源 (HY). Location: East central Guǎngdōng. Source: Lǐ & Zhāng (1992) *Kè-Gàn Fāngyán Diàochá Bàogào* 客贛方言調查報告 (DCBG).
9. Xìnyí sīhè 信宜思賀 (XY). Location: Western Guǎngdōng. Source: Lǐ (1999).
10. Diànbái 電白 (DB). Location: Western Guǎngdōng. Source: Lǐ (1999).
11. Yǐlǒng 儀隴 (YL). Location: Northeastern Sìchuān. Source: Cuī (2011).
12. Xīchāng 西昌 (XC). Location: Southwestern Sìchuān. Source: Cuī (2011).
13. Chángtǐng 長汀 (CT). Location: Southwestern Fújiàn. Sources: Lán (1999), Luó & Dèng (1995).
14. Wǔpíng (Píngchuān) 武平平川 (WP). Location: Far southwestern Fújiàn. Source: Lín (2004).
15. Yǒngdìng 永定 (YD). Location: South central Fújiàn. Sources: Huáng (1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1983c; 1984; 1985; 1987; 1988).
16. Shàngháng 上杭 (SH). Location: Southwestern Fújiàn. Source: Qiū (2012)
17. Liánchéng-1 連城 (LC1). Location: Southwestern Fújiàn. Source: Lán (1999).
18. Liánchéng-2 連城 (LC2). Location: Southwestern Fújiàn. Source: Luó & Dèng (1995).

The two Liánchéng varieties included here are very similar, though not identical. Data from a Liánchéng type which is virtually identical to our Liánchéng-2 are found in Chapter 6 of the *Fújiàn Shěngzhì: Fāngyánzhì* (FJFYZ, Fújiànshěng dìfāngzhì biānzuǎn wěiyuánhui

1998). They have been included here in a few cases, since our Liánchéng data are rather scant. A full syllabary for another, rather different, type of Liánchéng is represented in an article by Xiàng Mèngbīng (2002). The author remarks that the Hakka affiliation of this dialect has been questioned by Akitani (1996), though he himself does not share these doubts (Xiàng 2002: 203). In view of these difficulties, we have decided not to include material from this dialect here.⁹

19. Nánkāng 南康 (NK). Location: Southwestern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
20. Ānyuǎn 安遠 (AY). Location: Southeastern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
21. Shàngyóu, Shèxīxiāng 上猶社溪鄉 (SY). Location: Southwestern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
22. Xiūshuǐ, Huángshāqiáo 修水黃沙橋 (XS). Northwestern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
23. Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮 (QN). Far southwestern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
24. Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (ND1). Lower mid-eastern Jiāngxī. Sources: Liú (1999; 2001).
25. Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (ND2). Lower mid-eastern Jiāngxī. Source: Xiè (2003).
26. Níngdū-3 寧都 (ND3). Lower mid-eastern Jiāngxī. Source: Lǐ & Zhāng (1992).

In addition to these twenty-six points, occasional additional forms will be cited from the following dialects:

Wēngyuán 翁源 (northern Guangdong) and Xiùzhuàn 秀篆 (Southeast Fujian) - Lǐ & Zhāng (1992).

⁹ Our own tentative view is that the form of Liánchéng involved in this discussion may in fact be a Paleo-Hakka dialect which has undergone significant convergence with some form or forms of Mǐn. The matter deserves further study.

Qīngliú 清流 (western Fújiàn) - Lán (1999) and Qīngliúxiàn dìfāngzhì biānzuǎn wěiyuánhui (1994)

For ease in reading, data sets will be cited in a five-line configuration, as follows:

BMH [—]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *— CNH *—

The first line is devoted to dialects belonging directly to the “Méixiàn Lineage” of dialects, including the pre-modern archival materials from the Basil Mission, Méixiàn itself, and five dialects which are historically closely associated with the Méixiàn nuclear area. Our assemblage in this line attempts to replicate the dialect data used by O’Connor in his comparisons. For New Territories Hakka, we replace Sathewkok of Henne (1964), with Lìzhīzhuāng from Zhāng & Zhuāng (2003) and Sagart’s Song Him Tong (1982).

The second line comprises three dialects from Guangdong (Héyuán [north]), Xīnyí, and Diànbái [west]) and two from Sichuān (Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng). These dialects are not found in the nuclear Méixiàn area, but historical records and oral tradition confirm that they were implanted in the their present locations through fairly late migrations out of that area. Nearly all speakers of the two Sichuan dialects are said by our source to be at least bilingual in Hakka and contiguous Sichuan Mandarin; and many who are middle-aged or younger are also fluent in Modern Standard Chinese. This fact will influence our utilization of data from these dialects, as will be explained in §1.6 below.

The third line consists of Fújiàn dialect points. The fourth line comprises points found in Jiāngxī.

It is important to note that the divisions represented in these lines are geographical rather than taxonomic. They are not intended as a substitute for formal subgrouping based on shared innovations. For example, the Jiāngxī line includes dialects of two different historical types, i.e.,

those which are indigenous and have no migration tradition (běndihuà 本地話 or simply mǒu dìfānghuà 某地方話 “the speech of such-and-such a place”) and those which are known from written sources and oral tradition to have been carried into Jiāngxī from the nuclear Hakka area in relatively later times (usually called Kèjīhuà 客籍話 or Guǎngdōnghuà 廣東話 by locals).

The fifth and final line gives reconstructed forms for the set. The first is O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka (OPH), taken from O’Connor (1976). Where the relevant form is not available in this source, we have attempted to supply a reconstruction in O’Connor’s system, by applying the principles he sets forth in his article. OPH forms reconstructed by us in this way are enclosed in square brackets. In cases where we are uncertain what O’Connor would have done in a particular set, a question mark is added, either after a reconstruction if we have attempted it, or in lieu of one if we have not. The second reconstruction in this line is our Common Neo-Hakka (CNH) form. For details of the reconstructive procedure, see §1.6 below.

1.5 Phonological Synopsis of the Compared Dialects

In this section we summarize the initials, finals, and tones of our twenty-six dialects, together with the inventory of O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka system. Tone classes in the tables will be identified by number, according to the following system:

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) yīnshǎng 陰上 (3) yīnqù 陰去 (5) yīnrù 陰入 (7)

yángpíng 陽平 (2) yángshǎng 陽上 (4) yángqù 陽去 (6) yángrù 陽入 (8)

As a convention, if a particular dialect does not distinguish upper and lower register for a particular QYS tone class, the tone in question is denoted using the odd number for that tone. Thus, for example, if a dialect has only a qùshēng 去聲 rather than contrasting yīnqù and yángqù tones, this common qùshēng class will be assigned the tone number 5, and so forth. Where pertinent, tone contours will be indicated using the 1–5 pitch-level system devised by Y. R. Chao.

1.5.1 The Basil Mission Hakka (BMH) sound system

1.5.1.1 Syllable initials (in the orthography of MacIver 1926)

p ph m f v

t th n l

ts tsh s

ch chh sh ny

k kh ng h

1.5.1.2 Syllable finals

a ia/ya wa ai wai au iau/yau am iam/yam an wan ang
iang/yang wang ap iap/yap at wat ak iak/yak wak

i/yi ui/wui im/yim in/yin ip/yip it/yit

e we em en ien/yen wen ep ek et iet/yet wet

o io/yo wo oi yoi on yon won ong iong/yong wong ot yot
ok iok/yok wok

u eu iu/yu un/wun iun/yun ung iung/yung ut/wut iut iuk/yuk
uk/wuk

m ng

Zero

1.5.1.3 Tones

The Basil Mission Hakka tones are indicated by diacritics. Capital C = consonant, i.e., -p, -t, or -k.

yīnpíng (1) a (unmarked) shǎngshēng (3) á qùshēng (5) à yīnrù (7) aC
yángpíng (2) â yánggrù (8) áC

1.5.2 The Méixiàn 梅縣 (MX) sound system

1.5.2.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

ŋ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.2.2 Syllable finals

l

i ui iui im in ip it

u eu iu un iun uŋ iuŋ iut ut iuk uk

a ia ua ai iai uai au iau am iam an ian uan aŋ iaŋ
uaŋ ap iap at iat uat ak iak uak

ɛ iɛ uɛ ɛm ɛn iɛn uɛn ɛp ɛt iɛt uɛt

o io uo ɔi ɔn ion uɔn ɔŋ ioŋ uɔŋ ɔt iɔt uɔt ɔk iɔk
uɔk

əɱ ən əp ət

ŋ ɱ

1.5.2.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 44

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 52

yīnrù (7) 1

yángpíng (2) 11

yánggrù (8) 5

1.5.3 The Hǎilù 海陸 (HL) sound system

1.5.3.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃ' ɲ ʃ ʒ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.3.2 Syllable finals

ĩ ĩp ĩt

i ip im it in

u ut un uk uŋ ui

iu iut iun iuk iuŋ

a ap am at an ak aŋ ai au

ia iap iam ian iak iaŋ iai iau

ua uat uan uaŋ uai

e ep em et en eu

ie iat

 uet

o ot on ok oŋ oi

io ion iok ioŋ

ŋ ɱ

1.5.3.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 53	shǎngshēng (3) 13	yīnqù (5) 31	yīnrù (7) 55
yángpíng (2) 55		yángqù (6) 22	yánggrù (8) 32

1.5.4 The Sixiàn 四縣 (SX) sound system

1.5.4.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃ' ɳ ʃ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.4.2 Syllable finals

ī īp īt

i ip im it in

u ut un uk uŋ ui

iu iut iun iuk iuŋ

a ap am at an ak aŋ ai au

ia iap iam ian iak iaŋ iai iau

ua uat uan uaŋ uai

e ep em et en eu

ie iat ieu

uet

o ot on ok oŋ oi

io ion iok ioŋ

ŋ ɱ

1.5.4.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24	shǎngshēng (3) 31	yīnqù (5) 55	yīnrù (7) 22
yángpíng (2) 11			yángù (8) 55

1.5.5 The Lùfēng 陸豐 (LF) sound system

The original Dutch-based romanization system of the source has been modified in favor of an IPA transcriptional system.

1.5.5.1 Syllable initials

p	p'	m	f	v
t	t'	n	l	
ts	ts'		s	
tʃ	tʃ'	ɳ	ʃ	j
k	k'	ŋ	h	
Ø				

1.5.5.2 Syllable finals

i	ip	im	it	in				
u			ut	un	uk	uŋ	ui	
iu			iut	iun	iuk	iun		
a	ap	am	at	an	ak	aŋ	ai	au

ia iap iam iat ian iak iaŋ iai iau

ua uat uan uak uaŋ uai

ɛ

e ep em et en eu

uet

o ot on ok oŋ oi

io ion iok ioŋ

ŋ ɲ

1.5.5.3 Tones

Tones classes are indicated in the source, using a numerical system that differs somewhat from that current today. We have modified this to the current system, to be read as follows:

yīnpíng (1) shǎngshēng (3) yīnqù (5) yīnrù (7)

yángpíng (2) yángqù (6) yángrù (8)

1.5.6 The Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊 (LZ) sound system

1.5.6.1 Syllable initials

p ph ^mb f v

t th l

tʃ tʃh ʃ ʒ

k kh ^ŋg h

Ø

1.5.6.2 Syllable finals

i ui im in ip it

u eu iu un iun uŋ iuŋ ut iuk uk

a ia ai au iau am iam an aŋ iaŋ ap iap at ak iak

ɛ ɛm ɛn ɛp ɛt

ɔ iɔ ɔi iɔi ɔn iɔn ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔt ɔk iɔk

ŋ ɱ

1.5.6.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 34

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 53

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 21

yángù (8) 5

1.5.7 The Song Him Tong (Chóngqiāntáng) 崇謙堂 (SHT) sound system

1.5.7.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

k k' ŋ h

(Ø)

1.5.7.2 Syllable finals

[illegible]

1.5.7.3 Tones

Tones classes are indicated in the source, using a numerical system that differs somewhat from that current today. We have modified this to the current system, to be read as follows:

yīnpíng (1) 23 shǎngshēng (3) 32 qùshēng (5) 53 yīnrù (7) 3

yángpíng (2) 11 yánggrù (8) 5

1.5.8 The Héyuán 河源 (HY) sound system

1.5.8.1 Syllable initials

p	p'	m	f	v
t	t'	n	l	
ts	ts'		s	
k	k'	ŋ	h	
j	Ø			

1.5.8.2 Syllable finals

ɿ

i im in ip it

u iu un ut ui

y yn yi

a ia ai uai yai au iau am iam an ian uan yan aŋ iaŋ
ap iap at iat uat ak iak

ɒŋ yɒŋ ɒk yɒk

ɔ uɔ

iɛ ye

əm əp yət

oŋ yoŋ ok yok

ɱ

1.5.8.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 33 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 24 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 12 yīnrù 陰入 (7) 5

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 31 yángqù 陽去 (6) 55 yángrù 陽入 (8) 2

1.5.9 The Xīnyí sīhè 信宜思賀 (XY) sound system

1.5.9.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

k k' ŋ h

ŋ̥

Ø

1.5.9.2 Syllable finals

ɛ œ

y yn

i ui yi im in ip it

u iu un ut

a ia ai iau uai au iau am iam an ian uan yan aŋ iaŋ
ap iap at iat uat ak iak

ɔ ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔk iɔk

ɐi iɐi ɐu ɐm ɐn ɐŋ ɐp ɐt ɐk

oŋ ioŋ

ou? iou?

ŋ̥ m̥

1.5.9.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 45

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 51

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 24

yángù (8) 5

1.5.10 The Diànbái 電白 (DB) sound system

1.5.10.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n ɬ l

ts ts' s z

k k' ŋ h

ŋ

Ø

1.5.10.2 Syllable finals

i in im it ip

u un uŋ iuŋ uk iuk

a ia ai iai uai au iau an uan am iam aŋ iaŋ at uat
ap iap ak iak uak

o io oi ou on ion uon oŋ ioŋ uoŋ ot ok iok uok

ɛ ɛi iɛi ɛn iɛn ɛm ɛt iɛt

ei uei

ən ɛm ət ɛp

ŋ ɲ

1.5.10.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 34

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 54

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 213

yángù (8) 5

1.5.11 The Yǐlǒng 儀隴 (YL) sound system

1.5.11.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʂ tʂ' ʂ ʐ

tɕ tɕ' ɲ ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.11.2 Syllable finals

ɿ ʅ y

i in

u un iuŋ uŋ

a ia ua ai uai au iau an uan aŋ iaŋ uaŋ aʔ iaʔ uaʔ

ɛ ie ue ye iɛn ɛn ɛʔ ieʔ ueʔ

oi uoi

ei uei eiʔ ueiʔ

əu iəu əuʔ iəuʔ

on uon ɔŋ iɔŋ uɔŋ ɔʔ iɔʔ uɔʔ

ŋ ɳ ɱ

1.5.11.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 33	shǎngshēng (3) 53	qùshēng (5) 13	yīnrù (7) 5
yángpíng (2) 11			yánggrù (8) 3

1.5.12 The Xīchāng 西昌 (XC) sound system

1.5.12.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʂ tʂ' ʂ ʐ

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.12.2 Syllable finals

ɿ ʅ ɿʔ

i in iʔ

u un iuŋ uŋ iuŋ uŋ uʔ iuʔ

a ia ua ai uai au iau an uan aŋ iaŋ uaŋ aʔ iaʔ uaʔ

o io oi oʔ ioʔ

ɛ ie iɛn yɛn ɛʔ ieʔ ueʔ

ei uei

əu iəu ən uən

ɔn ɔŋ iɔŋ

ɱ

1.5.12.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 45

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 53

yīnrù (7) 3

yángpíng (2) 13

yángù (8) 5

1.5.13 The Chángtīng 長汀 (CT) sound system

1.5.13.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃʰ ʃ

k kʰ ŋ h

Ø

1.5.13.2 Syllable finals

i

a ai ia aŋ iaŋ ua uaŋ

e eu ieu ue eŋ ie ieŋ ueŋ

o io oŋ ioŋ

ɔ iɔ ɔŋ iɔŋ

i iŋ

u uŋ

ŋ
ɿ

1.5.13.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 33 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 43 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24 yángqù 陽去 (6) 21

1.5.14 The Wǔpíng (Píngchuān) 武平平川 (WP) sound system

1.5.14.1 Syllable initials

p ph m f v

t th n l

ts tsh s

k k' ŋ x

Ø

1.5.14.2 Syllable finals

ɿ

i ui iŋ iʔ

u iu uŋ iuŋ uʔ iuʔ

e

ɛ uɛ ɛŋ iɛŋ uɛŋ ɛʔ iɛʔ uɛʔ

a ia aŋ iaŋ uaŋ aʔ iaʔ uaʔ

ua aŋ iaŋ uaŋ aʔ iaʔ

ɔ iɔ ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔʔ iɔʔ

o

əŋ

xŋ ~ xm ɲ ŋ ~ ɲ

1.5.14.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24	shǎngshēng (3) 42	qùshēng (5) 452	yīnrù (7) 32
yángpíng (2) 22			yánggrù (8) 4

1.5.15 The Yǒngdìng 永定 (YD) sound system

1.5.15.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v
 t t' ɲ l
 ts ts' s z
 k k' ŋ h
 Ø

1.5.15.2 Syllable finals

i
 a ia ua ai iai uai au iau an uan aŋ iaŋ uaŋ at uat
 aʔ iaʔ uaʔ
 i iŋ iʔ
 ei iei uei eu ieu
 iu uŋ iuŋ ut uʔ iuʔ
 ɛn iɛn ɛʔ iɛʔ uɛʔ
 oi ou iou

ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔt ɔʔ iɔʔ

ŋ ~ hŋ

1.5.15.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 55

shǎngshēng (3) 53

qùshēng (5) 33

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 11

yángù (8) 5

1.5.16 The Shàngháng 上杭 (SH) sound system

1.5.16.1 Syllable initials

p ph m f v

t th n l

ts ts' s

tɕ tɕh ɲ ɕ

k kh ŋ h

Ø

1.5.16.2 Syllable finals

ɿ

i iŋ iʔ

u iu iuʔ

A iA uA Aŋ iAŋ uAŋ Aʔ iAʔ uAʔ

a ia ua ã iã uã aʔ iaʔ uaʔ

o io oŋ ioŋ oʔ ioʔ

ə iə əŋ əʔ iəʔ

ɛ uɛ iẽ uẽ ɛʔ iɛʔ uɛʔ

ei uei eiŋ ueiŋ eiʔ ueiʔ

ɱ

1.5.16.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 35

shǎngshēng (3) 31

qùshēng (5) 53

yīnrù (7) 1

yángpíng (2) 22

yánggrù (8) 4

1.5.17 The Liánchéng-1 連城 (LC1) sound system

1.5.17.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃ' ʃ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.17.2 Syllable finals

ĩ

o io oi oŋ ioŋ

a ia ua ai aŋ iaŋ ǎi uǎi

ua

o io uo oŋ ioŋ

u ui

eu ieu

e ie ue iue eŋ ieŋ ueŋ

ŋ
˥

1.5.17.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 31 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 213 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 42

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 22 yángqù 陽去 (6) 24

1.5.18 The Liánchéng-2 連城 (LC2) sound system

1.5.18.1 Syllable initials

The source uses either “h” or the apostrophe to indicate aspiration in initials. We have regularized the data in favor of the latter transcriptional device.

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃ' ɲ ʃ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.18.2 Syllable finals

ɿ

ʊ əʊ iəʊ

i ui vi

a ua ia aŋ iaŋ ǣ

o io oŋ oi

ɔ iɔ ɔŋ iɔŋ

e ie ue ye ~ yɛ ~ iɛ eŋ ieŋ ueŋ

æŋ iæŋ uæ(i)ŋ

əŋ iəŋ

ɐ uɐ uəŋ

1.5.18.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 44 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 213 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 52

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 22 yángqù 陽去 (6) 35

1.5.19 The Nánkāng 南康 (NK) sound system

1.5.19.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.19.2 Syllable finals

ɿ ʅ

i iŋ

u iu

y yŋ

o io

ɔ iɔ ɔ̃ iɔ̃

ə oɔ̃ əŋ

e ue ẽ iẽ uẽ yẽ

æ uæ

a ia ua ya ǣ iǣ uǣ

ŋ
ɿ

1.5.19.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 44	shǎngshēng (3) 21	qùshēng (5) 53	yīnrù (7) 24
yángpíng (2) 11			yángù (8) 55

1.5.20 The Ānyuǎn 安遠 (AY) sound system

1.5.20.1 Syllable initials

p	p'	m	f	v
t	t'	n	l	
ts	ts'		s	
tɕ	tɕ'	ɕ	j	
k	k'	ŋ	h	
Ø				

1.5.20.2 Syllable finals

ɿ	ʅ	ʉ		
i	iŋ			
æ	uæ			
u	uŋ			
e	ie	ue	oe	ioe
a	ia	ua	ã	iã

3 i3 u3

o io ou iou

$$\mathfrak{w} \quad \mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{w} \quad \tilde{\mathfrak{w}} \quad \mathfrak{i}\tilde{\mathfrak{w}}$$

the

\mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{q} \mathfrak{m}

1.5.20.3 Tones

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 35 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 31 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 53

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24 yángqù 陽去 (6) 55

1.5.21 The Shàngyóu, Shèxīxiāng 上猶社溪鄉 (SY) sound system

1.5.21.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t	t'	n	l
---	----	---	---

ts ts' s

$$t\epsilon \quad t\epsilon' \quad \epsilon \quad j$$
$$k \quad k' \quad \eta \quad h$$
 \emptyset

1.5.21.2 Syllable finals

ɭ

i iŋ

u iu

y yŋ

e ie ue ye ĕ iĕ uĕ yĕ

o io uo

a ia ua ã iã uã

æ uæ

ɔ iɔ ã iã uã

əŋ

ŋ ~ ŋ̚

1.5.21.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24

shǎngshēng (3) 42

qùshēng (5) 55

yángpíng (2) 11

1.5.22 The Xiūshuǐ, Huángshāqiáo 修水黃沙橋 (XS) sound system

1.5.22.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʂ tʂ' ʂ

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.22.2 Syllable finals

ɿ ʅ ɿʰ

i ui in it uit

u iu un uk iuk

a ia ua ai uai au iau an uan aŋ iaŋ uaŋ ait uait ak

iak

ə ən əŋ iən ət

ɛ ɛu ɛn iɛn uɛn iɛt ɛk uɛk

ue

o io ok iok

ɔi ɔn ion ɔŋ ionŋ ɔit

ɱ

1.5.22.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24

shǎngshēng (3) 21

qùshēng (5) 53

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 13

yánggrù (8) 5

1.5.23 The Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮 (QN) sound system

1.5.23.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.23.2 Syllable finals

ɿ ʊ

i ui iui in iʔ uiʔ iuiʔ

u iu un iun

ɛi uɛi ɛu ɛn iɛn iuɛn ɛʔ iɛʔ

o io oʔ ioʔ

a ia iau ai an ian aŋ iaŋ aʔ iaʔ

ɤŋ iɤŋ ɤʔ iɤʔ

u

ɔi iuɔi ɔn iɔn ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔiʔ iuɔiʔ

æʔ

ŋ
↓

1.5.23.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 24	shǎngshēng (3) 42	yīnqù (5) 44	yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 11		yángqù (6) 22	yángù (8) 5

1.5.24 The Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (ND1) sound system

1.5.24.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.24.2 Syllable finals

ə iəu əm ən əŋ əp ət ək

i ui im in ip ait it uit

u iu un uŋ iuŋ uk iuk

ɛi iɛ oɛ ɛu oɛm oɛn ioɛn iɛn oɛp iɛt oɛt

o ok iok

a ia au iau am iam an ap iap ak iak

aŋ iaŋ

oŋ ioŋ

ŋ ŋ̃

1.5.24.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 42

shǎngshēng (3) 214

yīnqù (5) 31

yīnrù (7) 3

yángpíng (2) 13

yángqù (6) 44

yángù (8) 5

1.5.25 The Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (ND2) sound system

1.5.25.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tɕ tɕ' ɕ

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.25.2 Syllable finals

i ui im ip in it iŋ ik

u iu un ut uŋ iuŋ uk iuk

a ia am iam ap iap ai an ian at iat au iau aŋ iaŋ
ak iak

o uom uop uon yon uot

oŋ ioŋ ɔk iɔk

ie

ə əm əp ən ət əu iəu əŋ ək

ɛi iɛi uɛi

ŋ ŋ ɱ

1.5.25.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 42

shǎngshēng (3) 213

yīnqù (5) 22

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 24

yángqù (6) 55

yánggrù (8) 5

1.5.26 The Níngdū-3 寧都 (ND2) sound system

1.5.26.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.26.2 Syllable finals

ɿ

i ui im in iŋ ip it ik

u un uŋ iuŋ ut uk iuk

a ia ai iai uai au iau am iam uam an ian uan aŋ iaŋ
ap iap uap at iat uat ak iak

ə əu iəu əm ən əŋ əp ət ək

o

ɔŋ iɔŋ ɔk iɔk

ie

ɛi

ŋ ɲ ɱ

1.5.26.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1) 43

shǎngshēng (3) 213

yīnqù (5) 31

yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 24

yángqù (6) 55

yángrù (8) 5

1.5.27 O'Connor's reconstructed Proto-Hakka sound system (stars suppressed)

1.5.27.1 Syllable initials

p p' m f v

t t' n l

ts ts' s

tʃ tʃ' ʃ n₁ n₂

k k' ŋ h

Ø

1.5.27.2 Syllable finals

i

i ui in im it ip

u iu un iun ung iung ut iut uk iuk

e eu en em et uet

et ep

o io uo ou oi on ion uon ong iong uong ot ok iok

a ia ua ai iai uai au iau an ian uan ang iang am iam
at iat uat yat ak iak ap iap

ng m

1.5.27.3 Tones

yīnpíng (1)

shǎngshēng (3)

yīnqù (5)

yīnrù (7)

yángpíng (2)

yángqù (6)

yángù (8)

Map I shows the locations of the dialects listed above, exclusive of those found in Sichuān, Táiwān, and Borneo. The original Guǎngdōng locus of Lùfēng (LF; Borneo) is noted in parentheses.



Map I: Hakka Dialect Points

The geographical setting of these widely dispersed dialects is varied and diffuse and does not lend itself to succinct description. However, some general observations are possible. As noted earlier, the “Hakka heartland” as denoted by Leong (1997) is a mountain area which lies astride the Jiāngxī/Guǎngdōng/Fújiàn border. The topography here is dominated by highlands, drained by streams whose upper reaches are generally navigable, if at all, only by rafts or small watercraft. Migratory Hakkas who have left this area as part of the great Hakka Diaspora of Míng and Qīng times have tended to settle in widely dispersed but discrete population islands, in upland areas across broad swaths of south and, later, southwest China, as well as beyond the political borders of the country. Their generally upland settlement patterns reflect, in the first instance, the fact that the best arable flatlands in their new homes were already occupied when they arrived. But an important secondary factor has been that, as a result of their long early sojourn in the South Central Highlands, they early on became highly adapted to high country life. They were, for example, especially skilled at upland land clearance and had specialized familiarity with the relative cultivability of highland soils, with montane climatic and growing conditions, and with the particular cropping characteristics of upland staple cultivars such as maize and tubers, and of cash crops such as tea and indigo. And, additionally, they were specialized in other, non-agricultural upland pursuits, such as logging, mining, stone quarrying, and the harvesting of medicinal herbs. All of these factors, discussed in great detail by Leong (1997: Chapter 1), have contributed to the typical Hakka settlement patterns and lifeways associated with the group throughout recent history.

1.6 Methodology and Conventions

We close this chapter with a discussion of reconstructive conventions and methodology and certain related assumptions and concepts.

To begin, we assume that the Neo-Hakka dialects constitute a valid genetic or taxonomic unit, since without this assumption a comparative reconstruction is methodologically meaningless. In this we are of course merely adopting O’Connor’s (and Norman’s) original stance regarding Hakka. However, the object of our reconstructive exercise differs from

O'Connor's in two salient respects. First of all, it encompasses all dialects currently classed as Neo-Hakka by dialectologists, while O'Connor's work was devoted specifically to dialects of the Méixian or Méixiàn-related variety. Thus our reconstructed system will be called Common Neo-Hakka. The term Proto-Hakka will then be used exclusively in reference to O'Connor's reconstructed system of 1976, and the dialect type with which he dealt in his work will be called "Mainstream Hakka".

Secondly, our work will differ from O'Connor's in another, and perhaps more fundamental, way. O'Connor focused entirely on what he deemed popular etyma, i.e., those he felt were directly inherited from the oldest stages of Hakka. Now and again he did reconstruct competing variant forms that reflect both direct and indirect inheritance, in most cases without explicitly indicating why he chose to do so. In other instances, for example where multiple competing labial and dentilabial pronunciations of a single etymon occur in the same cognate set, he concludes that the problem is insoluble using the comparative method and must await analysis by future researchers (O'Connor 1976: 21–22).¹⁰ Today, nearly forty years after his work was carried out, we know that the variants he reconstructed, or in some cases merely considered, actually represent traces of different lexical layers in the common proto-system. But in the early 1970's the problem of lexical stratification in Chinese dialects, and its significance for the reconstructive exercise, were only beginning to be realized, in particular by O'Connor's own mentor, Jerry Norman (cf. Norman 1979). It would therefore be unfair to fault O'Connor for not dealing with layering in his reconstructive work, just as it would be for us to take physicians of the 1940's and 50's to task for not using CT scans as part of their diagnostic procedures. But today, the study of lexical layering has become a major sub-branch of Chinese historical linguistics,¹¹ and it would be a major lapse not to take it into account in our work. How, then, are we to do this?

¹⁰ In fact, O'Connor's stance in this matter was clearly the correct one for the time in which he worked, as we shall presently see.

¹¹ A typical exemplar of the degree to which this sub-discipline of dialectology is now flourishing is the recent large compendium of articles edited by Ting Pang-Hsin (2007a). Ting's own contribution to this collection (2007b) provides a useful and insightful historical retrospective on the development of the field.

To begin, we shall assume 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 in multiple dialects, we hold that such variation must, as a methodological step, be projected back to the common system. This will then result in a restored entity comprised of multiple lexical layers, whose ultimate chronological stages remain to be determined. That this is so is because of the complex and pervasive nature of lexical stratification in Hakka, as in most other known Chinese dialect families. Once this exercise has been completed we will be in a position to seriate and chronologize the various strata. In the end, then, Common Neo-Hakka as we conceive of it will be a multi-stratal entity, rather than a mono-stratal one. And in this respect, Common Neo-Hakka is fundamentally different from Proto-Hakka as reconstructed by O'Connor, for, in the latter, where lexical variation occasionally comes to light, it is explicitly and intentionally left unexplained.

It will now be useful to adopt precise terminology for two major constituent strata of Common Neo-Hakka. One is of course the very oldest layer, which corresponds *mutatis mutandis* to the popular lexical stratum studied by O'Connor. This we shall call "Primitive Neo-Hakka". It is of course of salient interest for the comparison of Hakka with other dialect families. However, the fact is that in quite a few segments of the Hakka lexicon the component that is numerically "thickest" and most prominent in the dialects is not comprised of the historically oldest lexical forms. It is, in other words, not coterminous with Primitive Neo-Hakka. This is because at various later periods lexical material from later layers has ousted and replaced on a massive scale the oldest popular forms. This "thickest" layer, regardless of its age or antiquity in any particular case, we shall call "Core Hakka". And it is Core Hakka that native speakers regularly view as the "real Hakka" component of their language, by virtue of the fact that its exemplars are numerically the greatest. In the end, we shall, as already indicated, need to identify different layers in the common system and seriate them. However, our position is that this task should be postponed until the basic work of reconstructing *all layers* has been completed.

In the body of the present work, the sound systems of our representative set of Hakka dialects will be analyzed using the comparative method, in order to reconstruct a common system from which the individual modern systems can be regularly and systematically derived. The reconstructed system will be called “Common Neo-Hakka” (CNH). For each cognate set cited in the discussion, a Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) form will be given in pīnyīn Romanization, followed by a Chinese character. After this we supply a *Qièyùn* System (QYS) form in the orthography of Bernhard Karlgren (1954), as emended by Fang-Kuei Li (1971). The numbers “3” and “4” are redundantly added to Division III and Division IV Chóngniǔ 重紐 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; 2014; Ms. 1). This system was developed by comparing representative dialects from the major modern dialect families, exclusive of Mǐn 閩, 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 *Qièyùn* System and Common Neo-Hakka. 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 CDC *-iu forms in round brackets after those having CDC *-ie. Norman himself noted (2006: 253) that his CDC system does not take account of Hakka evidence suggesting the existence at the CDC stage of separate voiced and voiceless sonorants. Since this issue is of special interest to us in the present work, we shall indicate the distinction in question by adding a superscript letter “h” before CDC sonorants in cases where Norman suspected early voicelessness to have been present. We follow here Norman’s own listing of such forms, which he published in Norman (1989: 330–335), with some further additions based on his assignment criteria.

In addition to CDC reconstructions, we also give Norman’s “Early Chinese” (EC) forms, as initially introduced by him in Norman (1994) and further elaborated in Norman (2014) and (Ms. 1). These reconstructions represent general Chinese of a chronologically indeterminate

stage earlier than CDC. They are specifically designed for use in the historical and comparative study of Chinese dialects and will be of use to us at certain points in our work, especially when dealing with Primitive Neo-Hakka.

Modern Hakka dialect forms are cited from the points listed in §1.4, and in the order outlined there. A “list format” for the data is adopted 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 table. For each cognate set, starred O’Connor Proto-Hakka (OPH) and Common Neo-Hakka (CNH) forms are given in the fifth line. Forms not actually reconstructed in O’Connor (1976) are in square brackets. Dialect forms are taken first of all from syllable lists in the sources, and then also from lexical inventories, text samples, etc. Attestation from at least two different points is necessary to support a reconstructed form. Two or more forms from sub-varieties of the same dialect point count as a single point rather than as multiple points. Where data from the two Sīchuān points, Yílǒng and Xīchāng, show unique features that disagree with those of the remaining dialects but are consistent with known configurations in Modern Standard Chinese and/or contiguous regional Mandarin varieties, the non-Sīchuān Hakka data are favored as decisive, while the aberrant Sīchuān forms are suspected of reflecting contact-induced Mandarinization.¹² This point will be particularly important in §2.3 and §2.4 of Chapter II, q.v.

Where supported by multiple parallel alternate readings in the data, variant forms are reconstructed for the pertinent sets, for the reasons outlined above. Stylistic register for variants is identified as “w” (wén 文 “literary”) or “b” (bái 白 “vernacular”) if this information is supplied in the data sources for the relevant modern cognate forms. Variants and alternant forms in the data are separated by the sine wave, “~”. We assume that stylistic register doublets reconstructable to the common or proto-system represent competing variants in that system, and ultimately indicative of lexical layering therein. Reconstructed competing variant forms are separated by a single right slanting slash, “/”. If the modern evidence suggests that a reconstructable variant form is of purely literary register, the starred reconstruction is preceded

¹² This problem in the Sīchuān data is specifically noted and discussed by Cuī (2011: 32).

by an upper case “L”. Where variants occur at only one dialect point, we do not ordinarily posit such multiple competing proto-forms, because the comparative method is not methodologically applicable in such instances. In some cases, multiple etyma appear in a single cognate set. This is because in the sources different etyma are occasionally written with the same Chinese graph; and the lexical material we have used is normally tied to sinographs in the sources. In such cases multiple phonological reconstructions for the different etyma are separated by a double right slanting slash, “//”, and the meanings of the separate etyma are briefly glossed in an appended note.

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, and tones: Chapter IV. A full set of all 1360 cognate sets used in the basic 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 tone numbers in the eight number identification system current among Chinese dialectologists. The following conversion chart, already mentioned in §1.5 above, can be used to identify the tone classes of the traditional nomenclature:

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) yīnshǎng 陰上 (3) yīnqù 陰去 (5) yīnrù 陰入 (7)

yángpíng 陽平 (2) yángshǎng 陽上 (4) yángqù 陽去 (6) yángrù 陽入 (8)

Odd numbered tones are conventionally characterized as “upper register” (Chinese yīn 陰) and even numbered ones as “lower register” (yáng 陽).

In addition to sociolinguistic or stylistic register, data forms are occasionally identified in the sources as *sú* 俗 “vulgo”. This designation is somewhat ambiguous, for what it means in the individual sources is not always made clear. The probable sense is “highly vernacular or informal”. But in some cases it can also mean that the Chinese graph customarily used to write

the syllable is either considered false, purely semantic, or in some sense etymologizing rather than licit. Forms identified as *sú* will be marked with the letter “s” in our data sets.

Finally, as regards 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 the apostrophe for most data points, but by a plain letter “h” or a raised “h” i.e., [h] in others. Raised letter “h” will be written as plain “h” for typographical simplicity.

Chapter II: Reconstruction of the Syllable Initials of Common Neo-Hakka

The syllable initials reconstructed for Common Neo-Hakka are as follows:

p	p'	m	f	v
t	t'	n	l	
ts	ts'		s	
tš	tš'	ň	š	
k	k'	ŋ	h	
Ø				

Twenty-one initials are reconstructed, including initial zero.

2.1 The Labials and Dentilabials

2.1.1 CNH *p-

This initial survives unchanged in the dialects. Examples are:

bāo 包 QYS pau CDC *pau1/EC *pru
 BMH [pau]; MX [pau1]; HL [pau1]; SX [pau1]; LF [pau1]; LZ [pau1]; SHT [pau1]
 HY [pau1]; XY [pau1]; DB [pau1]; YL [pau1]; XC [pau1]
 CT [pɔ1]; WP [pɔ1]; YD [pau1]; SH [pɔ1]; LC1 [pɔ1]; LC2 [pɔ1]
 NK [pɔ1]; AY [pɔ1]; SY [pɔ1]; XS [pau1]; QN [pau1]; ND1 [pau1]; ND2 [pau1]; ND3 [pau1]
 OPH *pau1 CNH *pau1

bǐng 餅 QYS pjäng: CDC *piang3/EC *pengx
 BMH [piáng]; MX [pian3]; HL [pian3]; SX [pian3]; LF [pian3]; LZ [pian3]; SHT [pian3]

HY [piaŋ3]; XY [piaŋ3]; DB [piaŋ3]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ3]
 CT [piaŋ3]; WP [piaŋ3]; YD [piaŋ3]; SH [piAŋ3]; LC1 [piaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [piã3]; AY [piã3]; SY [piã3]; XS [piaŋ3]; QN [piaŋ3]; ND1 [piaŋ3]; ND2 [piaŋ3]; ND3
 [piaŋ3]
 [OPH *piang3] CNH *piaŋ3

It is noteworthy that *p- often occurs as a variant of CNH *f- in mixed sets of the following type:

fēi 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
 BMH [fui ~ pui]; MX [fi1w ~ pi1b]; HL [fui1w ~ pui1b]; SX [fui1w ~ pui1b]; LF [fui1 ~ pui1];
 LZ [pui1w ~ fui1b]†; SHT [fui1]
 HY [fi1]; XY [fui1 ~ pe1]; DB [fei1]; YL [fei1]; XC [fei1]
 CT [fi1]; WP [fi1w ~ pi1b]; YD [fei1 ~ pi1]; SH [fi1 ~ pei1]; LC1 [po1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fi1]; AY [fe1]; SY [fi1]; XS [fi1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [fi1]; ND2 [fi1]; ND3 [fi1]
 [OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/L *fui1

†Wén and báí identifications here appear to be reversed in this pair. Elsewhere in our data, if wén/báí forms are specifically identified in examples of this sort, it is the bilabial forms that are said to be of báí register.

fēn 分 QYS pjuən CDC *fun1/EC *pun
 BMH [fun ~ pun]; MX [fun1w ~ pun1b]; HL [pun1 ~ fun1]; SX [pun1 ~ fun1]; LF [fun1 ~ pun1]; LZ [pin1b ~ fun1w]; SHT [fun1]
 HY [pun1 ~ hun1]; XY [fun1]; DB [fən1 ~ pən1]; YL [fən1w ~ pən1b]; XC [fən1]
 CT [peŋ1]; WP [fəŋ1w ~ peŋ1b]; YD [pun1 ~ fun1]; SH [feŋ1 ~ peŋ1]; LC1 [peŋ1]; LC2
 [pəŋ1]
 NK [fē1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fē1]; XS [fən1 ~ pən1]; QN [fun1]; ND1 [fən1]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3
 [fən1]
 [OPH *pun1] CNH *pun1/L *fun1

The first reconstructed form is normally used specifically in the sense “to give” in the vernaculars that reflect it.

It was examples of this sort which perplexed O'Connor and led to his lengthy discussion of how they should be handled comparatively (1976: 21–22). In the end, he was unable to resolve the question to his own satisfaction. For us today, on the other hand, the matter is no longer problematic. In cognate sets of this sort we simply reconstruct competing forms in *p- and *f-. And, since the type of variation we find here is widespread in other sets, it is clear that what we are dealing with here is lexical layering, i.e., a *bái* layer in *p- and a *wén* layer in *f-. As we shall see in §6.2.1.1 of Chapter VI, it is probable that the former represents the Primitive Neo-Hakka stage, while the latter belongs to a subsequent stratum added to the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon through borrowing. This hypothesis derives support from comparison with the parallel Common Shē sets:¹³

feī 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
FA [pui1]; FD [pui1]; LY [pui1]; SM [pui1]; SC [pui1]; HA [pui1];
GX [pui1]; CN [pui1]; JN [pui1]; LS [pui1]; LngY [pui1];
CZ [pui1]; FS [pui1]; TY [pui1] CS *pui1

fēn 分 QYS pjuən CDC *fun1/EC *pun
FA [pun1]; FD [pun1]; LY [pun1]; SM [pun1]; SC [pun1]; HA [pun1];
GX [pun1]; CN [pun1]; JN [pun1]; LS [pun1]; LngY [pen1 ~ pun1];
CZ [pun1]; FS [pun1]; TY [fən1] CS *pun1

As Norman has observed (1988b), the Shē dialects are noteworthy for their archaicism; and, for reasons we shall discuss in §6.1.1 of Chapter VI, they seldom show the sort of multiple loan layers found in the Neo-Hakka dialects. Consequently, the fact that in the Shē sets cited

¹³ Common Shē (CS) as reconstructed in Coblin (Ms.1). Dialect points are: Fújiàn - Fú'ān 福安 (FA), Fúding 福鼎 (FD), Luóyuán 羅源 (LY), Sānmíng 三明 (SM), Shùchāng 順昌 (SC), Huá'ān 華安 (HA); Jiāngxī - Guìxī 貴溪 (GX), Tàiyuán 太源 (TY); Zhèjiāng - Cāngnán 蒼南 (CN), Jǐngníng 景寧 (JN), Lìshuǐ 麗水 (LS), Lóngyóu 龍游 (LngY); Guǎngdōng - Cháo zhōu 潮州 (CZ), Fēngshùn 豐順 (FS). Data are primarily from Yóu (2002). Tàiyuán data are from Hú (2009). Some reconstructions are based on new Shē data from Dèng (2013), and this is duly noted in such cases.

above the words for “to fly” and “to give” have only bilabial initials strongly suggests that this reading is the older one in Neo-Hakka. CNH *f-, to be discussed further in §2.1.4 below, belongs to a later stratum of the multi-stratal common system. But, as O’Connor himself correctly concluded, *f- cannot simply be excluded from that system, for there are Core Hakka etyma for which only this initial is reconstructable when systematically applying the comparative method. The reason for this is clearly that the broader common system was multi-stratal rather than mono-stratal.

2.1.2 CNH *p’-

Examples for this initial are:

pǐn 品 QYS phjəm: CDC *phim3/EC *phimx
 BMH [phín]; MX [p’in3]; HL [p’in3]; SX [p’in3]; LF [p’in3]; LZ [phin3]; SHT [p’in3]
 HY [p’in3]; XY [p’in3]; DB [p’ən3]; YL [p’in3]; XC [p’in3]
 CT [p’əŋ3]; WP [phin3]; YD [p’iŋ3]; SH [phin3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p’iŋ3]; AY [p’iŋ3]; SY [p’iŋ3]; XS [p’in3]; QN [p’in3]; ND1 [p’in3]; ND2 [p’in3]; ND3
 [p’in3]
 OPH *p’in3 CNH *p’in3

bí 鼻 QYS bi-4 CDC *bi6 ~ *bit8/bith
 BMH [phi]; MX [p’i5]; HL [p’i6]; SX [p’i5]; LF [p’i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [p’i5]
 HY [p’i6]; XY [p’i3]; DB [p’i3]; YL [p’i3]; XC [p’i5]
 CT [p’i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p’i5]; SH [phi3]; LC1 [p’i6]; LC2 [p’i5 ~ p’i6]
 NK [p’i5]; AY [p’i6]; SY [p’i5]; XS [p’i5]; QN [p’i6]; ND1 [p’i6]; ND2 [p’i6]; ND3 [p’i6]
 OPH *p’i6 CNH *p’i6

bái 白 QYS bək CDC *bak8/EC *brak
 BMH [phák]; MX [p’ak8]; HL [p’ak8]; SX [p’ak8]; LF [p’ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p’ak8]
 HY [p’ak8]; XY [p’ak8]; DB [p’ak8]; YL [p’aʔ8]; XC [p’aʔ8]

CT [p'a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p'aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ pheʔ8]; LC1 [p'o5]; LC2 [—]†
NK [p'a1]; AY [p'a6]; SY [p'a5]; XS [p'ak8]; QN [p'aʔ8]; ND1 [p'ak8]; ND2 [p'ak8]; ND3
[p'ak8]
OPH *p'ak8 CNH *p'ak8
†FJFYZ: p'o5.

The following illustrates mixing with readings in *f-:

féi 肥 QYS bjwei CDC *vui2/EC *buy
BMH [phûi]; MX [p'i2]; HL [p'ui2]; SX [p'ui2]; LF [p'ui2]; LZ [phui2b ~ fui2w]; SHT [p'ui2]
HY [fi2]; XY [fui2]; DB [p'ei2]; YL [p'ei2b]; XC [fei2w ~ p'ei2b]
CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p'o2]; LC2 [p'ue2]
NK [fi2]; AY [fe2 ~ p'e2]; SY [fi2]; XS [fi2]; QN [fui2]; ND1 [p'ei2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3 [fei2
~ p'ei2]
OPH *p'ui2 CNH *p'ui2/L *fui2

2.1.3 CNH *m-

Examples for this initial are:

máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *^hmou2/EC *'maw
BMH [mau]; MX [mau1]; HL [mo1]; SX [mo1]; LF [mo1]; LZ [^mbau1]; SHT [mau1]
HY [mau2]; XY [mɔ1]; DB [mo1]; YL [məu1]; XC [mau2]
CT [mɔ1]; WP [mɔ1]; YD [mou1]; SH [mu1 ~ mo1]; LC1 [mɔ2]; LC2 [mɔ1]
NK [mɔ1]; AY [mɔ1]; SY [mɔ1]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau1]; ND1 [mau1]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3
[mau1]
OPH *mou1 CNH *mou1/mou2

miàn 面 QYS mjiän-4 CDC *^hmian6/EC *menh
BMH [mièn]; MX [mien5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [mian5]; LZ [^mben5]; SHT [mən5]
HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [mien5]; YL [mien5]; XC [mien5]

CT [miŋ6 ~ miŋ5]; WP [miɛŋ5]; YD [mien3]; SH [miẽ5]; LC1 [me5]; LC2 [me5 ~ meŋ5]
 NK [miẽ5]; AY [mi5]; SY [miẽ5]; XS [mien5]; QN [mien5]; ND1 [mien5]; ND2 [mian5]; ND3
 [mian5]
 OPH *mian5 CNH *mian5/*mian6

In parallel with the bilabial obstruents, CNH *m- occurs in mixed sets showing forms in
 dentilabial *v-:

wàng 望 QYS mjwang- CDC *mvong6/EC *mangh
 BMH [mòŋ]; MX [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]; HL [mɔŋ6]; SX [mɔŋ5]; LF [mɔŋ6]; LZ [ᵐbɔŋ5]; SHT
 [mɔŋ5]
 HY [mɔŋ6]; XY [mɔŋ3]; DB [mɔŋ3]; YL [mɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]
 CT [mɔŋ6]; WP [mɔŋ3]; YD [mɔŋ3]; SH [mɔŋ3 ~ vɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vɔ5 ~ mɔ5]; AY [mɔŋ6]; SY [vɔ5 ~ mɔ5]; XS [mɔŋ5 ~ vɔŋ5]; QN [mɔŋ6 ~ vɔŋ6]; ND1
 [vɔŋ6]; ND2 [mɔŋ6]; ND3 [mɔŋ6]
 [OPH *mong6] CNH *mɔŋ6/L vɔŋ6

wén 蚊 QYS mjuən CDC *ᵐmvun2/EC *mun
 BMH [mun]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun1]; SX [mun1]; LF [mun1]; LZ [ᵐbun1]; SHT [mun1 ~
 min1]
 HY [mun1]; XY [mun1]; DB [mən1]; YL [un2]; XC [vən2w ~ mən2b]
 CT [meŋ1]; WP [mɛŋ1]; YD [mun1]; SH [meiŋ1]; LC1 [meŋ1]; LC2 [meŋ2 ~ mæŋ2]
 NK [mɛ1]; AY [mɛŋ1]; SY [mɛ1]; XS [mən1]; QN [mun1]; ND1 [mən1]; ND2 [mən1]; ND3
 [mən1]
 OPH *mun1 CNH *mun1/L vun2

Here we are clearly dealing with different lexical layers, parallel to those seen for the
 obstruents.

Compare now the following:

wà 襪 QYS mjwɔt CDC *ᵐmvat8/EC *mot
 BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [ᵐbat7]; SHT [—]

HY [mat8]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [maʔ7]
CT [mai2]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [mat7]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [ma6]; LC2 [ma5]
NK [ma8]; AY [m33]; SY [ma5]; XS [mait7]; QN [mæʔ7]; ND1 [mait7 ~ moet7]; ND2 [muot7];
ND3 [muat7]

OPH *mat7 CNH *mat7

The Níngdū data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Níngdū-1 is in competition with more general Hakka *mat7.

wěi 尾 QYS mjwei: CDC *mvui4/EC *muyx
BMH [mui]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [mbui1]; SHT [mui1]
HY [mi5]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mi1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [muə1]
NK [mi1]; AY [me1]; SY [mi1]; XS [mi1]; QN [mui1]; ND1 [mei1]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei1]
OPH *mui1 CNH *mui1

For these words, “socks” and “tail”, which according to traditional QYS philology should dentilabialize, all attested Hakka forms have initial m-, clearly pointing to CNH *m-. The reason for this is that the Neo-Hakka dialects never borrowed late layer substitutes or competitors for the popular words in question.

2.1.4 CNH *f-

The following examples illustrate this initial:

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fa7]; AY [f33]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

fēng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
 BMH [fung]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [fuŋ1]; SX [fuŋ1]; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
 HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]
 CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fuŋ1]; SH [fəŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [fəŋ1]
 NK [fəŋ1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fəŋ1]; XS [fəŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
 OPH *fung1 CNH *fuŋ1

hú 鬚 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
 BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
 CT [fu2]; WP [fu2]; YD [fi2]; SH [fu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu2]; AY [fu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2]; ND3 [fu2]
 [OPH *fu2] CNH *fu2

The Yílǒng initial in this set may be due to Mandarin influence. Compare hǔ 虎 and hù 戶 below, where Yílǒng has initial f- as expected.

In the first set, all points have initial f- forms, and this is also true of the second set, except for Héyuán, which shows a regular shift to modern h- before CNH *u. (This Héyuán shift is also seen in the third example.) For the Mainstream dialects O'Connor posits PH *f- for both of the first two sets, and we have followed suit for Common Neo-Hakka. CNH *f- must also be posited for the third set, which O'Connor does not include in his data.

It is important to note here that *f- is an integral part of both reconstructed systems. O'Connor clearly recognized this for his Proto-Hakka, and we have confirmed it at the general Neo-Hakka level. Within Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka, there is nothing “secondary” or “subsidiary” about this initial from the standpoint of endogenous linguistic structure or the application of the comparative method. And just as this is true for “pure f- sets” such as those for “law” and “wind”, so must it also be for sets where f- is found in mixed sets involving p- and p’-. If *f- is integral in the system in some places, then it must be so in all; and our reconstructions must account for this wherever systematic correspondences support it. This, then, is the rationale for reconstructing competing forms and multiple layers in the common

system; and this is the solution to O'Connor's original conundrum of 1976. It also confirms beyond doubt that the Common Neo-Hakka system must be reconstructed multi-stratally. Mixed sets of this type have already been cited in §2.1.1 and §2.1.2 above and need not be repeated here.

2.1.5 CNH *v-

Before non-high vowels this initial is generally retained at all points except Yílǒng:

wáng 王 QYS jwang CDC *wong2/EC *wang
BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [voŋ2]; SX [voŋ2]; LF [voŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]
HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [voŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [vɔ̃2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [vɔ̃2]; XS [vɔŋ2]; QN [vɔŋ2]; ND1 [vɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vɔŋ2]
[OPH *vong2] CNH *vɔŋ2

wān 彎 QYS ʔwan CDC *uan1/EC *'wron
BMH [van]; MX [van1]; HL [van1]; SX [van1]; LF [van1]; LZ [van1]; SHT [—]
HY [van1]; XY [van1]; DB [van1]; YL [uan1]; XC [van1]
CT [vaŋ1]; WP [vaŋ1]; YD [van1]; SH [vã1]; LC1 [va1]; LC2 [—]
NK [vã1]; AY [vã1]; SY [vã1]; XS [van1]; QN [van1]; ND1 [van1]; ND2 [van1]; ND3 [van1]
OPH *van1 CNH *van1

The shift of *v- to *u- in Yílǒng may reflect ongoing Mandarinization in this dialect. The matter deserves further study.

When the high back vowel *u occurs as main vowel or syllabic peak, preceding *v- is usually lost in Héyuán and frequently also in Xīnyí. However, in both dialects there are occasional exceptions to this; and in Héyuán there are cases of competing forms with and without initial v-. This suggests that sub-dialect mixture of some sort has perturbed the expected

developmental patterns in Héyuán, and the same may also have been the case in Xìnyí. The following cases illustrate these points:

wēn 溫 QYS ʔuən CDC *un1/EC *'un

BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]

HY [un1]; XY [vun1]; DB [vən1]; YL [un1]; XC [vən1]

CT [veŋ1]; WP [vəŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vẽ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vẽ1]; XS [vən1]; QN [vun1]; ND1 [vən1]; ND2 [vən1]; ND3 [vən1]
[OPH *vun1] CNH *vun1

wū 屋 QYS ʔuk CDC *uk7/EC *'ok

BMH [vuk]; MX [vuk7]; HL [vuk7]; SX [vuk7]; LF [vuk7]; LZ [vuk7]; SHT [vuk7]

HY [ok7]; XY [ouʔ7]; DB [uk7]; YL [uʔ7]; XC [vuʔ7]

CT [vu2]; WP [vuʔ7 ~ uʔ7]; YD [vuʔ7]; SH [vəʔ7]; LC1 [viue6]; LC2 [vyɛ6]

NK [vu8]; AY [vu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [vuk7]; QN [vuʔ7]; ND1 [vuk7]; ND2 [vuk7]; ND3 [vuk7]
OPH *vuk7 CNH *vuk7

wū 烏 QYS ʔuo CDC *u1/EC *'a

BMH [vu]; MX [vu1]; HL [vu1]; SX [vu1]; LF [vu1]; LZ [vu1]; SHT [vu1]

HY [u1 ~ vu1]; XY [u1]; DB [vu1]; YL [u1]; XC [vu1]

CT [vu1]; WP [vu1]; YD [vi1]; SH [vu1]; LC1 [viue1]; LC2 [vyɛ1]

NK [vu1]; AY [vu1]; SY [vu1]; XS [vu1]; QN [vu1]; ND1 [vu1]; ND2 [vu1]; ND3 [vu1]
[OPH *vu1] CNH *vu1

Before medial *u (i.e., when *u occurs before other vowels), initial *v- is retained in Héyuán and Xìnyí, e.g.,

wèi 位 QYS jwi- CDC *wi6/EC *wuth

BMH [vui]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]

HY [vui6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]

CT [vi6]; WP [vi3]; YD [vi5 ~ vei5]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]

[OPH *vui6] CNH *vui6

The behavior of *v- before CNH *i is intricate. Before final *-iun, it is generally retained in popular words in Héyuán and Xīnyí and in all the Fújiàn dialects (i.e., those of line three in the sets) but is lost elsewhere. Examples are:

yún 雲 QYS juən CDC *yun2/EC *wun
BMH [yún]; MX [iun2]; HL [ʒun2]; SX [iun2]; LF [jun2]; LZ [ʒun2]; SHT [jin2]
HY [vun2]; XY [vun2]; DB [zən2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [veŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [viŋ2]; SH [viŋ2]; LC1 [veŋ2]; LC2 [veŋ2]
NK [iŋ2 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jyŋ2]; XS [in2]; QN [iun2]; ND1 [in2]; ND2 [in2]; ND3 [in2]
OPH *iun2 CNH *viun2

yùn 運 QYS juən- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yún]; MX [iun5]; HL [ʒun6]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [ʒun5]; SHT [—]
HY [vun6]; XY [vun3 ~ yn3]; DB [zən5]; YL [yn3]; XC [in5]
CT [veŋ6]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [veŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [yŋ5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jyŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iun6]; ND1 [in6]; ND2 [in6]; ND3 [in6]
OPH *iun6 CNH *viun6

In the following word, which has a unique final in Common Neo-Hakka, Chángtīng loses initial *v-:

yǒng 永 QYS jwəŋ: CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wangx
BMH [yún]; MX [iun3]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iuŋ1]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [iun3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iuŋ1]
[OPH *iun3] CNH *viuiŋ3/*viuiŋ1

Before CNH *-ion, initial *v- in common or popular words is generally preserved in the Fújiàn dialects and lost elsewhere. Examples are:

yuán 圓 QYS jwǎn CDC *yon2/EC *won
 BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [jen2]
 HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yɛn2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [viŋ2]; WP [viɛŋ2]; YD [viɛn2]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [ve2]
 NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuɔn2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~
 vian2]
 [OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuǎn 遠 QYS jwɔn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
 BMH [yénn]; MX [ian3]; HL [ʒan3]; SX [ian3]; LF [jan3]; LZ [ʒɛn3]; SHT [jen3]
 HY [yan3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yɛn3]; XC [ien3]
 CT [viŋ3]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [viɛn3]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ3]; AY [jiõ3]; SY [jyẽ3]; XS [ien3]; QN [iuɔn3]; ND1 [ien3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [ien3]
 OPH *ian3 CNH *vion3

But in words of a generally higher or literary register, Chángtǐng usually loses *v- before *-ion, e.g.,

yuán 緣 QYS jiwǎn CDC *yon2/EC *—
 BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [—]
 HY [yan2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yɛn2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [iŋ2]; WP [viɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuɔn]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~
 vian2]
 [OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuán 援 QYS jwɔn CDC *yon2/EC *won
 BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yɛn2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [iŋ2]; WP [viɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ1]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ1]; XS [ien2]; QN [ian2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ian1] CNH *vion2

xiàn 縣 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion6/EC *'gwenh
 BMH [yèn ~ hièn]; MX [ian5]; HL [ʒan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan6]; LZ [ʒen5]; SHT [—]
 HY [yan6]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [ɕien5w ~ ien3b]; XC [ɕien5]
 CT [iŋ6]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [viɛn5]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve6]; LC2 [ve6]
 NK [iẽ5]; AY [jiõ6]; SY [yẽ2]; XS [ɕien5]; QN [iuõn6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ian6]; ND3 [ien6]
 [OPH *ian5] CNH *vion6/L *hian5

In cases of this type, it is likely that Chángtīng has borrowed its zero initial forms from some other dialect, such as the prestigious one of Méixiàn.

Two further points are worthy of mention in connection with the loss of CNH *v- in examples of the type we have seen here. The first is that when loss of the initial consonant leaves the high front vowel *i in exposed initial position, its development in the affected dialects will be the same as that seen for *i after initial zero, for a discussion of which see §2.6 below. The second point is that, since the Mainstream Hakka dialects all lose CNH *v- before *i, O'Connor's Proto-Hakka never has *v- in this position. This is a significant difference between the Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka systems.

Finally, as has been noted above, *v- alternates with *m- in QYS dentilabializing etyma. Examples of this have been cited in §2.1.3 and need not be repeated here.

In closing this section it seems worthwhile to reiterate certain of the general points made above regarding the methodology of multi-stratal or layered reconstruction. In order confidently to identify separate layers, it is necessary to have at hand multiple doublet forms, both within individual cognate sets and from set to set. It is the parallelism between multiple doublet pairs that enables us to identify layers. And additionally, it is this same parallelism that shows us to which layer a form belongs when only a singleton form is present at a particular dialect point. Where unique doublets are found in which only one of the forms in the pair is assignable to a layer, we are quite literally at sea regarding the developmental history of the other form. Finally, in unique doublet sets of this type, no proto-form is posited for the “isolated” form for which no parallels are present in the set. This is because it is impossible to apply the comparative

method to a single entity. At least two forms must be present to carry out the comparative exercise. For further discussion of these points, cf. §1.6 of Chapter I.

2.2 The Dentals

2.2.1 CNH *t-

Examples for this initial are:

dāo 刀 QYS tâu CDC *tou1/EC *'taw
 BMH [tau]; MX [tau1]; HL [to1]; SX [to1]; LF [to1]; LZ [tau1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tau1]; XY [to1]; DB [to1]; YL [təu1]; XC [tau1]
 CT [to1]; WP [to1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tu1]; LC1 [to1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [to1]; AY [to1]; SY [to1]; XS [tau1]; QN [tau1]; ND1 [tau1]; ND2 [tau1]; ND3 [tau1]
 OPH *tou1 CNH *tou1

diàn 店 QYS tiem- CDC *tiam5/EC —
 BMH [tiəm]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tiən5]; XC [tiən5]
 CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tiəŋ5]; YD [tiəŋ3]; SH [tiã5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tiẽ5]; AY [tiã5]; SY [tiẽ2]; XS [tiən5]; QN [tiam5]; ND1 [tiam5]; ND2 [tiam5]; ND3
 [tiam5]
 OPH *tiam5 CNH *tiam5

2.2.2 CNH *t'-

Examples for this initial are:

tiān 天 QYS thien CDC *thian1/EC *'thin
 BMH [thien]; MX [t'ien1]; HL [t'ian1]; SX [t'ian1]; LF [t'ian1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [t'en1]
 HY [t'ian1]; XY [t'ian1]; DB [t'ien1]; YL [t'ien1]; XC [t'ien1]

CT [t'ɿŋ1]; WP [thiɛŋ1]; YD [t'ien1]; SH [thiɛ̃1]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
NK [t'iẽ1]; AY [t'i1]; SY [t'iẽ1]; XS [t'ien1]; QN [t'ien1]; ND1 [t'ien1]; ND2 [t'ian1]; ND3
[t'ian1]
OPH *t'ian1 CNH *t'ian1

tóu 頭 QYS dəu CDC *deu2/EC *'do
BMH [thêu]; MX [t'eu2]; HL [t'eu2]; SX [t'eu2]; LF [t'eu2]; LZ [thêu2]; SHT [t'iu2 ~ t'eu2]
HY [t'uai2]; XY [t'eu2]; DB [t'ei2]; YL [t'ai2]; XC [t'əu2]
CT [t'eu2]; WP [thɛ2]; YD [t'eu2]; SH [thə2]; LC1 [t'eu2]; LC2 [t'ɐu2]
NK [t'ɜ2]; AY [t'ɐ]; SY [t'io2]; XS [t'əu2]; QN [t'eu2]; ND1 [t'eu2]; ND2 [t'əu2 ~ t'ieu2];
ND3 [t'iu2]
OPH *t'eu2 CNH *t'eu2

dú 毒 QYS duok CDC *duk8/EC *'duk
BMH [thúk]; MX [t'uk8w ~ t'eu5b]; HL [t'uk8]; SX [t'uk8]; LF [t'uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT
[t'uk8]
HY [t'ok8]; XY [t'ouʔ8]; DB [t'uk8]; YL [t'əuʔ8]; XC [t'uʔ8]
CT [t'u6]; WP [thuʔ8]; YD [t'uʔ8]; SH [thəʔ8]; LC1 [t'ie5]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'u1]; AY [t'u6]; SY [t'u5]; XS [t'uk8]; QN [t'uʔ8]; ND1 [t'uk8]; ND2 [t'uk8]; ND3 [t'uk8]
OPH *t'uk8 CNH *t'uk8

2.2.3 CNH *n-

In Lìzhīzhuāng and Yǒngdìng this initial becomes l-, merging completely with the reflexes of CNH *l- in these dialects. In Song Him Tong it is unchanged in syllables with nasal finals but becomes l- elsewhere. The following examples illustrate these points:

nán 難 QYS nân CDC *nan2/EC *'nan
BMH [nân]; MX [nan2]; HL [nan2]; SX [nan2]; LF [nan2]; LZ [lan2]; SHT [nan2]
HY [nan2]; XY [nan2]; DB [nan2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]

CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [na2]; LC2 [na2]
 NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nan2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
 OPH *nan2 CNH *nan2

ní 泥 QYS niei CDC *niai2/EC *'niy
 BMH [nî ~ nî ~ nâi]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];
 LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
 HY [niɛ2]; XY [nɛi2]; DB [nɛ2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
 CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lei2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
 NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [nɛ2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
 [OPH *nai2] CNH *niai2/L *ni2

2.2.4 CNH *l-

This initial is in general well maintained in the dialects. Both Yílǒng and Xīchāng show sporadic unconditioned shifts to initial n-. These cases probably indicate borrowing from neighboring Sìchuān Mandarin varieties. Where Liánchéng-1 and Liánchéng-2 develop the secondary complex finals -iue and -yue (< *u) respectively, these finals induce total loss of the lateral initial. However, this curious phenomenon is absent from the FJFYZ variety of Liánchéng, which is very closely related to our Liánchéng-2. The following examples illustrate these points:

lòu 漏 QYS ləu- CDC *leu6/EC *'loh
 BMH [lèu]; MX [leu5]; HL [leu6]; SX [leu5]; LF [leu6]; LZ [leu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [luai6]; XY [lɛu3 ~ lɛu5]; DB [lei3 ~ lei5]; YL [nai3]; XC [ləu5]
 CT [leu6]; WP [le3]; YD [leu5]; SH [lɔ3]; LC1 [leu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [le5]; AY [lɛ6]; SY [lio5]; XS [ləu5]; QN [leu6]; ND1 [leu6]; ND2 [liəu6]; ND3 [liu6]
 OPH *leu6 CNH *leu6

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *'lakh
BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu6]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5w ~ lu6b]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [lu5]
HY [lu6]; XY [lu3]; DB [lu3]; YL [lu3]; XC [lu5]
CT [lu6]; WP [lu3]; YD [li5]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [iue6]; LC2 [ye6]†
NK [lu5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lu5]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu6]; ND1 [lu6]; ND2 [lu6]; ND3 [lu6]
OPH *lu6 CNH *lu6/L *lu5
†FJFYZ: [lye6].

luǎn 卵 QYS luân: CDC *'lon4/EC *'lonx
BMH [lón]; MX [lón3]; HL [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [lon3]; LZ [lón3]; SHT [lón3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lón3]; XC [luan5]
CT [luŋ3]; WP [luɛŋ3]; YD [lón3]; SH [luẽ3]; LC1 [luɔ3]; LC2 [luɐ3]
NK [loẽ3]; AY [lõ3]; SY [luõ3]; XS [lón3]; QN [lón3]; ND1 [loɛn3]; ND2 [luon3];
ND3 [luan3 ~ lón3]
OPH *lon3 CNH *luon3

After the Common Neo-Hakka vowel *i the Fújiàn dialects of line three, and the Jiāngxī dialects of line four exclusive of Níngdū, may have modern t- rather than modern l- as reflex of CNH *l-. The following are examples of this phenomenon. Note in particular the first example, where sporadic examples of this peculiarity are also attested in Méixiàn and Héyuán.

lǐ 裡 QYS ljǐ: CDC *li4/EC *lix
BMH [li ~ lí]; MX [li2w ~ ti1b]; HL [li1w ~ li3b]; SX [li2]; LF [li1]; LZ [li3]; SHT [—]
HY [li3]; XY [ti1]; DB [li3]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]
CT [li3 ~ ti3]; WP [li3]; YD [li3 ~ ti1]; SH [ti1 ~ ti3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti1]
NK [ti1]; AY [li3]; SY [ti1 ~ ti3]; XS [li3]; QN [li3]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li3]; ND3 [li1]
[OPH ?] CNH *li3/L *li1/*li2

lì 力 QYS ljək CDC *lik8/EC *lik
BMH [lít]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lit8]; LZ [lit8]; SHT [lit8]
HY [lit8]; XY [lit8]; DB [læt8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ8]

CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [tiʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [ti5]; LC2 [ti5 ~ ti6]
 NK [ti1]; AY [ti1]; SY [ti5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [lit8]; ND2 [lik8]; ND3 [lik8]
 OPH *lit8 CNH *lik8

lì 𪛗 QYS ljəp CDC *^hlip8/EC *lip
 BMH [lip]; MX [lɛp7]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [liʔ7]
 HY [lip7]; XY [lap7]; DB [lɛp8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
 CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liʔ7]; SH [tiʔ7]; LC1 [ti6]; LC2 [ti5]
 NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [lit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lit8]
 [OPH *lip7] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7

The Diànbái form is clearly to be derived from the third reconstruction but inexplicably has Tone 8 rather than Tone 7.

liǎng 兩 QYS ljang: “two” CDC *^hliɔŋ4/EC *langx
 BMH [liɔŋ]; MX [liɔŋ3]; HL [liɔŋ3]; SX [liɔŋ3]; LF [liɔŋ3]; LZ [liɔŋ3]; SHT [liɔŋ3]
 HY [lyɔŋ3]; XY [liɔŋ3]; DB [liɔŋ3]; YL [liɔŋ3]; XC [liɔŋ3]
 CT [liɔŋ3w ~ tiɔŋ3b]; WP [tiɔŋ3]; YD [liɔŋ3]; SH [liɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiɔŋ3]†
 NK [liɔ̃3 ~ tiɔ̃3]; AY [tiɔŋ3]; SY [tiɔ̃3]; XS [—]; QN [liɔŋ3]; ND1 [liɔŋ3]; ND2 [liɔŋ1]; †† ND3
 [liɔŋ3]
 [OPH *liɔŋ3] CNH *liɔŋ3
 †FJSHFYZ: [tiɔŋ3b ~ liɔŋ3w].

††In Níngdū-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1.
 In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

lín 林 QYS ljəm CDC *lim2/EC *lim
 BMH [lím]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [lim2]; SHT [lim2]
 HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [lɛm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
 CT [lɛŋ2w ~ tɛŋ2b]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [tiŋ2 ~ liŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3
 [lin2]

OPH *lim2 CNH *lim2

†FJFYZ: [ləŋ2w ~ tɛŋ2b].

In these examples we note that (1) this initial development appears to be sporadic, in that from set to set it may affect different dialects to different degrees, (2) dialects that show it may have competing variants in t- and l- initial forms, and (3) these variants are sometimes identified as belonging to the *bái* and *wén* registers of the lexicon respectively. These observations lead us to suspect that CNH *l- became later t- before *i across the board in popular words in many, or perhaps even all, of the affected dialects. Later, l- initial forms were borrowed from other sources to form a literary “l- layer”. In some cases both forms are retained. In other instances only the popular form or only the literary one may survive, with the distribution of popular and literary forms differing from etymon to etymon and dialect to dialect. In other words, we may suppose that, within a primeval “*l- > t- shift area”, the corpus of later t- initial forms was eroded to varying extents by an influx of borrowed l- initial readings.

The following form is particularly interesting in this regard:

lóng 龍 QYS ljwong CDC *liung2/EC *long
BMH [liũŋ]; MX [liuŋ2]; HL [luŋ1 ~ liuŋ2]; SX [liuŋ2]; LF [liuŋ2]; LZ [luŋ2]; SHT [luŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [luŋ2]; DB [luŋ2]; YL [luŋ2]; XC [luŋ2]
CT [luŋ2]; WP [tuŋ2]; YD [liuŋ2]; SH [ləŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ləŋ2]; AY [ləŋ2]; SY [ləŋ2]; XS [liəŋ2]; QN [luŋ2]; ND1 [luŋ1]; ND2 [liuŋ2]; ND3 [luŋ2]
OPH *liung2 CNH *liuŋ2/*luŋ2/*luŋ1

Here it will be noted that several competing proto-forms have been posited. The *Wǔpíng* word derives from CNH *liuŋ2, and its initial has accordingly undergone the popular layer shift of *l- to t-. Subsequent to this, the final has been regularly reduced from *-iuŋ to modern -uŋ in post-obstruent position, as will be illustrated in §3.3.6 of Chapter III below. No other forms in the set show the effects of the old *l- > t- shift. They either derive from *luŋ2 or *luŋ1, which were not susceptible to the change, or they have borrowed readings in *liuŋ2 from elsewhere in a later period.

Finally we should note examples of the following type:

ér 而 QYS nízi CDC *nhi2/EC *ni
 BMH [yî ~ lû]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ŋi2 ~ ji2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]
 CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
 [OPH *i2] CNH *ñi2/*i/*ə2

The second Basil Mission form and the Níngdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan such as *ɿə2, where native l- has been used to render the borrowed liquid initial [ɿ].

2.3 The Dental Sibilants

2.3.1 CNH *ts-

The following are examples of this initial before non-high front vowels:

zǎo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *'tsux
 BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
 HY [tsau3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tso3]; YL [tsəu3]; XC [tsau3]
 CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3
 [tsau3]
 OPH *tsou3 CNH *tsou3

zǒu 走 QYS tsəu: CDC *tseu3/EC *'tsox
 BMH [tséu]; MX [tseu3]; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [tʃəu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
 HY [tsuai3]; XY [tseu3]; DB [tsei3]; YL [tsai3]; XC [tsəu3]
 CT [tseu3]; WP [tsɛ3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɜ3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tɕio3]; XS [tsəu3]; QN [tseu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
 [tsəu3]
 OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

Here we note that only Līzhīzhuāng fails to preserve the original form of this initial. Instead, in this dialect *ts- merges completely with the reflex of CNH *tʃ- (§2.4.1 below) as LZ tʃ-.

There is also another class of non-high front vowel syllables which requires special notice. In sets of this type, Modern Standard Chinese and many Mandarin dialect varieties have retroflex initials; and in these cases either or both of our two Sīchuān Hakka dialects, Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng, may also take retroflex rather than dental sibilant initials. In Yǐlǒng there is considerable vacillation between the two types, with older speakers preferring the non-retroflex realizations, while Xīchāng is more consistent in showing mainly retroflexes. Cuī (2011: 32) takes specific note of these initial configurations in his data and argues, convincingly in our view, that the retroflex readings in such cases are the result of extensive and intimate contact with Modern Standard Chinese and contiguous Sīchuān Mandarin dialect varieties, especially among younger Hakka speakers.¹⁴ Consequently they should not serve as a basis for reconstructing postalveolar series initials (i.e., *tʃ-, etc.) in cognate sets of this type. Only firm corroborating evidence from *non-Sīchuān* points genuinely support such a step.¹⁵ The following examples illustrate the points mentioned here. In the first, both Sīchuān points show Mandarin-like retroflexion.

zhé 摘 QYS tək CDC *cak7/EC *trek
BMH [tsak]; MX [tsak7]; HL [tsak7]; SX [tsak7]; LF [tsak7]; LZ [tʃak7]; SHT [tsak7]
HY [tsak7]; XY [tsak7]; DB [tsak7]; YL [tʃaʔ7]; XC [tʃaʔ7]
CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa8]; AY [tsa6]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsak7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsak7]; ND2 [tsak7]; ND3 [tsək7]
OPH *tsak7 CNH *tsak7

¹⁴ As pointed out by Cuī (2011: Chapter 4 and 5), the varieties of Sīchuān Mandarin which are spoken in close contiguity with Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng have retroflex series, unlike certain Mandarin types spoken elsewhere in Sīchuān. And many Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng Hakka speakers are multilingual in Hakka and these Mandarin dialect types.

¹⁵ We shall, in fact, see many cases of such supporting evidence in §2.4 below.

In the next two sets, only Xīchāng shows retroflexion:

zhá 紫 QYS (tṣă̌t) CDC —/EC —
 BMH [tsap]; MX [tsap7]; HL [tsap7]; SX [tsap7]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsat]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsaʔ7]; XC [tṣaʔ7]
 CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [tsaʔ7 ~ tsat7]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsa6]
 NK [tsa2]; AY [ts33]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsait7]; QN [tsæʔ7]; ND1 [tsait7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsap7] CNH *tsap7 ~ *tsat

zhēng 爭 QYS tṣeŋ CDC *cang1/EC *tsreŋ
 BMH [tsang ~ tseŋ]; MX [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; HL [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; SX [tsen1w ~ tsan1b]; LF
 [tsen1 ~ tsan1]; LZ [tʃan1]; SHT [tsan1]
 HY [tsan1]; XY [tsan1]; DB [tsən1 ~ tseŋ1]; YL [tsan1w ~ tsan1b]; XC [tʃan1]
 CT [tsen1]; WP [tsan1 ~ tsən1]; YD [tsan1]; SH [tsan1]; LC1 [tsan1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsẽ1 ~ tsã1]; AY [tsən1 ~ tsã1]; SY [tsẽ1 ~ tsã1]; XS [tsen1 ~ tsan1]; QN [tsen1 ~ tsan1];
 ND1 [tsən1 ~ tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [tsən1 ~ tsan1]
 [OPH *tsang1] CNH *tsan1/L *tsen1

In examining cases such as these, it is important to recall that Lìzhīzhuāng has no dental sibilant series of initials. Instead, *all* cases of earlier *ts- have become modern tʃ-there. Thus, Lìzhīzhuāng initial tʃ- in these examples sheds no cogent light on the present problem.

In the next example, Xīchāng has a sibilant rather than a retroflex initial:

zhāi 齋 QYS tṣăi CDC *cai1/EC *tsriy
 BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [tsai1]; LZ [tʃai1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
 CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [tsai1]; SH [tsai1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsæ1]; AY [tsæ1]; SY [tsæ1]; XS [tsai1]; QN [tsai1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsai1] CNH *tsai1

And, finally, we note a set where neither Sichuān variety shows Mandarin-like retroflexion:

zhà 詐 QYS tʃa- CDC *ca5/EC *tsrakh
BMH [tsà]; MX [tsa5]; HL [tsa5]; SX [tsa5]; LF [tsa5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsa5]; XY [tsa5]; DB [tsa5]; YL [tsa5]; XC [tsa5]
CT [tsa5]; WP [—]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tsa5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa5] CNH *tsa5

Examples of *ts- before the high front vowel *i, are as follows:

jiān 尖 QYS tsjäm CDC *tsiam/EC —
BMH [tsiam]; MX [tsiam1]; HL [tsiam1]; SX [tsiam1]; LF [tsiam1]; LZ [tʃiam1]; SHT [tsiam1]
HY [tsiam1]; XY [tsiam1]; DB [tsiam1]; YL [tɕien1]; XC [tɕien1]
CT [tsiŋ1]; WP [tsiaŋ1]; YD [tsiaŋ1]; SH [tɕiã1]; LC1 [tse1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiẽ1]; AY [tsiã1]; SY [tɕiẽ1]; XS [tsien1]; QN [tɕiam1]; ND1 [tɕiam1]; ND2 [tɕiam1];
ND3 [tsiam1]
OPH *tsiam1 CNH *tsiam1

jiǔ 酒 QYS tsjəu: CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux
BMH [tsiú]; MX [tsiu3]; HL [tsiu3]; SX [tsiu3]; LF [tsiu3]; LZ [tʃiu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
HY [tsiu3]; XY [tsiu3]; DB [tsiu3]; YL [tɕiəu3]; XC [tɕiəu3]
CT [tsieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tɕiə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [tsəu3]
NK [tɕiəu3]; AY [tsə3]; SY [tɕiəu3]; XS [tsiu3]; QN [tɕiəu3]; ND1 [tɕiəu3]; ND2 [tɕiəu3]; ND3
[tsiu3]
OPH *tsiu3 CNH *tsieu3

jīng 精 QYS tsjäŋ CDC *tsiang1/EC *tseng
BMH [tsin]; MX [tsin1w ~ tsiaŋ1b]; HL [tsin1]; SX [tsin1]; LF [tsin1]; LZ [tʃiaŋ1b ~ tʃin1w];
SHT [—]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [tsen1 ~ tsiaŋ1]; WP [tsiŋ1 ~ tsiaŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tɕen1 ~ tɕiaŋ1]; LC1 [tsiaŋ1]; LC2
[tsiaŋ1 ~ tseŋ1]

NK [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiã1]; AY [tsiŋ1 ~ tsiã1]; SY [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiã1]; XS [tsin1 ~ tsian1]; QN [tɕiŋ1];
 ND1 [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; ND2 [tɕiŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; ND3 [tsiŋ1 ~ tsian1]
 [OPH *tsin1] CNH *tsian1/L *tsiŋ1

2.3.2 CNH *ts’-

The development of this initial generally parallels that of its unaspirated counterpart. Examples preceding non-high front vowels are:

cǎo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *’tshux
 BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts’au3]; HL [ts’o3]; SX [ts’o3]; LF [ts’o3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts’au3]
 HY [ts’au3]; XY [ts’o3]; DB [ts’o3]; YL [ts’əu3]; XC [ts’au3]
 CT [ts’o3]; WP [tsho3]; YD [ts’ou3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [ts’o3]; LC2 [ts’o3]
 NK [ts’o3]; AY [ts’o3]; SY [ts’o3]; XS [ts’au3]; QN [ts’au3]; ND1 [ts’au3]; ND2 [ts’au3]; ND3
 [ts’au3]
 OPH *ts’ou3 CNH *ts’ou3

zéi 賊 QYS dzək CDC *dzek8/EC *’dzik
 BMH [tshét]; MX [ts’et8]; HL [ts’et8]; SX [ts’et8]; LF [ts’et8]; LZ [tʃhet8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts’at8]; XY [ts’et8]; DB [ts’et8]; YL [ts’ɛʔ8]; XC [ts’ɛʔ8]
 CT [ts’e6]; WP [tshɛʔ8]; YD [ts’ɛʔ8]; SH [tshɛʔ8]; LC1 [ts’uɔ5]; LC2 [ts’uɛ5]
 NK [ts’ə1]; AY [ts’e6]; SY [ts’e5]; XS [ts’et8]; QN [ts’eʔ8]; ND1 [ts’ək8]; ND2 [ts’ək8]; ND3
 [ts’ək8]
 OPH *ts’et8 CNH *ts’ek8

Some examples of sets showing apparent unconditioned presence or absence of Mandarin-like retroflexion in the two Sichuān dialects, Yílǒng and Xīchāng, are:

chāo 抄 QYS tʃhau CDC *chau1/EC *tshraw
 BMH [tshau]; MX [ts’au1]; HL [ts’au1]; SX [ts’au1]; LF [ts’au1]; LZ [tʃhau1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts’au1]; XY [ts’au1]; DB [ts’au1]; YL [tɕ’au1]; XC [tɕ’au1]

CT [ts'ɔ1]; WP [tshɔ1]; YD [ts'au1]; SH [tsho1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɔ1]; AY [ts'ɔ1]; SY [ts'ɔ1]; XS [ts'au1]; QN [ts'au1]; ND1 [ts'au1]; ND2 [ts'au1]; ND3
[ts'au1]
[OPH *ts'au1] CNH *ts'au1

cháo 巢 QYS dzau CDC *jau2/EC *dzraw
BMH [tshâu]; MX [sau2]; HL [sau2]; SX [sau2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [ts'au2]
HY [ts'au2]; XY [ts'au2]; DB [hau2]; YL [tɕ'au2]; XC [ts'au2]
CT [—]; WP [sɔ2]; YD [sau2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ts'ɔ2]; SY [ts'ɔ2]; XS [ts'au2]; QN [ts'au2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'au2 ~ sau2]
[OPH *sau2] CNH *sau2/*ts'au2

chǎo 炒 QYS tɕhau: CDC *chau3/EC —
BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts'au3]; HL [ts'au3]; SX [ts'au3]; LF [ts'au3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts'au3]
HY [ts'au3]; XY [ts'ɔ3]; DB [ts'au3]; YL [ts'au3]; XC [tɕ'au3]
CT [ts'ɔ3]; WP [tshɔ3]; YD [ts'au3]; SH [tsho3]; LC1 [ts'ɔ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɔ3]; AY [ts'ɔ3]; SY [ts'ɔ3]; XS [ts'au3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'au3]; ND2 [ts'au3]; ND3
[ts'au3]
[OPH *ts'au3] CNH *ts'au3

chū 初 QYS tɕhjwo CDC *chu1/EC *tshra
BMH [tshu]; MX [ts'ɿ1]; HL [ts'u1]; SX [ts'u1]; LF [ts'o1]; LZ [tʃho1]; SHT [ts'ɔ1]
HY [ts'uo1]; XY [ts'ɔ1]; DB [ts'o1]; YL [ts'u1]; XC [tɕ'o1]
CT [ts'u1]; WP [tshɿ1]; YD [ts'ɿ1]; SH [tshɿ1 ~ tshu1w]; LC1 [ts'ɿ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'u1]; SY [ts'u1]; XS [ts'ɿ1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3 [ts'u1]
[OPH *ts'u1] CNH *ts'uo1

chú 鋤 QYS dziwo CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'u6]; SX [ts'u5]; LF [ts'o2]; LZ [tʃho2]; SHT [ts'ɔ2]

HY [ts'uə2]; XY [ts'u2]; DB [ts'o2]; YL [ts'u2]; XC [ts'o2]
 CT [ts'u2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'u2]; SY [ts'u2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *ts'u2] CNH *ts'uo2

chà 岔 QYS (tʂha-) CDC *cha5/—
 BMH [tshà]; MX [ts'a5]; HL [ts'a5]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ts'a5]
 CT [ts'a5]; WP [tsha5]; YD [ts'a3]; SH [tsha5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'a5]; AY [ts'a5]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [ts'a5]; QN [ts'a5]; ND1 [ts'a5]; ND2 [ts'a1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'a5] CNH *ts'a5

The following illustrates palatalization in the presence of following modern high front vowels:

qī 七 QYS tshjiet CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
 BMH [tshit]; MX [ts'it7]; HL [ts'it7]; SX [ts'it7]; LF [ts'it7]; LZ [tʃhit7]; SHT [ts'it7]
 HY [ts'it7]; XY [ts'it7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'iʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ieʔ7]
 CT [ts'i2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts'iʔ7]; SH [tɕhiʔ7]; LC1 [ts'ĩ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ie1]; AY [ts'ĩ3]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [ts'it7]; QN [tɕ'iʔ7]; ND1 [tɕ'it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ts'it7]
 OPH *ts'it7 CNH *ts'it7

qǔ 取 QYS tshju: CDC *tshiu3/EC *tshox
 BMH [tshî]; MX [ts'ĩ3]; HL [ts'ĩ3]; SX [ts'ĩ3]; LF [ts'ĩ3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'y3]; XC [—]
 CT [ts'ĩ3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [ts'ĩ3]; SH [tɕhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'y3]; AY [ts'ĩ3]; SY [tɕ'ĩ3]; XS [ts'ĩ3]; QN [tɕ'ĩ3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tɕ'iu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'ĩ3] CNH *ts'iu3

2.3.3 CNH *s-

Developmental patterns of this initial parallel those of the two preceding ones in this series, with one interesting exception, i.e., its usual reflex in Diànbái is the voiceless lateral ɬ-. Examples for non-high front vowels are:

sòng 送 QYS sung- CDC *sung5/EC *'songh
BMH [sùŋ]; MX [suŋ5]; HL [suŋ5]; SX [suŋ5]; LF [suŋ5]; LZ [ʃuŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [soŋ5]; XY [soŋ5]; DB [ɬuŋ5]; YL [suŋ5]; XC [suŋ5]
CT [soŋ5]; WP [suŋ5]; YD [suŋ3]; SH [səŋ5]; LC1 [soŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [səŋ5]; AY [səŋ5]; SY [səŋ2]; XS [səŋ5]; QN [suŋ5]; ND1 [suŋ5]; ND2 [suŋ5]; ND3 [suŋ5]
OPH *suŋ5 CNH *suŋ5

suǒ 索 QYS sâk CDC *sok7/EC *'sak
BMH [sok]; MX [sɔk7]; HL [suk7]; SX [suk7]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃɔk7]; SHT [sɔk7]
HY [—]; XY [sɔk7]; DB [ɬɔk7]; YL [sɔk7]; XC [soʔ7]
CT [so2]; WP [sɔʔ7]; YD [sɔʔ7]; SH [soʔ7]; LC1 [su6]; LC2 [—]
NK [so8]; AY [so6]; SY [so5]; XS [sɔk7]; QN [soʔ7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [sɔk7]; ND3 [—]
OPH *sok7 CNH *sok7

Cases showing Mandarinized retroflexes in the Sichuān are:

sēn 森 QYS sɿem CDC *shem1/EC *srim
BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [ʃem1]; SHT [sim1]
HY [səm1]; XY [səm1]; DB [ɬəm1]; YL [ʃɛn1 ~ san1]; XC [ʃən1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ1]; XS [sen1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3 [səm1]
OPH *sem1 CNH *sem1

shān 山 QYS šān CDC *shan1/EC *sran
BMH [san]; MX [san1]; HL [san1]; SX [san1]; LF [san1]; LZ [ʃan1]; SHT [san1]
HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [ɬan1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʃan1]

CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [san1]; SH [sã1]; LC1 [sa1]; LC2 [sa1]
 NK [sã1]; AY [sã1]; SY [sã1]; XS [san1]; QN [san1]; ND1 [san1]; ND2 [san1]; ND3 [san1]
 OPH *san1 CNH *san1

The first of these examples is quite interesting, because Yílǒng has retained its original “native” Hakka form, in competition with the borrowed Mandarinized one.¹⁶ In the following popular word, neither Sichuān dialect has undergone Mandarinization:

shòu 瘦 QYS ʃəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
 BMH [sèu]; MX [sɛu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃeu5]; SHT [siu5]
 HY [suai5]; XY [seu5]; DB [ʎei5]; YL [sai5]; XC [səu5]
 CT [seu5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [seu5]; SH [sə5]; LC1 [seu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɜ5]; AY [sɜ5]; SY [ɕio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [seu5]; ND1 [seu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
 OPH *seu5 CNH *seu5

In two exceptional cases CNH *s- yields Diànbái s-, i.e.,

shuāi 衰 QYS ʃwi CDC *shuei1/EC *srui
 BMH [soi]; MX [soi1]; HL [soi1]; SX [soi1]; LF [soi1]; LZ [—]; SHT [soi1]
 HY [suai1]; XY [sui1]; DB [soi1]; YL [—]; XC [ʃuai1]
 CT [—]; WP [sue1]; YD [sei1]; SH [sei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [suæ1]; AY [sue1]; SY [sue1]; XS [soi1]; QN [soi1]; ND1 [soɛ1]; ND2 [sui1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *soi1] CNH *suoi1/*sui1

The second reconstruction is supported by the Xīnyí, Yǒngdīng and Shàngháng forms.

shuài 帥 QYS ʃwi- CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth
 BMH [sòì]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [suai5]; XY [suai5]; DB [soi5]; YL [ʃuai5]; XC [ʃuai5 ~ ʃuaʔ7]

¹⁶ It should be borne in mind that, unlike Modern Standard Chinese, many Mandarin dialects, including the older Běijīng vernacular, have retroflex initials in this syllable, i.e., shēn vs. sēn. The former is sometimes still found among some Mainland speakers of MSC. Taiwan Mandarin uses only the latter.

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sai3]; SH [sa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sæ2]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sai6]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [sai5]
[OPH ?] CNH *suoi5/*suai5

The tone of the Níngdū-1 form is irregularly of low register.

The reason for this anomaly seems uncertain. It is possible that the forms are loans, but it is also noteworthy that these are the only examples in our corpus where CNH *s- stands before reconstructed final *-uoi, so that a unique syllable type is in play here. The matter deserves further study.

Examples of *s- before modern high front vowels show the now familiar type of palatalization already seen for the dental affricates:

xīn 新 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sinh
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [ʎən1]; YL [ɕin1]; XC [ɕin1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [sin1]; YD [sin1]; SH [ɕin1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]
NK [ɕin1]; AY [sin1]; SY [ɕin1]; XS [sin1]; QN [ɕin1]; ND1 [ɕin1]; ND2 [ɕin1]; ND3 [sin1]
OPH *sin1 CNH *sin1

xū 鬚 QYS sju CDC *siu1/EC *so
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [—]
HY [su1]; XY [su1]; DB [ʎu1]; YL [ɕy1]; XC [ɕi1]
CT [si1]; WP [—]; YD [si1]; SH [ɕi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕi1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕi1]; XS [si1]; QN [ɕi]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɕiu1]; ND3 [siu1]
[OPH *si1] CNH *siu1

CNH *s- initial words often have variant readings in *ts'-, e.g.,

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
BMH [siòng]; MX [sionɣ5w ~ ts'ionɣ5b]; HL [sionɣ5w ~ ts'ionɣ5]; SX [sionɣ5w ~ ts'ionɣ5]; LF
[sionɣ5]; LZ [tʃhionɣ5b ~ ʃionɣ5w]; SHT [ts'ionɣ5]
HY [—]; XY [ts'ionɣ5]; DB [hionɣ5]; YL [ɕionɣ5]; XC [tɕ'ionɣ5]

CT [ts'ioŋ6]; WP [sioŋ5 ~ tshioŋ3]; YD [sioŋ3]; SH [ɕioŋ5 ~ tɕhioŋ5]; LC1 [ts'ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiɔ̌5 ~ tɕ'iǒ5]; AY [ts'ioŋ6]; SY [ɕiɔ̌2 ~ tɕ'iǒ5]; XS [ts'ioŋ5]; QN [tɕ'ioŋ6]; ND1 [tɕ'ioŋ6];
 ND2 [tɕ'ioŋ6]; ND3 [ts'ioŋ6]
 [OPH *ts'ioŋ5] CNH *ts'ioŋ6/L *sioŋ5

xiè 謝 QYS zja- DC *zia6/EC *zakh
 BMH [tshià]; MX [ts'ia5]; HL [ts'ia6]; SX [ts'ia5]; LF [ts'ia5]; LZ [tʃhia5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ia6]; XY [ts'ɛ3]; DB [ts'ia3]; YL [ɕia3]; XC [ɕie5w ~ tɕ'ia5b]
 CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts'ia5 ~ ts'ia3]; SH [tɕhia3 ~ ɕia3]; LC1 [ts'io6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɕia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts'ia5]; QN [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6]; ND1 [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6];
 ND2 [tɕ'ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts'ia6]
 [OPH *ts'ia6] CNH *ts'ia6/L *sia6

Where both affricate and fricative forms are present, and the distinction is glossed, the fricative initial form is usually the word for “thank” and “fade (of flowers)”, while the affricate form is the surname Xiè.

xú 徐 QYS jwo CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za
 BMH [tshî]; MX [ts'i2]; HL [ts'i2]; SX [ts'i2]; LF [ts'i2]; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [ɕy2]; XC [ɕi2]
 CT [si2]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [ɕi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'i2]; AY [ts'i2]; SY [tɕ'i2]; XS [ts'i2]; QN [tɕ'i2]; ND1 [ɕiu2]; ND2 [ɕiu2]; ND3 [sie2]
 [OPH *ts'i2] CNH *ts'iu2/*siu2

Where information on stylistic register is available in the sources, the affricate members of such variant pairs are generally identified as báí, while the fricative ones are said to be wén.

2.4 The Postalveolars

That the consonants discussed in this section must have been a distinct series was demonstrated by O'Connor for Proto-Hakka (1976) and has never been questioned. Although the exact phonetic nature of these sounds is not an essential question from a comparative

standpoint, some discussion of the problem seems warranted. In the dialects for which data were available to O'Connor, and indeed in the majority of Neo-Hakka dialects today, the series, where distinct, is realized as alveopalatal. O'Connor accordingly reconstructed it with this value and transcribed it as Proto-Hakka *tš-, *tš'-, and *š-. The corresponding nasal sound was represented as *n-, for which he posited two subtypes. However, there are in various locations Hakka dialects for which the obstruents corresponding to O'Connor's PH *tš-, *tš'-, and *š- are transcribed in dialect surveys as retroflexes. Wàn and Zhuāng (2014) have recently called into question the phonetic detail of those putative retroflexes reported for certain eastern Guǎngdōng Hakka varieties, their conclusion being that the sounds in question are actually laminal postalveolars rather than true retroflexes.¹⁷ Also noteworthy in this connection is a recent dissertation by Zhāng Qiàn 張倩 (2014a: 64–70), where the distribution in Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka dialects of true retroflexes vs. other postalveolar consonant types is described in detail. Finally, two new studies of the problem advance the discussion further and explore its complexities in even greater phonetic detail (Mài 2015; 2016).

As regards the Common Neo-Hakka system, our view is that it is not possible to determine the precise phonetic nature of our target series, beyond the fact that it was postalveolar. O'Connor's Proto-Hakka transcriptional spellings for this series, which were patently intended to represent alveopalatals, are no longer current in modern IPA, the preferred renderings for such sounds now being tʃ-, etc.; and the “wedge” or “haček” forms he used are seldom encountered in Sinolinguistic contexts today. This fact turns out to be a salutary one for us in that it allows us to appropriate O'Connor's forms *en bloc* for our broadly defined postalveolar sounds, in keeping with our practice of retaining Proto-Hakka forms where these continue to account satisfactorily for our full panoply of Common Neo-Hakka data. Accordingly, we shall

¹⁷ If the obstruents described by Wàn and Zhuāng are ultimately accepted by Chinese dialectologists, then they should be assigned their own IPA transcriptional forms. Our suggestion would be that they be transcribed with the symbols ʄ and ʅ, which are not in use in current versions of the IPA. A series of transcriptional forms adapted for Sinitic languages would be tʄ, tʄʰ, ʄ, dʄ, ʅ. In the event that a rhotic approximant of this type were discovered in a Chinese dialect, one might render it with the letter ɽ (“long leg r”), which was formally withdrawn from the IPA in 1989.

use O'Connor's transcriptions for the obstruent members of our series but modify his *ɲ- to *ɳ- for the sake of consistency.¹⁸ And we shall refer to the entire series using the cover term “postalveolars”, while remaining agnostic regarding any more precise phonetic definition.

2.4.1 CNH *tʃ-

This initial merges with *ts- in some dialects and is preserved as modern tʃ- (common) or tʃ- (less common) in others. Examples are:

zhēn 真 QYS tʃjen CDC *cin1/EC *tin
 BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]
 HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʃɛn1]; XC [tʃən1]
 CT [tʃɛŋ1]; WP [tʃɛŋ1]; YD [tsin1]; SH [tʃɛŋ1]; LC1 [tʃɛŋ1]; LC2 [tʃɛŋ1]
 NK [tʃɛŋ1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tʃɛŋ1]; XS [tʃən1]; QN [tʃin1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
 [tsən1]
 OPH *tʃin1 CNH *tʃin1

zhǐ 指 QYS tʃi: CDC *ci3/EC *ciyx (kyiyx)
 BMH [chí]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tʃí3]; SX [tʃí3]; LF [tʃí3]; LZ [tʃí3]; SHT [tsi3]
 HY [tsɿ3 ~ tsie3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃɿ3]; XC [tʃɿ3]
 CT [tʃí3]; WP [tsɿ5 ~ tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tʃí3]; LC2 [tʃí3]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tʃɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tʃi3]; ND2 [tʃi1]; ND3 [tʃi3 ~ tsi3]
 OPH *tʃi3 CNH *tʃi3

zhòu 晝 QYS tʃəu- CDC *cieu5/EC *truh
 BMH [chiù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃu5]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [tsiu5]
 HY [tsiu5]; XY [tsiu5]; DB [tsiu5]; YL [tʃəu5]; XC [tʃəu5]

¹⁸ Such a step was in fact already anticipated by O'Connor himself (1976: 61), though he did not actually implement it in his paper.

CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tse5]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tɕiu5]; LC1 [tʃeu5]; LC2 [tʃɐu5]
NK [tɕiu5]; AY [tɕu5]; SY [tɕiu2]; XS [tʃu5]; QN [tɕiu5]; ND1 [tseu5]; ND2 [tsəu5]; ND3
[tsəu5]
OPH *tʃiu5 CNH *tʃieu5

In Wǔpíng, *tʃ- hardens to t- before modern final -u (< *-iu), e.g.,

zhū 珠 QYS tʃju CDC *ciu1/EC *to
BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsy1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]
CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃyɛ1 ~ tʃvɛ1]†
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tɕy1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tʃu1 CNH *tʃiu1
†Cf. FJFYZ: [tʃyɛ1].

zhǔ 煮 QYS tʃjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃiue3]; LC2 [tʃye3]
NK [tse3]; AY [tse3]; SY [tse3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tɕie3]; ND2 [tɕie3]; ND3 [tsie3]
[OPH *tʃu3] CNH *tʃiu3/*tʃie3

In Liánchéng *tʃ- velarizes to k- before the finals *-uon (> -ue), *-iun (> -ueŋ), and *iui, (>Liánchéng-1 -ui and Liánchéng-2 -vi). Examples are:

zhuān 磚 QYS tʃjwǎn CDC *cion1/EC *ton
BMH [chon]; MX [tsɔn1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃon1]; SHT [tsɔn1]
HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tsɔn1]; YL [tʃon1]; XC [tʃuan1]
CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsueŋ1 ~ tseŋ1]; YD [tsen1]; SH [tsuẽ1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]
NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsɔ̃1]; SY [tsuɔ̃1]; XS [tʃon1]; QN [tsɔn1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3
[tsuan1]
[OPH *tʃon1] CNH *tʃuon1

zhǔn 准 QYS tǎjwen: CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx
 BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʃun3]; XC [tʃuən3]
 CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tʃeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃeŋ3]; LC1 [kueŋ3]; LC2 [kueŋ3]
 NK [tʃeŋ3]; AY [tsən3]; SY [tʃeŋ3]; XS [tʃən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3
 [tsun3]
 [OPH *tʃun3] CNH *tʃiun3
 Cf. Wēngyuán [tsiun3].

zuǐ 嘴 QYS tsjwe: CDC *tsui3/EC —
 BMH [tsúi ~ chòì]; MX [tsui3w ~ tsoi5b]; HL [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; SX [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; LF [tʃoi5 ~
 tsui3]; LZ [tʃui3]; SHT [tsoi3]
 HY [tsuai5]; XY [tsuai5]; DB [tsoi5]; YL [tsoi5 ~ tsei3]; XC [tsoi5]
 CT [tʃue5]; WP [tse3 ~ tsi5]; YD [tsei3]; SH [tsue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]
 NK [tsue5]; AY [tsue5]; SY [tʃey2]; XS [tʃoi5]; QN [tsoi5 ~ tsui3]; ND1 [tsoe5]; ND2 [tsuei5];
 ND3 [tsuai5]
 [OPH *tʃoi3] CNH *tʃoi5 ~ *tʃoi3/L *tsui3

Two entirely different etyma for “mouth” are represented in this set. The first, which has variants in Tones 5 and 3, is the popular, autochthonous word. Only the other, which is literary in register, can validly be associated with the graph 嘴. The Liánchéng-2 form derives from earlier *tʃui5, which appears to be a blend formed on *tʃoi5 and *tsui3.

2.4.2 CNH *tʃ’-

This initial parallels its unaspirated counterpart in most respects. Basic examples are:

chē 車 QYS tshja CDC *chia1/EC *cha (kha)
 BMH [chha]; MX [ts’a1]; HL [tʃ’a1]; SX [tʃ’a1]; LF [tʃ’a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts’a1]
 HY [ts’a1]; XY [ts’a1]; DB [ts’a1]; YL [tʃ’a1]; XC [tʃ’a1]
 CT [tʃ’a1]; WP [tsha1]; YD [ts’a1]; SH [tsha1]; LC1 [tʃ’o1]; LC2 [tʃ’o1]

NK [ts'a1]; AY [ts'a1]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [tɕ'a1]; QN [ts'a1]; ND1 [ts'a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'a1]
OPH *tɕ'a1 CNH *tɕ'ia1
Cf. Qīngliú: [tɕ'io1].

chū 出 QYS tshjwet CDC *chiut7/EC *thut
BMH [chhut]; MX [ts'ut7]; HL [tɕ'ut7]; SX [tɕ'ut7]; LF [tɕ'ut7]; LZ [tɕhut7]; SHT [ts'ut7]
HY [ts'ut7]; XY [ts'ut7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'ueiʔ7]; XC [tɕ'uʔ7]
CT [tɕ'e2]; WP [tsheʔ7]; YD [ts'ut7]; SH [tsheiʔ7]; LC1 [tɕ'eu6]; LC2 [tɕ'eu6 ~ tɕ'eu5]
NK [ts'oæ7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'uo5]; XS [tɕ'uit7]; QN [ts'uiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uit7]; ND2 [ts'ut7];
ND3 [ts'ut7]
OPH *tɕ'ut7 CNH *tɕ'iut7
Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iut7.

chóng 蟲 QYS djung CDC *jiung2/EC *drung
BMH [chhûng]; MX [ts'un2]; HL [tɕ'un2]; SX [tɕ'un2]; LF [tɕ'un2]; LZ [tɕhun2]; SHT [ts'un2]
HY [ts'on2]†; XY [ts'on2]; DB [ts'un2]; YL [tɕ'un2]; XC [tɕ'un2]
CT [tɕ'on2]; WP [tshun2]; YD [ts'un2]; SH [tshən2]; LC1 [tɕ'on2]; LC2 [tɕ'ən2]
NK [ts'ən2]; AY [ts'ən2]; SY [ts'ən2]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [ts'un2]; ND1 [ts'un2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'un2]
OPH *tɕ'ung2 CNH *tɕ'iu2
†The source writes initial tɕ-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists
in this dialect.
Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iu2.

zhí 直 QYS djək CDC *jik8/EC *drik
BMH [chhít]; MX [ts'ət8]; HL [tɕ'it8]; SX [tɕ'it8]; LF [tɕ'it8]; LZ [tɕhit8]; SHT [ts'it8]
HY [—]; XY [ts'it8]; DB [ts'it8]; YL [tɕ'eiʔ8]; XC [tɕ'eʔ8]
CT [tɕ'i6]; WP [tshiʔ8 ~ tshɛʔ8]; YD [ts'iʔ8]; SH [tsheiʔ8]; LC1 [tɕ'i5]; LC2 [tɕhɿ5]
NK [ts'ə1]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [tɕ'ɿ8]; QN [ts'ɿ8]; ND1 [ts'ək8]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
[ts'ək8]

OPH *tš'it8 CNH *tš'ik8

Hardening in Wǔpíng occurs as expected, e.g.,

chú 廚 QYS dju CDC *jiu2/EC *dro
 BMH [chhû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃ'u2]; SX [tʃ'u2]; LF [tʃ'u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [ts'u2]
 HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [tɕ'u2]; XC [tɕ'u2]
 CT [tʃ'u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃue2]
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [tɕ'y2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [ts'u2]; ND3
 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *tš'u2] CNH *tš'iu2

Examples of velarization in Liánchéng are:

chuān 穿 QYS tshjwän CDC *chion1/EC *thon
 BMH [chhon]; MX [ts'ɔn1]; HL [tʃ'on5]; SX [tʃ'on5]; LF [tʃ'on5]; LZ [tʃhɔn1]; SHT [ts'ɔn1]
 HY [ts'uan1]; XY [ts'uan1]; DB [ts'ɔn1]; YL [tɕ'ɔn1]; XC [tɕ'uan1]
 CT [tʃ'uj1]; WP [tshueŋ5]; YD [ts'en1]; SH [tshueŋ1]; LC1 [k'ue1]; LC2 [k'ue1]
 NK [ts'oẽ1]; AY [ts'õ1]; SY [ts'uõ1]; XS [tɕ'ɔn1]; QN [ts'ɔn1]; ND1 [ts'oen1]; ND2 [ts'uon1];
 ND3 [ts'uan1]
 [OPH *tš'on1~tš'on5] CNH *tš'uon1/*tš'uon5

chūn 春 QYS tshjuen CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
 BMH [chhun]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [tʃ'un1]; SX [tʃ'un1]; LF [tʃ'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
 HY [ts'un1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [tɕ'un1]; XC [tɕ'uən1]
 CT [tʃ'ej1]; WP [tshen1 ~ tshin1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tshein1]; LC1 [k'ueŋ1]; LC2 [k'ueŋ1]
 NK [tɕ'yn1]; AY [ts'əŋ1]; SY [tɕ'yŋ1]; XS [tɕ'ən1]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ts'un1]; ND2 [ts'un1];
 ND3 [ts'un1]
 OPH *tš'un1 CNH *tš'iun1
 Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iun1.

chuī 吹 QYS tshjwe CDC *chui1/EC *thoy
 BMH [chhoi ~ chhui]; MX [ts'oi1]; HL [tʃ'oi1w ~ tʃ'ui1b]; SX [tʃ'oi1]; LF [tʃ'oi1]; LZ [tʃhui1];
 SHT [ts'ui2]
 HY [ts'ui1]; XY [ts'ue1]; DB [ts'ei1]; YL [tɕ'uei1]; XC [tɕ'uei1]
 CT [tʃ'ue1]; WP [tshe1]; YD [ts'ei1]; SH [tshe1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [k'vi1]
 NK [tɕ'y1]; AY [ts'e1]; SY [tɕ'y1]; XS [tɕ'i1]; QN [ts'ui1]; ND1 [ts'ui1]; ND2 [ts'ui1]; ND3
 [ts'ui1]
 [OPH *tʃ'oi1] CNH *tʃ'ui1/L *tʃ'oi1
 Cf. Wēngyuán [ts'ui1].

2.4.3 CNH *ñ-

This initial occurs exclusively before the vowel *i in the Common Neo-Hakka system, engendering several other peculiarities as well. The first of these is that *ñ- is in near complementary distribution with *n-. However several minimal or near-minimal pairs do occur. Compare the following groups of contrasting sets:

A. CNH *ñ- Initial Sets

yí 疑 QYS ngjï CDC *ngi2/EC *ngi
 BMH [nyĩ]; MX [ɲi2]; HL [ɲi2]; SX [ɲi2]; LF [ɲi2]; LZ [ɲgi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲi2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [ɲi2]; XC [ɲi2]
 CT [ɲi2]; WP [—]; YD [hɲ2b ~ ɲi2w]; SH [i2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ɲi2]; AY [ɲi2]; SY [ɲi2]; XS [ɲi2]; QN [ɲi2]; ND1 [ɲi2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ɲi2]
 OPH *ɲi2 CNH *ñi2
 †FJFYZ: [ɲi2].

In Yǒngdīng the second form cited here is identified as being of literary register, while the corresponding báifó form is the syllabic nasal. In Shàngháng we find another wén form, probably derivable from earlier *i2. Comparing the set for yì 義 below, we can then discern in the present case three lexical layers, for which the reconstructed forms for this etymon would be *ɲ2/*ñi2/*i2, with the first probably being the oldest and the third the latest.

ěr 耳 QYS nízi: CDC *^hni4/EC *nix

BMH [nyí]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni3]; SX [ni3]; LF [nji3]; LZ [ɲgi3]; SHT [ɲi3]

HY [ɲi3]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni3]

CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ m3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [m3]; LC1 [ɲi3]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ɲ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ɜ3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni1 ~ ə3]

OPH *_ni3 CNH *_ɲ3/L *_ɲi3

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ə3.

yì 義 QYS ngje-3 CDC *ngi6/EC *ngayh

BMH [nyì]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ɲgi5]; SHT [—]

HY [ɲi6]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ɲi5 ~ hɲ5]; SH [ɲ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [ni6]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni6]

[OPH *_ni6] CNH *_ɲ6/*_ɲi6

èr 二 QYS nízi- CDC *^hni6/EC *niyh

BMH [nyì]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ɲgi5]; SHT [ɲi5]

HY [ɲi6]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni5 ~ ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni5]

CT [ni6]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3 ~ ɲ3 ~ hɲ5]; SH [m3 ~ hɲ3]; LC1 [ɲi6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ni5]; AY [ɲ6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [ɜ6 ~ ni6]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [ni6]

OPH *_ni6 CNH *_ɲ6/*_ɲi6

The first Quánnán form appears to be a borrowing of a northern form in [ə]. The reconstructed form is supported exclusively by dialects where Common Neo-Hakka Tone 6 became modern Tone 3. Our supposition is that Tone 6 was the origin of the modern tones in these cases.

B. CNH *n- Initial Sets

ní 泥 QYS niei CDC *^hni2/EC *^hniy

BMH [ní ~ nî ~ nâi]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];

LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]

HY [niɛ2]; XY [nɐi2]; DB [nɛ2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lei2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [nɛ2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
[OPH *nai2] CNH *niai2/L *ni2

ní 尼 QYS nī CDC *ni2/EC *nriy
BMH [nī]; MX [ni2]; HL [ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nei2 ~ lei2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ni2]; WP [ni2]; YD [—]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [ni2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni2] CNH *ni2

The finals of the Yǐlǒng forms are anomalous. It is possible that they are analogical back formations from ní 泥.

nǐ 你 QYS nī: CDC *ni4; rǔ 汝 CDC *nhie4/EC *nax
BMH [nī† ~ nī†† ~ nyī††]; MX [ni3w ~ ɲ2b]; HL [ni2 ~ ɲi2]; SX [ɲi2]; LF [ni1 ~ ɲi2]; LZ
[ʔgi2b ~ li3w]; SHT [ɲi2]
HY [ɲi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2w ~ ɲi2b]; YL [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ni1]; WP [xɲ2 ~ xm2]; YD [ɲi2 ~ hn2 (~ hɛn2)]; SH [ɲ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]‡
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2 ~ ɲ2]; SY [ni1]; XS [ni1]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [niɛ1]; ND2 [nie1 ~ nie2]; ND3
[nie1]
[OPH ?] CNH *ɲ2 ~ *ɲ3//*ñi2//*ni1//L *ni3

†Character reading.

††Modern second person pronouns. All these forms are written in the source as 爾.

‡FJFYZ: [ɲi1].

Our other sources tend to conflate various second person pronominal forms under the Chinese graph 你. The two Wǔpíng words are free variant derivatives of the Tone 2 alternate pronunciation of the first reconstruction. The second Yǒngdīng form descends from the same Tone 2 alternate, and the third Yǒngdīng form appears to be a deformed variant of the second. The three Níngdū forms may derive from an earlier *nie2 (~ *nie3), which is Gàn-like in

appearance and may have been borrowed from that family. Only the third reconstruction, which is literary in register, can be directly related to the written form 你. For discussion of the Hakka second person pronouns, cf. also Chapter V, §5.2.73.

nì 膩 QYS ɲi- CDC *ni6/EC *nriyh
 BMH [nyì ~ nyè]; MX [ni3]; HL [ɲi6]; SX [ɲi5]; LF [—]; LZ [li5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [nɛ3]; YL [ɲi5]; XC [ni5]
 CT [ni5]; WP [ni3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [—]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ni6/*ɲi6

The tone of the Méixiàn form and the final of the Diànbái form are irregular. It is not possible to determine whether O'Connor would have reconstructed OPH *ɲ₁ or *ɲ₂ for this word, since the form is not included in Henne (1964).

To begin, we note here that all examples in the two groups involve syllables of the type *Nasal + *i. No minimal pairs exist in the system for other syllable types. The second significant point is that all sets in the two groups involve to one extent or another either words of high stylistic register, such as yí 疑 “doubt” and ní 尼,¹⁹ or variant pronunciations and/or character readings for common or popular words, such as yǐ 蟻 “ant” and ní 泥 “mud”. And, finally, we note that Lìzhīzhuāng, for which our data are very copious, is an unfailing bellwether for the distinction between *ɲ- and *n-. To wit, the former will be realized as modern ɲg- there, and the latter as l-. This is paralleled in many sets by Hǎilù and Lùfēng, which will often show ɲ- in the former case and n- in the latter. Thus, we conclude that in the Common Neo-Hakka system as a whole, *ɲ- and *n- are phonemically distinct entities, though it is possible that in Primitive Neo-Hakka this was not yet so and that the phonemic contrast we now see, as reflected in the modern dialects, is due to borrowing of new material in later periods.

¹⁹ This syllable is a transcriptional character found in loan compounds such as nígū 尼姑 “Buddhist nun”, from the final syllable of the Indic word for “nun” (Pali: bhikkhunī, Sanskrit: bhikṣuṇī) plus gū 姑 “maiden, girl”.

We have noted above that O'Connor reconstructs two palatal nasals, * η_1 and * η_2 for Proto-Hakka. We must now consider these reconstructions in detail. To begin, let us examine a few cases of both.

A. O'Connor Proto-Hakka * η_1 (> Sathewkok η -)²⁰

rè 熱 QYS $\acute{n}zj\grave{a}t$ CDC * $\eta_{hiat}8/EC$ * η_{at}
 BMH [nyét]; MX [$\eta_{iat}8$]; HL [$\eta_{iet}8$]; SX [$\eta_{iet}8$]; LF [$\eta_{iat}8$]; LZ [$\eta_{get}8$]; SHT [—]
 HY [$\eta_{iat}8$]; XY [$\eta_{iat}8$]; DB [$\eta_{iat}8$]; YL [$\eta_{ie}78$]; XC [$\eta_{ie}78$]
 CT [ne6]; WP [$\eta_{ie}78$]; YD [$\eta_{ie}78$]; SH [$\eta_{ie}78$]; LC1 [η_{i5}]; LC2 [η_{i5}]
 NK [η_{ie5}]; AY [η_{i31}]; SY [η_{ie5}]; XS [$\eta_{iet}8$]; QN [$\eta_{ie}78$]; ND1 [$\eta_{ait}8$]; ND2 [$\eta_{at}8$]; ND3 [$\eta_{at}8$]
 OPH * $\eta_{i}iat8$ CNH * $\eta_{iat}8$

rén 人 QYS $\acute{n}zjen$ CDC * $\eta_{hin}2/EC$ * η_{in}
 BMH [nyín]; MX [$\eta_{in}2$]; HL [$\eta_{in}2$]; SX [$\eta_{in}2$]; LF [$\eta_{in}2$]; LZ [$\eta_{gin}2$]; SHT [$\eta_{in}2$]
 HY [$\eta_{in}2$]; XY [$\eta_{in}2$]; DB [$\eta_{ən}2$]; YL [$\eta_{in}2$]; XC [$\eta_{in}2$]
 CT [ne η 2]; WP [$\eta_{in}2$]; YD [$\eta_{in}2$]; SH [$\eta_{in}2$]; LC1 [$\eta_{ie\eta}2$]; LC2 [$\eta_{ie\eta}2 \sim ie\eta 2$]
 NK [$\eta_{in}2$]; AY [$\eta_{iə\eta}2$]; SY [$\eta_{in}2 \sim j_{in}2$]; XS [$\eta_{in}2$]; QN [$\eta_{in}2$]; ND1 [$\eta_{ən}2$]; ND2 [$\eta_{ən}2b \sim in2w$]; ND3 [$\eta_{ən}2 \sim in2$]
 OPH * $\eta_{i}in2$ CNH * $\eta_{in}2/L in2$

rěn 忍 QYS $\acute{n}zjen$ CDC * $\eta_{hin}4/EC$ * η_{nunx}
 BMH [nyun ~ nyún†]; MX [$\eta_{iun}1$]; HL [$\eta_{iun}1$]; SX [$\eta_{iun}1$]; LF [$\eta_{iun}1$]; LZ [$\eta_{giun}3$]; SHT [—]
 HY [$\eta_{in}5$]; XY [$\eta_{yn}1$]; DB [$\eta_{ən}1$]; YL [$\eta_{in}3$]; XC [$\eta_{in}3$]
 CT [ne η 1]; WP [$\eta_{in}1$]; YD [$\eta_{in}1$ ††]; SH [$\eta_{in}1$]; LC1 [$\eta_{ie\eta}1$]; LC2 [—]
 NK [$\eta_{in}5$]; AY [$\eta_{iə\eta}3$]; SY [$\eta_{in}3$]; XS [$\eta_{in}3$]; QN [$\eta_{in}1$]; ND1 [$\eta_{ən}3$]; ND2 [$\eta_{ən}3$]; ND3 [$\eta_{ən}3$]
 OPH * $\eta_{i}iun1$ CNH * $\eta_{iun}1/*\eta_{iun}3/L * \eta_{in}1/*\eta_{in}3$

²⁰ Sathewkok (沙頭角) is the name used by Henne (1964) to designate the Hakka dialect reported in his article.

†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.

††Form after Lán (1999).

ròu 肉 QYS ńźjuk CDC *^hnhiuk8/EC *nuk
 BMH [nyuk]; MX [ɲiuk7]; HL [ɲiuk7]; SX [ɲiuk7]; LF [ɲiuk7]; LZ [ɲgiuk7]; SHT [ɲiuk7]
 HY [ɲyok7 ~ nyok8]†; XY [ɲiuk7]; DB [ɲiuk7]; YL [ɲiəuʔ7]; XC [niuk7]
 CT [nieu2 ~ niə2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [ɲiuʔ7]; SH [ɲiəʔ]; LC1 [ɲieu6]; LC2 [ɲio6 ~ ɲieu5]
 NK [niu8]; AY [nio6w ~ ɲ6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7];
 ND3 [nuk7 ~ niuk7]
 OPH *^hniuk7 CNH *^hniuk7/*^hniuk8

†Second form used specifically in the compound [nyok8 tsy1] 肉豬 “castrated hog”. It is the first form which normally means “meat” in this dialect.

B. O’Connor Proto-Hakka *^hn₂ (> Shathewkok n-)

nián 黏 QYS ɲjäm CDC *niam/EC *nrem
 BMH [nyâm]; MX [ɲiam2]; HL [ɲiam2]; SX [ɲiam2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [niam1]
 HY [ɲiam1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [niɛn1]
 CT [—]; WP [niaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [niã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niẽ2]; AY [niã2]; SY [—]; XS [niɛn2]; QN [—]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
 [OPH *^hn₂iam2] CNH *^hniam2/*^hniam1

niàn 念 QYS niem- CDC *niam6/EC *^hnimh
 BMH [nyàm]; MX [ɲiam5]; HL [ɲiam6]; SX [ɲiam5]; LF [ɲiam6]; LZ [ɲgiam5]; SHT [ɲɛn2]
 HY [ɲiam6]; XY [ɲian3]; DB [ɲian3]; YL [ɲiɛn5]; XC [niɛn5]
 CT [niŋ6]; WP [niaŋ6]; YD [ɲiaŋ5]; SH [niã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niẽ5]; AY [niã6]; SY [niẽ5]; XS [niɛn5]; QN [niam3 ~ niam5]; ND1 [nam6]; ND2 [nam6];
 ND3 [nam6]
 OPH *^hn₂iam6 CNH *^hniam6

niáng 娘 QYS n̄jang CDC *niong2/EC —
 BMH [nyôŋ]; MX [n̄ioŋ2]; HL [n̄ioŋ2]; SX [n̄ioŋ2]; LF [n̄ioŋ2]; LZ [ⁿgiŋ2]; SHT [ŋioŋ2]
 HY [nyɔŋ2]; XY [n̄ioŋ2]; DB [n̄ioŋ2]; YL [n̄ioŋ2]; XC [n̄ioŋ2]
 CT [n̄ioŋ2]; WP [n̄ioŋ2]; YD [n̄ioŋ2]; SH [n̄ioŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [niʂ2]; AY [n̄ioŋ2]; SY [niʂ2]; XS [n̄ioŋ2]; QN [n̄ioŋ2]; ND1 [n̄ioŋ2 ~ nɔŋ2]; ND2 [—];
 ND3 [nɔŋ2]
 OPH *n̄2iong2 CNH *ñioŋ2
 †FJFYZ: [n̄ioŋ2].

ráo 饒 QYS n̄zjäu CDC *nhiau2/EC *new
 BMH [nyâu]; MX [n̄iau2]; HL [n̄iau2]; SX [n̄ieu2]; LF [n̄iau2]; LZ [ⁿgiau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ŋiau2]; XY [n̄iau2]; DB [n̄iau2]; YL [n̄iau2]; XC [zäu2]
 CT [—]; WP [niɔ2]; YD [ŋieu2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niɔ2]; AY [niɔ2]; SY [niɔ2]; XS [niau2]; QN [niau2]; ND1 [nau2]; ND2 [nau2]; ND3
 [nau2]
 OPH *n̄2iau2 CNH *ñiau2

From these examples we see that the distinction between the two palatal nasals in O'Connor's system is based directly and exclusively on a correspondence pattern found in his Shathewkok data (Henne 1964). He did not find evidence for it at the other points he surveyed. His comparative methodology was sound and his conclusions reasonable, based on the material available to him at the time he was working. But today, with the benefit hindsight and much more data than O'Connor had, we can bring the problem into better focus. In short, there does not appear to be any new evidence which supports the distinction between Proto-Hakka *n̄₁ and *n̄₂. Newer data from various areas do not show it in a systematic way, even those from the New Territories dialects (Sagart 1982; Zhāng & Zhuāng 2003), to which Henne's Shathewkok belongs. And it does not correspond to any distinction found in other Chinese dialect families or in traditional textual materials such as rime books, etc. In other words, if it is valid, it is an anomaly, both in Hakka and in general Chinese. Our suspicion here is that what Henne recorded was probably dialect mixture of some sort, where his informants read some words with initial

n- (rather less common in his data as a whole) and most others with ŋ-. For this reason, we shall posit a single Common Neo-Hakka initial, *ñ-, in place of O'Connor's *n₁ and *n₂.

Finally, we should note that *ñ- is in essential complementary distribution with *ŋ- (see §2.5.3 below) in Common Neo-Hakka, with the former always occurring before *i and the latter nearly always elsewhere.²¹ (CNH *ŋ- does occur before *i in several variant readings, but true minimal pairs are lacking in the system.)

2.4.4 CNH *ʃ-

This initial is the fricative correlate of our postalveolar affricates. The following are representative examples:

shāo 燒 QYS śjäu CDC *shiau1/EC *θew
 BMH [shau]; MX [sau1]; HL [ʃau1]; SX [ʃeu1]; LF [ʃau1]; LZ [ʃau1]; SHT [sau1]
 HY [siau1]; XY [sau1]; DB [sau1]; YL [ʃau1]; XC [ʃau1]
 CT [ʃɔ1]; WP [sɔ1]; YD [seu1]; SH [sɔ1]; LC1 [ʃɔ1]; LC2 [ʃɔ1 ~ ʃew1]
 NK [sɔ1]; AY [sɔ1]; SY [sɔ1]; XS [ʃau1]; QN [sau1]; ND1 [sau1]; ND2 [sau1]; ND3 [sau1]
 OPH *ʃau1 CNH *ʃiau1

shǒu 手 QYS śjəu: CDC *shieu3/EC *θux
 BMH [shiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃu3]; SX [ʃu3]; LF [ʃiu3]; LZ [ʃiu3]; SHT [siu3]
 HY [siu3]; XY [siu3]; DB [siu3]; YL [ʃəu3]; XC [ʃəu3]
 CT [ʃeu3]; WP [sɛ3]; YD [siu3]; SH [ɛiu3]; LC1 [ʃeu3]; LC2 [ʃew3]
 NK [ɛiu3]; AY [ɛu3]; SY [ɛiu3]; XS [ʃu3]; QN [ɛiu3]; ND1 [seu3]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu3]
 OPH *ʃiu3 CNH *ʃieu3

²¹ This configuration in Hakka was in fact pointed long ago by Hashimoto (1973). Cf. also Norman (1988a: 224).

shí 石 QYS zjāk CDC *zhiak8/EC *dak
 BMH [shák]; MX [sak8]; HL [jak8]; SX [jak8]; LF [jak8]; LZ [jak8]; SHT [sak8]
 HY [sak8]; XY [sak8]; DB [sək8]; YL [ʂaʔ8]; XC [ʂaʔ8]
 CT [ja6]; WP [saʔ8]; YD [saʔ8]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [fo5]; LC2 [fo5]
 NK [sa1]; AY [sa6]; SY [sa5]; XS [ʂak8]; QN [saʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]
 OPH *ʂak8 CNH *ʂiak8
 Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [ja6]

Wǔpíng hardening is not possible for CNH *ʂ-, because this process affects only affricates.
 Instead, *ʂ- dentilabializes to f- before CNH *-iu. The following are examples:

shū 書 QYS sjwo CDC *shiel (~ *shiu1)/EC *θa
 BMH [shu]; MX [su1w ~ ts'u1b]; HL [fu1]; SX [fu1]; LF [fu1]; LZ [fu1]; SHT [su1]
 HY [sy1]; XY [su1]; DB [su1]; YL [ʂu1]; XC [ʂu1]
 CT [fu1]; WP [fu1]; YD [si1]; SH [su1]; LC1 [fiue1]; LC2 [fyɛ1]†
 NK [su1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [ey1]; XS [ʂu1]; QN [su1]; ND1 [ɛiɛ1]; ND2 [ɛiɛ1]; ND3 [sie1]
 [OPH *ʂu1] CNH *ʂiu1
 †Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [fyɛ1].

The Níngdū forms reflect an earlier *ʂiel which may have arisen through contact with Gàn dialects.

shù 樹 QYS zju- “tree” CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh
 BMH [shù]; MX [su5]; HL [fu6]; SX [fu6]; LF [fu6]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [su5]
 HY [sy6]; XY [sy3]; DB [si3]; YL [ʂu3]; XC [ʂu5]
 CT [fu6]; WP [fu5]; YD [si5]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fyɛ6]†
 NK [su5 ~ tɛ'y5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [tɛ'y4]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [su6]; ND1 [su6]; ND2 [su6]; ND3 [su6]
 [OPH *ʂu6] CNH *ʂiu6/*tʂ'iu6
 † Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [fue5 ~ fyɛ5].

In lieu of velarization, CNH *ʂ- in Liánchéng-1 and 2 becomes f- in the presence of some of the typically velarizing finals in these dialects, as well as in certain other environments. Examples are:

chuán 船 QYS dǎjwǎn CDC *jion2/EC *ðon
 BMH [shôn]; MX [sɔn2]; HL [ʃon2]; SX [ʃon2]; LF [ʃon2]; LZ [ʃon2]; SHT [sɔn2]
 HY [suan2]; XY [suan2]; DB [sɔn2]; YL [tɕʰon2]; XC [tɕʰuan2]
 CT [ʃuŋ2]; WP [suɛŋ2 ~ sɛŋ2]; YD [sɛn2]; SH [suẽ2]; LC1 [fe2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [soẽ2]; AY [sõ2]; SY [suõ2]; XS [ɕon2]; QN [sɔn2]; ND1 [soɛn2]; ND2 [suon2]; ND3
 [suan2]
 [OPH *ʃon2] CNH *ʃuon2
 Yílǒng and Xīchāng show an affricate initial form which does not occur at other points. It is
 perhaps a Mandarin loan.

chún 唇、脣 QYS dǎjueŋ CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *ðun
 BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃun2]; SX [ʃun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [sun2]
 HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [sɔn2]; YL [sun2]†; XC [—]
 CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [fiŋ2]††; SH [seŋ2]; LC1 [feŋ2]; LC2 [feŋ2]
 NK [ɛiŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɛiŋ2]; XS [ɕon2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [sun2]; ND2 [sɔn2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ʃun2] CNH *ʃiun2
 †Form occurs only in the glossary, whose informant is reported by the source as having had no
 retroflexes in his language.
 ††Used in the special sense “edge or bank (of a body of water)”.
 Cf. Wēngyuán: siun2.

shú, shóu 熟 QYS zǎjuk CDC *zhiuk8/EC *duk
 BMH [shúk]; MX [suk8]; HL [ʃuk8]; SX [ʃuk8]; LF [ʃuk8]; LZ [ʃuk8]; SHT [suk8]
 HY [sok8]; XY [souʔ8]; DB [suk8]; YL [ɕəuʔ8 ~ səuʔ8 ~ suʔ8]; XC [ɕuʔ8]
 CT [ʃu6]; WP [suʔ8]; YD [suʔ8]; SH [səʔ8]; LC1 [feu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [su1]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [su5]; XS [ɕuk8]; QN [suʔ8]; ND1 [suk8]; ND2 [suk8]; ND3 [suk8]
 [OPH *ʃuk8] CNH *ʃiuk8
 Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk8].

shuì 睡 QYS źjwe- CDC *zhui6/EC *doyh
BMH [shòì]; MX [soi5]; HL [foi6]; SX [foi5]; LF [foi6]; LZ [foi5]; SHT [soi5]
HY [—]; XY [suai5]; DB [soi5]; YL [şoi3]; XC [şoi5]
CT [fue6]; WP [se3]; YD [soi5 ~ fei3]; SH [fei3]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [fi6]
NK [sue5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [şi5]; QN [sui6]; ND1 [sui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *şoi6 CNH *şoi6/*şui6

Our material bearing on this phenomenon is rather scant, making it difficult to give a comprehensive characterization of the process. For example, in some sets Yǒngdìng agrees with Liánchéng, while in others it does not. And, interestingly in the word shuì 睡 “sleep” Yǒngdìng shows competing variants, one of which shows dentilabialization while the other does not. Compare also the following set:

shuǐ 水 QYS świ: CDC *shui3/EC *θuyx
BMH [shúi]; MX [sui3]; HL [fui3]; SX [fui3]; LF [fui3]; LZ [fui3]; SHT [sui3]
HY [sui3]; XY [sui3]; DB [sei3]; YL [şuei3]; XC [şuei3]
CT [fue3]; WP [fi3b]; YD [fi3]; SH [fi3]; LC1 [fe3]; LC2 [fye3]
NK [ey3]; AY [se3]; SY [ey3]; XS [şi3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui3]; ND2 [sui3]; ND3 [sui3]
OPH *şui3 CNH *şui3
Cf. Wēngyuán [siui3].

Here we might have expected the Liánchéng initials to dentilabialize, but in fact it is Wǔpíng, Yǒngdìng, and Shàngháng that evince this process. How are we to account for these vagaries? For the nonce our hypothesis is that there was at some point a broader *dentilabializing area* which was subsequently eroded through borrowing from non-dentilabializing dialects. The result is the odd mixture of forms we find in our data today. Additionally, with regard to the two Liánchéng varieties we shall hazard a further speculation. To wit, perhaps Liánchéng really did originally undergo velarization in cases seen here, in which earlier *ş- became a later *h-. Then, this guttural fricative underwent regular dentilabialization in the presence of following *u, which was subsequently itself lost (cf. §2.5.4 below). It is a possibility that can be considered in future studies.

Finally, we should note that CNH *š- occurs together with *tš'- in numerous doublet pairs. The following are examples:²²

cháng 常 QYS źjang CDC *jiong2 ~ zhiong2/EC *dang
 BMH [shông]; MX [sɔŋ2]; HL [ʃɔŋ2]; SX [ʃɔŋ2]; LF [ʃɔŋ2]; LZ [ʃɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [sɔŋ2]; XY [sɔŋ2 ~ ts'ɔŋ2]; DB [sɔŋ2]; YL [ɣɔŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ2w ~ ɣɔŋ2b]
 CT [ʃɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [tshɔŋ2 ~ sɔŋ2]; LC1 [ʃɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̃2]; AY [sɔŋ2]; SY [sɔ̃2]; XS [ɣɔŋ2]; QN [sɔŋ2]; ND1 [sɔŋ2]; ND2 [sɔŋ2]; ND3 [sɔŋ2]
 [OPH *šɔŋ2] CNH *šiong2/L *tš'iong2
 Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiɔ̃2].

The medial of the second reconstruction is restored analogically.

shǔ 鼠 QYS śjwo: CDC *shie3 (~ *shiu3)/EC *θax
 BMH [chhú]; MX [ts'u3]; HL [tʃ'u3]; SX [tʃ'u3]; LF [tʃ'u3]; LZ [tʃhu3]; SHT [ts'u3]
 HY [sy3]; XY [ts'y3]; DB [si3]; YL [tɕ'u3]; XC [tɕ'u2]
 CT [ʃu3]; WP [fu5]; YD [ts'í3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃyɛ3 ~ tʃ'ye3]
 NK [ɛy3]; AY [ɛɛ3]; SY [ɛy3]; XS [tɕ'u3]; QN [su3 ~ sui3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]
 OPH *tš'u3 CNH *tš'iu3/*šiu3

The final of the Níngdū forms is irregular and enigmatic. The Ānyuǎn final is also unique in the set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *šie3

shòu 獸 QYS śjəu- CDC *shieu4/EC *θuh
 BMH [chhiù]; MX [ts'u5 ~ su5]; HL [tʃ'u5]; SX [tʃ'u5]; LF [tʃ'iu5]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [siu5]; XY [ts'iu5]; DB [ts'iu5]; YL [—]; XC [ɣəu5]
 CT [ʃeu5]; WP [tshɛ5]; YD [ts'iu3]; SH [tɕhiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu5]; AY [tɕ'u5]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [ɣu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'eu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
 [OPH *tš'iu5] CNH *tš'ieu5/*šieu5

²² The set for shù 樹 “tree” cited above also exemplifies this phenomenon.

The large number of such parallel pairs indicates the presence of two lexical layers in the system, which must ultimately be seriated and chronologized.

2.5 The Gutturals

2.5.1 CNH *k-

Examples of this initial before non-high front vowels are:

gāo 高 QYS kâu CDC *kou1/EC *'kaw
BMH [kau]; MX [kau1]; HL [ko1]; SX [ko1]; LF [ko1]; LZ [kau1]; SHT [kau1]
HY [kau1]; XY [kɔ1]; DB [ko1]; YL [kəu1]; XC [kau1]
CT [kɔ1]; WP [kɔ1]; YD [kou1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kɔ1]
NK [kɔ1]; AY [kɔ1]; SY [kɔ1]; XS [kau1]; QN [kau1]; ND1 [kau1]; ND2 [kau1]; ND3 [kau1]
OPH *kou1 CNH *kou1

gé 格 QYS kək CDC *kak7/EC *'kak
BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [ket7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [kɛʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5 ~ ke5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7b
~ kək7w]; ND3 [kək7 ~ kak7]
[OPH *kak7] CNH *kak7/L *kek7

gōng 公 QYS kung CDC *kung1/EC *'kong
BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [koŋ1]; LC2 [kəŋ1]
NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3
[kuŋ1]

[OPH *kung1] CNH *kuŋ1

Sets where *k- is followed by the high front vowel *i are of two types. The first includes syllables having absolute final *-i. Two examples are:

jǐ 幾 QYS kjei: CDC *ki3/EC *kuyx ~ *kiyx
 BMH [kí]; MX [ki3]; HL [ki3]; SX [ki3]; LF [ki3]; LZ [ki3]; SHT [ki3]
 HY [ki3]; XY [ki3]; DB [ki3]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
 CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [ki3 ~ kiʔ7]; SH [tei3 ~ teiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ki3]
 NK [tei3]; AY [tei3]; SY [tei3]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsi3]
 [OPH *ki3] CNH *ki3

jì 寄 QYS kje-3 CDC *ki5/EC *kayh
 BMH [kì]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
 CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [ki5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
 [OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

Here we see that a broad set of dialects preserves original *k- as modern k-. Chángtīng shifts *k- to alveopalatal tʃ-, while Wǔpíng and Níngdū-3 change it to modern ts-. The remaining “shift dialects” undergo simple palatalization to prepalatal tɕ-.

The second type comprises syllables where medial *i is followed by some other element, i.e., a vowel, an obstruent, or a sonorant. The following sets exemplify this type:

jiàn 見 QYS kien- CDC *kian5/EC *kenh
 BMH [kèn ~ kièn]; MX [kian5]; HL [kian5]; SX [kian5]; LF [kian5]; LZ [ken5]; SHT [—]
 HY [kian5]; XY [kian5]; DB [kien5]; YL [teien5]; XC [teien5]
 CT [tʃiŋ5]; WP [tsien5]; YD [kien3]; SH [teiẽ5]; LC1 [ke5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [teiẽ5]; AY [tei5]; SY [teiẽ2]; XS [teien5]; QN [teien5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]
 OPH *kian5 CNH *kian5

jīn 今 QYS kjəm CDC *kim1/EC *kim
BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kin1b]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1 ~ kin1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT
[kim1]
HY [kin1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [tʃɛŋ1]; WP [tsiŋ1]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kɛŋ1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
[—]
OPH *kim1 CNH *kim1

jí 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [tɕi7]; XC [tɕiɛ7]
CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsi7]; YD [ki7]; SH [tɕi7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiɛ7]; AY [tɕi33]; SY [tɕiɛ5]; XS [tɕit7]; QN [tɕi7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3
[tsəp7]
OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

This type differs from the first one above only in that Níngdū-1 and Níngdū-2 develop modern ts- rather than tɕ-. Of particular interest is the fact that in these two Níngdū sub-varieties this change is accompanied by loss of *i. The reason for this is probably that initial ts- is precluded from occurring before the vowel [i] in these dialects. CNH *tsi- regularly yields modern tɕi- in Níngdū-1 and 2, while remaining unchanged in Níngdū-3, and we must consequently suppose that dental sibilant palatalization had already run its course at the time the *k- > ts- shift began in Níngdū-1 and 2. The result of this change would have been an impossible combination in these dialects. They resolved this syllabic incongruity not by secondary palatalization of the initial but rather by concurrently deleting the following *i when preceded another vowel, or by concurrently changing *i to a non-high front vowel otherwise.

There are occasional exceptions in the data, where *ki- yields tɕi- in Níngdū-1 and 2. The following is an example involving a common etymon:

jiào 叫 QYS kieu- CDC *kiau5/EC *'kiwh
 BMH [kiàu]; MX [kiau5]; HL [kiau5]; SX [keu5]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5]; SHT [kiau5]
 HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [tɛiau5]; XC [tɛiau5]
 CT [tʃiə5]; WP [tsiə5]; YD [kieu3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛiə5]; AY [tɛiə5]; SY [tɛiə2]; XS [tɛiau5]; QN [tɛiau5]; ND1 [tɛiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~
 tɛiau1]; ND3 [tsau5]
 OPH *kiau5 CNH *kiau5

The competing variants in Níngdū-2 suggest that irregular cases of this type are due to dialect mixture of some sort. Its exact nature remains to be determined.

Finally, sets of the following type are of interest here:

gǒu 狗 QYS kəu: CDC *keu3/EC *'kox
 BMH [kéu]; MX [keu3]; HL [keu3]; SX [keu3]; LF [keu3]; LZ [keu3]; SHT [kiu3]
 HY [kuai3]; XY [kəu3]; DB [kiɛi3]; YL [kɛ3]; XC [kəu3]
 CT [keu3]; WP [kɛ3]; YD [keu3]; SH [kə3]; LC1 [keu3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kɜ3]; AY [ku3]; SY [kio3]; XS [kəu3]; QN [keu3]; ND1 [keu3]; ND2 [kəu3]; ND3 [kəu3]
 OPH *keu3 CNH *keu3

Note that the medial vowel -i- in Shàngyóu, which has arisen secondarily due to regular changes in Common Neo-Hakka final *-eu (cf. §3.4.4 of Chapter III), does not cause palatalization of the modern velar initial. This must be because this secondary medial arose after earlier palatalization before CNH *i had spent itself.

2.5.2 CNH *k'-

Examples of this initial before non-high front vowels are:

kè 刻 QYS khək CDC *khek7/EC *'khik
 BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k'et7]; HL [k'et7]; SX [k'et7]; LF [k'et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'at7]; XY [k'et7]; DB [kiɛt7]; YL [k'ɛʔ7]; XC [k'ɛʔ7]

CT [k'e2]; WP [kheʔ7]; YD [k'εʔ7]; SH [kheʔ7 ~ kheʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ə8]; AY [k'e6]; SY [k'e5]; XS [k'εt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'ək7]; ND2 [k'ək7]; ND3 [k'ək7]
[OPH *k'et7] CNH *k'ek7

kuān 寬 QYS khuân CDC *khuon1/EC *—
BMH [khwon ~ khwan]; MX [k'ɔn1]; HL [k'on1]; SX [k'on1]; LF [k'on1]; LZ [khon1]; SHT
[—]
HY [k'uan1]; XY [k'an1]; DB [k'uon1]; YL [k'uan1]; XC [k'uan1]
CT [k'uŋ1]; WP [khuɛŋ1]; YD [k'uan1]; SH [khuã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'oẽ1]; AY [k'õ1]; SY [k'uõ1]; XS [k'ɔn1]; QN [k'ɔn1]; ND1 [k'oẽn1]; ND2 [k'uon1];
ND3 [k'uan1]
[OPH *k'on1] CNH *k'uon1

The effect of following *i on this initial parallels that observed for *k-. Examples are:

jì 倚 QYS — “to stand” CDC *gi4/EC *gay4
BMH [khi]; MX [k'i1]; HL [k'i1]; SX [k'i1]; LF [k'i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [k'i5]; XY [k'i1]; DB [k'i1]; YL [tɛ'i5]; XC [tɛ'i2]
CT [tʃ'i5?]; WP [tshi1]; YD [k'i1]; SH [tɛhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'i1]
NK [tɛ'i1]; AY [tɛ'i3]; SY [tɛ'i1]; XS [tɛ'i1]; QN [tɛ'i1]; ND1 [tɛ'i1]; ND2 [tɛ'i1]; ND3 [ts'i1]
OPH *k'i1 CNH *k'i1

qí 騎 QYS gje3 CDC *gi2/EC *gay
BMH [khi]; MX [k'i2]; HL [k'i2]; SX [k'i2]; LF [k'i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k'ia2]
HY [k'i2]; XY [k'e2]; DB [k'i2]; YL [tɛ'i2]; XC [tɛ'i2]
CT [tʃ'i2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [k'i2]; SH [tɛhi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'i2]
NK [tɛ'i2]; AY [tɛ'i2]; SY [tɛ'i2]; XS [tɛ'i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɛ'i2]; ND2 [tɛ'i2]; ND3 [ts'i2]
[OPH *k'i2] CNH *k'i2

qiàn 欠 QYS khjəm- CDC *khiam5/EC *khomh
 BMH [khiàm]; MX [k'iam5]; HL [k'iam5]; SX [k'iam5]; LF [k'iam5]; LZ [khiam5]; SHT
 [k'iam5]
 HY [hiam5]; XY [k'iam5]; DB [k'iam5]; YL [tɕ'ien5]; XC [tɕ'ien5]
 CT [tʃ'ij5]; WP [tshiaŋ5]; YD [k'iaŋ3]; SH [tɕhiã5]; LC1 [k'e5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ie5]; AY [tɕ'ia5]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [tɕ'ien5]; QN [tɕ'iam5]; ND1 [ts'am5]; ND2 [ts'am5];
 ND3 [ts'am5]
 [OPH *k'iam5] CNH *k'iam5

qín 琴 QYS gjəm CDC *gim2/EC *gim
 BMH [khím]; MX [k'im2]; HL [k'im2]; SX [k'im2]; LF [k'im2]; LZ [khim2]; SHT [k'im2]
 HY [k'im2]; XY [k'im2]; DB [k'im2]; YL [tɕ'in2]; XC [tɕ'in2]
 CT [tʃ'eŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'ij2]; SH [tɕhiŋ2]; LC1 [k'ien2]; LC2 [k'ien2]
 NK [tɕ'ij2]; AY [tɕ'ien2]; SY [tɕ'ij2]; XS [tɕ'in2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'əm2]; ND2 [ts'əm2];
 ND3 [ts'əm2]
 [OPH *k'im2] CNH *k'im2

qiáo 橋 QYS gjäu CDC *giau2/EC *gaw
 BMH [khiâu]; MX [k'iau2]; HL [k'iau2]; SX [k'eu2]; LF [k'iau2]; LZ [khiau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'iau2]; XY [k'iau2]; DB [k'iau2]; YL [tɕ'iau2]; XC [tɕ'iau2]
 CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [tshio2]; YD [k'iau2]; SH [tɕhiə2]; LC1 [k'io2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'iau2]; QN [tɕ'iau2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2];
 ND3 [ts'au2]
 OPH *k'iau2 CNH *k'iau2

Consider now the following set:

kòu 扣 QYS khəu:, khəu- CDC *kheu5/EC *khoh
 BMH [khèu]; MX [k'eu5]; HL [k'eu5]; SX [k'eu5]; LF [k'eu5]; LZ [kheu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [kuai5]; XY [k'eu5]; DB [k'iei5]; YL [k'e5]; XC [k'au5]
 CT [k'eu5]; WP [khe5]; YD [k'eu3]; SH [khə5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'eu5]

NK [k'ɜ5]; AY [tɛ'u5]; SY [k'io5]; XS [k'əu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'eu5]; ND2 [k'əu5]; ND3 [k'əu5]
[OPH *k'eu5] CNH *k'eu5

Here, again, we see failure of the Shàngyóu initial to palatalize before secondary -i-. However, in Ānyuǎn, final -u (< *-eu) has apparently induced palatalization of the initial. And, recalling our set for the word gǒu 狗 “dog” cited in the preceding section, we note the curious fact that no palatalization of initial k- was effected there. This is not merely a fluke or isolated example. Compare the following:

gōu 溝 QYS kəu CDC *keu1/EC *'ko
BMH [keu]; MX [kɛu1]; HL [keu1]; SX [keu1]; LF [keu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai1]; XY [kɛu1]; DB [kiɛi1]; YL [kɛ1]; XC [kəu1]
CT [keu1]; WP [kɛ1]; YD [keu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kɜ1]; AY [kɜ1]; SY [kio1]; XS [kəu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [kɛu1]; ND2 [kəu1]; ND3 [kəu1]
[OPH *keu1] CNH *keu1

Apparently, palatalization of earlier *k' - in the presence of -u is regular for Ānyuǎn, while failure of the process in the case of k- is equally so.

A notable feature of CNH *k' - is that it often occurs in doublets with initial *h-. We shall discuss this phenomenon in §2.5.4 below.

2.5.3 CNH *ŋ-

Examples of this initial before non-high front vowels are:

é 鵝 QYS ngâ CDC *ngo2/EC *'ngay
BMH [ngô]; MX [ŋɔ2]; HL [ŋo2]; SX [ŋo2]; LF [ŋo2]; LZ [ʔgɔ2]; SHT [ŋɔ2]
HY [ŋɔ2]; XY [ŋɔ2]; DB [ŋo2]; YL [ŋəu2]; XC [ŋo2]
CT [ŋo2]; WP [ŋo2]; YD [ŋou2]; SH [ŋu2]; LC1 [ŋu2]; LC2 [ŋu2]
NK [ŋo2]; AY [ŋo2]; SY [ŋo2]; XS [ŋɔ2]; QN [ŋo2]; ND1 [ŋo2]; ND2 [ŋo2]; ND3 [ŋo2]
OPH *ngo2 CNH *ŋo2

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *^hngua4/EC *ngwrayx
 BMH [ngá ~ ngwá]; MX [ŋa3]; HL [ŋua3]; SX [ŋa3]; LF [ŋua3]; LZ [ʔga3]; SHT [ŋa3]
 HY [ŋa3]; XY [ŋa3]; DB [ŋa3]; YL [ŋa3]; XC [ŋa3]
 CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]
 OPH *ngua3 CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3
 †FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

yá 牙 QYS nga CDC *nga2/EC *ngra
 BMH [ngâ]; MX [ŋa2]; HL [ŋa2]; SX [ŋa2]; LF [ŋa2]; LZ [ʔga2]; SHT [ŋa2]
 HY [ŋa2]; XY [ŋa2]; DB [ŋa2]; YL [ŋa2]; XC [ŋa2]
 CT [ŋa2]; WP [ŋa2]; YD [ŋa2]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [ŋo2]; LC2 [ŋo2]
 NK [ŋa2]; AY [ŋa2]; SY [ŋa2]; XS [ŋa2]; QN [ŋa2]; ND1 [ŋa2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋa2]
 OPH *nga2 CNH *ŋa2

In our data CNH *ŋ- occurs before *i in several reconstructed variant readings, i.e.,²³

yǐ 蟻 QYS ngje:3 CDC *^hngi4 ~ *ngi4/EC *ngayx
 BMH [ni]†; MX [ni5w ~ ni1b]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [nɛ5]; LZ [li1]; SHT [li1]
 HY [ŋie3]; XY [ŋei5]; DB [ŋɛ5]; YL [ŋei5]; XC [i2]
 CT [ŋe3]; WP [ŋe5]; YD [ŋei3]; SH [ŋei5]; LC1 [ŋi5]; LC2 [ŋi5]
 NK [mi1]; AY [ni1w]; SY [ni3]; XS [nɛ1]; QN [ni1]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni1]; ND3 [ni3]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ŋiai1/*ŋiai3 ~ *ŋiai5/*ni1/L *ñi1/*ñi5

†After Chapell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga
 BMH [ŋg]; MX [ŋ2]; HL [ŋ2]; SX [ŋ2]; LF [ŋ2]; LZ [ŋ2]; SHT [ŋ2]
 HY [ŋy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ny2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ny2]; XC [i2 ~ ɱ2b]
 CT [ŋe2]; WP [ŋe2]; YD [ŋei2]; SH [ŋei2]; LC1 [ŋui2]; LC2 [ŋoi2]†

²³ The first set, for “an”, is repeated from §2.4.3 above, q.v.

NK [ɲe2]; AY [ji2w ~ ɲ2b]; SY [ɲe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ɲ2]; QN [ɲ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [niɛ2]; ND2 [nie2 ~ iu3]; ND3 [ɲie2 ~ nie2]††

OPH *ng2 CNH *ɲ2/*ñiu2/*ɲie2/*ɲei2/L *iu2

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɲue2].

††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

The form *ɲie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ɲie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ñiu2.

These variant forms do not contrast with corresponding *ñ- initial syllables in the system. Thus, CNH *ɲ- and *ñ- are in essential complementary distribution. More common in the data are cases where these two initials occur in doublet readings for the same etymon. The following are examples:

é 額 QYS ngɔk CDC *^hngak8/EC *ngrak

BMH [nyak]; MX [ɲiak7]; HL [ɲiak7]; SX [ɲiak7]; LF [ɲiak7]; LZ [^ʔgiak7]; SHT [ɲak7]

HY [ɲiak7]; XY [ɲak7]; DB [ɲak7]; YL [ɲaʔ7 ~ ɲa5]; XC [ɲɛʔ7]

CT [ɲe2]; WP [niaʔ7]; YD [ɲiaʔ7]; SH [ɲiaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [nio6]

NK [ɲa1]; AY [ɲe6]; SY [ɲe5 ~ ɲa5]; XS [—]; QN [niaʔ7]; ND1 [nak7]; ND2 [nak7]; ND3 [nak7]

OPH *_{n1}iak7 ~ *_{n2}iak7 CNH *ɲak7/*ñiak7/*ɲek7

niú 牛 QYS ngjəu CDC *ngieu2/EC *ngwi

BMH [nyú]; MX [ɲiu2]; HL [ɲiu2]; SX [ɲiu2]; LF [ɲiu2]; LZ [^ʔgiu2]; SHT [ɲiu2]

HY [ɲyai2]; XY [ɲeu2]; DB [ɲiei2]; YL [ɲie2 ~ ɲie2b]; XC [niəu2]

CT [ɲeu2]; WP [ɲɛ2]; YD [ɲeu2]; SH [ɲə2]; LC1 [ɲeu2]; LC2 [ɲɛu2]

NK [niu2]; AY [nɯ2]; SY [niu2]; XS [niu2]; QN [niu2]; ND1 [ɲəu2 ~ ɲeu2]†; ND2 [nəu2]; ND3 [nəu2]

OPH *_{n1}iu2 CNH *ñieu2/*ɲeu2

†First form found BJJJ.

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn: CDC *^hngan4/EC *ngrunx
 BMH [nyén ~ ngán]; MX [ɲian3]; HL [ɲian3w ~ ɲan3b]; SX [ɲian3]; LF [ɲan3]; LZ [^ʰgan3];
 SHT [ɲan3]
 HY [ɲan3]; XY [ɲan3]; DB [ɲan3]; YL [ɲan3]; XC [ɲan3]
 CT [ɲanɿ5]; WP [ɲanɿ3]; YD [ɲan3]; SH [ɲã3]; LC1 [ɲa3]; LC2 [ɲa3]
 NK [ɲã3]; AY [ɲã3]; SY [ɲã3]; XS [ɲan3]; QN [ɲan3]; ND1 [ɲan3]; ND2 [ɲan3]; ND3 [ɲan3]
 [OPH *ngan3] CNH *ɲan3/L *ñian3

A second type of doublet in which initial *ɲ- words regularly occur involves variants in CNH *v-. The following exemplify this:

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *nguoï6/EC *'ngwath
 BMH [ngòï]; MX [ɲoi5]; HL [ɲoi6]; SX [ɲoi5]; LF [ɲoi6]; LZ [^ʰgoï5]; SHT [ɲoi5]
 HY [ɲuai6]; XY [ɲuai3]; DB [ɲoi3]; YL [uoi3]; XC [vai5]
 CT [ɲue6]; WP [ɲue3]; YD [ɲai5]; SH [ɲa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɲua6]
 NK [ɲæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ɲoi5]; QN [ɲoi6]; ND1 [ɲoe6]; ND2
 [ɲuei5 ~ ɲuei6]; ND3 [ɲuai6]
 OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

The origin of the Yílǒng form is uncertain. The initial of the Ānyuǎn form is irregular and anomalous.

wán 頑 QYS ngwǎn CDC *nguan2/EC *ngron
 BMH [ngân]; MX [ɲan2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [^ʰgan2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲan2]; XY [ɲan2]; DB [ɲan2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
 CT [ɲuanɿ2]; WP [ɲuanɿ2]; YD [—]; SH [ɲã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vã2 ~ ɲã2]; AY [võ2 ~ ɲã2]; SY [ɲã2]; XS [ɲan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ɲan2]; ND2 [ɲan2];
 ND3 [ɲan2]
 [OPH *ngan2] CNH *ɲuan2/*van2

wù 誤 QYS nguō- CDC *ngu6/EC *'ngah
 BMH [ngù]; MX [ɲu5]; HL [ɲu5]; SX [ɲu5]; LF [ɲu5]; LZ [^ʰgu5]; SHT [—]

HY [ɲu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u5]; XC [vu5]
CT [vu6 ~ ɲ5]; WP [ɲu3 ~ vu5]; YD [ɲou5]; SH [vu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vu5]; AY [ɲu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [—]; QN [vu6]; ND1 [vu6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ngu5] CNH *ɲu5/*vu6

These are of particular interest in connection with the question of layering in Common Neo-Hakka and will be dealt with in greater detail in §6.2.1.5 of Chapter VI.

2.5.4 CNH *h-

Examples of this initial before non-high front vowels are:

hǎo 好 QYS xâu: CDC *xou3/EC *'hux
BMH [háu]; MX [hau3]; HL [ho3]; SX [ho3]; LF [ho3]; LZ [hau3]; SHT [hau3]
HY [hau3]; XY [ho3]; DB [ho3]; YL [həu3]; XC [hau3]
CT [ho3]; WP [xo3]; YD [hou3]; SH [ho3]; LC1 [ho3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [hau3]; QN [hau3]; ND1 [hau3]; ND2 [hau3]; ND3 [hau3]
OPH *hou3 CNH *hou3

hé 河 QYS yâ CDC *ho2/EC *'gay
BMH [hê]; MX [ho2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [ho2]; SHT [ho2]
HY [ho2]; XY [ho2]; DB [ho2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xo2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hu6]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [ho2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [ho2]
OPH *ho2 CNH *ho2

hēi 黑 QYS xək CDC *xek7/EC *'hik
BMH [het]; MX [het7]; HL [het7]; SX [het7]; LF [het7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [—]
HY [hat7]; XY [het7]; DB [het7]; YL [—]; XC [heʔ7]
CT [he2]; WP [xeʔ7]; YD [heʔ7]; SH [heʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hə8]; AY [he6]; SY [he5]; XS [het7]; QN [heʔ7]; ND1 [hək7]; ND2 [hək7]; ND3 [hək7]

[OPH *het7] CNH *hek7

Examples before CNH *i are:

xǐ 喜 QYS xjǐ: CDC *xi3/EC *hix

BMH [hí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]

HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ei3]

CT [fi3]; WP [—]; YD [si3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [fi3]; LC2 [fi3]

NK [ei3]; AY [ei3]; SY [ei3]; XS [ei3]; QN [ei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [si3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3

xiǎn 險 QYS xjäm:3 CDC *xiam3/EC *hamx

BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam3]; HL [hiam3]; SX [hiam3]; LF [hiam3]; LZ [hiam3]; SHT [hiam3]

HY [hiam3]; XY [hiam3]; DB [hiam3]; YL [eien3]; XC [eien3]

CT [fiŋ3]; WP [siaŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [eiã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [eiẽ3]; AY [eiã3]; SY [eiẽ3]; XS [eien3]; QN [eiam3]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam3]

OPH *hiam3 CNH *hiam3

xiāng 香 QYS xjang CDC *xiong1/EC *hang

BMH [hiong]; MX [hiɔŋ1]; HL [hiɔŋ1]; SX [hiɔŋ1]; LF [hiɔŋ1]; LZ [hiɔŋ1]; SHT [hiɔŋ1]

HY [hyɔŋ1 ~ hiɔŋ1]; XY [hiɔŋ1]; DB [hiɔŋ1]; YL [eiɔŋ1]; XC [eiɔŋ1]

CT [fiɔŋ1]; WP [siɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [eiɔŋ1]; LC1 [fiɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [eiɔŋ1]; AY [eiɔŋ1]; SY [eiɔŋ1]; XS [eiɔŋ1]; QN [eiɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]

OPH *hiong1 CNH *hiong1

In examples of the following type *h- occurs before secondary -i- in Shàngyóu:

hòu 後 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox

BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5w ~ heu1b]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu6]; LZ [heu1 ~ heu5]; SHT [hiu5]

HY [huai6]; XY [hɛu3]; DB [hɛi3]; YL [hai3]; XC [həu5]
 CT [heu6]; WP [xɛ3]; YD [heu1 ~ heu5]; SH [hə1 ~ hə5]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [hɛu6]
 NK [hɜ5]; AY [ɕu5]; SY [hio5]; XS [həu5]; QN [hɛu6]; ND1 [hɛu6]; ND2 [həu6]; ND3 [həu6
 ~ hau6]
 [OPH *heu6] CNH *heu1/L *heu6

hòu 厚 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
 BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu2]; LZ [heu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [huai6]; XY [hɛu1]; DB [hɛi5]; YL [hai3]; XC [həu5]
 CT [heu1]; WP [khɛ1]; YD [k'eu1 ~ heu5]; SH [khə1]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hɜ1]; AY [ɕu5]; SY [hio1]; XS [həu5]; QN [hɛu1]; ND1 [hɛu1]; ND2 [həu1]; ND3 [həu1]
 [OPH *heu5] CNH *heu1/*heu6

Here, true to form, Shàngyóu does not palatalize preceding *h-. Note, however, that in Ānyuǎn modern final -u does induce palatalization of the initial. This parallels the palatalization of *k'- before -u which we saw in the preceding section and contrasts with the failure of this process in initial *k- under the same conditions. Is this asymmetry connected in some way with the breathiness that occurs in both k'- and h- but is absent in k-? The matter deserves further investigation.

The following are examples of *h- in syllables where the following CNH vowel is medial *u, followed again by some further element:

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua1/EC —
 BMH [fa]; MX [fa1]; HL [fa1]; SX [fa1]; LF [fa1]; LZ [fa1]; SHT [fa1]
 HY [fa1]; XY [fa1]; DB [fa1]; YL [fa1]; XC [fa1]
 CT [fa1]; WP [fa1]; YD [fa1]; SH [fa1]; LC1 [fo1]; LC2 [fo1]
 NK [hua1]; AY [hua1]; SY [hua1]; XS [fa1]; QN [fa1]; ND1 [fa1]; ND2 [fa1]; ND3 [fa1]
 [OPH *fa1] CNH *hua1

huān 歡 QYS xuān CDC *xuon1/EC *'hon
 BMH [fon]; MX [fɔn1]; HL [fon1]; SX [fon1]; LF [fon1]; LZ [fɔn1]; SHT [—]

HY [fuan1]; XY [fan1]; DB [fɔn1]; YL [huan1]; XC [fan1 ~ huan1]
 CT [huŋ1]; WP [xuɛŋ1]; YD [fan1]; SH [fã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa1]
 NK [hoẽ1]; AY [hõ1]; SY [huɔ̃]; XS [fɔn1]; QN [fɔn1]; ND1 [foɛn1]; ND2 [fuon1]; ND3
 [fuan1]
 OPH *fon1 CNH *huon1

huāng 荒 QYS xwāng CDC *xuon1/EC *'hwang
 BMH [fong]; MX [fɔŋ1]; HL [—]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ1 ~ fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [fɔŋ1]; XY [fɔŋ1]; DB [fɔŋ1]; YL [fɔŋ1]; XC [fɔŋ1]
 CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [fɔŋ1]; YD [fɔŋ1]; SH [fɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hɔ1]; AY [hɔŋ1]; SY [hɔ1]; XS [fɔŋ1]; QN [fɔŋ1]; ND1 [fɔŋ1]; ND2 [fɔŋ1]; ND3 [fɔŋ1]
 [OPH *fong1] CNH *huon1

hūn 婚 QYS xuən CDC *xun1/EC *'hun
 BMH [fun]; MX [fun1]; HL [fun1]; SX [fun1]; LF [fun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [fun1]
 HY [—]; XY [fun1]; DB [fɔn1]; YL [fɛn1]; XC [fɔn1]
 CT [fɛŋ1]; WP [fɛŋ1]; YD [fun1]; SH [feɪŋ1]; LC1 [fã2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [huẽ1]; AY [huən1]; SY [huẽ1]; XS [fun1]; QN [—]; ND1 [fɔn1]; ND2 [fɔn1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *fun1] CNH *hun1

Here, at all the points except the first three of the Jiāngxī line, *h- shifts to f-. In the following example, involving CNH final -uoi, Shàngháng also preserves the original Common Neo-Hakka initial:

huī 灰 QYS xuài CDC *xuoi1/EC *'hwi
 BMH [foi]; MX [fɔi1]; HL [foi1]; SX [foi1]; LF [foi1]; LZ [fɔi1]; SHT [fɔi1]
 HY [fuai1 ~ fɔi1]; XY [fuai1]; DB [fɔi1]; YL [fɔi1]; XC [—]
 CT [fue1]; WP [xuɛ1]; YD [foi1]; SH [huɛ1]; LC1 [fui1]; LC2 [foi1 ~ fue1]
 NK [huæ1]; AY [hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [fɔi1]; QN [fɔi1]; ND1 [foɛ1]; ND2 [fuɛi1]; ND3 [fuai1]
 OPH *foi1 CNH *huoi1

Since all Mainstream Hakka dialects dentilabialize *h- in such cases, O'Connor's Proto-Hakka has *f- as its reconstructed initial here. And, in fact, dentilabialization in syllables of this type is sometimes cited in the dialectological literature as an archetypal characteristic of Hakka in general. However, our Jiāngxī data show clearly that the Common Neo-Hakka initial was *h- rather than *f-. On the other hand, it should be further noted that in the presence of absolute final *-u *all* dialects do dentilabialize CDC *h-. The word hú 鬚 “beard”, cited in §2.1.4 above, is an example. The following is another:

hù 戶 QYS yuo: CDC *hu4/EC *'gax
BMH [fù]; MX [fu5w ~ fu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu3]; YL [fu5]; XC [fu5]
CT [fu6]; WP [fu3]; YD [—]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fyɛ6]
NK [fu5]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu6]; ND1 [fu6]; ND2 [fu6]; ND3 [fu6]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *fu6

The pair of Méixiàn forms suggests that there was an early Tone 1 popular form in the protolanguage, and that our reconstructed Tone 6 form is ultimately literary in origin.

In examples of this type, the Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka forms will consequently be identical in having initial *f-.

Cases of CNH *h- before *u often have doublets in CNH *v-. The following are examples:

huà 話 QYS ywai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
BMH [fà ~ vâ ~ voi] 話; MX [fa5w ~ va5b ~ voi1]; HL [fa5; va5; voi1]; SX [fa5; voi1]; LF
[fa6]; LZ [va5]; SHT [va5]
HY [va6]; XY [va3]; DB [va3]; YL [ua3]; XC [va5]
CT [va6 ~ fa6]; WP [va3 ~ fa3]; YD [va5 ~ fa3]; SH [va3 ~ fa3]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [vo6]
NK [va5 ~ hua5]; AY [va6 ~ hua6]; SY [va5 ~ hua5]; XS [va5]; QN [va6 ~ fa6]; ND1 [va6 ~
fa6]; ND2 [va6 ~ fa6]; ND3 [fa6 ~ va6]
[OPH *fa6 ~ *va5 ?] CNH *va6 ~ *voi1/L *hua6

In dialects that use both forms colloquially, reflexes of *va6 tend to mean “to speak”, while those of *hua6 usually mean “speech, language”. This is, however, not an absolute rule. CNH

*voi1 is exclusively nominal in our sources. Compare, the cognate form [vɔi5] in Jiéxī 揭西 Hakka (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992), which takes Tone 5 rather than Tone 1.

huàn 換 QYS yuân- CDC *huon6/EC *'gwanh
 BMH [fòn/fàn ~ vòn/vàn]; MX [fɔn5w ~ vɔn5b]; HL [von6]; SX [von5]; LF [von6]; LZ [vɔn5];
 SHT [—]
 HY [vuan6]; XY [van3]; DB [vɔn3]; YL [—]; XC [vɔn5]
 CT [vuŋ6]; WP [xuɛŋ3]; YD [fàn5]; SH [fã3 ~ vã3]; LC1 [va6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoẽ5]; AY [hõ6]; SY [huõ5]; XS [vɔn5]; QN [vɔn6]; ND1 [voɛn6]; ND2 [uon6]; ND3
 [vuan6]
 [OPH *von6] CNH *vuon6/L *huon6

huáng 黃 QYS ywâŋ CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang
 BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]
 HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
 CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [vɔŋ2]
 NK [hɔ̃2 ~ vɔ̃2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [hɔ̃2 ~ vɔ̃2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2];
 ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]
 OPH *vong2 CNH *vɔŋ2/*huon2

huì 會 QYS yuâi- CDC *huoi6/EC *'gwath
 BMH [fùi ~ fòi ~ vòi]; MX [fi4 ~ vɔi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi6b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~
 voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ fɔi5]; SHT [fui5]
 HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fui3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ vɔi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]
 CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fɛ3 ~ uɛ5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vuɛ3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fuɐ6
 ~ voi6]
 NK [huæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [hue6 ~ vue6]; SY [hue5 ~ ve5]; XS [vɔi5 ~ fi5]; QN [fɔi6]; ND1 [fei6
 ~ vei6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]
 [OPH *voi6] CNH *vuoi6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

“To be able; to be imminent”/“a meeting”. In Lìzhīzhuāng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”

hún 魂 QYS yuən CDC *hun2/EC *'gun
BMH [fûn]; MX [fun2w ~ vun2b]; HL [fun2]; SX [fun2]; LF [fun2]; LZ [fun2]; SHT [fun2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fɛn2]; XC [vən2]
CT [feŋ2]; WP [feŋ2]; YD [fun2]; SH [feŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [huẽ2]; AY [huəŋ2]; SY [huẽ2]; XS [fun2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fun2 (~ vun2 ?)] CNH *vun2/L *hun2

Where stylistic register is indicated by the sources for such doublets, the *h- forms are invariably identified as literary.

It is interesting that doublet pairing historically analogous to the type seen here is also found in syllables having absolute final *-u, with the caveat that instead of initial *h- we will of course find *f- opposite *v-. Consider the following:

hú 湖 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [fu2]
HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
CT [fu2]; WP [—]; YD [fi2]; SH [fu2]; LC1 [fiue2]; LC2 [fyɛ]
NK [fu2 ~ vu2]; AY [fu2 ~ vu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2 ~ vu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2];
ND3 [fu2]
OPH *fu2 CNH *fu2/*vu2

In such cases it seems reasonable to suppose that at an earlier historical stage, there existed a typical *h-/v- pairing, whose original symmetry has subsequently been obscured by the *h- > f- shift in Hakka. Compare the following forms for hú 湖 “lake” in Common Shē: *hu2/*u2.²⁴ Here it is conceivable that Shē has retained the original initial.²⁵

²⁴ Data on which these tentative reconstructions are based were taken from Dèng (2013: 351). Relevant modern forms from this source are: Huímíngsì 惠明寺 [fu11], Cāngnán 蒼南 [hu21], and Hútóucūn 湖頭村 [u21].

²⁵ It is unfortunately not possible to be certain of this, because the reconstructed Common Shē initial system had no *f-. In those rare instances where Common Dialectal Chinese *f- initial words have been

A notable feature of Common Neo-Hakka is the fact that cognate sets reconstructed with *k'- frequently have variant forms in *h-. We shall now examine three classes of such doublet sets, as characterized by following vowel types.

Examples of non-high front vowel syllables are:

kāi 開 QYS khài CDC *k'hoi1/EC *'khuy
 BMH [k'hoi ~ hoi]; MX [k'oi1]; HL [k'oi1]; SX [k'oi1]; LF [k'oi1]; LZ [h'oi1]; SHT [h'oi1]
 HY [huai1]; XY [huai1]; DB [h'oi1]; YL [k'oi1]; XC [k'oi1]
 CT [k'ue1]; WP [xuɛ1]; YD [k'oi1]; SH [k'ue1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [hui3]
 NK [k'æ1 ~ hæ1]; AY [k'ue1 ~ hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [k'oi1]; QN [h'oi1 ~ k'oi1]; ND1 [k'oɛ1];
 ND2 [k'uei1]; ND3 [k'uai1 ~ k'ai1]
 [OPH *k'oi1] CNH *hoi1/*k'oi1

kāng 糠 QYS khāng CDC *khong1/EC *'khang
 BMH [khong ~ hong]; MX [h'ong1]; HL [h'ong1]; SX [h'ong1]; LF [k'ong1 ~ h'ong1]; LZ [h'ong1]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [—]; XY [h'ong1]; DB [h'ong1]; YL [k'ong1]; XC [k'ong1]
 CT [k'ong1]; WP [x'ong1]; YD [k'ong1]; SH [kh'ong1]; LC1 [k'ong1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [h'ɔ1]; AY [h'ong1]; SY [k'ɔ1 ~ h'ɔ1]; XS [k'ong1]; QN [k'ong1w ~ h'ong1b]; ND1 [k'ong1]; ND2
 [k'ong1]; ND3 [h'ong1]
 [OPH *h'ong1] CNH *h'ong1/L *k'ong1

ké 殼 QYS khâk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *khrok
 BMH [khok ~ hok]; MX [h'ok7]; HL [h'ok7]; SX [h'ok7]; LF [k'ok7]; LZ [h'ok7]; SHT [h'ok7]
 HY [k'ok7]; XY [k'ok7]; DB [h'ok7]; YL [k'ok7]; XC [k'ok7]
 CT [k'ok7]; WP [kh'ok7]; YD [k'ok7]; SH [kh'ok7]; LC1 [k'u6]; LC2 [—]

borrowed into Shē, they are realized with Common Shē *h(u)-. Thus, it is possible that in the word for “lake” CS *h- descends from an even earlier *f-. The matter is indeterminate.

NK [k'o8]; AY [k'o6]; SY [k'o5]; XS [k'ɔk7]; QN [k'oʔ7]; ND1 [k'ok7]; ND2 [k'ɔk7]; ND3 [k'ɔk7]

[OPH *hok7] CNH *hok7/*k'ok7

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ: CDC *kheng3/EC *'khingx

BMH [khén ~ hén]; MX [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; HL [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; SX [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; LF [k'en3 ~ hən3]; LZ [hən3]; SHT [—]

HY [han3]; XY [hən3]; DB [hən3]; YL [k'an3]; XC [k'an3w ~ hən3b]

CT [k'ən3]; WP [xən3]; YD [k'en3]; SH [khẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; LC1 [hãĩ3]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; AY [k'əŋ3w ~ ɕiəŋ3b]; SY [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; XS [k'en3]; QN [hən3]; ND1 [k'əŋ3]; ND2 [k'əŋ3]; ND3 [k'əŋ3]

OPH *hen3 CNH *hən3/L *k'ən3

The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, because determinative forms for it are absent from the set.

Cases where the post-initial vowel is *i are exemplified in the following:

qǐ 起 QYS khjĩ: CDC *khi3/EC *khix

BMH [hí ~ khí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]

HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [tɕ'ĩ3]; XC [ɕi3]

CT [tʃ'ĩ3 ~ ʃi3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k'ĩ3]; SH [tɕhi3]; LC1 [k'ĩ3]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ĩ3]; AY [tɕ'ĩ3]; SY [tɕ'ĩ3 ~ ɕi3]; XS [ɕi3]; QN [tɕ'ĩ3 ~ ɕi3]; ND1 [tɕ'ĩ3]; ND2 [tɕ'ĩ3 ~ ɕi3]; ND3 [ts'ĩ3 ~ si3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3/*k'ĩ3

qiān 牽 QYS khien CDC *khian1/EC *'khen

BMH [khen ~ khien]; MX [k'ian1]; HL [k'ian1]; SX [k'ian1]; LF [k'ian1]; LZ [khen1]; SHT [—]

HY [hian1]; XY [hian1]; DB [hien1]; YL [tɕ'ien1]; XC [tɕ'ien1]

CT [tʃ'ĩŋ1]; WP [tshien1]; YD [k'ien1]; SH [tɕhiẽ1]; LC1 [k'e1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ie̯1]; AY [tɕ'ie̯1]; SY [tɕ'ie̯1]; XS [tɕ'ie̯1]; QN [tɕ'ie̯1]; ND1 [ts'an1]; ND2 [ts'an1];
ND3 [ts'an1]

[OPH *k'ian1] CNH *k'ian1/*hian1

qù 去 QYS khjwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *khah

BMH [khi ~ hì]; MX [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; HL [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; SX [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; LF [k'i3 ~ hi5];

LZ [hi5]; SHT [k'iu5 ~ hi5]

HY [hy5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [tɕ'ie̯5]; XC [ɕie̯5]

CT [tɕ'ie̯5]; WP [si5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khi5]; LC1 [k'ui5]; LC2 [hoi5]†

NK [he5]; AY [tɕ'ie̯5 ~ ɕie̯5]; SY [tɕ'y2 ~ he2]; XS [ɕie̯5]; QN [tɕ'ie̯5 ~ ɕie̯5]; ND1 [ɕie̯5 ~ ɕie̯2];

ND2 [ɕie̯5]; ND3 [sie̯5]

[OPH *hi5] CNH *hiu5/*hie5/L *k'iu5

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [hue5].

The Xinyí form appears to reflect earlier *hi5 rather than *hiu5. Likewise, the Yílǒng form must derive from earlier *k'i5 rather than *k'y5.

And finally, we have cases where CNH *k'-/f- are followed by the vowel *u, e.g.,

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax

BMH [fú ~ khú]; MX [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; HL [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; SX [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; LF [k'u3]; LZ

[khu3w ~ fu3b]; SHT [fu3]

HY [k'u3 ~ hu3]; XY [k'u3]; DB [k'u3]; YL [k'u3]; XC [k'u3w ~ fu3b]

CT [k'u3]; WP [fu3]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [k'ue3]; LC2 [k'ye3]

NK [k'u3 ~ fu3]; AY [k'u3 ~ fu3]; SY [k'u3 ~ fu3]; XS [k'u3 ~ fu3]; QN [k'u3 ~ fu3]; ND1

[k'u3]; ND2 [k'u3]; ND3 [k'u3]

[OPH *fu3] CNH *fu3/L *k'u3

kù 褲 QYS khuo- CDC *khu5/EC *'khah

BMH [fù ~ khù]; MX [fu5]; HL [fu5]; SX [k'u5w ~ fu5b]; LF [k'u5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]

HY [hu5]; XY [k'u5]; DB [k'u5]; YL [k'u5]; XC [fu5]

CT [k'u5]; WP [khu5 ~ fu5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [k'ue5]; LC2 [fyɛ5]

NK [fu5]; AY [fu5]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu5]; ND1 [k'u5]; ND2 [fu5]; ND3 [k'u5 ~ fu5]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *fu5/L *k'u5

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot
BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]
HY [fuat7]; XY [k'at7]; DB [k'uat7]; YL [k'ueʔ7]; XC [k'ueʔ7]
CT [k'ue2]; WP [khuaʔ7]; YD [k'uat7]; SH [khuaʔ7]; LC1 [k'ua6]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ua7]; AY [k'u33]; SY [k'ua5]; XS [k'uaɪ7]; QN [k'æʔ7]; ND1 [k'oet7]; ND2 [k'uot5];
ND3 [k'uat7]
[OPH *fat7] CNH *k'uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)

Initial f- forms in this set, strictly reconstructable as *fuat7, probably actually derive from CNH *fuot7, though the requisite forms for this are lacking from the determinative dialects.

In considering the possible origin of such doublets we shall now compare the corresponding Common Shē cognate sets:

1. Non-high front vowel type

kāi 開 QYS khài CDC *khai1/EC *'khuy
FA [hɔi1]; FD [hɔi1]; LY [hui1]; SM [hue1]; SC [hue1]; HA [hɔi1];
GX [hue1]; CN [huei1]; JN [fɔi1]; LS [fɔi1]; LngY [foi1];
CZ [hue1]; FS [fɔi1]; TY [xuɔi1] CS *hoi1 ~ *huoi1
The JN, LS, LngY, and FX appear to derive from the second reconstruction. The TY form could descend from either. Cf. huī 灰 above.

kāng 糠 QYS khang CDC *khong1/EC *'khang
FA [hɔŋ2]; FD [hɔŋ2]; LY [hɔŋ2]; SM [hɔŋ2]; SC [hɔŋ2]; HA [hɔŋ2];
GX [hɔŋ2]; CN [hɔŋ2]; JN [hɔŋ2]; LS [hɔŋ2]; LngY [hɔŋ2];
CZ [hɔŋ2]; FS [hɔŋ2]; TY [—] CS *hɔŋ2

ké 殼 QYS khâk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *khrok
FA [hɔʔ7]; FD [hɔʔ7]; LY [hɔʔ7]; SM [hɔʔ7]; SC [hɔʔ7]; HA [hɔʔ7];

GX [hɔʔ7]; CN [hɔʔ7]; JN [hɔʔ7]; LS [hɔʔ7]; LngY [hɔʔ7];
 CZ [hɔʔ7]; FS [hɔʔ7]; TY [—] CS *hoʔ7

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ: CDC *kheng3/EC *'khingx
 FA [heŋ3]; FD [heŋ3 ~ heŋ3]; LY [heŋ3]; SM [hieŋ3]; SC [heŋ3]; HA [heŋ3];
 GX [heŋ3]; CN [hieŋ3]; JN [hieŋ3]; LS [hieŋ3]; LngY [heŋ3];
 CZ [heŋ3]; FS [heŋ3]; TY [xɛn3] CS *heŋ3

2. High front vowel type

qǐ 起 QYS khj̥: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
 FA [hi3]; FD [hi3]; LY [hi3]; SM [hi3]; SC [hi3]; HA [hi3];
 GX [hi3]; CN [hi3]; JN [hi3]; LS [hi3]; LngY [hi3];
 CZ [hi3]; FS [hi3]; TY [tɕ'ɪ3] CS *hi3
 The TY form appears to be derived from a loan, originally read *k'ɪ3.

qiān 牽 QYS khien CDC *khian1/EC *'khen
 FA [hen1]; FD [hien1]; LY [heŋ1]; SM [hieŋ1]; SC [hen1]; HA [hen1];
 GX [hien1]; CN [hien1]; JN [hien1]; LS [hien1]; LngY [hien1];
 CZ [hen1]; FS [hen1]; TY [tɕ'ian1] CS *hien1
 The final of the TY form is irregular.

qù 去 QYS khjwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *khah
 FA [hy1]; FD [hy1]; LY [hy1]; SM [hy1]; SC [hy1]; HA [hiu1];
 GX [høu1]; CN [hy1 ~ hu1]; JN [hy1]; LS [hy1]; LngY [hy1];
 CZ [hiu1]; FS [hiu1]; TY [ɕiu1] CS *hy1

3. *u vowel type

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax
 FA [hu3]; FD [hu3]; LY [hu3]; SM [hu3]; SC [hu3]; HA [hu3];
 GX [hu3]; CN [hu3]; JN [fu3]; LS [fu3]; LngY [fu3];

CZ [hu3 ~ k'u3]; FS [fu3]; TY [fu3] CS *hu3

The second CZ form appears to be a loan.

kù 褲 QYS khuo- CDC *khu5/EC *'khah
FA [hu1]; FD [hu1]; LY [hu1]; SM [hu1]; SC [hu1]; HA [hu1];
GX [hu1]; CN [hu1]; JN [fu1]; LS [fu1]; LngY [fu1];
CZ [hu1]; FS [fu1]; TY [fu1] CS *hu1

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot
FA [huot7]; FD [huot7]; LY [huo?7]; SM [hu?7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hət7];
GX [hut7]; CN [hət7]; JN [fuot7]; LS [fuot7]; LngY [fuot7];
CZ [huot7]; FS [fuot7]; TY [xoi?7] CS *huot7 ~ *hut7

The JN and LngY forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those of SM, SC and GX derive from the second. The remaining forms do not constitute a recognizable correspondence set, appearances notwithstanding.

Comparing the Hakka and Shē data we see that the latter are quite consistent in representing the initials of these syllables as *h. Neo-Hakka, on the other hand, is more complex in showing doublets in *h- and *k'-. And it is the Common Neo-Hakka stop initial readings in such cases that agree with more general Chinese, as represented in the Common Dialectal Chinese and QYS forms. These observations suggest an explanation for our conundrum. We may suppose that Common Hakka-Shē was a language in which words of the type considered here had initial *h-. After Common Shē and Common Neo-Hakka separated, Neo-Hakka borrowed new, intrusive forms from other more “standard” or “mainline” types of Chinese with which it came into contact through the influence of successive immigration waves. Shē, on the other hand, to a great extent escaped such external influences, for reasons which we shall explore in detail in §6.1 of Chapter VI below. But, again, it appears to have been the Common Hakka-Shē stage that the two dialect types had in common. Common Shē cannot therefore be cogently described as a type of Neo-Hakka pure and simple, because it cannot be derived from Common Neo-Hakka by regular sound changes.

2.6 The Zero Initial

The following are examples of this initial class in syllables having non-high front vowel final onsets:

ǎi 矮 QYS ʔai: CDC *ai3/EC —
 BMH [ái]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]
 HY [ai3]; XY [ɛi3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]
 CT [ai3]; WP [a3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [e3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ŋai3]; ND2 [ŋai3]; ND3 [ŋai3]
 [OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/*ei3

ài 愛 QYS ʔai- CDC *oi5/EC *'uyh
 BMH [oi]; MX [ɔi5]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [oi5]; LZ [ɔi5]; SHT [ɔi5]
 HY [uai5]; XY [uai5]; DB [ɔi5]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]
 CT [ue5]; WP [ue5]; YD [oi3]; SH [ue3]; LC1 [ui5]; LC2 [oi5]
 NK [æ5]; AY [ʔue5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ɔi5]; QN [ɔi5]; ND1 [ŋoe5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋuai5]
 [OPH *oi5] CNH *oi5/*ai5

The second reconstruction is a late layer reading reflected in the Shàngyóu, Yilǒng, and Xīchāng forms.

ǒu 嘔 QYS ʔəu: CDC *eu3/EC *'ox
 BMH [eu]; MX [ɛu3]; HL [eu3]; SX [eu3]; LF [eu3]; LZ [ɛu3]; SHT [iu3]
 HY [uai3]; XY [ɐu3]; DB [ɛi3]; YL [ai3]; XC [əu3]
 CT [eu3]; WP [ɛ3]; YD [eu3]; SH [ə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɜ3]; AY [ʔu3]; SY [io3]; XS [əu3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋeu3]; ND2 [ŋəu3]; ND3 [ŋəu3]
 OPH *eu3 CNH *eu3

In most dialects syllables of this type take modern initial zero. Sporadic appearance of ɲ- in the Sìchuān dialects may indicate borrowing or other influence from Sìchuān Mandarin. For Ānyuǎn, Liú (2001) writes a glottal stop initial before certain finals, while Liú (1999) does not indicate this feature. No glottal stop initial is listed in the Ānyuǎn phonological inventories of

either work. It seems probable that the feature, where present, is not phonemic in this dialect and is in fact in free variation with absolute zero. Níngdū regularly develops a prothetic initial η - in syllables of this type. Compare now the following set:

ēn 恩 QYS ʔəni CDC *en1/EC *'un1
BMH [en]; MX [ɛn1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [ɛn1]; SHT [—]
HY [an1]; XY [in1]; DB [ən1]; YL [ɲan1]; XC [ɲən1]
CT [eŋ1]; WP [eŋ1]; YD [ɛn1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ẽ1]; AY [əŋ1]; SY [ẽ1]; XS [ɛn1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [ɲən1]; ND2 [ɲən1]; ND3 [ən1]
OPH *en1 CNH *en1

Here Níngdū-3 has failed to develop η -. The reason for this may be that this reading is a loan from elsewhere.

The following set constitutes a special case:

è 惡 QYS ʔâk CDC *ok7/EC *'akh
BMH [ok]; MX [ɔk7]; HL [ok7]; SX [ok7]; LF [ok7]; LZ [ɔk7]; SHT [ɔk7]
HY [ɔk7]; XY [ɔk7]; DB [ɔk7]; YL [—]; XC [oʔ7]
CT [o2]; WP [ɔʔ7]; YD [ɔʔ7]; SH [oʔ7]; LC1 [u6]; LC2 [u22]
NK [o8]; AY [o6]; SY [o5]; XS [ɔk7]; QN [oʔ7]; ND1 [vok7]; ND2 [vɔk7]; ND3 [vɔk7]
[OPH *ok7] CNH *ok7

Here, Níngdū develops not η - but v- before CNH *-ok.

Examples of syllables having the Common Neo-Hakka onset *i- are of several types. The following illustrate cases where *i is the main vowel of the syllable:

yīn 因 QYS ʔien4 CDC *in1/EC *in
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin1]
HY [in1]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in1]
OPH *in1 CNH *in1

yīn 音 QYS ʔjəm3 CDC *im1/EC *um
 BMH [yim]; MX [im1]; HL [ʒem1]; SX [im1]; LF [jim1]; LZ [ʒim1]; SHT [jim1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
 CT [ieŋ1]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [ieŋ1]; LC2 [iŋ1]
 NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [im1]; ND2 [im1]; ND3 [im1]
 OPH *im1 CNH *im1

yì 意 QYS ʔjǐ- CDC *i5/EC *ih
 BMH [yi]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [ʒi5]; SHT [ji5]
 HY [i5]; XY [i5]; DB [zi5]; YL [i5]; XC [i5]
 CT [i5]; WP [i5]; YD [zi3]; SH [i5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [i5]
 NK [i5]; AY [ji5]; SY [ji2]; XS [i5]; QN [i5]; ND1 [i5]; ND2 [i5]; ND3 [i5]
 OPH *i5 CNH *i5

In examples of this type Hǎilù and Lìzhīzhuāng develop initial prothetic ʒ-, while Diànbái and Yǒngdìng show a rather similar prothetic z-. Lùfēng, Song Him Tong, Ānyuǎn, and Shàngyóu develop an initial semivowel, j-.

We now turn to cases where initial *i precedes other vowels. In our first two examples, *i is followed by *a:

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
 BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [ʒam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [ʒam2]; SHT [jam2]
 HY [jiam2]; XY [iam2]; DB [zam2]; YL [ien2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [iŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iã2]; LC1 [ie2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [ien2]; QN [iam2]; ND1 [iam2]; ND2 [iam2]; ND3 [iam2]
 OPH *iam2 CNH *iam2

yáo 搖 QYS jiäup CDC *yau2/EC *yaw
 BMH [yâu]; MX [iau2]; HL [ʒau2]; SX [ieu2]; LF [jau2]; LZ [ʒau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [jiau2]; XY [iau2]; DB [zau2]; YL [iau2]; XC [iau2]
 CT [io2]; WP [io2]; YD [iau2]; SH [iə2]; LC1 [io2]; LC2 [—]

NK [iɔ2]; AY [jiɔ2]; SY [jiɔ2]; XS [iau2]; QN [iau2]; ND1 [iau2]; ND2 [iau2]; ND3 [iau2]
OPH *iau2 CNH *iau2

Here, intrusive ʒ- and z- fully replace initial *i-, while the semivowel j- precedes it. But in our next examples a somewhat different pattern obtains:

yǒu 有 QYS jəu: CDC *yeu4/EC *wix
BMH [yu]; MX [iu1]; HL [ʒu1]; SX [iu1]; LF [jiu1]; LZ [ʒiu1]; SHT [jiu1]
HY [jiu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iu1]; LC1 [ieu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu1]; AY [jɤ3]; SY [jiu3]; XS [iu3]; QN [iu1]; ND1 [iəu1]; ND2 [iəu1 ~ iəu3]; ND3 [iu1 ~ iəu3]
OPH *iu1 CNH *ieu1/*ieu3

yòu 右 QYS jəu- CDC *yeu6/EC *wih
BMH [yù]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu6]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
HY [jiu6]; XY [iu3]; DB [iu3]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu5]
CT [ieu6]; WP [iu3]; YD [iu5]; SH [iu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu5]; AY [jɤ6]; SY [jiu5]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu6]; ND1 [iəu6]; ND2 [iəu6]; ND3 [iəu6]
[OPH *iu6] CNH *ieu6

In cases of this type, Hǎilù replaces *i- with ʒ-, while Lìzhīzhuāng preposes this element before following *i. Prothetic z- is not in play at all in Diànbái and Yǒngdìng in these cases. Prothetic j- behaves as expected, except in Ānyuǎn, where it replaces rather than precedes *i-.

Finally, we have cases of the following type, involving the Common Neo-Hakka syllable *iu:

yú 于 QYS ju CDC *yu2/EC *wa
BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji1 ~ ʒi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [jy1]; XS [vi2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [iu2]; ND2 [iu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i2] CNH *iu2

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
 BMH [yɪ]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [ji3]
 HY [jy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [yɛ3]
 NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
 [OPH *i3] CNH *iu3

These are generally unremarkable, except for the Xiūshuǐ forms, which take an initial v-. A possible developmental scenario for this configuration is the following metathetic change: *iu2 > *ui2 > vi2. Cf. §3.3.2 of Chapter III for the development of CNH *-iu in the Xiūshuǐ.

We conclude this section with an entirely different type of syllable from those examined thus far:

ér 而 QYS nízi CDC *nhi2/EC *ni
 BMH [yɪ ~ lɪ]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲi2 ~ ji2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [—]; XC [ɛr2]
 CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
 [OPH *i2] CNH *ɲi2/*i2/*ə2

As mentioned in §2.2.4 above, the second Basil Mission form and the two Níngdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *ɿə2.

ér 兒 QYS níze CDC *nhi2/EC *ne
 BMH [yɪ]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲi2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [zi2]; YL [—]; XC [ɛr2]
 CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [ə2 ~ ni1]†; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
 [OPH *i2] CNH *ɲi2/*i2/*ə2

† Second form as in hɿ3 ni1 [女兒], as found in a children's ditty (Qiu 2012: 327).

ěṛ 耳 QYS ńźĩ: CDC *^hni4/EC *nix
 BMH [nyĩ]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni3]; SX [ni3]; LF [ɲji3]; LZ [ɳgi3]; SHT [ɲi3]
 HY [ɲi3]; XY [ɲi3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni3]
 CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ m3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [ɲ3]; LC1 [ɲi3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ɲ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ɜ3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3
 [ni1 ~ ə3]
 OPH *^hni3 CNH *^hɲ3/L *^hni3

In sets of this type, readings in [ə], [ɜ], [ə̃], etc. are clearly late borrowings of a northern rhotic [ə̃] or ə̃-like syllable. In some sets they suffice to support comparative reconstructions, but the resulting common system forms are at best tangential to Core Hakka.

Chapter III: Reconstruction of the Syllable Finals of Common Neo-Hakka

The following syllable finals are reconstructed for Common Neo-Hakka:

<i>a</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>iai</i>	<i>uai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>iau</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ian</i>	<i>uan</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>iaŋ</i>	<i>uaŋ</i>	<i>uiaŋ</i>	<i>am</i>	
	<i>iam</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>iat</i>	<i>uat</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>iak</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>iap</i>								
<i>o</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>uo</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ioi</i>	<i>uoi</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>ion</i>	<i>uon</i>	<i>oŋ</i>	<i>ioŋ</i>	<i>uoŋ</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>iot</i>	<i>uot</i>
	<i>uiot</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>iok</i>	<i>uok</i>	<i>op</i>											
<i>u</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>iun</i>	<i>uŋ</i>	<i>iunŋ</i>	<i>iuiŋ</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>iut</i>	<i>uk</i>	<i>iuk</i>						
<i>e</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ieu</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>eŋ</i>	<i>ueŋ</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>uek</i>	<i>ep</i>				
<i>i</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>iui</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>ip</i>								
<i>ɨ</i>	(ə)	(ə)														
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>															

Italicized finals co-occur in O'Connor's Proto-Hakka system. Proto-Hakka has two finals, *-yat and *-uet, which are not reconstructed for Common Neo-Hakka (see §3.2.16 and §3.4.12) below. Proto-Hakka *-iu does not correspond to Common Neo-Hakka *-iu (see §3.3.2 and §3.4.5). Bracketed Common Neo-Hakka finals are peripheral in the system and are posited exclusively for a small number of loan forms. Including these, Common Neo-Hakka comprises eighty-four finals.

A basic principle which must be continually kept in mind in reading this chapter is that the same proto-final may develop in different ways after different initial types, the initial class being the conditioning factor for the difference in modern reflexes. This will be observed passim throughout the chapter. For an example where we have explicitly alerted the reader to the phenomenon, cf. the different developments of CNH *-ion in §3.2.9.

3.1 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *a

3.1.1 CNH *-a

This final is generally well preserved in the dialects and presents no points of special interest. Examples are:

chá 茶 QYS ɬa CDC *ja2/EC *dra (dray?)
 BMH [tshâ]; MX [ts'a2]; HL [ts'a2]; SX [ts'a2]; LF [ts'a2]; LZ [tʃha2]; SHT [ts'a2]
 HY [ts'a2]; XY [ts'a2]; DB [ts'a2]; YL [ts'a2]; XC [tɕ'a2]
 CT [ts'a2]; WP [tsha2]; YD [ts'a2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts'o2]; LC2 [ts'o2]
 NK [ts'a2]; AY [ts'a2]; SY [ts'a2]; XS [ts'a2]; QN [ts'a2]; ND1 [ts'a2]; ND2 [ts'a2]; ND3
 [ts'a2]
 OPH *ts'a2 CNH *ts'a2

mǎ 馬 QYS ma: CDC *ma4/EC *mrax
 BMH [ma]; MX [ma1]; HL [ma1]; SX [ma1]; LF [ma1]; LZ [ᵐba3]; SHT [ma1]
 HY [ma1 ~ ma5]; XY [ma1]; DB [ma1]; YL [ma3]; XC [ma3]
 CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [ma1]; SH [ma1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mo1]
 NK [ma1]; AY [ma3]; SY [ma3]; XS [ma1]; QN [ma3]; ND1 [ma1]; ND2 [ma1]; ND3 [ma1]
 OPH *ma1 CNH *ma1/*ma3

3.1.2 CNH *-ia

Basic examples for this final are:

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
 BMH [tshià]; MX [ts'ia5]; HL [ts'ia6]; SX [ts'ia5]; LF [ts'ia5]; LZ [tʃhia5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ia6]; XY [ts'ɛ3]; DB [ts'ia3]; YL [ɕia3]; XC [ɕiɛ5w ~ tɕ'ia5b]
 CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts'ia5 ~ ts'ia3]; SH [tɕhia3 ~ ɕia3]; LC1 [ts'io6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɕia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts'ia5]; QN [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6]; ND1 [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6];
 ND2 [tɕ'ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts'ia6]

[OPH *ts'ia6] CNH *ts'ia6//L *sia6

Where both affricate and fricative forms are present, and the distinction is explained, the fricative initial form is usually the word for “thank” and “fade (of flowers)”, while the affricate form is a surname.

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya6/yakh

BMH [yà]†; MX [ia5]; HL [ʒa6]; SX [ia5]; LF [ja6]; LZ [ʒa5]; SHT [ja5]

HY [ia6]; XY [ia3]; DB [ia3]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia5]

CT [ia6]; WP [ia3]; YD [ia5]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [io6]; LC2 [io6]

NK [ia5]; AY [jia6]; SY [jia5]; XS [ia5]; QN [ia6]; ND1 [ia6]; ND2 [ia6]; ND3 [ia6]

OPH *ia6 CNH *ia6

†Tone after Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

Of particular interest are cases where CNH *-ia occurs after postalveolars, e.g.,

chē 車 QYS tshja CDC *chia1/EC *cha (khyā)

BMH [chha]; MX [ts'a1]; HL [tʃ'a1]; SX [tʃ'a1]; LF [tʃ'a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts'a1]

HY [ts'a1]; XY [ts'a1]; DB [ts'a1]; YL [tʂ'a1]; XC [tʂ'a1]

CT [tʃ'a1]; WP [tsha1]; YD [ts'a1]; SH [tsha1]; LC1 [tʃ'o1]; LC2 [tʃ'o1]

NK [ts'a1]; AY [ts'a1]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [tʂ'a1]; QN [ts'a1]; ND1 [ts'a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'a1]

OPH *tʂ'a1 CNH *tʂ'ia1

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'io1].

shé 蛇 QYS džja CDC *zhia2/EC *ɖay

BMH [shá]; MX [sa2]; HL [ʃa2]; SX [ʃa2]; LF [ʃa2]; LZ [ʃa2]; SHT [sa2]

HY [sa2]; XY [sa2]; DB [sa2]; YL [sa2]; XC [ʂa2]

CT [ʃa2]; WP [sa2]; YD [sa2]; SH [sa2]; LC1 [ʃo2]; LC2 [ʃo2]

NK [sa2]; AY [sa2]; SY [sa2]; XS [ʂa2]; QN [sa2]; ND1 [sa2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [sa2]

OPH *ša2 CNH *šia2

Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃio2].

Medial *-i- in such cases is generally lost in such syllables in the modern dialects, making it necessary to go beyond our database, to the Qīngliú dialect, to find evidence for it. And since it does not occur in the Mainstream dialects, O'Connor's Proto-Hakka does not show it. However, once it has been found in a significant number of examples for which full sets are available, it becomes possible to establish a *correspondence profile* for this syllable type, which can then be extended to sets for which no Qīngliú evidence happens to be available. For example, in the present case, the relevant profile is characterized by the occurrence of the modern initials tʃ- and ʃ- (and by analogy also tʃ-) before final -a in Basil Mission Hakka, Hǎilù, Sixiàn, Lùfēng, and Chángtīng, of ʃ-, etc. in this position in Xiūshuǐ, and of ʃ-, etc. before -o in Liánchéng. Having identified this profile, it can be used to reconstruct *-ia in sets of the following type:

shě 捨 QYS śja: CDC *shia3/EC *θax
BMH [shá]; MX [sa3]; HL [ʃa3]; SX [ʃa3]; LF [ʃa3]; LZ [ʃa3]; SHT [—]
HY [sa3]; XY [sa3]; DB [sa3]; YL [ʃa3]; XC [ʃa3]
CT [ʃa3]; WP [sa3]; YD [sa3]; SH [sa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [ʃa3]; QN [sa3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]
[OPH *ša3] CNH *šia3

zhè 蔗 QYS tśja- CDC *cia5/—
BMH [chà]; MX [tsa5]; HL [tʃa5]; SX [tʃa5]; LF [tʃa5]; LZ [tʃa5]; SHT [tsa5]
HY [tsa5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃa5]; XC [tʃa5]
CT [tʃa5]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [tʃo5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tʃa5]; QN [tsa5]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [tsa5]
[OPH *tša5] CNH *tšia5

In these cases we have no supporting Qīngliú evidence. It is rather by analogizing on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set as a whole that we confidently restore medial *-i- here.

3.1.3 CNH *-ua

Examples for this final are:

guā 瓜 QYS kwa CDC *kua1/EC *kwra
 BMH [kwa]; MX [kua1]; HL [kua1]; SX [kua1]; LF [kua1]; LZ [ka1]; SHT [kua1]
 HY [ka1]; XY [ka1]; DB [kua1]; YL [kua1]; XC [kua1]
 CT [kua1]; WP [kua1]; YD [kua1]; SH [kua1]; LC1 [ko1]; LC2 [ko1]
 NK [kua1]; AY [kua1]; SY [kua1]; XS [kua1]; QN [ka1]; ND1 [ka1]; ND2 [ka1]; ND3 [ka1]
 OPH *kua1 CNH *kua1

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua1/EC —
 BMH [fa]; MX [fa1]; HL [fa1]; SX [fa1]; LF [fa1]; LZ [fa1]; SHT [fa1]
 HY [fa1]; XY [fa1]; DB [fa1]; YL [fa1]; XC [fa1]
 CT [fa1]; WP [fa1]; YD [fa1]; SH [fa1]; LC1 [fo1]; LC2 [fo1]
 NK [hua1]; AY [hua1]; SY [hua1]; XS [fa1]; QN [fa1]; ND1 [fa1]; ND2 [fa1]; ND3 [fa1]
 [OPH *fa1] CNH *hua1

The second example illustrates reduction of *-ua to -a at a number of points, attendant upon dentilabialization of initial *h-. CNH *-ua may also interchange with *-a in doublet readings, as exemplified in the following:

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *^hngua4/EC *ngwrayx
 BMH [ngá ~ ngwá]; MX [ŋa3]; HL [ŋua3]; SX [ŋa3]; LF [ŋua3]; LZ [ʷga3]; SHT [ŋa3]
 HY [ŋa3]; XY [ŋa3]; DB [ŋa3]; YL [ŋa3]; XC [ŋa3]
 CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]
 OPH *ngua3 CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3
 †FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

3.1.4 CNH *-ai

Examples for this final are:

dài 帶 QYS tâi- CDC *tai5/EC *'tath
BMH [tài]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]
HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]
CT [tai5]; WP [tai5]; YD [tai3 ~ tai5]; SH [tai5]; LC1 [tai5]; LC2 [tai5]
NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]
OPH *tai5 CNH *tai5

xiè 蟹 QYS yǎi: CDC *hai4/EC *grex
BMH [hái]; MX [hai3]; HL [hai3]; SX [hai3]; LF [hai3]; LZ [hai3]; SHT [hai3]
HY [hai3 ~ hai5]; XY [hai2]; DB [hai3]; YL [hai3]; XC [—]
CT [hai6]; WP [xa3]; YD [hai3]; SH [ha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hæ3]; AY [hæ3]; SY [k'æ3]; XS [hai3]; QN [k'ai3]; ND1 [k'ai3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k'ai2]
OPH *hai3 CNH *hai3/k'ai3

Several points in this set show divergent tones, but they do not form a recognizable correspondence pattern.

CNH *-ai varies with *-oi in numerous doublet pairs. See §3.2.5 for discussion.

3.1.5 CNH *-iai

Examples of this final after dental initials are of the following type:

dī 低 QYS tiei CDC *tiai1/EC *'te
BMH [tai]; MX [tai1]; HL [tai1]; SX [tai1]; LF [tai1]; LZ [tai1]; SHT [tai1]
HY [tiɛ1]; XY [tɛi1]; DB [tɛ1]; YL [tei1]; XC [—]
CT [te1]; WP [—]; YD [tei1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te1]
NK [ti1]; AY [te1]; SY [ti1]; XS [tɛ1]; QN [ti1 ~ tɛi1]; ND1 [tiɛ1]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tiai1]
[OPH *tai1] CNH *tiai1

dǐ 底 QYS tiei: CDC *tiai3/EC *tiyx
 BMH [tái]; MX [tai3]; HL [tai3]; SX [tai3]; LF [tai3]; LZ [tai3]; SHT [—]
 HY [tiɛ3]; XY [tai3]; DB [tɛ3]; YL [tei3]; XC [ti3w ~ tai3b]
 CT [tɛ3]; WP [ti3]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [tɛ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ti3]; AY [tɛ3 ~ ti3]; SY [ti3]; XS [tɛ3]; QN [ti3 ~ tei3]; ND1 [ti3]; ND2 [tiei3]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *tai3 CNH *tiai3/L *ti3

lí 犁 QYS liei CDC *liai2/EC *liy
 BMH [lâi ~ lê]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
 HY [liɛ2]; XY [lei2]; DB [lɛ2]; YL [lei2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
 CT [lɛ2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei2]; SH [lei2]; LC1 [lɛ2]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [lɛ2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [liei2]; ND3 [liai2]
 [OPH *lai2] CNH *liai2/L *li2
 †FJFYZ: [lɛ2].

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *diyx
 BMH [thì]; MX [t'i5w ~ t'ai1]; HL [t'i6]; SX [t'i5]; LF [t'i6]; LZ [thai1b ~ thi5w]; SHT [t'ai1
 ~ t'i5]
 HY [t'ie6 ~ t'ie1]; XY [t'i3 ~ t'ei1]; DB [t'i3 ~ t'ei1 ~ t'i5]; YL [t'ei3]; XC [t'i5]
 CT [t'e1]; WP [thi1]; YD [t'ei1]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
 NK [t'i1]; AY [t'e1 ~ t'i6]; SY [t'i1]; XS [t'ɛ1]; QN [t'i1 ~ t'ei1]; ND1 [t'ie1]; ND2 [t'iei1];
 ND3 [t'iai1]
 OPH *t'ai1 CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

After sibilants there is a somewhat different correspondence pattern:

qí 齊 QYS dziei CDC *dziai2/EC *dziy
 BMH [tshî ~ tshê]; MX [ts'i2w ~ ts'ɛ2b]; HL [ts'e2]; SX [ts'e2]; LF [ts'e2 ~ ts'i2]; LZ [tʃhɛ2];
 SHT [ts'ɛ2]
 HY [ts'ie2]; XY [ts'ei2]; DB [ts'ɛ2]; YL [ts'ei2]; XC [tɛ'i1]
 CT [ts'e2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi2 ~ tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'i2 ~ ts'e2]

NK [tɕ'ɪ2]; AY [ts'ɪ2 ~ ts'e2]; SY [tɕ'ɪ2]; XS [ts'ɪ2]; QN [tɕ'ɪ2]; ND1 [tɕ'ɪ2]; ND2 [tɕ'ɪɛɪ2];
ND3 [ts'ɪ2]

OPH * ts'e2 CNH * ts'iai2/L *ts'ɪ2

xì 細 QYS siei- CDC *siai5/EC *'siyh

BMH [sɛ̃]; MX [sɛ5 ~ sɛ2]; HL [se5]; SX [se5]; LF [se5]; LZ [ʃɛ5]; SHT [se5]

HY [siɛ5]; XY [sei5]; DB [ʎɛ5]; YL [sei5]; XC [sei5]

CT [se5]; WP [si5 ~ se5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [si5]

NK [ɕi5]; AY [se5]; SY [ɕi2]; XS [se5]; QN [sei5]; ND1 [ɕiɛ5]; ND2 [ɕiɛi5]; ND3 [siai5 ~ sie5]

OPH *se5 CNH *siai5/*si5

In these environments CNH *-iai is preserved intact in Níngdū-3 and minimally changed in Níngdū-2. At other points it undergoes various degrees of modification. It is also noteworthy that *-iai frequently occurs in doublets where its literary correlate has final *-i. Note O'Connor's Proto-Hakka forms here. Since they are based on Mainstream dialect data, they do not reflect the commonality we have found in our two different coronal environments.

In the following example, where the initial is CNH *k-, a different correspondence pattern obtains:

jī 雞 QYS kiei CDC *kiai1/*'ke

BMH [kai ~ ke]; MX [kɛ1]; HL [kai1]; SX [ke2]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT [kai1]

HY [kiɛ1]; XY [kɛi1]; DB [kɛ1]; YL [kei1]; XC [kai1]

CT [tʃɛ1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kei1]; SH [kei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [ki1]

NK [tei1]; AY [ke1]; SY [tei1]; XS [kɛ1]; QN [ki1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [tsai1]

OPH *kiai1 CNH *kiai1/*ki1

Here, none of our dialect points retain the full form of *-iai. However, the initials of the Níngdū forms indicate that an earlier *i must have been present. This vowel triggered a *k- > ts- shift, after which it was lost in the expected way. (Cf. §2.5.1 of Chapter II).

The following examples illustrate an entirely different type of guttural initial correspondence set:

jiē 街 QYS kai CDC *kai1/EC *kre
 BMH [kai ~ kiai ~ ke]; MX [kɛ1]; HL [kiai1w ~ kai1b]; SX [kiai1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kai1]; YL [kai1]; XC [kai1]
 CT [tʃe1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kai1]; SH [kei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [ki1]
 NK [kæ1]; AY [kæ1]; SY [kæ1]; XS [kai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]
 OPH *kiai1 CNH *kai1/L *kiai1

jiě 解 QYS kai: CDC *kai3/EC *krex
 BMH [kài ~ kiái]; MX [kiai3w ~ kɛ3b]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai3]; LZ [kai3];
 SHT [kai3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kei3]; XC [kai3]
 CT [tʃe3]; WP [ke3 ~ tsia3]; YD [kai3]; SH [kei3]; LC1 [ka1 ~ ke3]; LC2 [ka3]
 NK [kæ3]; AY [kæ3]; SY [kæ3]; XS [kai3]; QN [kai3]; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kai3]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *kiai3 CNH *kai3/L *kiai3

xié 鞋 QYS yǎi CDC *hai2/EC *gre
 BMH [hâi]; MX [hai2]; HL [hai2]; SX [hai2]; LF [hai2]; LZ [hai2]; SHT [hai2]
 HY [hai2]; XY [hai2]; DB [hai2]; YL [hai2]; XC [hai2]
 CT [hai2]; WP [xa2]; YD [hei2]; SH [ha2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [ʃe2]
 NK [hæ2]; AY [hæ2]; SY [hæ2]; XS [hai2]; QN [hai2]; ND1 [hai2]; ND2 [hai2]; ND3 [hai2]
 OPH *hai2 CNH *hai2/*hiai2

The second reconstruction is supported by the Yǒngdīng and Liánchéng forms.

In examples of this type, CNH *-iai is a literary variant reading, occurring opposite the popular final *-ai, rather than as a popular variant of *-i. This state of affairs proved particularly perplexing to O'Connor (1976: 34–35), who wished to combine *-iai with *-ai into a single Proto-Hakka final. He recognized that some sort of mixing of literary and popular forms was present in his data, but he was unable to disentangle the various Mainstream dialect final types. Today, with the benefit of fuller data and a reconstructive methodology designed to deal with the layering problems of multi-stratal reconstruction, we are better able to clarify the matter. In

brief, we are dealing here with multiple layers in the common system. Forms in *-iai appear in two different layers, one very early and popular (as in the cases of dī 低 “low”, xì 細 “small, fine”, and jī 雞 “chicken”, and the other considerably later, as in the case of jiē 街 “street” and xié 鞋 “shoe”. Any attempt to conflate the two, along with their respective alternate literary and/or popular forms, in a mono-stratal system such as Proto-Hakka, is doomed to failure. However, it is to O’Connor’s credit that he recognized and acknowledged forty years ago the probable futility of his own effort to do so.

Finally, we cite a single case where *-iai occurs after a postalveolar:

shì 世 QYS śjăi- CDC *shiai5/EC *θath
BMH [shè ~ shì]; MX [sɿ5w ~ se5b]; HL [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; SX [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃe5b ~ ʃi5w]; SHT [se5]
HY [sie5]; XY [sɐi5]; DB [se5]; YL [ɕɿ3]; XC [ɕɿ5]
CT [ʃi5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ5]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [ei5 ~ sai5]
OPH *še5 ~ *ši5 CNH *šiai5/L *ši5

In this case, the correspondence profile of the set as a whole suggests that *-iai is in fact the correct final. If it is not, then whatever form one chooses to reconstruct here will be unique and isolated and at the same time in complementary distribution with *-iai in the system. This accounts for our reconstruction of *-iai in this set.

3.1.6 CNH *-uai

This final occurs almost exclusively after gutturals. The following examples illustrate its different behavior after stops and *h-:

kuài 塊 QYS khuâi- CDC *khuoi5/EC *ʰkhuyh
BMH [khwài]; MX [kʰuai5]; HL [kʰuai5]; SX [kʰuai5]; LF [kʰuai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT [—]
HY [kʰai5 ~ fai5†]; XY [kʰai5]; DB [kʰuai5]; YL [kʰuai5]; XC [kʰuai5]
CT [kʰue5]; WP [khui5]; YD [kʰuei3 ~ kʰuai3]; SH [khua5]; LC1 [kʰua5]; LC2 [kʰua5]

NK [k'uæ5]; AY [k'ue5]; SY [k'uæ3]; XS [k'uai5]; QN [k'ai5]; ND1 [k'uai5]; ND2 [k'ui5];
ND3 [k'ui5]

OPH *k'uai5 CNH *k'uai5/*fai5 (< *huai5 ?)

‡Measure for land.

The second Héyuán form reflects the second reconstruction. It is supported by similar forms in western Guǎngdōng Hakka dialects that are not included in our database. See Lǐ Rúlóng (1999: 36).

huái 淮 QYS ywǎi CDC *huai2/EC *gruy

BMH [fâi]; MX [fai2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [fai2]; LZ [fai2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [huai2]; XC [huai2]

CT [fai2]; WP [—]; YD [fai2]; SH [fa2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [huæ2]; AY [hue2]; SY [huæ2]; XS [fai2]; QN [fæ2]; ND1 [fai2]; ND2 [fai2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fai2] CNH *huai2

It is rather likely that CNH *fai5 in the first example derives from an earlier *huai5.

In the following example *-uai is tentatively posited after *-s- in a possible variant reading:

shuài 帥 QYS şwi- CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth

BMH [sòì]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [—]

HY [suai5]; XY [suai5]; DB [sɔi5]; YL [ʃuai5]; XC [ʃuai5 ~ ʃuaʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sai3]; SH [sa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sæ2]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sai6]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [sai5]

[OPH *soi5] CNH *suoi5/*suai5

The tone of the Níngdū-1 form is irregularly of lower register.

The reconstruction of this form remains uncertain.

3.1.7 CNH *-au

Examples for this final are:

bǎo 飽 QYS pau: CDC *pau3/EC *prux
BMH [páu]; MX [pau3]; HL [pau3]; SX [pau3]; LF [pau3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [pau3]
HY [pau3]; XY [pau3]; DB [pau3]; YL [pau3]; XC [pau3]
CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pau3]; SH [po3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]
OPH *pau3 CNH *pau3

zhǎo 爪 QYS t̚sau: CDC *cau3/EC *tsrawx
BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsau3]; SX [tsau3]; LF [tsau3]; LZ [ʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
HY [tsau3]; XY [tsau3]; DB [tsau3]; YL [tsau3]; XC [t̚sau3]
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsau3]; SH [tso3]; LC1 [tsɔ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3
[tsau3]
OPH *tsau3 CNH *tsau3

The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregularly a fricative rather than an affricate.

jiào 教 QYS kau- CDC *kau5/EC *krewh
BMH [kàu]; MX [kau5]; HL [kau5]; SX [kau5]; LF [kau5]; LZ [kau5]; SHT [kau5]
HY [kau5]; XY [kau5]; DB [kau5]; YL [teiau1]; XC [teiau5]
CT [kɔ5]; WP [kɔ5]; YD [kau3]; SH [ko5]; LC1 [kɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kɔ5]; AY [kɔ5]; SY [kɔ2]; XS [kau5]; QN [kau5]; ND1 [kau5]; ND2 [kau5]; ND3 [kau5]
[OPH *kau5] CNH *kau5

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may be Mandarinized loans.

3.1.8 CNH *-iau

Examples for this final are:

miào 廟 QYS mjäu- CDC *miau6/EC *mawh
BMH [miäu]; MX [miau5]; HL [miau6]; SX [meu5]; LF [miau6]; LZ [ᵐbiau5]; SHT [—]

HY [miau6]; XY [miau3]; DB [miau3]; YL [miau3]; XC [miau5]
 CT [miə6]; WP [miə3]; YD [mieu3]; SH [miə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [miə5]; AY [miə6]; SY [miə5]; XS [miau5]; QN [miau6]; ND1 [miau6]; ND2 [miau6];
 ND3 [miau6]
 OPH *miau6 CNH *miau6

qiáo 橋 QYS gjäu CDC *giau2/EC *gaw
 BMH [khiâu]; MX [k'iau2]; HL [k'iau2]; SX [k'eu2]; LF [k'iau2]; LZ [khiâu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'iau2]; XY [k'iau2]; DB [k'iau2]; YL [tɕ'iau2]; XC [tɕ'iau2]
 CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [tshio2]; YD [k'iau2]; SH [tɕhiə2]; LC1 [k'io2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'iau2]; QN [tɕ'iau2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2];
 ND3 [ts'au2]
 OPH *k'iau2 CNH *k'iau2

After postalveolars medial *-i- is lost everywhere except in Héyuán, where it is retained. In Shàngháng it has a unique reflex, -ə, in this position. This profile element can be used to restore the full proto-final when supporting evidence from Héyuán is lacking. Examples are:

shāo 燒 QYS sjäu CDC *shiau1/EC *θew
 BMH [shau]; MX [sau1]; HL [ʃau1]; SX [ʃeu1]; LF [ʃau1]; LZ [ʃau1]; SHT [sau1]
 HY [siau1]; XY [sau1]; DB [sau1]; YL [ɕau1]; XC [ɕau1]
 CT [ʃɔ1]; WP [sɔ1]; YD [seu1]; SH [sə1]; LC1 [ʃɔ1]; LC2 [ʃɔ1 ~ ʃɐu1]
 NK [sɔ1]; AY [sɔ1]; SY [sɔ1]; XS [ɕau1]; QN [sau1]; ND1 [sau1]; ND2 [sau1]; ND3 [sau1]
 OPH *sau1 CNH *šiau1

zhào 照 QYS tsjäu- CDC *ciau5/EC *tewh
 BMH [chèu ~ chàu]; MX [tsau5]; HL [tʃau5]; SX [tʃeu5]; LF [tʃau5]; LZ [tʃau5]; SHT [tsau5]
 HY [tsiau5]; XY [tsau5]; DB [tsau5]; YL [tɕau5]; XC [tɕau5]
 CT [tʃɔ5]; WP [tsɔ5]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɔ5]; AY [tsɔ5]; SY [tsɔ2]; XS [tɕɔ5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tšau5] CNH *tšiau5

cháo 朝 QYS djäu CDC *jiau2/EC *draw
 BMH [chhâu]; MX [ts'au2]; HL [tj'au2]; SX [tj'eu2]; LF [tj'au2]; LZ [tj'hau2]; SHT [ts'au2]
 HY [—]; XY [ts'au2]; DB [ts'au2]; YL [tɕ'au2]; XC [tɕ'au2]
 CT [tj'ɔ2]; WP [tshɔ2w]; YD [ts'eu2]; SH [tshə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɔ2]; AY [ts'ɔ2]; SY [ts'ɔ2]; XS [tɕ'au2]; QN [ts'au2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *tɕ'au2] CNH *tɕ'iau2

The presence of the full final *-iau in words of this type constitutes a significant difference between O'Connor's Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka.

3.1.9 CNH *-an

Examples for this final are:

bǎn 板 QYS pwan: CDC *pan3/EC *pronx
 BMH [pán]; MX [pan3]; HL [pan3]; SX [pan3]; LF [pan3]; LZ [—]; SHT [pan3]
 HY [pan3]; XY [pan3]; DB [pan3]; YL [pan3]; XC [pan3]
 CT [paŋ3]; WP [paŋ3]; YD [paŋ3 ~ pan3]; SH [pã3 ~ piẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa3]
 NK [pã3]; AY [pã3]; SY [pã3]; XS [pan3]; QN [pan3]; ND1 [pan3]; ND2 [pan3]; ND3 [pan3]
 [OPH *pan3] CNH *pan3

dān 單 QYS tân CDC *tan1/EC *'tan
 BMH [tan]; MX [tan1]; HL [tan1]; SX [tan1]; LF [tan1]; LZ [tan1]; SHT [tan1]
 HY [tan1]; XY [tan1]; DB [tan1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tan1]
 CT [taŋ1]; WP [taŋ1]; YD [tan1]; SH [tã1]; LC1 [ta1]; LC2 [ta1]
 NK [tã1]; AY [tã1]; SY [tã1]; XS [tan1]; QN [tan1]; ND1 [tan1]; ND2 [tan1]; ND3 [tan1]
 [OPH *tan1] CNH *tan1

fǎn 反 QYS pjwɔn: CDC *fan3/EC *ponx
 BMH [fán]; MX [fan3]; HL [fan3]; SX [fan3]; LF [fan3]; LZ [fan3]; SHT [—]

HY [fan3]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan3]
 CT [faŋ3]; WP [faŋ3]; YD [fan3]; SH [fã3]; LC1 [fa3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fã3]; AY [fã3]; SY [fã3]; XS [fan3]; QN [fan3]; ND1 [fan3]; ND2 [fan3]; ND3 [fan3]
 [OPH *fan3] CNH *fan3

3.1.10 CNH *-ian

Examples for this final are:

biān 邊 QYS pien CDC *pian1/EC 'pen
 BMH [pien]; MX [pien1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [pen1]; SHT [pen1]
 HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pien1]; YL [pien1]; XC [pien1]
 CT [piŋ1]; WP [pieŋ1]; YD [pien1]; SH [piẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe1]
 NK [piẽ1]; AY [pi1]; SY [piẽ1]; XS [pien1]; QN [pien1]; ND1 [pien1]; ND2 [pian1]; ND3
 [pian1]
 OPH *pian1 CNH *pian1

tiān 天 QYS thien CDC *thian1/EC *'thin
 BMH [thien]; MX [t'ien1]; HL [t'ian1]; SX [t'ian1]; LF [t'ian1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [t'en1]
 HY [t'ian1]; XY [t'ian1]; DB [t'ien1]; YL [t'ien1]; XC [t'ien1]
 CT [t'ing1]; WP [thien1]; YD [t'ien1]; SH [thiẽ1]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
 NK [t'ieß1]; AY [t'il]; SY [t'ieß1]; XS [t'ien1]; QN [t'ien1]; ND1 [t'ien1]; ND2 [t'ian1]; ND3
 [t'ian1]
 OPH *t'ian1 CNH *t'ian1

jiān 肩 QYS kien CDC *kian1/EC *'ken
 BMH [ken ~ kien]; MX [kian1w ~ kin1b]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [ken1]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kian1]; DB [kien1]; YL [teien1]; XC [teien1]
 CT [tŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [kien1]; SH [teiẽ1]; LC1 [ke1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tei̯ɛ1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei̯ɛ1]; XS [tei̯en1]; QN [tei̯en1]; ND1 [tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [tsan1]

OPH *kian1 CNH *kian1

Examples after postalveolars are:

shàn 善 QYS źjān-, źjān- CDC *zhian6/EC *danx

BMH [shèn ~ shàn ~ shán]; MX [san5]; HL [ʃan5]; SX [ʃan5]; LF [ʃan5]; LZ [ʃen5]; SHT [—]

HY [sian6]; XY [san3]; DB [san3]; YL [ʃan5]; XC [ʃan5]

CT [ʃiŋ6]; WP [seŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sẽ5]; AY [ei6]; SY [sẽ5]; XS [ʃen5]; QN [sen6]; ND1 [san6]; ND2 [san6]; ND3 [san6]

OPH *san5 CNH *sian6

The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.

zhàn 戰 QYS tśjān- CDC *cian5/EC *tranh

BMH [chèn]; MX [tsan5]; HL [tʃan5]; SX [tʃan5]; LF [tʃan5]; LZ [tʃen5]; SHT [—]

HY [tsian5]; XY [tsan5]; DB [tsan5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]

CT [tʃiŋ5]; WP [tseŋ5]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tsẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [tsẽ5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tsẽ2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tsen5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]

[OPH *tʃan5] CNH *tʃian5

†FJFYZ: [tʃie5].

Direct evidence for medial *-i- in syllables of this type comes from Héyuán. The correspondence profile in such sets also permits analogical reconstruction of *-i- in cases where Héyuán data are unavailable.²⁶ The occurrence of *-ian after Common Neo-Hakka postalveolars distinguishes this system from Proto-Hakka, where no such configuration is possible. Cf. the Proto-Hakka forms in the above sets.

CNH *-ian occurs regularly as a literary variant reading of popular words having final *-an. The following exemplify this:

²⁶ In fact there do not happen to be any such problematic cases in the data sets used in the present work.

jiān 間 QYS kǎn CDC *kan1/EC *kren
 BMH [kan ~kien]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [kan1]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kan1]; YL [kan1]; XC [tɕien1w ~ kan1b]
 CT [kaŋ1 ~ tɕiŋ1]; WP [tsieŋ1 ~ kaŋ1]; YD [kien1]; SH [tɕiɛ̃1 ~ kã1]; LC1 [ka1]; LC2 [ke1]
 NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 [kan1]; ND3 [kan1]
 [OPH *kan1] CNH *kan1/L *kian1

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn: CDC *^hngan4/EC *ngrunx
 BMH [nyén ~ ngán]; MX [ɲian3]; HL [ɲian3w ~ ɲan3b]; SX [ɲian3]; LF [ɲan3]; LZ [ɲgan3];
 SHT [ɲan3]
 HY [ɲan5]; XY [ɲan3]; DB [ɲan3]; YL [ɲan3]; XC [ɲan3]
 CT [ɲaŋ3]; WP [ɲaŋ3]; YD [ɲan3]; SH [ɲã3]; LC1 [ɲa3]; LC2 [ɲa3]
 NK [ɲã3]; AY [ɲã3]; SY [ɲã3]; XS [ɲan3]; QN [ɲan3]; ND1 [ɲan3]; ND2 [ɲan3]; ND3 [ɲan3]
 [OPH *ngan3] CNH *ɲan3/L *ñian3

This correspondence pattern is clearly indicative of lexical layering.

3.1.11 CNH *-uan

This final is rare in Common Neo-Hakka and is reconstructed in only two sets in our data, in one of which it occurs in a literary variant reading:

guān 關 QYS kwan CDC *kuan1/EC *kron
 BMH [kwan]; MX [kuan1]; HL [kuan1]; SX [kuan1]; LF [kon]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kuan1]; YL [kuan1]; XC [kuan1]
 CT [kuaŋ1]; WP [kuaŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [kua1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kuã1]; AY [kuã1 ~ k'ã1]; SY [kuã1 ~ k'uã1]; XS [kuan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2
 [—]; ND3 [kuan1]
 OPH *kuan1 CNH *kuan1

huán 還 QYS ywan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
 BMH [fon ~ fan]; MX [fan2w ~ fən2b]; HL [fan2w ~ van2b ~ han2b]; SX [van2b ~ han2b]; LF
 [fan2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [han2 ~ van2]
 HY [van2]; XY [van2]; DB [van2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
 CT [vaŋ2]; WP [vaŋ2]; YD [van2]; SH [vã2]; LC1 [va2]; LC2 [va2]
 NK [huã2 ~ vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [huã2 ~ vã2]; XS [fan2 ~ van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [fan2 ~
 van2]; ND2 [van2]; ND3 [van2]
 [OPH *van2] CNH *van2/L *huan2
 Basil Mission and Méixiàn have variant forms that appear to descend from earlier *huon2,
 though no such form can be reconstructed comparatively.

3.1.12 CNH *-aŋ

Examples for this final are:

kēng 坑 QYS khəng CDC *khang1/EC *khrang
 BMH [hang ~ khang]; MX [haŋ1]; HL [haŋ1b]; SX [haŋ1b]; LF [haŋ1]; LZ [haŋ1]; SHT [haŋ1]
 HY [haŋ1]; XY [haŋ1]; DB [haŋ1]; YL [k'əŋ1]; XC [k'ən1]
 CT [haŋ1]; WP [khaŋ1 ~ xaŋ1]; YD [k'əŋ1]; SH [khaŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'əŋ1]
 NK [hã1]; AY [hã1]; SY [hã1]; XS [haŋ1]; QN [haŋ1]; ND1 [k'əŋ1]; ND2 [k'əŋ1]; ND3 [haŋ1]
 [OPH *haŋ1] CNH *haŋ1/L *k'əŋ1

 yìng 硬 QYS ngəng- CDC *ngang6/EC *ngrangh
 BMH [ngàng]; MX [ŋaŋ5]; HL [ŋaŋ5]; SX [ŋaŋ5]; LF [ŋaŋ6]; LZ [ŋgaŋ5]; SHT [ŋaŋ5]
 HY [ŋaŋ6]; XY [ŋaŋ3]; DB [ŋaŋ3]; YL [ŋaŋ3]; XC [ŋaŋ5]
 CT [ŋeŋ6]; WP [ŋaŋ3]; YD [ŋaŋ5]; SH [ŋaŋ3]; LC1 [ŋaŋ3]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋã6]; SY [ŋã5]; XS [ŋaŋ5]; QN [ŋaŋ6]; ND1 [ŋaŋ6]; ND2 [ŋaŋ6]; ND3 [ŋaŋ6]
 [OPH *ngang6] CNH *ŋaŋ6
 †FJFYZ: [ŋaŋ5].

péng 彭 QYS bōng CDC *bang2/EC *bring
 BMH [phāng]; MX [p'əŋ2]; HL [p'əŋ2]; SX [p'əŋ2]; LF [p'əŋ2]; LZ [phaŋ2]; SHT [p'əŋ2]
 HY [p'əŋ2]; XY [p'əŋ2]; DB [p'əŋ2]; YL [p'ən2]; XC [p'ən2]
 CT [p'ən2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [phaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ā2]; AY [p'ā2]; SY [p'ā2]; XS [p'əŋ2]; QN [p'əŋ2]; ND1 [p'əŋ2]; ND2 [p'əŋ2]; ND3
 [p'əŋ2]
 [OPH *p'əŋ2] CNH *p'əŋ2

The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms appear to be Mandarin loans and are not reflected in the reconstructions.

CNH *-əŋ occurs after postalveolar affricates (but not after the fricative *ʃ-), e.g.,

chéng 成 QYS zhāng CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
 BMH [shîn ~ shāng]; MX [sən2w ~ saŋ2b]; HL [ʃən2w ~ ʃaŋ2b]; SX [ʃən2w ~ ʃaŋ2b]; LF [ʃin2];
 LZ [ʃaŋ2b ~ ʃin2w]; SHT [saŋ2]
 HY [sin2 ~ saŋ2]; XY [saŋ2]; DB [saŋ2 ~ səŋ2]; YL [tʃ'ən2]; XC [tʃ'ən2]
 CT [tʃ'ən2 ~ ʃaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2 ~ sin2]; SH [saŋ2 ~ seŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [te'ĩŋ2]; AY [ts'ā2 ~ sã2]; SY [te'ĩŋ2 ~ sã2]; XS [tʃ'ən2 ~ ʃaŋ2]; QN [te'in2 ~ ts'əŋ2 ~
 saŋ2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2 ~ səŋ2 ~ ts'əŋ2 ~ saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2 ~ saŋ2]
 [OPH *ʃang2] CNH *ʃiaŋ2/L *ʃiŋ2; *tʃ'əŋ2/*tʃ'ĩŋ2
 Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiā2].

zhěng 整 QYS tǎng CDC *ciang3/EC *tengx
 BMH [chín]; MX [tsən3w ~ tsəŋ3b]; HL [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; SX [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; LF [tʃin3];
 LZ [tʃin3]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsəŋ3 ~ ts'in3]; XY [tsin3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʃən3]; XC [tʃən3]
 CT [tʃən3]; WP [tsin3]; YD [tsin3]; SH [tseŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃaŋ3]; LC2 [tʃən3]
 NK [tsəŋ3 ~ tsã3]; AY [tceŋ3 ~ tsã3]; SY [tceŋ3 ~ tsã3]; XS [tʃən3 ~ tʃaŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—];
 ND2 [tsəŋ1b ~ tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]
 [OPH *tʃang3 ?] CNH *tʃaŋ3/L *tʃiŋ3

The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃã3].

In parallel cases having initial *š-, only *-iaŋ is found, for examples of which see the following section.

Nearly all cases of *-aŋ in our data involve doublet pairing with finals in CNH *-eŋ or *-iŋ. These doublets will be discussed under §3.4.7 and §3.5.5 below.

3.1.13 CNH *-iaŋ

Virtually every syllable reconstructed with this final has a literary doublet reading in CNH *-iŋ. Examples of these will be given in §3.5.5 below. A case where no literary form is attested is the following:

bǐng 餅 QYS pjǎng: CDC *piang3/EC *pengx
BMH [piáng]; MX [piaŋ3]; HL [piaŋ3]; SX [piaŋ3]; LF [piaŋ3]; LZ [piaŋ3]; SHT [piaŋ3]
HY [piaŋ3]; XY [piaŋ3]; DB [piaŋ3]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ3]
CT [piaŋ3]; WP [piaŋ3]; YD [piaŋ3]; SH [piaŋ3]; LC1 [piaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [piã3]; AY [piã3]; SY [piã3]; XS [piaŋ3]; QN [piaŋ3]; ND1 [piaŋ3]; ND2 [piaŋ3]; ND3
[piaŋ3]
[OPH *piang3] CNH *piaŋ3

CNH *-iaŋ occurs after postalveolar *š-, where the Qīngliú dialect retains the original medial. Examples are:

chéng 城 QYS zǎng CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
BMH [shâng]; MX [saŋ2]; HL [ʃaŋ2]; SX [ʃaŋ2]; LF [ʃaŋ2]; LZ [ʃaŋ2]; SHT [saŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕʰen2]; XC [tɕʰən2w ~ ɕaŋ2b]
CT [ʃaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [saŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [ʃaŋ2]
NK [tɕʰiŋ2]; AY [sã2]; SY [tɕʰiŋ2 ~ sã2]; XS [tɕʰən2 ~ ɕaŋ2]; QN [tɕʰin2 ~ saŋ2]; ND1 [tsʰəŋ2
~ saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šang2] CNH *šiaŋ2/*tɕʰiŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiã2].

shēng 聲 QYS śjǎng CDC *shiang1/EC *θeng
 BMH [shang]; MX [saŋ1]; HL [faŋ1]; SX [faŋ1]; LF [faŋ1]; LZ [faŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [saŋ1]; YL [ʂaŋ1]; XC [ʂaŋ1]
 CT [fɛŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [faŋ1]; LC2 [faŋ1]
 NK [ɕiŋ1w ~ sã1b]; AY [sã1]; SY [ɕiŋ1 ~ sã1]; XS [ʂən1 ~ ʂaŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1 ~
 saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
 OPH *šang1 CNH *šiaŋ1/L *šɿŋ1
 Cf. Qīngliú: [fiã1].

There is no evidence for CNH *-iaŋ after postalveolar affricates. If it originally occurred there, which is highly likely, it was subsequently reduced to *-aŋ in all dialects for which modern data are available to us. Cf. §3.1.12 above. In this connection, compare the following Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē sets:

Hakka

zhèng/zhēng 正 QYS tsjǎng, tsjǎng- CDC *ciang5/EC *teng
 BMH [chìn]; MX [tsən5w ~ tsəŋ5b]; HL [tʃən5w ~ tʃaŋ1b]; SX [tʃən5w ~ tʃaŋ5b]; LF [tʃin5 ~
 tʃaŋ1]; LZ [tʃaŋ1/tʃaŋ5 ~ tʃin5]; SHT [tsin5]
 HY [tsin5 ~ tsəŋ5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tsən5]; YL [tʂən5]; XC [tʂən5]
 CT [tʃɛŋ5]; WP [tsiŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ3 ~ tsəŋ1]; SH [tseiŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; LC1 [tʃaŋ5];
 LC2 [—]
 NK [teiŋ5 ~ tsã3 ~ tsã1]; AY [tsəŋ5 ~ tsã5 ~ tsã1]; SY [tɕiŋ2 ~ tsã2 ~ tsã1]; XS [tʂən5 ~ tʂəŋ5];
 QN [tɕin5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND3
 [tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5]
 [OPH *tšang5 ~ *tšang1] CNH *tšəŋ1/L *tšɿŋ1// *tšəŋ5/L *tšɿŋ5
 Tone 1 forms refer specifically to the name of the first Lunar month. Tone 5 forms take the more general senses of “correct, upright, etc.”
 Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃã5].

Shē

zhēng 正 QYS tsjǎng “first Lunar month” CDC *ciang5/EC *teng
 FA [tɕiaŋ1]; FD [tɕiaŋ1]; LY [tɕiaŋ1]; SM [tɕiaŋ1]; SC [tɕiaŋ1]; HA [tɕiaŋ1];

GX [tsaŋ1]; CN [tɕiaŋ1]; JN [tɕiaŋ1]; LS [tɕiaŋ1]; LngY [tɕiaŋ1];
CZ [tsaŋ1]; FS [tʃaŋ1]; TY [tʃaŋ1] CS *tʃiaŋ1

Here we see that Common Shē has final *-iaŋ rather than *-aŋ in syllables of this type, suggesting that at the Common Hakka-Shē stage medial *-i- was present after affricates, as is also the case in the corresponding Common Dialectal Chinese forms. What has apparently happened is that Hakka has lost the medial after postalveolar affricates, while Shē has retained it.

3.1.14 CNH *-uaŋ

This final occurs in a single cognate set:

héng 橫 QYS ywŋŋg “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng
BMH [vâŋ]; MX [vaŋ2]; HL [vaŋ2]; SX [vaŋ2]; LF [vang2]; LZ [vaŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [vaŋ2]; XY [vaŋ2]; DB [vuaŋ2]; YL [uaŋ2]; XC [vaŋ2]
CT [vaŋ2]; WP [vaŋ2]; YD [vaŋ2]; SH [vaŋ2]; LC1 [vaŋ2]; LC2 [vaŋ2]
NK [vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [vã2]; XS [vaŋ2]; QN [vaŋ2]; ND1 [vaŋ2]; ND2 [vaŋ2]; ND3 [vaŋ2]
OPH *vang2 CNH *vuaŋ2

The full shape of the proto-form is preserved in Diànbái. One might, for the sake of argument, suppose that medial -u- in the Diànbái form arose secondarily and that the Proto-Hakka reconstruction should be considered valid for Common Neo-Hakka. However, this seems forced, because the Common Neo-Hakka combination *va- does not normally yield modern vua- in Diànbái. Compare the following sets:

wāi 歪 QYS — CDC —/—
BMH [vai]; MX [vai1]; HL [vai1]; SX [vai1]; LF [vai1]; LZ [vai]; SHT [—]
HY [vai1]; XY [vai1]; DB [vai1]; YL [uai1]; XC [vai1]
CT [vai1]; WP [va1]; YD [vai1]; SH [va1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [va1]
NK [væ1]; AY [væ1]; SY [væ1]; XS [vai1]; QN [vai1]; ND1 [vai1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vai1]
[OPH *vai1] CNH *vai1

wān 彎 QYS ʔwan CDC *uan1/EC *'wron
 BMH [van]; MX [van1]; HL [van1]; SX [van1]; LF [van1]; LZ [van1]; SHT [—]
 HY [van1]; XY [van1]; DB [van1]; YL [uan1]; XC [van1]
 CT [vaŋ1]; WP [vaŋ1]; YD [van1]; SH [vã1]; LC1 [va1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vã1]; AY [vã1]; SY [vã1]; XS [van1]; QN [van1]; ND1 [van1]; ND2 [van1]; ND3 [van1]
 OPH *van1 CNH *van1

3.1.15 CNH *-uiaŋ

This is another unique final, which occurs in the following set:

xiōng 兄 QYS xjwɔŋg CDC *xuang1 ~ *xiang1/EC *hwang
 BMH [hiung]; MX [hiuŋ1]; HL [hiuŋ1]; SX [hiuŋ1]; LF [hiuŋ1]; LZ [hiuŋ1]; SHT [hiuŋ1]
 HY [hin1]; XY [soŋ1]; DB [hən1 ~ hɔŋ1]; YL [ɕiaŋ1]; XC [ɕiuŋ1]
 CT [fiaŋ1 ~ foŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [suŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; SH [ɕiaŋ1 ~ ɕiaŋ1w]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiã1]; AY [ɕiaŋ1]; SY [ɕiã1 ~ ɕiŋ1]; XS [ɕiaŋ1]; QN [ɕiaŋ1]; ND1 [fiaŋ1]; ND2 [fiaŋ1];
 ND3 [fiaŋ1]
 [OPH *hiuŋ1] CNH *huiaŋ1/L *hiuŋ1

The element *-u- in the first reconstruction has left a trace of itself in the initials of the Níngdū forms, where *h- has undergone regular dentilabialization before *-u-, which we therefore place adjacent to *h-. All dialects which have reflexes of *huiaŋ1 have reduced its complex final in one way or another but often preserve a final “-iaŋ-like” element. In our view, HY [hin1] and Dìanbái [hən1] are likely to be reflexes of *huiaŋ1, but this matter is problematic because we are dealing here with a unique syllable type without parallels in these dialects. The second reconstructed form is identified by the Shàngháng source as a literary correlate of the first. And, like Shàngháng, several other dialects show reflexes of both forms. Reflexes of *hiuŋ1 take either a final rounded main vowel, like [u] or [o], or some other non-low unrounded vowel like [ə]. It should be noted that this etymon is not the usual spoken word for “elder brother” in the Hakka dialects, which instead use expressions such as ā-gē 阿哥 or lǎobó 老伯 for this

kinship term. It is therefore possible that both Neo-Hakka readings of xiōng 兄 are ultimately of literary rather than popular origin.

3.1.16 CNH *-am

Examples for this final are:

fán 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom
BMH [fām]; MX [fam2]; HL [fam2]; SX [fam2]; LF [—]; LZ [fan2]; SHT [fan2]
HY [—]; XY [fan2]; DB [fan2]; YL [fan2]; XC [fan2]
CT [faŋ2]; WP [faŋ1]; YD [faŋ2]; SH [fã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fã2]; AY [fã2]; SY [fã2]; XS [fan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam2]; ND2 [fan2]; ND3 [—]
OPH *fam2 CNH *fam2

nán 男 QYS nām CDC *nom2/EC *'num
BMH [nām]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [laŋ2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [naŋ2]
NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
OPH *nam2 CNH *nam2

xián 鹹 QYS yām CDC *ham2/EC *grum
BMH [hām]; MX [ham2]; HL [ham2]; SX [ham2]; LF [ham2]; LZ [ham2]; SHT [ham2]
HY [ham2]; XY [ham2]; DB [ham2]; YL [han2]; XC [han2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [haŋ2]; SH [hã2]; LC1 [haŋ2]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [ham2]; ND1 [ham2]; ND2 [ham2]; ND3 [ham2]
OPH *ham2 CNH *ham2

The following example is curious, in that it is the only case in our data where CNH *-am stands after a postalveolar initial.

zhàn 站 QYS tām- “to stand” CDC *cam5/EC *tremh
 BMH [chàm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tsan5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
 CT [tsaŋ5]; WP [tsaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsā3]; AY [tsā5]; SY [tsā2]; XS [tsan5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tʃam5] CNH *tʃam5

The initial of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular and seems to reflect an earlier *tsam5.

Zhàn 站 is not the autochthonous Hakka word for “to stand” (see Chapter V, §5.2.53), and it is likely that it is actually a loan from some other dialect type.

3.1.17 CNH *-iam

Examples for this final are:

diàn 店 QYS tiem- CDC*tiam5/EC —
 BMH [tiàm]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tien5]; XC [tien5]
 CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tiaŋ5]; YD [tiaŋ3]; SH [tiã5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tiẽ5]; AY [tiã5]; SY [tiẽ2]; XS [tien5]; QN [tiam5]; ND1 [tiam5]; ND2 [tiam5]; ND3
 [tiam5]
 OPH *tiam5 CNH *tiam5

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
 BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [zam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [zam2]; SHT [jam2]
 HY [jiam2]; XY [iam2]; DB [zam2]; YL [ien2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [iŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iã2]; LC1 [ie2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [ien2]; QN [iam2]; ND1 [iam2]; ND2 [iam2]; ND3 [iam2]
 OPH *iam2 CNH *iam2

yán 嚴 QYS ngjom CDC *ngiam2/EC *ngom
 BMH [nyâm]; MX [ɲiam2]; HL [ɲiam2]; SX [ɲiam2]; LF [ɲiam2]; LZ [ɲgiam7]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲiam2]; XY [ɲiam2]; DB [ɲiam2]; YL [ɲien2]; XC [niɛn2]
 CT [niŋ2]; WP [nian2]; YD [—]; SH [niã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɲiaŋ2]
 NK [niẽ2]; AY [niã2]; SY [niẽ2]; XS [nien2]; QN [niam2]; ND1 [niam2]; ND2 [nam3]; ND3
 [nam2]
 OPH *nɛ2iam2 CNH *ñiam2
 The tone of the Níngdū-2 form is irregular.

CNH *-iam loses its medial *-i- after postalveolars except in Héyuán, e.g.,

zhàn 占、佔 QYS tsjäm- “to occupy” CDC *ciam5/EC *temh
 BMH [chàm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tʃam5]; LZ [tʃam5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsiam5]; XY [tsam5]; DB [tsam5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]
 CT [—]; WP [tsaŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsã3]; AY [tsã5]; SY [tsẽ2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [tsam5]; ND3
 [tsam5]
 [OPH *tʃam5] CNH *tšiam5

In the following set, medial *-i- is sporadically retained in Lizhīzhuāng and Sung Him Tong, for uncertain reasons.

shǎn 閃 QYS śjäm;- CDC *shiam3/EC *θamx
 BMH [shám]; MX [sam3 ~ sap7s]; HL [ʃam3]; SX [ʃam3]; LF [ʃam3]; LZ [ʃiam3]; SHT [siam3]
 HY [siam3]; XY [sam3]; DB [sam3]; YL [ʃan3]; XC [ʃan3]
 CT [ʃiŋ3]; WP [saŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [sã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ3]; AY [sã3]; SY [sẽ3]; XS [ʃen3]; QN [—]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam1]
 [OPH *šam3] CNH *šiam3

The tone of the Níngdū-3 form is irregular.

Where Héyuán or other evidence is unavailable, *-i- can be restored on the basis of the correspondence profile, if enough of it is retained in the set, e.g.,

zhān 占 QYS tšjäm “to divine” CDC *ciam1/EC *tem
 BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃam1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃan1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsā1]; AY [—]; SY [tsē1]; XS [tʃen1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsam1]; ND2 [tsam1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tšam1] CNH *tšiam1

This set is defective, but enough of it is attested to support the correspondence profile and hence the reconstruction of the final.

3.1.18 CNH *-at

Examples for this final are:

bā 八 QYS pwāt CDC *pat7/EC *pret
 BMH [pát]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
 HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
 CT [pe2]†; WP [pieʔ7]††; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
 NK [pa7]; AY [pɜ6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pait7]; QN [pæʔ7]; ND1 [pait7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
 OPH *pat7 CNH *pat7
 †DCBG: var. pa2.
 ††DCBG: paʔ7.

The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin. They do not show a regular correspondence pattern.

chá 察 QYS tšhāt CDC *chat7/EC *tshrat
 BMH [tshat]; MX [tsʼat7]; HL [tsʼat7]; SX [tsʼat7]; LF [tsʼat7]; LZ [tʃhat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsʼat7]; XY [tsʼat7]; DB [tsʼat7]; YL [tsʼaʔ7]; XC [tʃaʔ7]
 CT [tsʼa2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [tsʼaʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsʼa6]
 NK [tsʼa7]; AY [tsʼɜ3]; SY [tsʼa5]; XS [tsʼait7]; QN [tsʼæʔ7]; ND1 [tsʼait7]; ND2 [tsʼat7]; ND3
 [tsʼat7]
 OPH *tsʼat7 CNH *tsʼat7

huá 滑 QYS ywăt CDC *huat8/EC *grot ? ~ *grut ?
 BMH [vát]; MX [vat8]; HL [vat8]; SX [vat8]; LF [vat8]; LZ [vat8]; SHT [vat8]
 HY [—]; XY [vat8]; DB [vat8]; YL [fa2]; XC [vaʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [vaʔ8]; YD [vat8]; SH [vaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [va5]
 NK [va5]; AY [v32]; SY [va5]; XS [vait8]; QN [væʔ8]; ND1 [vait8]; ND2 [vat8]; ND3 [vat8]
 OPH *vat8 CNH *vat8

3.1.19 CNH *-iat

Examples for this final are:

biē 鼈 QYS pjiät4 CDC *piat/EC *pet
 BMH [piet]; MX [piet7]; HL [piet7]; SX [piet7]; LF [piat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pieʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [pi1]; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [pieʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *piat7 CNH *piat7

diē 跌 QYS tiet CDC *tiat/EC *’tet
 BMH [tiet]; MX [tiet7]; HL [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiat7]; LZ [tæt7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tiet7 ~ tiat7]; XY [tiat7]; DB [tiet7]; YL [tiεʔ7]; XC [tiεʔ7]
 CT [te2]; WP [tiεʔ7]; YD [tiεʔ7]; SH [tiεʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te6]
 NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [tiet7]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tiet7]; ND2 [tiat7]; ND3 [tiat7]
 OPH *tiat7 CNH *tiat7

rè 熱 QYS nǎjät CD *nhiat8/EC *nat
 BMH [nyét]; MX [n̩iat8]; HL [n̩iet8]; SX [n̩iet8]; LF [n̩iat8]; LZ [ⁿget8]; SHT [—]
 HY [n̩iat8]; XY [n̩iat8]; DB [n̩iat8]; YL [n̩ieʔ8]; XC [niεʔ8]
 CT [ne6]; WP [niεʔ8]; YD [n̩ieʔ8]; SH [n̩ieʔ8]; LC1 [n̩i5]; LC2 [ni5]
 NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
 OPH *n̩iat8 CNH *n̩iat8

xiē 歇 QYS xjpt CDC *xiat7/EC *hot
 BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [—]
 HY [hiat7]; XY [k'iat7]; DB [k'iet7]; YL [ɕieʔ7]; XC [ɕieʔ7]
 CT [ʃe2]; WP [sieʔ7]; YD [seʔ7]; SH [ɕieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
 NK [ɕie7 ~ ɕie8]; AY [ɕi33]; SY [ɕie5]; XS [ɕiet7]; QN [ɕieʔ7 ~ saiʔ7]; ND1 [sait7 ~ ts'ait7];
 ND2 [—]; ND3 [sat7]
 OPH *hiat7 CNH *hiat7

In Liánchéng the reflex of CNH *-iat is -e after dentals and -i elsewhere. After postalveolars medial *-i- is lost except in Héyuán, e.g.,

shé 舌 QYS dzjät CDC *zhiat8/EC *ɬat
 BMH [shét]; MX [sat8]; HL [ʃat8]; SX [ʃat8]; LF [ʃat8]; LZ [ʃet8]; SHT [set8]
 HY [siat8]; XY [sat8]; DB [sat8]; YL [ʃeʔ8 ~ ʃaʔ8]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃe6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; YD [seʔ8]; SH [seʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
 NK [se5]; AY [s31]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃet8]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [sait8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sat7]
 OPH *sət8 CNH *šiət8

3.1.20 CNH *-uat

This final is reconstructable in one, or possibly two, sets in variant readings:

kuò 括 QYS kuât CDC *kuot7/EC *'kot
 BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [kat7]; XY [k'at7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [k'ueʔ7]; XC [k'uaʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [kuaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [kuaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kua7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kua5]; XS [kuait7]; QN [koiʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3
 [k'uat7]
 [OPH *kuat7] CNH *kuot7/*k'uat7

shuā 刷 QYS šjwät CDC *shuat7 ~ *shot7?/EC *srot
 BMH [sot]; MX [sot7]; HL [sot7b]; SX [sot7]; LF [sot7]; LZ [ʃot7]; SHT [—]
 HY [sat7]; XY [ts'at7]; DB [ʃat7]; YL [—]; XC [ʃuaʔ7]
 CT [sue2]; WP [sueʔ7]; YD [sot7]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [soæ7]; AY [—]; SY [suo5]; XS [sɔit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [soet7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [suat7]
 [OPH *sot7] CNH *s(u)ot7/*suat7 ?

The second reconstruction is possibly reflected by the dialects of the second row of the set. The initial of the Xīnyí form is totally aberrant.

CNH *-uat in these sets is almost certainly merely a variant of *-uot (see §3.2.17 below) and is probably due to borrowing or some other type of dialect mixture. It is clearly peripheral in the Common Neo-Hakka system. Compare also the following set:

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot
 BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [fuat7]; XY [k'at7]; DB [k'uat7]; YL [k'uɛʔ7]; XC [k'uɛʔ7]
 CT [k'ue2]; WP [khuaʔ7]; YD [k'uat7]; SH [khuaʔ7]; LC1 [k'ua6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'ua7]; AY [k'u33]; SY [k'ua5]; XS [k'uaɪ7]; QN [k'æʔ7]; ND1 [k'oet7]; ND2 [k'uot5];
 ND3 [k'uat7]
 [OPH *fat7] CNH *k'uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)

Initial f- forms in this set, strictly reconstructable as *fuat7, probably actually derive from CNH *fuot7, though the requisite forms for this are lacking from the determinative dialects. Cf. huó 活 in §3.2.17 below.

3.1.21 CNH *-ak

Examples for this final are:

bái 白 QYS bɒk CDC *bak8/EC *brak
 BMH [phák]; MX [p'ak8]; HL [p'ak8]; SX [p'ak8]; LF [p'ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p'ak8]
 HY [p'ak8]; XY [p'ak8]; DB [p'ak8]; YL [p'aʔ8]; XC [p'aʔ8]
 CT [p'a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p'aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ pheʔ8]; LC1 [p'o5]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'a1]; AY [p'a6]; SY [p'a5]; XS [p'ak8]; QN [p'aʔ8]; ND1 [p'ak8]; ND2 [p'ak8]; ND3 [p'ak8]

OPH *p'ak8 CNH *p'ak8

chāi 拆 QYS tʰok CDC *chiak7/EC *thrak

BMH [tshak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [ts'ak8]; SX [ts'ak8]; LF [ts'ak7]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [ts'ak7]

HY [ts'ak7]; XY [ts'ak7]; DB [ts'ak7]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]

CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'ia6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ak7]; QN [ts'aʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'ak7]

[OPH *ts'ak7] CNH *ts'ak7

Here, both Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng show “Mandarinized” retroflexion.

xià 嚇 QYS xɔk CDC *xak7/EC *hrak

BMH [hak]; MX [hak7]; HL [hak7]; SX [hak7]; LF [—]; LZ [hak7]; SHT [hat7]

HY [hak7]; XY [hak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [haʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [xɑʔ7]; YD [haʔ7]; SH [haʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ha8]; AY [ha6]; SY [ha5]; XS [hak7]; QN [haʔ7]; ND1 [hak7]; ND2 [hak7]; ND3 [hak7]

[OPH *hak7] CNH *hak7

3.1.22 CNH *-iak

Examples of this final after postalveolars are:

chǐ 尺 QYS tshjäk CDC *chiak7/EC *thak

BMH [chhak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [tʃ'ak7]; SX [tʃ'ak7]; LF [tʃ'ak7]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ak7]; XY [ts'ak7]; DB [ts'ak7]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]

CT [tʃ'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7 ~ tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ'o6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'a6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [tɕ'ak7]; QN [ts'aʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [ts'ak7]; ND3 [ts'ak7]

[OPH *tʃ'ak7] CNH *tʃ'iak7

Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [tʃ'ia7].

shí 石 QYS zǐāk CDC *zhiak8/EC *dak

BMH [shák]; MX [sak8]; HL [ʃak8]; SX [ʃak8]; LF [ʃak8]; LZ [ʃak8]; SHT [sak8]

HY [sak8]; XY [sak8]; DB [sək8]; YL [ʃaʔ8]; XC [ʃaʔ8]

CT [ʃa6]; WP [saʔ8]; YD [saʔ8]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [ʃo5]; LC2 [ʃo5]

NK [sa1]; AY [sa6]; SY [sa5]; XS [ʃak8]; QN [saʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]

OPH *ʒak8 CNH *ʒiak8

Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [ʃia6]; Qīngliú: [ʃioʔ7].

Medial *-i- in such cases is preserved in dialects other than those represented in our database. Its retention differentiates Common Neo-Hakka from Proto-Hakka.

Virtually all cases of non-postalveolar initial *-iak final words in our data have alternate readings in CNH *-ik, and where indications are present in the sources these *-ik final forms are said to be of literary register. Examples are:

dí 笛 QYS diék CDC *diak8/EC *'diwk

BMH [thák]; MX [t'ak8]; HL [tit7w ~ t'ak8b]; SX [tit7]; LF [t'ak8]; LZ [thak8]; SHT [—]

HY [t'iak8]; XY [t'iat8]; DB [t'et8]; YL [ti2]; XC [tiʔ8]

CT [—]; WP [theʔ8]; YD [t'iʔ8]; SH [theʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'ie8 ~ t'ia1]; AY [t'ia6]; SY [t'ie5]; XS [t'it8]; QN [t'iʔ8]; ND1 [t'iak8]; ND2 [t'iak8];

ND3 [t'iak8]

[OPH *t'ak8] CNH *t'iak8/L *t'ik8

The Mandarinized Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

lì 曆 QYS like CDC *liak8/EC *'lek

BMH [lák ~ lít ~ lét]; MX [lak8]; HL [lak8]; SX [lak8]; LF [lak8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liʔ8]

CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lie8]; AY [lia6]; SY [lie5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liak8]; ND3 [lik8]

[OPH *lak8] CNH *liak8/*lik8

3.1.23 CNH *-ap

Examples for this final are:

chā 插 QYS tshǎp CDC *chap7/EC *tshrap
 BMH [tshap]; MX [ts'ap7]; HL [ts'ap7]; SX [ts'ap7]; LF [ts'ap7]; LZ [tʃhap7]; SHT [ts'ap7]
 HY [ts'ap7]; XY [ts'ap7]; DB [ts'ap7]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]
 CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'iaʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'o6]
 NK [ts'a7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ait7]; QN [ts'æʔ7]; ND1 [ts'aip7]; ND2 [ts'ap7];
 ND3 [ts'ap7]
 OPH *ts'ap7 CNH *ts'ap7

The presence of medial -i- in the Yǒngding form is unexplained.

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
 BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
 HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
 CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
 NK [fa7]; AY [fɜ3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
 OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

jiǎ 甲 QYS kap CDC *kap7/*krap
 BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
 HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
 CT [ka2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko6]
 NK [ka7]; AY [kɜ3]; SY [ka1]; XS [kait7]; QN [kæʔ7]; ND1 [kaip7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
 OPH *kap7 CNH *kap7

3.1.24 CNH *-iap

Examples for this final are:

dié 碟 QYS diep CDC *diap8/EC *dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t'iap8]; HL [t'iap8]; SX [t'iap8]; LF [t'iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [t'iap8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tiɛʔ7]
CT [t'e6]; WP [thiɛʔ8]; YD [t'iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'ie8]; AY [t'iz1]; SY [—]; XS [t'iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t'iap8]; ND2 [t'iap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *t'iap8 CNH *t'iap8

yè 葉 QYS jiäp CDC *yap8/EC *yap
BMH [yáp]; MX [iap8]; HL [zap8]; SX [iap8]; LF [jap8]; LZ [zap8]; SHT [jap8]
HY [jiap8]; XY [iap8]; DB [zap8]; YL [iɛʔ8]; XC [iɛʔ8]
CT [ie6]; WP [iaʔ8]; YD [iaʔ8]; SH [iaʔ8]; LC1 [i5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ia5 ~ ie5]; AY [ji31]; SY [jie5]; XS [iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [iap8]; ND2 [iap]; ND3 [iap8]
OPH *iap8 CNH *iap8

yè 業 QYS ngjɔp CDC *ngiap8/EC *ngop
BMH [nyáp]; MX [niap8]; HL [niap8]; SX [niap8]; LF [niap8]; LZ [ɲgiap8]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲiap8]; XY [niap8]; DB [niap8]; YL [niɛʔ8]; XC [niɛʔ7]
CT [ne6]; WP [niaʔ8]; YD [ɲiaʔ8]; SH [niɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niɛt8]; QN [niɛʔ7]; ND1 [naip8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [nap8]
OPH *n2iap8 CNH *niap8
†FJFYZ: [ɲie5].

The following is an example of a postalveolar initial syllable:

zhé 摺 QYS tsjäp CDC *ciap/EC *tap
BMH [chap ~ tsap]; MX [—]; HL [tʃap7]; SX [tʃap7]; LF [tʃap7]; LZ [tʃap7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃɛʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsaʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tse8]; AY [—]; SY [tse5]; XS [tʃɛt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsap7]; ND3 [tsap7]
OPH *tʃap7 CNH *tʃiap7

The correspondence profile in this set shows that the proto-final patterns with *-iap rather than *-ap, even though we have in the somewhat scant data and no actual form with medial *-i-.

3.2 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *o

3.2.1 CNH *-o

Examples of this final are:

duō 多 QYS tâ CDC *to1/EC *tay
 BMH [to]; MX [tɔ1]; HL [to1]; SX [to1]; LF [to1]; LZ [tɔ1]; SHT [tɔ1]
 HY [tuɔ1]; XY [tɔ1]; DB [to1]; YL [təu1]; XC [to1]
 CT [to1]; WP [to1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tu1]; LC1 [tu1]; LC2 [tu1]
 NK [to1]; AY [to1]; SY [to1]; XS [tɔ1]; QN [to1]; ND1 [to1]; ND2 [to1]; ND3 [to1]
 OPH *to1 CNH *to1

pó 婆 QYS buâ- CDC *bo2/EC *bay
 BMH [phô]; MX [p'ɔ2]; HL [p'o2]; SX [p'o2]; LF [p'o2]; LZ [phɔ2]; SHT [p'ɔ2]
 HY [p'uɔ2]; XY [p'ɔ2]; DB [p'o2]; YL [p'əu2]; XC [p'o2]
 CT [p'o2]; WP [pho2]; YD [p'ou2]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [p'u2]; LC2 [p'u2]
 NK [p'o2]; AY [p'o2]; SY [p'o2]; XS [p'ɔ2]; QN [p'o2]; ND1 [p'o2]; ND2 [p'o2]; ND [p'o2]
 OPH *p'o2 CNH *p'o2

hé 河 QYS yâ CDC *ho2/EC *'gay
 BMH [hô]; MX [hɔ2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [hɔ2]; SHT [hɔ2]
 HY [hɔ2]; XY [hɔ2]; DB [ho2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
 CT [ho2]; WP [xo2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [huw6]
 NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [hɔ2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [ho2]
 OPH *ho2 CNH *ho2

3.2.2 CNH *-io

This final is reconstructed in three cognate sets, as follows:

qié 茄 QYS gja CDC *gio2/EC —
 BMH [khiô]; MX [k'io2]; HL [k'io2]; SX [k'io2]; LF [—]; LZ [khiɔ2]; SHT [k'io2]
 HY [k'ye2]; XY [k'ɛ2]; DB [k'e2]; YL [tɕ'iau2]; XC [tɕ'ie2w ~ tɕ'io2b]
 CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [—]; YD [k'iou2]; SH [tɕhio2]; LC1 [k'ieu2]; LC2 [k'io2]
 NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'io2]; QN [tɕ'io2]; ND1 [ts'o2]; ND2 [ts'o2]; ND3
 [ts'o2]
 OPH *k'io2 CNH *k'io2

qué 癩 QYS guâ CDC *giuo2/EC *—
 BMH [khiô]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'io2]; LZ [khiɔ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'io2]; QN [tɕ'io2]; ND1 [ts'o2]; ND2 [ts'o2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'io2] CNH *k'io2

xuē 靴 QYS xuâ CDC *xiuo1/EC *—
 BMH [hio]; MX [hiɔ1]; HL [hio1]; SX [hio1]; LF [hio1]; LZ [hiɔ1]; SHT [hiɔ1]
 HY [hyɛ1]; XY [hœ1]; DB [hio1]; YL [eyɛ1]; XC [—]
 CT [ʃio1]; WP [—]; YD [sou1]; SH [ɕio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕia7]; AY [ɕia7]; SY [ɕio1]; XS [ɕio1]; QN [ɕio1]; ND1 [so1]; ND2 [so1]; ND3 [so1]
 OPH *hio1 CNH *hio1

3.2.3 CNH *-uo

Velar stop initial occurrences of this final are exemplified in the following:

guǒ 果 QYS kuâ: CDC *kuo3/EC *'koyx
 BMH [kwó]; MX [kuǝ3]; HL [ko3]; SX [ko3]; LF [ko3]; LZ [kǝ3]; SHT [kǝ3]
 HY [kuǝ3]; XY [kǝ3]; DB [ko3]; YL [kəu3]; XC [ko3]
 CT [ko3]; WP [ko3]; YD [kou3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku3]
 NK [ko3]; AY [ko3]; SY [ko3]; XS [kǝ3]; QN [ko3]; ND1 [ko3]; ND2 [ko3]; ND3 [ko3]
 OPH *kuo3 CNH *kuo3

guò 過 QYS kuâ- CDC *kuo5/EC *koyh
 BMH [kwò]; MX [kuǝ5]; HL [ko5]; SX [ko5]; LF [ko5]; LZ [kǝ5]; SHT [kǝ5]
 HY [kuǝ5]; XY [kǝ5]; DB [ko5]; YL [kəu5]; XC [ko5]
 CT [ko5]; WP [ko5]; YD [kou3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku5]
 NK [ko5]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko2]; XS [kǝ5]; QN [ko5]; ND1 [ko5 ~ kǝ5]; ND2 [ko5]; ND3 [ko5]
 OPH *kuo5 CNH *kuo5

The following are examples of guttural spirant initial forms:

huǒ 火 QYS xuâ: CDC *xuo3/EC *'xoyx
 BMH [fǒ]; MX [fǝ3]; HL [fo3]; SX [fo3]; LF [fo3]; LZ [fǝ3]; SHT [fǝ3]
 HY [fuǝ3]; XY [fǝ3]; DB [fo3]; YL [fəu3]; XC [fo3]
 CT [fo3]; WP [xo3]; YD [fou3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fu3]; LC2 [hu3]
 NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [fǝ3]; QN [fo3]; ND1 [fo3]; ND2 [fo3]; ND3 [fo3]
 OPH *fo3 CNH *huo3

huò 禍 QYS yuâ: CDC *huo4/EC *'goyx
 BMH [fò]; MX [fǝ5]; HL [fo5]; SX [fo5]; LF [fo5]; LZ [vǝ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [fuǝ6]; XY [vǝ2]; DB [vo3]; YL [həu5]; XC [fo5]
 CT [fo6]; WP [ho3]; YD [fou5]; SH [fu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ho5]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [fǝ5]; QN [ho6]; ND1 [fo6]; ND2 [fo6]; ND3 [fo6]
 [OPH *fo5] CNH *huo6/*vo6 ?

The tone of the second reconstruction is conjectural, since the determinative forms for Tone 6 are missing. Instead, we find such forms only for the first reconstruction.

The full diphthongal form of *-uo is well preserved in Héyuán. In the following set no Héyuán form is available. However, the correspondence profile of the set enables us to restore the final with confidence:

hé 和 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
BMH [fô ~ vô]; MX [fɔ2w ~ vɔ2b]; HL [fo2 ~ vo2]; SX [fo2 ~ vo2]; LF [fo2 ~ wo2]; LZ [fɔ2];
SHT [vɔ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [—]; WP [fo2 ~ o2]†; YD [fou2 ~ vou2]; SH [hu2 ~ vu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vu2]
NK [ho2 ~ vo2]; AY [ho2 ~ vo2]; SY [ho2 ~ vo2]; XS [fɔ2]; QN [fo2]; ND1 [fo2]; ND2 [fo2];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *vo2] CNH *vuo2/L *huo2

†This is the probable identification for the third syllable in this dialect's colloquial compound kɔŋ1 the2 o2 (prob. =*kuɔŋ1 t'eu2 vuo2 光頭和), lit. “bald-pate monk”, whence, “baldy, bald fellow”.

In this set, the first reconstruction is supported by forms in initial v-, w-, initial zero, etc., which are ordinarily limited to forms of the word héshàng 和尚 “Buddhist monk” in these dialects.

After dental sibilants we have examples of the following type:

chū 初 QYS tshjwo CDC *chu1/EC *tshra
BMH [tshɿ]; MX [ts'ɿ1]; HL [ts'u1]; SX [ts'u1]; LF [ts'o1]; LZ [tʃhɔ1]; SHT [ts'ɔ1]
HY [ts'uɔ1]; XY [ts'ɔ1]; DB [ts'o1]; YL [ts'u1]; XC [tɕ'o1]
CT [ts'u1]; WP [tshɿ1]; YD [ts'ɿ1]; SH [tshɿ1 ~ tshɰ1w]; LC1 [ts'ɿ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'u1]; SY [ts'u1]; XS [ts'ɿ1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3 [ts'u1]
[OPH *ts'u1] CNH *ts'uo1

chú 鋤 QYS dzjwo CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra
BMH [tshɿ]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'u6]; SX [ts'u5]; LF [ts'o2]; LZ [tʃhɔ2]; SHT [ts'ɔ2]
HY [ts'uɔ2]; XY [ts'u2]; DB [ts'o2]; YL [ts'u2]; XC [ts'o2]

CT [ts'u2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'u2]; SY [ts'u2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *ts'u2] CNH *ts'uo2

And in the following example, where again no Héyuán form is available, we still have resort to the correspondence profile established above, which supports reconstruction:

chǔ 楚 QYS tshjwo: CDC *che3 (~ *chu3)/EC *tshrax
 BMH [tshú]; MX [ts'ɿ3]; HL [ts'u3]; SX [ts'u3]; LF [ts'e3]; LZ [tʃhɔ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'u3]; XC [tɕ'u3]
 CT [ts'u3]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u3]; AY [ts'u3]; SY [ts'u3]; XS [ts'ɿ3]; QN [ts'u3]; ND1 [ts'u3]; ND2 [ts'u3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'u3] CNH *ts'uo3

Finally, we shall posit CNH *muo2 as the proto-form for the Common Neo-Hakka word which serves as the general Hakka verbal negative and as one of the two existential negatives found in the dialect family. For discussion of these words and their reconstructions, see Chapter V, §5.2.77 and §5.2.78.

3.2.4 CNH *-ou

Examples of this final are:

bǎo 寶 QYS pâu: CDC *pou3/EC *'pux
 BMH [páu]; MX [pau3]; HL [po3]; SX [po3]; LF [po3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [pau3]; XY [pɔ3]; DB [po3]; YL [pəu3]; XC [pau3]
 CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pou3]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]
 OPH *pou3 CNH *pou3

zǎo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *'tsux
 BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]

HY [tsau3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tso3]; YL [tsəu3]; XC [tsau3]
CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3
[tsau3]
OPH *tsou3 CNH *tsou3

lǎo 老 QYS lǎu: CDC *^hlou4/EC *^hlux
BMH [láu]; MX [lau3 ~ lau5]; HL [lo3]; SX [lo3]; LF [lo3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [lau3]
HY [lau3]; XY [lo3]; DB [lo3]; YL [ləu3]; XC [lau3]
CT [lo3]; WP [lo3]; YD [lou3]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [lo3]; LC2 [lo3]
NK [lo3]; AY [lo3]; SY [lo3]; XS [lau3]; QN [lau3]; ND1 [lau3]; ND2 [lau3]; ND3 [lau3]
OPH *lou3 CNH *lou3

3.2.5 CNH *-oi

Examples for this final are:

bèi 背 QYS puài- CDC *puoi5/EC *^hpikh
BMH [pòi]; MX [poi5]; HL [poi5]; SX [poi5]; LF [poi5]; LZ [poi5]; SHT [poi5]
HY [puai5]; XY [puai5]; DB [poi5]; YL [poi5]; XC [poi5]
CT [pue5]; WP [pi5 ~ pue5]; YD [poi3 ~ p'oi3]; SH [pi5 ~ pei1 ~ pue5]; LC1 [pui5]; LC2 [poi5
~ p'oi6]
NK [pe5 ~ p'e5]; AY [pi5 ~ p'ue6]; SY [pe2]; XS [poi5]; QN [pui5 ~ pi5]; ND1 [poe5]; ND2
[p'ei6 ~ puei5]; ND3 [puai5]
OPH *poi5 CNH *poi5/*pui5/*pi5//p'oi6

“Back”/“to recite”. Three variant forms for the word “back” occur in the data, reflecting three different protoforms. Some points in the set also include a different etymon, meaning “to recite”.

dài 袋 QYS dài- CDC *doi6/EC *^hdi
BMH [thòi]; MX [t'oi5]; HL [t'oi6]; SX [t'oi5]; LF [t'oi6]; LZ [thoi5]; SHT [—]

HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'uai3]; DB [t'oi3]; YL [t'oi3]; XC [tai5]
 CT [t'ue6]; WP [thuε3]; YD [t'oi5]; SH [thuε3]; LC1 [t'ui6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'ue6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [t'uei6]; ND3
 [t'uai6]
 OPH *t'oi6 CNH *t'oi6

gǎi 改 QYS kâi: CDC *koi3/EC *'kix
 BMH [kói]; MX [koi3]; HL [koi3]; SX [koi3]; LF [koi3]; LZ [koi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [kuai3]; XY [kuai3]; DB [koi3]; YL [kai3]; XC [kai3]
 CT [kue3]; WP [kue3]; YD [koi3]; SH [kue3]; LC1 [kui3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kæ3]; AY [kue3]; SY [kue3]; XS [koi3]; QN [koi3]; ND1 [koε3]; ND2 [kuei3]; ND3 [kuai3]
 [OPH *koi3] CNH *koi3

hǎi 海 QYS xâi: CDC *xoi3/EC *'hix
 BMH [hói]; MX [hoi3]; HL [hoi3]; SX [hoi3]; LF [hoi3]; LZ [hoi3]; SHT [hoi3]
 HY [huai3]; XY [huai3]; DB [hoi3]; YL [hai3w ~ hoi3b]; XC [hoi3]
 CT [hue3]; WP [xuε3]; YD [hoi3]; SH [hue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hæ3]; AY [hue3]; SY [hue3]; XS [hoi3]; QN [hoi3]; ND1 [hoε3]; ND2 [huei3]; ND3 [huai3]
 OPH *hoi3 CNH *hoi3

Sets where forms with CNH final *-oi have variant readings in -ai are quite common in the data. The following are examples:

ài 礙 QYS ngâi- CDC *ngoi6/EC *'ngih
 BMH [ngói]; MX [ngoi5]; HL [ngoi6]; SX [ngoi5]; LF [ngoi6]; LZ [ngoi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [nguai6]; XY [nguai3]; DB [ngoi3]; YL [—]; XC [ngai5]
 CT [ngue6]; WP [ngue3]; YD [—]; SH [ngue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ngæ5]; AY [ngue6]; SY [ngue5]; XS [ngoi5]; QN [ngoi6]; ND1 [ngoe6]; ND2 [nguei6]; ND3 [ngai6]
 [OPH *ngoi6] CNH *ngoi6/*ngai6

The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xīchāng and Níngdū-3 forms.

dài 待 QYS dài: CDC *doi4/EC *'dix
BMH [thài]; MX [t'ai5]; HL [t'ai6]; SX [t'ai5]; LF [t'oi6]; LZ [thoi5]; SHT [—]
HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'uai3]; DB [t'oi3]; YL [—]; XC [tai5]
CT [t'ai6]; WP [tha3]; YD [t'ai5]; SH [tha3w ~ thuε3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'ue6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [t'uei6]; ND3
[t'uai6]
[OPH *t'ai6] CNH *t'oi6/L *t'ai6

The Xīchāng form appears to be a direct loan from some form of Mandarin.

zài 在 QYS dzài:, dzài- CDC *dzo4/EC *'dzix
BMH [tshoi ~ tshài]; MX [ts'ai5 ~ ts'oi1]; HL [ts'ai6w ~ ts'oi1b]; SX [ts'ai5w ~ ts'oi1b]; LF
[ts'ai6w ~ ts'oi1b]; LZ [tʃhɔi1 ~ tʃhɔ1]; SHT [ts'oi1]
HY [—]; XY [ts'uai1]; DB [ts'oi3]; YL [ts'oi1]; XC [tsai5w ~ ts'oi5b]
CT [ts'ai1]; WP [tshue1 ~ sue5]; YD [ts'oi1 ~ ts'ai5]; SH [tsha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'æ1]; AY [ts'ue6]; SY [ts'e1]; XS [ts'oi1]; QN [ts'oi1]; ND1 [ts'oε1]; ND2 [ts'uei6];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts'oi1] CNH *ts'oi1/*ts'oi6/L *ts'ai6

Where the sources gloss stylistic register, final *-ai forms are invariably identified as literary. It is therefore clear that doublets of this type reflect layering.

In a second type of doublet, CNH *-oi is paired with *-ui or *-iui. Examples of this type will be dealt with in §3.5.2 and §3.5.3 below.

Finally, we reconstruct *-oi in a single *m- initial syllable, a popular register Hakka word for “mother”. This form, which does not occur in the QYS lexica and for which no generally accepted sinographic representation exists,²⁷ is found in various kinship terms and compounds in the dialects, as illustrated below:

²⁷ Different written forms that are sometimes encountered in the dialectological literature are 嫫, 媯, 媯, and 嬭. And other sources simply mark the form as unidentified, representing it as “□”.

	Mother	Paternal Uncle's Wife (伯母)	Maternal Uncle's wife (舅母)
BMH	mi ~ me/a mi ~ me	pak me	khiu me
Méixiàn	a1 mɛ1	pak1 mɛ1	k'iu1 mɛ1
Hǎilù	a1 me1	pak7 me1	k'iu1 me1
Sixiàn	a1 me1	pak7 me1	k'iu1 me1
Lùfēng	a3 me1	—	—
Lizhīzhuāng	a1 ˠbi1	—	—
Song Him Tong	mi1	—	—
Yílǒng	—	paʔ7 mei5	tɛ'ieu5 mei5
Xīchāng	a1 mɛ1	paʔ7 mɛ1	—
Chángtīng	ɱ1 me1	pa2 me1	tʃ'ieu1 me1
Wǔpíng	mi1 mi1	paʔ7 mi1	—
Yǒngdìng	a1 mei1	paʔ7 mei1	k'iu1 mei1
Shàngháng	meiŋ1 mei1	paʔ7 mei1	tɛhiu1 mei1
Liánchéng-2	moi1	po6 moi1	—
	Cf. also Zǎoxī 澡溪: ²⁸	pak7 moi1	tɛ'iu1 moi1
Níngdū-3	ɱ2 mɛ1	—	—

Our hypothesis is that the nasal initial forms above, in [mei], [me1], [mi1] and [moi1], etc., all derive from a CNH *moi1. This etymon is sporadically also found in the Shē dialects,

²⁸ After Liú (1999).

as in Lóngyóu 龍遊 [mɛ1] “mother”, and in Tàiyuán 太源 [ai6 mɛ1] “mother”, [t'ai6 mɛ1] “paternal uncle’s wife”. Evidence that it was already current at the Early Southern Highlands Chinese stage will be presented in a future study (Ms. 2). The syllable type contrasts with CNH *muoi, concerning which see §3.2.7 below.

3.2.6 CNH *-ioi

This final is tentatively posited as a variant reading for the following complex set:

ài 艾 QYS ngâi- CDC *ngoi6/EC *'ngath
BMH [ngâi]; MX [ŋai5w ~ nɛ5b]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [nɛ5]; LZ [ʔgiɔi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]
CT [ŋe5]; WP [ŋe5 ~ ɲi5]; YD [ŋei3]; SH [ŋei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋæ5]; AY [ŋæ5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋai5]; QN [ŋai5]; ND1 [ŋai5]; ND2 [ŋai5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *oi5 ~ *ŋioi5 (?) / L *ŋai5

The second reconstructed form is conjectural and is based on the Méixiàn, Lìzhīzhuāng, and Fújiàn line forms. Cf. Norman Proto-Mín *nhici-c “Artemisia” (p.c. and Ms. 2).

Also of related interest here is the following example:

sui 歲 QYS sjwäi- CDC *sioi5/EC *soth
BMH [sòì ~ sùi ~ sè]; MX [sui5w ~ sɛ5b]; HL [soi5]; SX [soi5]; LF [soi5]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT
[soi5]
HY [suai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [ʰoi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [soi5]
CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛi5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [si5]; QN [soi5]; ND1 [ɛie5]; ND2 [ɛiei5]; ND3 [siai5]
[OPH *soi5 ?] CNH *soi5 ~ *sioi5 ? / L *siui5

CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Níngdū forms.

Cf. Wēngyuán: [siui5].

This set, like that for ài 艾 above, is fundamentally mixed, as indicated by the competing forms in Basil Mission Hakka.

3.2.7 CNH *-uoi

Many sets reconstructed with this final have variant readings, most frequently in *-ui. The following are examples:

huī 灰 QYS xuâi CDC *xuoī1/EC *'hwi
 BMH [foi]; MX [fɔi1]; HL [foi1]; SX [foi1]; LF [foi1]; LZ [fɔi1]; SHT [fɔi1]
 HY [fuai1 ~ fɔi1]; XY [fuai1]; DB [fɔi1]; YL [foi1]; XC [—]
 CT [fue1]; WP [xuɛ1]; YD [foi1]; SH [huɛ1]; LC1 [fui1]; LC2 [foi1 ~ fue1]
 NK [huæ1]; AY [hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [fɔi1]; QN [fɔi1]; ND1 [foɛ1]; ND2 [fuɛi1]; ND3 [fuai1]
 OPH *foi1 CNH *huoi1

The Liánchéng-1 form probably derives from a fairly late form in *hui1 or *fui1.

huì 會 QYS yuâi- CDC *huoi6/EC *'gwath
 BMH [fui ~ fɔi ~ vɔi]; MX [fi4 ~ vɔi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi6b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~ voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ fɔi5]; SHT [fui5]
 HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fui3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ vɔi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]
 CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fɛ3 ~ uɛ5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vuɛ3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fue6 ~ voi6]
 NK [huæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [hue6 ~ vue6]; SY [hue5 ~ ve5]; XS [vɔi5 ~ fi5]; QN [fɔi6]; ND1 [fei6 ~ vei6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]
 [OPH *voi6] CNH *vuoi6//L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

“To be able; to be imminent”/“a meeting”. In Lìzhīzhuāng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”

zuì 罪 QYS dzuâi: CDC *dzuoi4/EC *'dzuyx
 BMH [tshuì]; MX [ts'ui5w ~ ts'oi1b]; HL [ts'ui6]; SX [ts'ui5]; LF [ts'ui6]; LZ [tʃhui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'uai6]; XY [ts'ui3]; DB [ts'ei3]; YL [ts'uei3]; XC [ts'uei5]
 CT [ts'ue6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshe3]; LC1 [ts'ui6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'æ5]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts'i5]; QN [ts'ui6]; ND1 [ts'ui6]; ND2 [ts'ui6]; ND3 [ts'ui6]

OPH *ts'ui6 CNH *ts'ui6/L *ts'ui6

Cf. Wēngyuán: [ts'ui6].

The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts'ui5.

méi 媒 QYS muài CDC *muoi2/EC *'mi

BMH [môi]; MX [mòi2]; HL [moi2]; SX [moi2]; LF [moi2]; LZ [mbòi2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [muai2]; DB [mòi2]; YL [moi2]; XC [moi2]

CT [mue2]; WP [mue2]; YD [mei2]; SH [mue2]; LC1 [mui2]; LC2 [—]

NK [me2]; AY [mue2]; SY [me2]; XS [mòi2]; QN [mui2]; ND1 [moε2]; ND2 [muei2]; ND3 [muai2]

[OPH *moi2] CNH *muoi2/*mui2

mèi 妹 QYS muài- CDC *^hmuoi6/EC *—

BMH [mòi]; MX [mòi5]; HL [moi5]; SX [moi5]; LF [moi5]; LZ [mbòi5]; SHT [mòi5]

HY [muai6]; XY [muai5]; DB [mòi5]; YL [moi5]; XC [moi5]

CT [mue5]; WP [mue3]; YD [moi3]; SH [mue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [moi5]

NK [mæ5]; AY [mue5]; SY [me2]; XS [mòi5]; QN [mòi5 ~ mui5]; ND1 [moε5]; ND2 [muei5]; ND3 [muai5]

OPH *moi5 CNH *muoi5

The Héyuán tone is etymologically expected but not in agreement with the remaining forms in the set.

In cases of this type, the *-ui forms are frequently identified as of literary register. We may therefore conclude that at least two lexical layers are represented in these sets.

3.2.8 CNH *-on

Examples for this final are:

ān 安 QYS ʔân CDC *on1/EC *ʔan

BMH [on]; MX [ɔn1]; HL [on1]; SX [on1]; LF [on1]; LZ [ɔn1]; SHT [ɔn1]

HY [uan1]; XY [uan1]; DB [ɔn1]; YL [ɔn1]; XC [ɔn1]

CT [uŋ1]; WP [ueŋ1]; YD [ɔn1]; SH [uẽ]; LC1 [uɔ1]; LC2 [ue1]

NK [ã1]; AY [õ1]; SY [uõ1]; XS [ɔn1]; QN [ɔn1]; ND1 [ŋoɛn1]; ND2 [uon1]; ND3 [ŋuan1]

OPH *on1 CNH *on1

The Nánkǎng form probably reflects an earlier *an1, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set because it is not reflected elsewhere.

bān 搬 QYS puân CDC *pon1/EC *ʔpan

BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [pan1]; SHT [—]

HY [puan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]

CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [pã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [poẽ1]; AY [pã1]; SY [põ1]; XS [pɔn1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [poɛn1]; ND2 [puon1]; ND3 [puan1]

[OPH *pan1] CNH *pon1

gān 肝 QYS kân CDC *kon1/EC *ʔkan

BMH [kon]; MX [kɔn1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]

HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kɔn1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kɔn1]

CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kɔn1]; SH [kuẽ1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuõ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuan1]

OPH *kon1 CNH *kon1

Doublet pairings in final *-an are of the following type:

àn 岸 QYS ngân- CDC *ngon6/EC *ʔnganh

BMH [ngân]; MX [ŋan5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ŋan5]; LZ [ʔgan5]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋuan6]; XY [ŋuan3]; DB [ŋon5]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ɔn5]

CT [—]; WP [ŋaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋa5]

NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋã6]; SY [ŋã5]; XS [ŋɔn5]; QN [ŋan6]; ND1 [ŋan6]; ND2 [ŋan6]; ND3 [ŋuan6]
[OPH *ngan5] CNH *ŋon6/*ŋan6

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh

BMH [fán ~ phón ~ fón]†; MX [fan5]; HL [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fon6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5]
HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5]

CT [fan6w ~ p'ueŋ6b ~ p'uŋ6b]; WP [phuɛŋ3]; YD [p'ɔn5]; SH [phuɛ3]; LC1 [p'a6]; LC2
[p'a6]

NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; XS [fan5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p'an6]; ND3 [p'an6]
[OPH *fan6 ?] CNH *p'on6/L *fan6

†Cf. Chappell & Lamarre (2005): fàn.

The vowel of the Lùfēng form is unexpected and irregular. The Níngdū-2 and 3 forms may reflect an earlier *p'an6 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

wǎn 晚 QYS mjwɔn: CDC *mvan4/EC *monx

BMH [man ~ van ~ ván]; MX [van3w ~ man1b]; HL [van1]; SX [van3]; LF [van1]; LZ [ʰban3];
SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [man3]; DB [man5]; YL [uan3]; XC [vɔn3]

CT [vaŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [van3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vã3]; AY [võ3]; SY [vã3]; XS [van3]; QN [van3]; ND1 [van3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *man1 ?] CNH *man1/*man3/*von3/L *van3

In sets of this type forms in *-an are frequently identified as being of literary register.

3.2.9 CNH *-ion

This final shows various correspondence patterns after different initial types. The following selection of sets exemplifies this:

quàn 勸 QYS khjwɔn- CDC *khion5/khwonh
 BMH [khèn ~ khièn]; MX [k'ian5]; HL [k'ian5]; SX [k'ian5]; LF [k'ian5]; LZ [hɛn5]; SHT [khen5]
 HY [hyan5 ~ hian5]; XY [k'ian5]; DB [k'ien5]; YL [tɛ'yɛn5]; XC [tɛ'ien5]
 CT [tʃ'ɪŋ5]; WP [tshien5]; YD [k'ien3]; SH [tɕhiẽ5]; LC1 [k'ue5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'yẽ5]; AY [tɛ'io̯5]; SY [tɛ'yẽ2]; XS [tɛ'ien5]; QN [tɛ'iuɔn5]; ND1 [ts'an5]; ND2 [ts'an5]; ND3 [ts'an5]
 [OPH *k'ian5] CNH *k'ion5

quán 全 QYS dzjwän CDC *dzion2/EC *dzon
 BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts'ien2]; HL [ts'ion2]; SX [ts'ion2]; LF [ts'ian2]; LZ [tʃhen2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'yan2]; XY [ts'uan2]; DB [ts'ion2]; YL [tɛ'yɛn2]; XC [tɛ'ien2]
 CT [ts'ɪŋ2]; WP [tshien2]; YD [ts'ien2]; SH [tɕhiẽ2]; LC1 [ts'e2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'yẽ2]; AY [ts'õ2]; SY [tɛ'ie̯2]; XS [ts'ien2]; QN [tɛ'iuɔn2]; ND1 [tɛ'ien2]; ND2 [tɛ'ian2]; ND3 [ts'ian2]
 [OPH *ts'ion2] CNH *ts'ion2

ruǎn 軟 QYS ńjzwän: CDC *nhion4/EC *nonx
 BMH [nyon]; MX [ɲion1]; HL [ɲion1]; SX [ɲion1]; LF [ɲion1]; LZ [ɲgion1]; SHT [ɲion1]
 HY [ɲyan5]; XY [ɲian1]; DB [ɲion2]; YL [—]; XC [nyɛn2]
 CT [ɲɪŋ1]; WP [ɲien1]; YD [ɲien1]; SH [ɲie̯1]; LC1 [ɲue1]; LC2 [ɲue1]
 NK [ɲie̯1]; AY [ɲio̯3]; SY [ɲie̯1]; XS [ɲiuɔn1]; QN [ɲiuɔn1]; ND1 [noɛn1]; ND2 [nuon3]; ND3 [nuan1]
 OPH *ɲion1 CNH *ñion1/*ñion3/*ñion2

The Chángtīng form is irregular. The tone of the Héyuán form is not explained by any of the reconstructions.

yuǎn 遠 QYS jwɔn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
 BMH [yéŋ]; MX [ian3]; HL [ʒan3]; SX [ian3]; LF [jan3]; LZ [ʒɛn3]; SHT [jen3]
 HY [yan3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yɛn3]; XC [ien3]

CT [viŋ3]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [viɛn3]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ3]; AY [jiõ3]; SY [jyẽ3]; XS [iɛn3]; QN [iuɔn3]; ND1 [iɛn3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [ien3]
OPH *ian3 CNH *vion3

3.2.10 CNH *-uon

The following example illustrates the correspondence pattern for this final after gutturals:

guān 官 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *'kwan
BMH [kwon]; MX [kuɔn1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kuɔn1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kuan1]
CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kuɛŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [kuɐ1]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuõ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3
[kuan1]
OPH *kuon1 CNH *kuon1

The next example shows the dental sibilant initial pattern:

suān 酸 QYS suân CDC *son1/EC *'son
BMH [son]; MX [sɔn1]; HL [son1]; SX [son1]; LF [son1]; LZ [ʃɔn1]; SHT [sɔn1]
HY [suan1]; XY [suan1]; DB [ʃɔn1]; YL [sɔn1]; XC [suan1]
CT [suŋ1]; WP [suɛŋ1]; YD [sɔn1]; SH [suẽ1]; LC1 [suɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [soẽ1]; AY [sõ1]; SY [suõ1]; XS [sɔn1]; QN [sɔn1]; ND1 [soɛn1]; ND2 [suon1]; ND3
[suan1]
[OPH *son1] CNH *suon1

Sets of this type are particularly useful, since they aid us in establishing the difference between CNH *-uon and *-on in this environment. Compare the following:

cān 餐 QYS tshân CDC *tshan1/EC *'tshan
BMH [tshon]; MX [ts'ɔn1]; HL [ts'on1]; SX [ts'on1]; LF [ts'on1]; LZ [tʃhɔn1]; SHT [ts'ɔn1]
HY [ts'an1]; XY [ts'an1]; DB [ts'an1]; YL [ts'an1]; XC [—]

CT [ts'əŋ1]; WP [tshueŋ1]; YD [ts'ən1]; SH [tshueŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'ua1]
 NK [ts'ā1]; AY [ts'ā1]; SY [ts'ā1]; XS [ts'an1]; QN [ts'an1]; ND1 [ts'an1]; ND2 [ts'an1]; ND3
 [ts'an1]
 [OPH *ts'on1] CNH *ts'on1

Once the correspondence profile for *-uon has been identified in this way, it can be extended by analogy to other syllable types where contrasting examples for the two final types are not available. Note that Proto-Hakka does not have final *-uon in sets of this type and therefore differs from Common Neo-Hakka in this respect.²⁹

We close this section with examples of *-uon in dental and postalveolar initial syllables:

duǎn 短 QYS tuān: CDC *ton3/EC *'tonx
 BMH [tón]; MX [tón3]; HL [ton3]; SX [ton3]; LF [ton3]; LZ [tón3]; SHT [tón3]
 HY [tuan3]; XY [tuan3]; DB [tón3]; YL [tón3]; XC [tuan3]
 CT [tuŋ3]; WP [tueŋ3]; YD [tón3]; SH [tuẽ3]; LC1 [tuɔ3]; LC2 [tue3]
 NK [toẽ3]; AY [tõ3]; SY [tuɔ3]; XS [tón3]; QN [tón3]; ND1 [toen3]; ND2 [tuon3]; ND3 [tuan3]
 OPH *ton3 CNH *tuon3

zhuān 磚 QYS tǎjwǎn CDC *cion1/EC *ton
 BMH [chon]; MX [tsón1]; HL [tʃón1]; SX [tʃón1]; LF [tʃón1]; LZ [tʃón1]; SHT [tsón1]
 HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tsón1]; YL [tʃón1]; XC [tʃuan1]
 CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsueŋ1 ~ tseŋ1]; YD [tsen1]; SH [tsueŋ1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]
 NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsõ1]; SY [tsuɔ1]; XS [tʃón1]; QN [tsón1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3
 [tsuan1]
 [OPH *tʃón1] CNH *tʃuon1

²⁹ That is to say, where Common Neo-Hakka has both *-on and *-uon, Proto-Hakka will have only *-on across the board.

3.2.11 CNH *-oŋ

Examples for this final are:

bāng 幫 QYS pāng CDC *pong1/EC *'pang
BMH [pong]; MX [pɔŋ1]; HL [pɔŋ1]; SX [pɔŋ1]; LF [pɔŋ1]; LZ [pɔŋ1]; SHT [pɔŋ1]
HY [pɔŋ1]; XY [pɔŋ1]; DB [pɔŋ1]; YL [pɔŋ1]; XC [pɔŋ1]
CT [pɔŋ1]; WP [pɔŋ1]; YD [pɔŋ1]; SH [pɔŋ1]; LC1 [pɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ1]; AY [pɔŋ1]; SY [pɔ1]; XS [pɔŋ1]; QN [pɔŋ1]; ND1 [pɔŋ1]; ND2 [pɔŋ1]; ND3 [pɔŋ1]
[OPH *pong1] CNH *pɔŋ1

fáng 房 QYS bjwang CDC *vong2/EC *bang
BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ2w ~ p'ioŋ2b]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [fɔŋ2]
HY [fɔŋ3]; XY [fɔŋ3]; DB [fɔŋ2]; YL [fɔŋ2]; XC [fɔŋ2]
CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; YD [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fɔ2]; AY [fɔŋ2]; SY [fɔ2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2]
[OPH *fong2] CNH *fɔŋ2

The Méixiàn bái form appears to derive from an earlier *p'ioŋ2 for which we lack comparative evidence.

shuāng 霜 QYS sjang CDC *shong1/EC *srag
BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [sɔŋ1]
HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [fɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [sɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔ1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
[OPH *song1] CNH *sɔŋ1

tāng 湯 QYS thāng CDC *thong/EC *'thang
BMH [thong]; MX [t'ɔŋ1]; HL [t'ɔŋ1]; SX [t'ɔŋ1]; LF [t'ɔŋ1]; LZ [thɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [t'ɔŋ1]; XY [t'ɔŋ1]; DB [t'ɔŋ1]; YL [t'ɔŋ1]; XC [t'ɔŋ1]
CT [t'ɔŋ1]; WP [thɔŋ1]; YD [t'ɔŋ1]; SH [thɔŋ1]; LC1 [t'ɔŋ1]; LC2 [t'ɔŋ1]

NK [t'ɕ1]; AY [t'ɕŋ1]; SY [t'ɕ1]; XS [t'ɕŋ1]; QN [t'ɕŋ1]; ND1 [t'ɕŋ1]; ND2 [t'ɕŋ1]; ND3[t'ɕŋ1]
[OPH *t'ɕŋ1] CNH *t'ɕŋ1

3.2.12 CNH *-iŋ

Examples for this final are:

jiāng 將 QYS tsjang CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsiŋ1]; HL [tsiŋ1]; SX [tsiŋ1]; LF [tsiŋ1]; LZ [tʃiŋ1]; SHT [tsiŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tseiŋ1]; XC [tseiŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [tsiŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tseiɕ1]; AY [tsiŋ1]; SY [tseiɕ1]; XS [tsiŋ1]; QN [tseiŋ1]; ND1 [tseiŋ1]; ND2 [tseiŋ1];
ND3 [—]
OPH *tsiong1 CNH *tsiŋ1

qiáng 強 QYS gjang CDC *giong2/EC *gang
BMH [khiŋŋ]; MX [k'ioŋ2]; HL [k'ioŋ2]; SX [k'ioŋ2]; LF [k'ioŋ2]; LZ [khiŋ2]; SHT [k'ioŋ2]
HY [k'yŋŋ2]; XY [k'ioŋ2]; DB [k'ioŋ2]; YL [tɕ'ioŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ioŋ2]
CT [tʃ'ioŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'ioŋ2]; SH [tɕhiŋ2]; LC1 [k'ioŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ioŋ2]; AY [tɕ'ioŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ioŋ2]; XS [tɕ'ioŋ2]; QN [tɕ'ioŋ2]; ND1 [tɕ'ioŋ2]; ND2 [ts'ɕŋ2];
ND3 [ts'ɕŋ2]
OPH *k'iong2 CNH *k'ioŋ2

fàng 放 QYS pjwang- CDC *fong5/EC *pangh
BMH [fŋŋ]; MX [fŋ5w ~ piŋ5b]; HL [fŋ5w ~ piŋ5b]; SX [fŋ5w ~ piŋ5b]; LF [fŋ5 ~
piŋ5]; LZ [fŋ5]; SHT [fŋ5]
HY [fŋ5]; XY [fŋ5]; DB [fŋ5]; YL [fŋ5]; XC [fŋ5]
CT [fŋ5 ~ piŋ5]; WP [piŋ5]; YD [piŋ3 ~ pŋ3]; SH [piŋ5]; LC1 [piŋ5]; LC2 [piŋ5]
NK [fɕ5]; AY [fŋ5 ~ hŋ5]; SY [fɕ2]; XS [fŋ5]; QN [fŋ5]; ND1 [fŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[fŋ5]

[OPH *piong5] CNH *pion5/L *foŋ5

The following exemplify postalveolar initial syllables:

cháng 長 QYS djang CDC *jiong2/EC *drang
BMH [chhông]; MX [ts'ɔŋ2]; HL [tʃ'ɔŋ2]; SX [tʃ'ɔŋ2]; LF [tʃ'ɔŋ2]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ2]; SHT [ts'ɔŋ2]
HY [ts'ɔŋ2]; XY [ts'ɔŋ2]; DB [ts'ɔŋ2]; YL [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ2]
CT [tʃ'ɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [ts'ɔŋ2]; SH [tshɔŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ'ɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ts'ɔ̃2]; AY [ts'ɔŋ2]; SY [ts'ɔ̃2]; XS [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; QN [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [ts'ɔŋ2];
ND3 [ts'ɔŋ2]

[OPH *tʃ'ong2] CNH *tʃ'ion2

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɔ̃2].

†FJFYZ: tʃ'ion2.

shāng 商 QYS śjang CDC *shiong1/EC *θang
BMH [shong]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [ʃɔŋ1]; SX [ʃɔŋ1]; LF [ʃɔŋ1]; LZ [ʃɔŋ1]; SHT [siɔŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕɔŋ1]; XC [ɕɔŋ1]
CT [ʃɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [ɕɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʃɔŋ1] CNH *ʃion1

No Qīngliú form is available for this word. The final of the Song Him Tong form inexplicably retains medial *-i- here.

zhǎng 掌 QYS tsjang CDC *ciong3/EC *tangx
BMH [chóng]; MX [tsɔŋ3]; HL [tʃɔŋ3]; SX [tʃɔŋ3]; LF [tʃɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsɔŋ3]; XY [tsɔŋ3]; DB [tsɔŋ3]; YL [tɕɔŋ3]; XC [tɕɔŋ3]
CT [tʃɔŋ3]; WP [tsɔŋ3]; YD [tsɔŋ3]; SH [tsɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɔ̃3]; AY [tsɔŋ3]; SY [tsɔ̃3]; XS [tɕɔŋ1]; QN [tsɔŋ3]; ND1 [tsɔŋ3]; ND2 [tsɔŋ3]; ND3
[tsɔŋ3]

OPH *tʃong3 CNH *tʃiong3

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃiɔ̃3].

The presence of medial *-i- in these forms differentiates the Common Neo-Hakka system from that of Proto-Hakka.

3.2.13 CNH *-uon

This final most frequently occurs after gutturals. Examples are:

guāng 光 QYS kuāng CDC *kuong1/EC *'kwang
 BMH [kwong]; MX [kuon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kon1]; SHT [kon1]
 HY [kon1]; XY [kon1]; DB [kuon1]; YL [kon1]; XC [kon1]
 CT [kon1]; WP [kon1]; YD [kon1]; SH [kon1]; LC1 [kon1]; LC2 [kon1]
 NK [kɔ̃1]; AY [kon1]; SY [kɔ̃1]; XS [kon1]; QN [kon1]; ND1 [kon1]; ND2 [kon1]; ND3 [kon1]
 OPH *kuong1 CNH *kuon1

huáng 黃 QYS ywāng CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang
 BMH [vông]; MX [von2]; HL [von2]; SX [von2]; LF [von2]; LZ [von2]; SHT [von2]
 HY [von2]; XY [von2]; DB [von2]; YL [uon2]; XC [von2]
 CT [von2]; WP [von2]; YD [von2]; SH [von2]; LC1 [von2]; LC2 [von2]
 NK [hɔ̃2 ~ vɔ̃2]; AY [von2]; SY [hɔ̃2 ~ vɔ̃2]; XS [fon2]; QN [fon2 ~ von2]; ND1 [fon2 ~ von2];
 ND2 [fon2]; ND3 [fon2 ~ von2]
 OPH *vong2 CNH *von2/*huon2

There are two dental sibilant initial examples in our data:

chuāng 窗 QYS tshāng CDC *chong1/EC *tshrong
 BMH [tshung]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [ts'un1]; SX [ts'un1]; LF [ts'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
 HY [ts'on1 ~ ts'on1]; XY [ts'on1]; DB [ts'on1]; YL [ts'on1]; XC [tʃ'on1]
 CT [ts'on1]; WP [tshun1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tshon1]; LC1 [ts'on1]; LC2 [ts'on1]
 NK [ts'ɔ̃1]; AY [ts'on1]; SY [ts'ɔ̃1]; XS [ts'on1]; QN [ts'on1]; ND1 [ts'on1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ts'on1 ~ ts'un1]
 [OPH *ts'ung1] CNH *ts'un1

shuāng 雙 QYS ʃaŋg CDC *shong1/EC *srong
 BMH [sung]; MX [suŋ1]; HL [suŋ1]; SX [suŋ1]; LF [suŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [sun1]
 HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [ɬɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [ʂɔŋ1]
 CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [suŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [sɔŋ1]; LC2 [sɔŋ1]
 NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1 ~ sɔŋ5]; ND3
 [sɔŋ1 ~ suŋ1]
 [OPH *sung1] CNH *suon1

3.2.14 CNH *-om

Examples for this final are:

àn 闇~暗 QYS ʔam- CDC *om5/EC *'umh
 BMH [àm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [am5]
 HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [an3]; XC [an5]
 CT [ɔŋ5]; WP [aŋ5]; YD [aŋ3]; SH [ã5]; LC1 [ɔŋ5]; LC2 [ɔŋ5]
 NK [oẽ5]; AY [ã5]; SY [uõ2]; XS [an5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ŋoem5]; ND2 [ŋuom5]; ND3 [ŋuam5]
 OPH *am5 CNH *om5/*am5

gǎn 敢 QYS kām: CDC *kom3/EC *'kamx
 BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [—]
 HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [kan3]; XC [kan3]
 CT [kɔŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [kaŋ3]; SH [kã3]; LC1 [kɔŋ]; LC2 [—]
 NK [koẽ3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kã3 ~ kuõ3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [koem3]; ND2 [kuom3];
 ND3 [kuam3]
 [OPH *kam3] CNH *kom3

Traces of final *-om also survive in sets where evidence is too scant to support comparative reconstruction of it, e.g.,

kǎn 砍 QYS khâm: CDC *khom3/EC *—

BMH [khâm]; MX [k'am3]; HL [k'am3]; SX [—]; LF [k'am3]; LZ [—]; SHT [k'am3]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [k'an3]; XC [k'an3]

CT [k'əŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [k'əŋ3]; SH [khã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'ã3]; AY [k'ã3]; SY [k'ã3]; XS [k'an3]; QN [k'am3]; ND1 [k'oem3]; ND2 [k'an3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'am3] CNH *k'am3

The Níngdū-1 form must derive from earlier *k'om3, a form that has been replaced by *k'am3 at other points.

The following exemplifies an occurrence after a dental sibilant initial:

zhuàn 賺 QYS dām- CDC *dzan6 ~ *dzuan6/EC *dremh

BMH [tshàn]; MX [ts'on5]; HL [ts'on6]; SX [ts'on5]; LF [ts'on6]; LZ [tʃhan5]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'an6]; XY [ts'an3]; DB [ts'an3]; YL [sɔn1]; XC [tʃuan5]

CT [—]; WP [tshaŋ3]; YD [ts'an5]; SH [tshã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ã5]; AY [ts'ã6]; SY [ts'ã5]; XS [ts'an5]; QN [ts'an5]; ND1 [ts'an6]; ND2 [ts'an6]; ND3 [ts'am6]

[OPH *ts'on5] CNH *ts'om6

3.2.15 CNH *-ot

This final contrasts with CNH *-uot (see §3.2.17 below) after guttural initials. An example of it in this position is the following:

gē 割 QYS kât CDC *kot7/EC *'kat

BMH [kot]; MX [kɔt7]; HL [kot7]; SX [kot7]; LF [kot7]; LZ [kɔt7]; SHT [kɔt7]

HY [kuat7]; XY [kuat7]; DB [kɔt7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]

CT [kue2]; WP [kuɛʔ7]; YD [kɔt7]; SH [kuɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]

NK [koæ7]; AY [kuɜ1]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kɔit7]; QN [kɔiʔ7]; ND1 [koɛt7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [kuat7]

OPH *kot7 CNH *kot7

After coronal initials, it is impossible to determine whether we should reconstruct *-ot or *-uot, since cases showing a possible contrast are not present in the data.³⁰ For this reason, we shall reconstruct the relevant finals as *-(u)ot in this position and leave the matter undecided. Examples are:

cuō 撮 QYS tshuât CDC *tshot7/EC *'tshot
BMH [tshot]; MX [ts'ot7 ~ tsot7]; HL [ts'ot7]; SX [ts'ot7]; LF [ts'ot7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'uat7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ot7]; XC [tsoʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tshueʔ7]; YD [ts'ot7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsoæ7]; AY [—]; SY [tsuo1 ~ ts'o5]; XS [tsot7]; QN [tsot7]; ND1 [ts'oet7]; ND2 [tsuot7];
ND3 [—]
OPH *ts'ot7 CNH *ts'(u)ot7 ~ *ts(u)ot7

shuō 說 QYS śjwät CDC *shiot7/EC *θot
BMH [shot]; MX [sot7]; HL [ʃot7]; SX [ʃot7]; LF [ʃot7]; LZ [ʃot7]; SHT [sot7]
HY [suat7]; XY [suat7]; DB [sot7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ʃue2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [s33]; SY [suo5]; XS [sot7]; QN [sot7]; ND1 [soet7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3
[suat1]
OPH *ʂot7 CNH *ʂ(u)ot7

tuō 脫 QYS thuât CDC *thot7/EC *'thot
BMH [thot]; MX [t'ot7]; HL [t'ot7]; SX [t'ot7]; LF [t'ot7]; LZ [thot7]; SHT [t'ot7]
HY [t'uat7]; XY [t'uat7]; DB [t'ot7]; YL [t'ot7 ~ t'ot7]; XC [t'oʔ7]
CT [t'ue2]; WP [thueʔ7]; YD [t'ot7 ~ t'ot7]; SH [thueʔ7]; LC1 [t'ue6]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'oæ7]; AY [t'33]; SY [t'uo1]; XS [t'ot7]; QN [t'ot7]; ND1 [t'oet7]; ND2 [t'uot7]; ND3
[t'uat7]
OPH *t'ot7 CNH *t'(u)ot7

³⁰ It should be recalled that in the case of the parallel nasal-coda finals *-on and *-uon, it is in fact possible to establish such a contrast in post-coronal position. See §3.2.10 above.

Nearly all cases of CNH *-ot after labials have alternate readings in *-at. The following illustrate this:

bō 鉢 QYS puât CDC *pot7/EC *'pot
 BMH [pat]; MX [—]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pɔʔ7]; XC [poʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [pat7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa6]
 NK [poæ1 ~ po8]; AY [pɜ6]; SY [po5]; XS [pait7]; QN [—]; ND1 [poet7]; ND2 [puot7]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *pat7] CNH *pot7/*pat7

fā 發 QYS pjwɔt CDC *fat7/EC *pot
 BMH [fat ~ pot]; MX [fat7w ~ pot7b]; HL [pot7 ~ fat7]; SX [pot7 ~ fat7]; LF [pot7 ~ fat7]; LZ
 [pot7b ~ fat7w]; SHT [fat7]
 HY [fat7 ~ p'at7]; XY [fat7]; DB [fat7]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; YD [pɔt7 ~ fat7]; SH [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa6 ~ poi6]
 NK [fa7]; AY [fɜ3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [fait7]; ND2 [fat7]; ND3 [fat7]
 OPH *pot7 CNH *pot7/L *fat7

3.2.16 CNH *-iot

This final is the checked coda analogue of CNH *-ion. The following are examples of it after various initial types:

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät CDC *dziot8/EC *dzot
 BMH [tshiét]; MX [ts'iet8]; HL [ts'iet8]; SX [ts'iet8]; LF [ts'iat8]; LZ [tʃhet8]; SHT [ts'et8]
 HY [ts'yat8]; XY [ts'iat8]; DB [ts'iet8]; YL [tɛyɛʔ7]; XC [tɛiɛʔ8]
 CT [ts'e8]; WP [tshieʔ8]; YD [ts'ieʔ8]; SH [tɛhieʔ8]; LC1 [ts'i5]; LC2 [ts'io6]
 NK [tɛ'yæ5]; AY [ts'iz1]; SY [tɛ'ie5]; XS [ts'iet8]; QN [tɛ'iuoiʔ8]; ND1 [tɛ'iet7]; ND2 [tɛ'iat7];
 ND3 [ts'iat8]
 [OPH *ts'iat8 ?] CNH *ts'iot8

jué 決 QYS kiwet CDC *kiot7/EC *kwet
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7]; HL [kiet7]; SX [kiet7]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [kyat7]; XY [k'iat7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [tɛyɛʔ7]; XC [tɛiɛʔ7]
CT [tʃe2]; WP [tsiɛʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tɛiɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛyæ7]; AY [tɛi33]; SY [tɛye5]; XS [tɛiet7]; QN [tɛiuɔiʔ7]; ND1 [tsait7]; ND2 [tsat7];
ND3 [tsat7]
OPH *kyat7 CNH *kiot7

yuè 越 QYS jwɔt CDC *yot8/EC *wot
BMH [yéʔ]; MX [iat8]; HL [ʒat8]; SX [iet8]; LF [jat8]; LZ [ʒet8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [iɛʔ8]
CT [ie8]; WP [viɛʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [viɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ie5]; AY [ji31]; SY [ye5]; XS [iet8]; QN [iuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [iet8]; ND2 [iat8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iat8 ?] CNH *viot8

yuè 月 QYS ngjwɔt CDC *ngiot8/EC *ngwot
BMH [nyét]; MX [ɲiat8]; HL [ɲiet8]; SX [ɲiet8]; LF [ɲiat8]; LZ [ɲget8]; SHT [ɲet8]
HY [ɲyat8]; XY [ɲiat8]; DB [ɲiat8]; YL [ɲiɛʔ8]; XC [ɲiɛʔ8]
CT [ne6 ~ ie6]; WP [niɛʔ8]; YD [ɲiɛʔ8]; SH [ɲiɛʔ8]; LC1 [ɲui5]; LC2 [ɲvi6]
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [ɲiet8]; QN [niuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3
[nat8]
OPH *ɲiat8 CNH *ɲiot8

O'Connor reconstructs PH *-yat rather than *-iat in certain cases for syllables of the type cited here, based on his data from the Huáyáng 華陽 dialect of Sīchuān. However he expresses doubt regarding this reconstruction and suggests that the relevant Huáyáng forms may reflect Mandarinization of some sort. Where his reconstructions are not available we have written PH *-iat plus a question mark as a default representation in the Proto-Hakka reconstructions given for such sets here.

3.2.17 CNH *-uot

The following are examples of this final after gutturals:

guā 刮 QYS kwat CDC *kuat7/EC *krot
 BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [kuat7]; SX [kuat7]; LF [kuat7]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [kat7]; XY [kat7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [kuaʔ7]; XC [kuaʔ7]
 CT [kue2]; WP [kuaʔ7]; YD [kuaʔ7]; SH [kuaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]
 NK [kua7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kua1]; XS [kuaɪ7]; QN [kæʔ7]; ND1 [koɛt7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3
 [kuat7]
 OPH *kuat7 CNH *kuot7

huó 活 QYS yuât CDC *huot8/EC *'got
 BMH [fát]; MX [fat8]; HL [fat8]; SX [fat8]; LF [fat8]; LZ [fat8]; SHT [fat8]
 HY [vuat8]; XY [vat8]; DB [vat3]; YL [hoʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
 CT [hue2]; WP [faʔ8]; YD [fat8]; SH [faʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ5]; AY [hu32]; SY [huo5]; XS [vɔit8]; QN [fæʔ8]; ND1 [foet8]; ND2 [fuot8]; ND3
 [fuat8 ~ vat8]
 [OPH *fat8] CNH *vot8/*huot8

It is impossible to determine whether or not CNH *-ot and *-uot were distinguished after coronals. Relevant forms are reconstructed as *-(u)ot in the present work. For examples and discussion, see §3.2.15 above.

3.2.18 CNH *-uiot

This final is reconstructed for a single etymon:

xuě 血 QYS xiwet CDC *xiot7/EC *'hwet
 BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [het7]
 HY [hyat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [hiet7]; YL [ɕieʔ7]; XC [ɕieʔ7]
 CT [fe2]; WP [fiɛʔ7]; YD [fiɛʔ7]; SH [fiɛʔ7]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕyæ7]; AY [ɕi33]; SY [ɕye5]; XS [ɕiet7]; QN [ɕieʔ7]; ND1 [fiɛt7]; ND2 [fiat7]; ND3 [fiat7]
 OPH *hiat7 CNH *huiot7

In this example, initial f- at various points implies an origin in CNH *hu-. The Héyuán, Nánkāng, and Shàngyóu forms are consistent with the correspondence profile for CNH *-iot (see §3.2.16 above). We would expect Quánnán rounded final -iuoi? to occur as reflex in such a case. However, compare the nearby and closely related dialect, Lǒngnán 隴南, for which BJYJ gives competing variants, [ɕiɛʔ7] and [ɕiuoiʔ7]. We suppose that the latter best reflects the Common Neo-Hakka form. Quánnán perhaps originally also had such a rounded final reading, which it has replaced with a loan from some other Hakka variety where rounding has been lost.

3.2.19 CNH *-ok

The following are examples for this final:

bó 薄 QYS bâk CDC *bok8/EC *'bak
BMH [phók]; MX [p'ɔk8]; HL [p'ok8]; SX [p'ok8]; LF [p'ok8]; LZ [phək8]; SHT [p'ɔk8]
HY [p'ɔk8]; XY [p'ɔk8]; DB [p'ɔk8]; YL [p'uʔ8]; XC [p'oʔ7]
CT [p'o6]; WP [p'ɔʔ8]; YD [p'ɔʔ8]; SH [p'oʔ8]; LC1 [p'u5]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'o1]; AY [p'o6]; SY [p'o5]; XS [p'ɔk8]; QN [p'oʔ8]; ND1 [p'ok8]; ND2 [p'ɔk8]; ND3
[p'ɔk8]
OPH *p'ok8 CNH *p'ok8

luò 落 QYS lâk CDC *lok6/EC *'lak
BMH [lók]; MX [lɔk8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lɔk8]; SHT [lɔk8]
HY [lɔk8]; XY [lɔk8]; DB [lɔk8]; YL [lɔk8]; XC [lɔʔ8]
CT [lo6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8 ~ laʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [lu5]; LC2 [lu6 ~ lu5]
NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lɔk8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lɔk8]; ND3 [lɔk8]
OPH *lok8 CNH *lok8

xué 學 QYS yâk CDC *h(i)ok8/EC *grawk
BMH [hók]; MX [hɔk8]; HL [hok8]; SX [hok7]; LF [hok8]; LZ [hɔk8]; SHT [hok8]

HY [hɒk8]; XY [hɒk8]; DB [hɒk8]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
 CT [ho6]; WP [xɔʔ8]; YD [hɔʔ8]; SH [hoʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [hu5]
 NK [ho1]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [hɒk8]; QN [hoʔ8 ~ ɕiuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [hok8]; ND2 [hɒk8];
 ND3 [hɒk8]
 [OPH *hok8] CNH *hok8

The second Quánnán form appears to reflect a variant in *hiok8 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

zhuō 桌 QYS (tāk) CDC —/EC —
 BMH [tsok]; MX [tsɒk7]; HL [tsok7]; SX [tsok7]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃɒk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsɒk7]; XY [ts'ɒk7]; DB [ts'ɒk7]; YL [tʂɔʔ7]; XC [tʂoʔ7]
 CT [tso2]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tsoʔ7]; LC1 [tsu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; XS [tsɒk7]; QN [tsoʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsɒk7]
 [OPH *tsok7] CNH *tsok7

3.2.20 CNH *-iok

Examples for this final are:

jiǎo 腳 QYS kjak CDC *kiok7/EC *kak
 BMH [kiok]; MX [kiɒk7]; HL [kiok7]; SX [kiok7]; LF [kiok7]; LZ [kiɒk7]; SHT [kiɔt7 ~ kiɒk7]
 HY [kyɒk7]; XY [kiɒk7]; DB [kiɒk7]; YL [tɕioʔ7]; XC [tɕioʔ7]
 CT [tʃio2]; WP [tsioʔ7]; YD [kiɔʔ7]; SH [tɕioʔ7]; LC1 [kieu6]; LC2 [kieu3]
 NK [tɕio8]; AY [tɕio6]; SY [tɕio5]; XS [tɕioʔ7]; QN [tɕioʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsɒk7]; ND3
 [tsɒk7]†
 OPH *kiok7 CNH *kiok7

†Also transcribed [tsok7] in the source.

ruò 弱 QYS ńźjak CDC *nhiok8/EC *—
 BMH [nyok]; MX [ɲiɒk8]; HL [ɲiok8]; SX [ɲiok8]; LF [ɲiok8]; LZ [ɳgiɒk8]; SHT [ɲiɒk8]

HY [nɯpɤk8]; XY [ɲioɤk8]; DB [ɲioɤk8]; YL [ɲioʔ8]; XC [nioʔ8]
CT [nio6]; WP [nioʔ8]; YD [ɲioʔ8]; SH [ɲioʔ8]; LC1 [ɲieu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [nio1]; AY [nio6]; SY [nio5]; XS [nioɤk8]; QN [nioʔ8]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [nɔk8]; ND3
[nɔk8]
[OPH *ɲioɤk8] CNH *ɲioɤk8

yào 藥 QYS jiak CDC *yok8/EC *yawk
BMH [yók]; MX [iɔk8]; HL [ʒok8]; SX [iok8]; LF [jok8]; LZ [ʒɔk8]; SHT [jɔk8]
HY [—]; XY [iɔk8]; DB [zɔk8]; YL [ioʔ8]; XC [ioʔ8]
CT [io6]; WP [ioʔ8]; YD [ioʔ8]; SH [ioʔ8]; LC1 [ieu5]; LC2 [iɛu6]
NK [io1]; AY [jio6]; SY [jio5]; XS [iɔk8]; QN [ioʔ8]; ND1 [iok8]; ND2 [iɔk8]; ND3 [iɔk8]
OPH *iok8 CNH *iok8

3.2.21 CNH *-uok

This rare final is tentatively posited for a single set:

kuò 廓 QYS khwâk CDC *khuok5/EC *'khwak
BMH [khwok]; MX [kuɔk7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [koʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khoʔ7w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ko8]; AY [ko6]; SY [—]; XS [kɔk7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *k'uok7/*kuok7

3.2.22 CNH *-op

This final occurs exclusively after gutturals. Examples:

gē 鴿 QYS kâp CDC *kop7/EC *'kup
BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]

HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]
 CT [ko2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [koæ7]; AY [kɜ3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [koɛp7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kuap7]
 [OPH *kap7] CNH *kop7

hé 盒 QYS yâp CDC *hop8/EC *—
 BMH [háp]; MX [hap8]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
 CT [ho6]; WP [—]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ5]; AY [hɜ1]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8]; QN [—]; ND1 [hoɛp8]; ND2 [huop8]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *hap8] CNH *hop8

3.3 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *u

3.3.1 CNH *-u

The general correspondence patterns for this final after various initial types are illustrated in the following sets:

bù 步 QYS buo- CDC *bu6/EC *'bakh
 BMH [phù]; MX [p'u5]; HL [p'u6]; SX [p'u5]; LF [p'u5]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [pu6]; XY [p'u3]; DB [p'u3]; YL [p'u3]; XC [p'u5]
 CT [p'u6]; WP [p'u3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [phu3]; LC1 [p'ie6]; LC2 [p'ye5]
 NK [p'u5]; AY [p'u6]; SY [p'u5]; XS [pu5]; QN [p'u6]; ND1 [p'u6]; ND2 [p'u6]; ND3 [p'u6]
 [OPH *p'u5] CNH *p'u6

hú 湖 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
 BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [fu2]
 HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
 CT [fu2]; WP [—]; YD [fi2]; SH [fu2]; LC1 [fiue2]; LC2 [fyɛ]

NK [fu2 ~ vu2]; AY [fu2 ~ vu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2 ~ vu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2];
ND3 [fu2]

OPH *fu2 CNH *fu2/*vu2

dǔ 肚 QYS tuo: CDC *tu4/EC *'tax

BMH [tú]; MX [tu3]; HL [tu3]; SX [tu3]; LF [tu3]; LZ [tu3]; SHT [tu3]

HY [tu3]; XY [tu3]; DB [tu3]; YL [tu3]; XC [tu3]

CT [tu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [ti3]; SH [tu3]; LC1 [tie3]; LC2 [—]

NK [tu3]; AY [tu3]; SY [tu3]; XS [tu3]; QN [tu3]; ND1 [tu3]; ND2 [tu3]; ND3 [tu3]

[OPH *tu3] CNH *tu3

gū 姑 QYS kuo CDC *ku/EC *'ka

BMH [ku]; MX [ku1]; HL [ku1]; SX [ku1]; LF [ku1]; LZ [ku1]; SHT [ku1]

HY [ku1]; XY [ku1]; DB [ku1]; YL [ku1]; XC [ku1]

CT [ku1]; WP [ku1]; YD [ki1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [kiue1]; LC2 [kyɛ1]

NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [ku1]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]

[OPH *ku1] CNH *ku1

The pattern after dental sibilant initials is somewhat different:

cū 粗 QYS tshuo; CDC *tshu1/EC *'tsha

BMH [tshu ~ tsho]; MX [ts'ɿ1]; HL [ts'u1]; SX [ts'u1]; LF [ts'ɛ1]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [ts'u1]

HY [ts'u1]; XY [ts'u1]; DB [ts'u1]; YL [ts'u1]; XC [ts'u1]

CT [ts'u1]; WP [tshɿ1]; YD [ts'ɿ1]; SH [tshɿ1b ~ tshu1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'u1]; SY [ts'u1]; XS [ts'ɿ1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [ts'u1]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3

[ts'u1]

[OPH *ts'u1] CNH *ts'u1

zū 租 QYS tsuo CDC *tsu1/EC *'tsa

BMH [tsu]; MX [tsɿ1]; HL [tsu1]; SX [tsu1]; LF [tsɛ1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]

HY [tsu1]; XY [tsu1]; DB [tsu1]; YL [tsu1]; XC [tsu1]

CT [tsu1]; WP [—]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsɿ1b]; LC1 [tsi1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsu1]; AY [tsu1]; SY [tsu1]; XS [tsu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [tsu1]
 [OPH *tsu1] CNH *tsu1

3.3.2 CNH *-iu

This final develops in various ways after different initial types. We begin with syllables having CNH zero and *l-:

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
 BMH [yɿ]; MX [i3]; HL [ɹi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ɹi3]; SHT [ji3]
 HY [jy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [yɛ3]
 NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
 [OPH *i3] CNH *iu3

lǚ 呂 QYS ljwo: CDC *lie4 (~ *liu4)/EC *lax
 BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ly5]; XY [ly1]; DB [li1]; YL [ly3]; XC [li2 ~ luei2]
 CT [li3]; WP [li1]; YD [li1]; SH [li1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [li3]; AY [li3]; SY [li1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [liu3]; ND2 [liəu1]; ND3 [liu3]
 [OPH *li1] CNH *liu3

In these environments the full form of original *-iu is best preserved in Níngdū. In zero initial words it sometimes also survives in Nánkāng, and in somewhat modified form in Héyuán and Liánchéng. At some points it yields modern [y], while in most cases it is reduced to [i]. In Xiūshuǐ, in zero initial words, it undergoes metathesis to *ui, whereupon initial *u is fricated to modern [v].

After velars *-iu undergoes changes of a sort illustrated in the following examples:

jù 具 QYS gju- CDC *giu6/EC *goh
BMH [khí]; MX [k'í5]; HL [k'í1]; SX [—]; LF [ki5]; LZ [khi5]; SHT [—]
HY [k'y6]; XY [k'y3]; DB [k'í3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ'í6]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k'í5]; SH [tchi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'y5]; AY [tɛ'í5]; SY [tɛ'y3]; XS [k'ui5]; QN [tɛ'í6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'u6]; ND3 [ts'u6]
[OPH k'í5 ?] CNH *k'iu6

The tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

jù 句 QYS kju- CDC *kiu5/EC *koh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃí5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]
NK [tey5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tey2]; XS [kui5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [tsu5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5

Note that in cases of this type the full methathesized form -ui is preserved in Xiūshuǐ. The following are examples after CNH *h-:

xū 虛 QYS xjwo CDC *xie1 (~ *xiu1)/EC *ha
BMH [hi]; MX [hi1]; HL [hi1]; SX [hi1]; LF [hi1]; LZ [hi1]; SHT [—]
HY [hy1]; XY [hy1]; DB [hi1]; YL [ey1]; XC [ei1]
CT [ʃi1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hoi1]†
NK [ey1]; AY [ei1]; SY [ey1]; XS [ei1]; QN [ei1]; ND1 [su1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [su1]
[OPH *hi1] CNH *hiu1
†FJFYZ: [ʃye1].

xǔ 許 QYS xjwo: CDC *xie3 (~ *xiu3)/EC *hax
BMH [hí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [hy3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ey3]; XC [ei2]
CT [ʃi3]; WP [si3w ~ tshi3b]; YD [—]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ey3]; AY [ei3]; SY [ey3]; XS [—]; QN [ei3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [su3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hiu3

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɸye3].

After postalveolars a different pattern obtains:

chú 廚 QYS ɖju CDC *jiu2/EC *dro

BMH [chhû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃu2]; SX [tʃu2]; LF [tʃu2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [ts'u2]

HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [tɕu2]; XC [tɕu2]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃue2]

NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [tɕ'y2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [ts'u2]; ND3 [ts'u2]

[OPH *tʂ'u2] CNH *tʂ'iu2

shù 樹 QYS ʒju- “tree” CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh

BMH [shù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu6]; LF [ʃu6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [su5]

HY [sy6]; XY [sy3]; DB [si3]; YL [ɕu3]; XC [ɕu5]

CT [ʃu6]; WP [fu5]; YD [si5]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɸye6]†

NK [su5 ~ tɕ'y5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [tɕ'y4]; XS [ɕu5]; QN [su6]; ND1 [su6]; ND2 [su6]; ND3 [su6]

[OPH *ʂu6] CNH *ʂiu6/*tʂ'iu6

† Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɸue5 ~ ɸye5].

zhù 柱 QYS ɖju: CDC *jiu4/EC *drox

BMH [chhu]; MX [ts'u1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'y5]; XY [ts'y1]; DB [ts'i1]; YL [tɕu3]; XC [tɕu2]

CT [tʃu6]; WP [thu1]; YD [ts'i1]; SH [tshu1w ~ tsɿ1]; LC1 [tʃ'ue1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'ɿ3]; SY [tɕ'y5]; XS [tɕ'u1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [ts'u1]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3 [ts'u1]

[OPH *tʂ'u1] CNH *tʂ'iu1/*tʂ'iu6

And for the nasal member of this initial series we have:

yǔ 語 QYS ngjwo: CDC *ngie4 (~ *ngiu4)/EC *ngax
BMH [nyi]; MX [ɲi1]; HL [ɲi1]; SX [ɲi1]; LF [ɲi1]; LZ [ɲgi1]; SHT [ji1]
HY [ɲy3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ni3]; WP [—]; YD [ɲi1 ~ ɲi3w ~ hɲ3b]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3]; SY [ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nu1]; ND2 [nu1]; ND3 [nu3]
OPH *ɲi1 CNH *ñiu1/*ñiu3/iu3
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

Yǒngding shows three different forms here. One must derive from an unreconstructable *ɲ3, which is purely colloquial. The reflex of CNH *ñiu3 is clearly designated as literary in register. Intermediate between these is the Tone 1 form *ñiu1, which is not literary in this dialect but is probably older than the literary form.

yù 遇 QYS ngju- CDC *ngiu6/EC *ngoh
BMH [nyi]; MX [ɲi5]; HL [ɲi6]; SX [ɲi5]; LF [ɲi6]; LZ [ɲgi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [hɲ5b ~ ɲi5w]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ñiu6/*iu6

Yǒngding has a *bái* form apparently derived from earlier *ɲ6, while the first reconstruction above is a *wén* form there. The second reconstruction is identified in Shàngháng as a *wén* form and is clearly of external and probably late northern origin.

A number of CNH *-iu sets have doublet readings in final *-ie. The following are examples:

jù 鋸 QYS kjwo- CDC *kie5 (~ *kiu5)/EC *kah
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tɛy5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [koi5]
NK [ke5]; AY [tei5w ~ ke5]; SY [tɛy2]; XS [kɛ5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [kie5]; ND2 [kie5]; ND3
[kie5 ~ kei5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5/*kie5

nǚ 女 QYS ɲjwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
 BMH [ńg ~ nyí]; MX [ɲ3]; HL [ɲ3]; SX [ɲ3]; LF [ɲ3]; LZ [ɲ3b ~ ɲgi3w]; SHT [ɲ3 ~ ɲi3]
 HY [ɲy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲy3]; XC [ni3w ~ ɲ3b]
 CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; LC1 [ɲiue3]; LC2 [i3]†
 NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ɲ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2
 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
 [OPH *ɲ3] CNH *ɲ3/*nie3/L *ńiu3

The second reconstructed form is Gà-n-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from that family. The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngdīng forms, which do not agree with each other in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

zhù 苧 QYS ɲjwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax
 BMH [chhu ~ chhú]; MX [—]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsy1]; XY [ts'y1]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃu2]
 CT [tʃu1]; WP [thu1]; YD [—]; SH [tshu1w ~ tsh11]; LC1 [tʃiue1]; LC2 [tʃye1]
 NK [ts'u1 ~ ts'e1]; AY [ts'e3 ~ ts'e1]; SY [ts'e1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [tɕ'ie1]; ND2
 [tɕ'ie1]; ND3 [ts'ie1]
 [OPH *tʃ'u1] CNH *tʃ'u1/*tʃ'ie1

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error in the source.

From these examples several points are immediately apparent, i.e., (1) all sets of this type belong to QYS final -jwo, though not all -jwo final sets have such variants, (2) the forms reflecting reconstructed *-ie occur in the Fújiàn line (fewer cases) and Jiāngxī line (more numerous cases) dialects, but from set to set such dialects may or may not have a *-ie form for a particular etymon, and (3) in many instances the final *-ie forms occur as doublet readings in competition with final *-iu forms in individual dialects. These observations taken together strongly suggest that we are dealing here with layering, due to some external influence which has primarily affected the Jiāngxī Hakka dialects, and to a lesser extent the Fújiàn ones contiguous to Jiāngxī. The Mainstream dialects and their congeners, which are located farthest

from Jiāngxī, have not been affected. We shall deal with this matter in greater detail in §3.4.2 below.

Finally, we should note that O'Connor does not reconstruct final *-iu here for Proto-Hakka, because the Mainstream dialects do not preserve it as a discrete final. Instead, where they show modern final -i or -u, the relevant etyma are assigned directly to his PH *-i and *-u respectively. This is an important difference between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka.³¹

3.3.3 CNH *-un

Examples for this final after various initial types are as follows:

cūn 村 QYS tshuən CDC *tshun1/EC *'tshun
BMH [tshun]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [ts'un1]; SX [ts'un1]; LF [ts'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
HY [ts'uan1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [ts'an1]; XC [ts'ən1]
CT [ts'eŋ1]; WP [tshɛŋ1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tsheŋ1]; LC1 [ts'äi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ẽ1]; AY [ts'əŋ1]; SY [ts'ẽ1]; XS [ts'ən1]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ts'un1]; ND2 [ts'un1];
ND3 [ts'un1]

OPH *ts'un1 CNH *ts'un1

The vowel of the Yilǒng form is anomalous.

fèn 糞 QYS pjuən- CDC *fun5/EC *punh
BMH [pùn]; MX [pun5]; HL [pun5]; SX [pun5]; LF [pun5]; LZ [pun5b ~ fun5w]; SHT [—]
HY [hun5]; XY [pun5]; DB [pən5]; YL [pən5]; XC [pən5]
CT [peŋ5]; WP [peŋ5]; YD [pun3]; SH [peŋ5]; LC1 [păi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [fẽ5]; AY [fəŋ5]; SY [fẽ2]; XS [fən5]; QN [fun5]; ND1 [pən5]; ND2 [pən5]; ND3 [pən5 ~
fən5]

[OPH *pun5] CNH *pun5/L *fun5

³¹ Note that O'Connor's Proto-Hakka does contain a final *-iu, which corresponds to our CNH *-ieu. See §3.4.5 below.

gǔn 滾 QYS — CDC *kun3/EC *—
 BMH [kwún]; MX [kun3]; HL [kun3]; SX [kun3]; LF [kun3]; LZ [kun3]; SHT [kun3]
 HY [kuan3 ~ kun3]; XY [kun3]; DB [kən3]; YL [kun3]; XC [kuən3]
 CT [kueŋ3]; WP [kuɛŋ3]; YD [kun3]; SH [kueiŋ3]; LC1 [kuāi3]; LC2 [kuæiŋ3]
 NK [kuẽ3]; AY [kuəŋ3]; SY [kuẽ3]; XS [kun3]; QN [kun3]; ND1 [kun3]; ND2 [kun3]; ND3
 [kun3]
 [OPH *kun3] CNH *kun3

3.3.4 CNH *-iun

The following are examples of this final in syllables having guttural, sibilant, and dentilabial (i.e., *v-) initials:

jūn 君 QYS kjuən CDC *kiun1/EC *kun
 BMH [kiun]; MX [kiun1]; HL [kiun1]; SX [kiun1]; LF [kiun1]; LZ [kiun1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛyn1]; XC [tɛin1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kun1]; SH [tɛiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛyŋ1]; AY [tɛiəŋ1]; SY [tɛyŋ1]; XS [tɛin1]; QN [tɛiun1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *kiun1] CNH *kiun1

qún 裙 QYS gjuən CDC *giun2/EC *gun
 BMH [khiûn]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [k'iun2]; SX [k'iun2]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k'iun2]
 HY [k'un2]; XY [k'un2]; DB [k'un2]; YL [tɛ'yn2]; XC [tɛ'in2]
 CT [tj'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tɛhiŋ2]; LC1 [k'ueŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'iŋ2]; AY [tɛ'iəŋ2]; SY [tɛ'yŋ2]; XS [tɛ'in2]; QN [tɛ'iun2]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [ts'ən2];
 ND3 [ts'ən2]
 OPH *k'iun2 CNH *k'iun2

xūn 熏 QYS xjuən CDC *xiun1/EC *hun
BMH [hiun]; MX [hiun1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [hiun1]; SHT [—]
HY [hun1]; XY [fun1 ~ hin1]; DB [fən1]; YL [ɛyn1]; XC [ɛin1]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [sun1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛiŋ2]; AY [ɛiəŋ1]; SY [ɛyŋ1]; XS [ɛin1]; QN [ɛiun1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3 [sən1]
[OPH *hiun1] CNH *hiun1

jùn 俊 QYS tsjwen- CDC *tsiun5/EC *—
BMH [tsùn]; MX [tsun5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃun5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛyn5]; XC [tɛin5]
CT [tsəŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [tsun3]; SH [tɛiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛyŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [tɛyŋ3]; XS [tsən5]; QN [tsun5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsun5] CNH *tsiun5

The tone of the Shàngyóu form is irregular.

xún 旬 QYS zjuen CDC *ziun2/EC *zun
BMH [sún]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [sun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛyn2]; XC [ɛin2]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [ɛiŋ2 ~ ɛiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛyŋ2]; AY [siŋ2]; SY [ɛyŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [ɛin2 ~ ɛiun2]; ND1 [ɛin2]; ND2 [ɛin2]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *sun2] CNH *siun2

yún 雲 QYS juən CDC *yun2/EC *wun
BMH [yún]; MX [iun2]; HL [ʒun2]; SX [iun2]; LF [jun2]; LZ [ʒun2]; SHT [jin2]
HY [vun2]; XY [vun2]; DB [zən2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [veŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [viŋ2]; SH [viŋ2]; LC1 [veŋ2]; LC2 [veŋ2]
NK [iŋ2 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jiŋ2]; XS [in2]; QN [iun2]; ND1 [in2]; ND2 [in2]; ND3 [in2]
OPH *iun2 CNH *viun2

In addition to examples of this sort, which are fairly straightforward, there is another type which is more complex. The following exemplify this type:

jìn 近 QYS gǝn:, gǝn- CDC *gin4/EC *gunx
 BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k'iun5w ~ k'iun1b]; HL [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; SX [k'iun5 ~ k'iun1];
 LF [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; LZ [k'iun1b ~ k'iun5w]; SHT [k'iun1]
 HY [k'in5]; XY [k'en1]; DB [k'en1]; YL [təyn1]; XC [təin5w ~ tən5b]
 CT [k'en1]; WP [khən1]; YD [k'un5 ~ k'un1]; SH [khɛ̃1 ~ tɕhɪ̃3]; LC1 [k'ien1 ~ k'ia̯en1]; LC2
 [—]
 NK [tən1]; AY [tən1]; SY [tən1]; XS [tən1]; QN [tən1]; ND1 [ts'en1]; ND2 [ts'en1];
 ND3 [ts'en6]
 [OPH *k'iun1] CNH *k'iun1/L *k'iun6/*k'in1

rěn 忍 QYS ńǝjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx
 BMH [nyun ~ nyún†]; MX [ɲiun1]; HL [ɲiun1]; SX [ɲiun1]; LF [ɲiun1]; LZ [ɲgiun3]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [ɲin5]; XY [ɲyn1]; DB [ɲən1]; YL [ɲin3]; XC [ɲin3]
 CT [nən1]; WP [niŋ1]; YD [ɲin1]††; SH [ɲiŋ1]; LC1 [ɲien1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niŋ5]; AY [niən3]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [ɲin3]; QN [ɲin1]; ND1 [nən3]; ND2 [nən3]; ND3 [nən3]
 OPH *ɲiun1 CNH *ñiun1/*ñiun3/L *ñin1/*ñin3

†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.

††Form after Lán (1999).

Sets of this type usually have unrounded finals in mainstream Chinese dialects, as exemplified by the QYS and CDC forms above. But they have rounded finals in Mǐn, leading Norman (2014) to posit final *-un for them in his Early Chinese forms. In our Neo-Hakka correspondence sets, these words invariably show doublets in CNH *-iun and *-in. We shall deal with cases of this sort in more detail in §3.5.4 below.

The following are examples of syllables having Common Neo-Hakka postalveolar initials:

chūn 春 QYS tshjuen CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
BMH [chhun]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [tʃ'un1]; SX [tʃ'un1]; LF [tʃ'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
HY [ts'un1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [tʂ'un1]; XC [tʂ'uən1]
CT [tʃ'eŋ1]; WP [tshɛŋ1 ~ tshiŋ1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tsheŋ1]; LC1 [k'ueŋ1]; LC2 [k'ueŋ1]
NK [tɕ'eŋ1]; AY [ts'əŋ1]; SY [tɕ'eŋ1]; XS [tʂ'ən1]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ts'un1]; ND2 [ts'un1];
ND3 [ts'un1]
OPH *tʂ'un1 CNH *tʂ'iun1
Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iun1.

chún 唇、脣 QYS džjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *δun
BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃun2]; SX [ʃun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [sun2]
HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [sən2]; YL [sun2]†; XC [—]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [fiŋ2]††; SH [seŋ2]; LC1 [feŋ2]; LC2 [feŋ2]
NK [ɕeŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕeŋ2]; XS [ʂən2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [sun2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʂun2] CNH *ʂiun2
†Form occurs only in the glossary, whose informant is reported by the source to have had no retroflexes in his language.
††Used only in the special sense “edge or bank (of a body of water)”.
Cf. Wēngyuán: siun2.

Note that after the fricative *ʂ-, final *-iun often yields modern *-iŋ rather than expected *-yŋ in Nánkāng and Shàngyóu. The reason for this remains obscure.

zhǔn 准 QYS tšjwen: CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx
BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʂun3]; XC [tʂuən3]
CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tɕeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tseŋ3]; LC1 [kueŋ3]; LC2 [kueŋ3]
NK [teŋ3]; AY [tsəŋ3]; SY [tɕeŋ3]; XS [tʂən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3
[tsun3]
[OPH *tʂun3] CNH *tʂiun3
Cf. Wēngyuán [tsiun3].

In the Mainstream Hakka dialects CNH *-iun has merged with *-un after postalveolars, in consequence of which the Proto-Hakka forms in the above sets are all reconstructed by O'Connor with *-un. This is a significant difference between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka.

3.3.5 CNH *-uŋ

Examples for this final are:

dōng 東 QYS tung CDC *tung1/EC *'tong
 BMH [tung]; MX [tuŋ1]; HL [tuŋ1]; SX [tuŋ1]; LF [tuŋ1]; LZ [tuŋ1]; SHT [tuŋ1]
 HY [toŋ1]; XY [toŋ1]; DB [tuŋ1]; YL [tuŋ1]; XC [tuŋ1]
 CT [toŋ1]; WP [tuŋ1]; YD [tuŋ1]; SH [təŋ1]; LC1 [toŋ1]; LC2 [təŋ1]
 NK [təŋ1]; AY [təŋ1]; SY [təŋ1]; XS [təŋ1]; QN [tuŋ1]; ND1 [tuŋ1]; ND2 [tuŋ1]; ND3 [tuŋ1]
 OPH *tuŋ1 CNH *tuŋ1

fēng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
 BMH [fung]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [fuŋ1]; SX [fuŋ1]; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
 HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]
 CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fuŋ1]; SH [fəŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [fəŋ1]
 NK [fəŋ1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fəŋ1]; XS [fəŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
 OPH *fung1 CNH *fuŋ1

gōng 工 QYS kung CDC *kung1/EC *'kong
 BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
 HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
 CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3
 [kuŋ1]
 OPH *kung1 CNH *kuŋ1

3.3.6 CNH *-iun

Examples for this final are:

qióng 窮 QYS gjung CDC *giung2/EC *gung
BMH [khiũŋ]; MX [k'iuŋ2]; HL [k'iuŋ2]; SX [k'iuŋ2]; LF [k'iuŋ2]; LZ [khiuŋ2]; SHT [k'iuŋ2]
HY [k'uŋ2]; XY [k'uŋ2]; DB [k'uŋ2]; YL [tɕ'iuŋ2]; XC [tɕ'iuŋ2]
CT [tʃ'ioŋ2]; WP [tshiũŋ2]; YD [k'iuŋ2]; SH [tɕhiũŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iuŋ2]; AY [tɕ'iuŋ2]; SY [tɕ'iuŋ2]; XS [tɕ'iuŋ2]; QN [tɕ'iuŋ2]; ND1 [ts'uŋ2]; ND2 [ts'uŋ2];
ND3 [ts'uŋ2]
OPH *k'iuŋ2 CNH k'iuŋ2

sōng 松 QYS zjwong CDC *ziung/EC *zong
BMH [tshiũŋ]; MX [ts'iuŋ2]; HL [ts'iuŋ2]; SX [ts'iuŋ2]; LF [ts'iuŋ2]; LZ [tʃhiũŋ2]; SHT
[ts'uŋ2]
HY [ts'oŋ2]; XY [ts'oŋ2]; DB [ts'uŋ2]; YL [suŋ1]; XC [suŋ1]
CT [ts'ioŋ2]; WP [ts'iuŋ2]; YD [ts'iuŋ2]; SH [tɕhiũŋ2]; LC1 [ts'ioŋ2]; LC2 [ts'ioŋ2]
NK [ts'oŋ2]; AY [ts'oŋ2]; SY [ts'oŋ2]; XS [ts'iuŋ2]; QN [tɕhiũŋ2]; ND1 [ts'uŋ2]; ND2
[tɕhiũŋ2]; ND3 [ts'iuŋ2]
OPH *ts'iuŋ2 CNH *ts'iuŋ2

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are probable Mandarin loans.

yòng 用 QYS jiwong- CDC *yung6/EC *yongh
BMH [yũŋ]; MX [iuŋ5 ~ ŋiuŋ5]; HL [zuŋ5]; SX [iuŋ5]; LF [juŋ6]; LZ [zuŋ5]; SHT [juŋ5]
HY [jyoŋ6]; XY [ioŋ3]; DB [zuŋ3]; YL [iuŋ3]; XC [iuŋ5]
CT [ioŋ6]; WP [iuŋ3]; YD [iuŋ5]; SH [iəŋ3]; LC1 [ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jiŋ5]; XS [iəŋ5]; QN [iuŋ6]; ND1 [iuŋ6]; ND2 [iuŋ6]; ND3 [iuŋ6]
OPH *iuŋ6 CNH *iuŋ6

Postalveolar initial examples are:

zhòng 種 QYS tɕjwong- CDC *ciung5/EC *tongh
 BMH [chùŋg]; MX [tsuŋ5]; HL [tʃuŋ5]; SX [tʃuŋ5]; LF [tʃuŋ5]; LZ [tʃuŋ5]; SHT [tsuŋ5]
 HY [tsoŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsuŋ5]†; XC [tɕuŋ5]
 CT [tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsəŋ5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [—]; XS [tɕəŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *tʂuŋ5 CNH *tʂiuŋ5
 †This form is from the glossary of the source and consequently lacks retroflexion.
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

chóng 蟲 QYS ɕjung CDC *jiung2/EC *drung
 BMH [chhûŋg]; MX [ts'uŋ2]; HL [tʃ'uŋ2]; SX [tʃ'uŋ2]; LF [tʃ'uŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [ts'uŋ2]
 HY [ts'oŋ2]†; XY [ts'oŋ2]; DB [ts'uŋ2]; YL [tɕ'uŋ2]; XC [tɕ'uŋ2]
 CT [tʃ'oŋ2]; WP [tshuŋ2]; YD [ts'uŋ2]; SH [tshəŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ'oŋ2]; LC2 [tʃ'əŋ2]††
 NK [ts'əŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [ts'əŋ2]; XS [tɕ'əŋ2]; QN [ts'uŋ2]; ND1 [ts'uŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ts'uŋ2]
 OPH *tʂ'uŋ2 CNH *tʂ'iuŋ2
 †The source writes initial tʃ'-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists
 in this dialect.
 ††FJFYZ: [tʃ'ieŋ2].
 Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iuŋ2.

Here, as we have regularly seen above, Common Neo-Hakka preserves an old medial *-i- that is no longer present in the Mainstream dialects used to reconstruct Proto-Hakka.

Finally, it should be noted that there are frequent doublets in the data involving forms in CNH *-iuŋ and *-uŋ. Some examples are:

gòng 共 QYS gɿwongh CDC *giung6/EC *gongh
 BMH [khiùŋg]; MX [k'iuŋ5]; HL [k'iuŋ6]; SX [k'iuŋ5]; LF [k'iuŋ6]; LZ [khiuŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'oŋ6]; XY [k'oŋ3]; DB [k'uŋ3]; YL [kuŋ5w ~ k'uŋ3b]; XC [kuŋ5]
 CT [tʃioŋ6]; WP [ts'iuŋ3]; YD [k'iuŋ5]; SH [tɕhiəŋ3]; LC1 [k'ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'əŋ5 ~ tɐ'ɪŋ5]; AY [k'əŋ6 ~ tɐ'ɪəŋ6]; SY [k'əŋ5 ~ tɐ'ɪŋ5]; XS [tɐ'ɪəŋ5]; QN [tɐ'ɪuŋ6];

ND1 [k'uŋ6 ~ ts'uŋ6]; ND2 [ts'uŋ6]; ND3 [k'uŋ6]

[OPH *k'iung6] CNH *k'iung6/L *k'uŋ6

nóng 濃 QYS ɲjwong, (nung) CDC *niung2 ~ *nung2/EC *nong ?

BMH [nyũŋ]; MX [nuŋ2w ~ ɲiũŋ2b]; HL [nuŋ2]; SX [nuŋ2]; LF [nuŋ1]; LZ [ɲgiũŋ2]; SHT

[—]

HY [noŋ2 ~ nyoŋ2]; XY [ɲioŋ2]; DB [ɲiũŋ2]; YL [nuŋ2]; XC [nuŋ2]

CT [noŋ2]; WP [nuŋ2]; YD [ɲiũŋ2]; SH [ɲiəŋ2 ~ nəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [niŋ2]; AY [niəŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [niəŋ2]; QN [niũŋ2]; ND1 [nuŋ2]; ND2 [nuŋ2]; ND3

[nuŋ2]

[OPH *ɲ2iung2] CNH *ɲiũŋ2/L *nuŋ2

sòng 誦 QYS zjwong- CDC *ziung6/EC *zongh

BMH [siũŋ]; MX [siũŋ5]; HL [siũŋ5]; SX [siũŋ5]; LF [siũŋ5]; LZ [fuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [suŋ5]; XC [suŋ5]

CT [soŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [səŋ5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [səŋ3]; XS [siəŋ5]; QN [ɕiũŋ6]; ND1 [suŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *siung5] CNH *siũŋ5/*suŋ5

It seems clear that layering of some sort is involved in sets of this type.

3.3.7 CNH *-iuiŋ

This rather rare final is reconstructed for two etyma:

qīng 傾 QYS khjwäng, khjäŋ CDC *khiŋ1 ~ khiung1 (?) / EC *khweng

BMH [khin ~ khen]; MX [k'ɛn1]; HL [k'ɛn3]; SX [k'ɛn3]; LF [—]; LZ [khin1]; SHT [—]

HY [k'in1]; XY [k'ɐŋ]; DB [k'ən1]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [tʃ'ɛŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'ɪŋ1]; AY [tɛ'ɪəŋ1]; SY [tɛ'yŋ3]; XS [tɛ'in1]; QN [tɛ'iun1]; ND1 [ts'əŋ1]; ND2 [—];
 ND3 [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'ɪŋ1]
 [OPH *k'en3] CNH *k'ɪuɪŋ1

yǒng 永 QYS jwɔŋg: CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wangx
 BMH [yún]; MX [iun3]; HL [ɹun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ɹun3]; SHT [—]
 HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iun1]
 CT [iɛŋ3]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [iun3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iun1]
 [OPH *iun3] CNH *viuiŋ3/*viuiŋ1

3.3.8 CNH *-ut

Examples of this final after various initial types are as follows:

gǔ 骨 QYS kuət CDC *kut7/EC *'kut
 BMH [kwut]; MX [kut7]; HL [kut7]; SX [kut7]; LF [kut7]; LZ [kut7]; SHT [kut7]
 HY [kut7]; XY [kut7]; DB [kuət7 ~ kut7]; YL [kueiʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
 CT [kue2]; WP [kuɛʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [kuɔ6]; LC2 [kuɐ6]
 NK [koæ7]; AY [kuɔ3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kuit7]; QN [kuiʔ7]; ND1 [kuit7]; ND2 [kut7]; ND3
 [kut7]
 OPH *kut7 CNH *kut7

hū 忽 QYS xuət CDC *xut7/EC *'hut
 BMH [fut]; MX [fut7]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT [—]
 HY [hut7]; XY [fut7]; DB [fət7]; YL [—]; XC [fuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ5]; AY [huɔ3]; SY [ho5]; XS [fət8]; QN [fɛʔ8]; ND1 [fət7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fət7]
 [OPH *fut7] CNH *hut7

mò 沒 QYS muət CDC *mut8/EC *'mut
BMH [mút]; MX [mut8]; HL [mut8]; SX [mut8]; LF [mut8]; LZ [ˠbut8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [mut8]; SH [meiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me5]; AY [mɜ1]; SY [me5]; XS [mət8]; QN [muiʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *mut8] CNH *mut8

fó 佛 QYS bjuət CDC *vut8/EC *but
BMH [fut]†; MX [fut8]; HL [fut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [fut8]; LZ [fut8]; SHT [—]
HY [hut8]; XY [fut8]; DB [fət8]; YL [fu2]; XC [fuʔ8]
CT [fue6]; WP [fɛʔ8]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu8]; AY [fɜ1]; SY [fo5]; XS [fət8]; QN [fuiʔ8]; ND1 [foet8]; ND2 [fət8]; ND3 [fuet8]
[OPH *fut8] CNH *fut8

†Tone confirmed in Chappell & Lamarre (2005).

The upper register tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

zú 卒 QYS tswət CDC *tsut7/EC *'tsut
BMH [tsut]; MX [tsut7]; HL [tsut7]; SX [tsut7]; LF [tsut7]; LZ [tʃut7]; SHT [tsut7]
HY [tsut7]; XY [tsut7]; DB [tsət7]; YL [—]; XC [tɕiuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsut7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsoæ7]; AY [tsɜ3]; SY [tsuo5]; XS [tsət7]; QN [tsuiʔ7]; ND1 [tsuit7]; ND2 [tsut7]; ND3
[tsut7]
[OPH *tsut7] CNH *tsut7

3.3.9 CNH *-iut

Examples of this final after gutturals are:

jué 掘 QYS gjuət CDC *giut8/EC *gut
BMH [khiut]; MX [k'iut7]; HL [k'ut8]; SX [k'ut8]; LF [—]; LZ [khut5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [khueʔ8]; YD [k'ut8]; SH [khueiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'yæ5]; AY [tɕ'iz3]; SY [tɕ'ye5]; XS [tɕ'iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uit8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k'iut7

The Xiūshuǐ final is irregular. We would expect final -it rather than -iet here.

qū 屈 QYS khjuət CDC *khiut7/EC *khut

BMH [khiut]; MX [k'iut7]; HL [k'iut8]; SX [k'iut8]; LF [k'iut8]; LZ [khut7]; SHT [—]

HY [k'ut7]; XY [k'ut7]; DB [k'uət7]; YL [—]; XC [tɕ'iuʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k'ut7]; SH [khueiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'io8]; AY [tɕ'iz3]; SY [tɕ'ye5]; XS [tɕ'it7]; QN [tɕ'iuɔiʔ]; ND1 [ts'uit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'ət7]

OPH *k'iut7 ~ 8 (?) CNH *k'iut7/*k'iut8

The following set constitutes a unique syllable type in the data. It is perhaps reconstructable with CNH *-iut:

lǜ 律 QYS ljwet CDC *liut8/EC *—

BMH [lút]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lut8]; LZ [lut8]; SHT [lut8]

HY [lut8]; XY [lut8]; DB [lət8]; YL [—]; XC [luʔ7]

CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [lut8]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lio1]; AY [li31]; SY [lio5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liuiʔ8]; ND1 [liet8]; ND2 [liat8]; ND3 [liat8]

[OPH ?] CNH *liut8 ?

The following is a common etymon having a postalveolar initial:

chū 出 QYS tshjwet CDC *chiut7/EC *thut

BMH [chhut]; MX [ts'ut7]; HL [tʃ'ut7]; SX [tʃ'ut7]; LF [tʃ'ut7]; LZ [tʃhut7]; SHT [ts'ut7]

HY [ts'ut7]; XY [ts'ut7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'ueiʔ7]; XC [tɕ'uʔ7]

CT [tʃ'e2]; WP [tsheʔ7]; YD [ts'ut7]; SH [tsheiʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ'eu6]; LC2 [tʃ'eu6 ~ tʃ'eu5]

NK [ts'œʔ7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'uo5]; XS [tʂ'uit7]; QN [ts'uiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uit7]; ND2 [ts'ut7];
ND3 [ts'ut7]

OPH *tʂ'ut7 CNH *tʂ'iuʔ7

Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iuʔ7.

Note that the Proto-Hakka form characteristically lacks medial *-i- in this environment.

3.3.10 CNH *-uk

The following are examples for this final:

dú 毒 QYS duok CDC *duk8/EC *'duk

BMH [thúk]; MX [t'uk8w ~ t'eu5b]; HL [t'uk8]; SX [t'uk8]; LF [t'uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT
[t'uk8]

HY [t'ok8]; XY [t'ouʔ8]; DB [t'uk8]; YL [t'əuʔ8]; XC [t'uʔ8]

CT [t'u6]; WP [thuʔ8]; YD [t'uʔ8]; SH [thəʔ8]; LC1 [t'ue5]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'u1]; AY [t'u6]; SY [t'u5]; XS [t'uk8]; QN [t'uʔ8]; ND1 [t'uk8]; ND2 [t'uk8]; ND3 [t'uk8]

OPH *t'uk8 CNH *t'uk8

zú 族 QYS dzuk CDC *dzuk8/EC *'dzok

BMH [tshúk]; MX [ts'uk8]; HL [ts'uk8]; SX [ts'uk8]; LF [ts'uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'uʔ8]; XC [tə'iuʔ7]

CT [ts'u6]; WP [tshuʔ8]; YD [ts'uʔ8]; SH [tshəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [ts'u6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [ts'uk8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uk8]; ND2 [ts'uk8]; ND3 [—]

OPH *ts'uk8 CNH *ts'uk8

The final of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

gǔ 穀 QYS kuk CDC *kuk7/EC *'kok

BMH [kwuk]; MX [kuk7]; HL [kuk7]; SX [kuk7]; LF [kuk7]; LZ [kuk7]; SHT [kuk7]

HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [kuk7]; YL [kəuʔ7 ~ kuʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]

CT [ku2]; WP [kuʔ7]; YD [kuʔ7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [keu6]; LC2 [kye6]

NK [ku8]; AY [ku6]; SY [ku5]; XS [kuk7]; QN [kuʔ7]; ND1 [kuk7]; ND2 [kuk7]; ND3 [kuk7]
 OPH *kuk7 CNH *kuk7

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *^hmuk8/EC *'mok
 BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [^mbuk7]; SHT [muk7]
 HY [mok7]; XY [mouʔ7]; DB [muk7]; YL [məuʔ7]; XC [muʔ7]
 CT [mu2]; WP [muʔ7]; YD [muʔ7]; SH [məʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
 NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7];
 ND3 [muk7]
 OPH *muk7 CNH *muk7

fú 福 QYS pjuk CDC *fuk7/EC *pik
 BMH [fuk]; MX [fuk7]; HL [fuk7]; SX [fuk7]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk7]; SHT [fuk7]
 HY [hok7]; XY [fouʔ7]; DB [fuk7]; YL [fəuʔ7]; XC [fuʔ7]
 CT [fu2]; WP [fuʔ7]; YD [fuʔ7]; SH [fəʔ7]; LC1 [fiue6]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk7]; QN [fuʔ7]; ND1 [fuk7]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [fuk7]
 [OPH *fuk7] CNH *fuk7
 †FJFYZ: [fye6].

3.3.11 CNH *-iuk

The following are representative examples of this final after various different initial types:

jú 菊 QYS kjuk CDC *kiuk7/EC *kuk
 BMH [khiuk]; MX [k'iuk7]; HL [k'iuk7]; SX [k'iuk7]; LF [k'iuk7]; LZ [khiuk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [k'uk7]; YL [tɛyʔ7]; XC [tɛiuʔ7]
 CT [tj'ieu2]; WP [—]; YD [k'iuʔ7]; SH [tɛhiəʔ7]; LC1 [k'ieu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'iu8 ~ tɛ'io8]; AY [tɛ'io5]; SY [tɛ'io5]; XS [—]; QN [tɛiuiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uk7]; ND2
 [ts'uk7]; ND3 [ts'uk7]
 [OPH *k'iuk7] CNH *k'iuk7/*kiuk7

lǜ 綠 QYS ljwok CDC *liuk8/EC *lok
BMH [liúk]; MX [liuk8]; HL [liuk8]; SX [liuk8]; LF [liuk8]; LZ [luk8]; SHT [luk8]
HY [lok8]; XY [louʔ]; DB [luk8]; YL [ləuʔ8]; XC [niuʔ8]
CT [teu6]; WP [tuʔ8]; YD [liuʔ8]; SH [tiəʔ8]; LC1 [teu5]; LC2 [təu6]
NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [—]; QN [luʔ8]; ND1 [liuk8]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk8]
[OPH *liuk8] CNH *liuk8

zú 足 QYS tsjwok CDC *tsiuk7/EC *tsok
BMH [tsiuk]; MX [tsiuk7]; HL [tsiuk7]; SX [tsiuk7]; LF [tsiuk7]; LZ [tʃiuk7]; SHT [tsuk7 ~
tsiuk7]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tɕyʔ7]; XC [tɕiuʔ7]
CT [tsu2]; WP [tsiuʔ7]; YD [tsiuʔ7]; SH [tɕiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsəu6]
NK [tɕiu8]; AY [tsi6]; SY [tɕiu5]; XS [—]; QN [tɕiuʔ7]; ND1 [tɕiuk7]; ND2 [tɕiuk7]; ND3
[tsiuk7]
[OPH *tsiuk7] CNH *tsiuk7

yù 玉 QYS ngjwok CDC *ngiuk8/EC *ngok
BMH [nyúk]; MX [ɲiuk8]; HL [ɲiuk8]; SX [ɲiuk8]; LF [ɲiuk8]; LZ [ɲgiuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲok8]; XY [ɲiouʔ8]; DB [ɲiuk8]; YL [y5]; XC [iuʔ7]
CT [nieu6]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [ɲiuʔ8]; SH [ɲiəʔ8]; LC1 [ɲieu5]; LC2 [niəu6]
NK [niu8]; AY [ji6]; SY [jy5]; XS [—]; QN [niuʔ8]; ND1 [nuk8]; ND2 [nuk8]; ND3 [nuk8]
OPH *ɲiuk8 CNH *ɲiuk8

The Yílǒng and Shàngyóu forms reflect borrowing of a form from a modern or early modern northern koine. The Xīchāng form is also a loan, perhaps from the Míng-Qīng southern Guānhuà koine.

yù 欲 QYS jiwok CDC *yuk8/EC *yok
BMH [yúk]; MX [iuk8]; HL [ʒuk8]; SX [iuk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [jyok8]; XY [iouʔ8]; DB [zuk8]; YL [—]; XC [iuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [jio5]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iuk8]
 OPH *iuk8 CNH *iuk8

The following exemplify syllables having postalveolar initials:

zhōu 粥 QYS tʃjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk
 BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsok7 ~ tsɒk7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk1]; YL [tʃəuʔ7]; XC [tʃuʔ7]
 CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsuk7]
 [OPH *tʃuk7] CNH *tʃiuk7
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 竹 QYS tʃuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *truk
 BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [tsuk1]
 HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tʃəuʔ7]; XC [tʃuʔ7]
 CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3
 [tsuk7]
 OPH *tʃuk7 CNH *tʃiuk7
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 燭 QYS tʃjwok CDC *ciuk7/EC *tok
 BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃuʔ7]
 CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3
 [tsuk7]
 [OPH *tʃuk7] CNH *tʃiuk7
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

shú, shóu 熟 QYS žjuk CDC *zhiuk8/EC *duk
 BMH [shúk]; MX [suk8]; HL [juk8]; SX [juk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [juk8]; SHT [suk8]
 HY [sok8]; XY [souʔ8]; DB [suk8]; YL [ʂəuʔ8 ~ səuʔ8 ~ suʔ8]; XC [ʂuʔ8]
 CT [fu6]; WP [suʔ8]; YD [suʔ8]; SH [səʔ8]; LC1 [feu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [su1]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [su5]; XS [juk8]; QN [suʔ8]; ND1 [suk8]; ND2 [suk8]; ND3 [suk8]
 [OPH *ʂuk8] CNH *šiuk8
 Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk8].

Here we see the usual contrast between Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka, where the latter shows a medial *-i- which is absent in the former. Consider now the following case:

zhù 祝 QYS tšjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk
 BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk1]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəuʔ7]; XC [tʂuʔ7]
 CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsəʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tso8]; AY [—]; SY [tso5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tʂuk7] CNH *tšuk7 ?

It is clear that the initial of this form should be CNH *tš-. However, the correspondence profile for the finals is unrecognizable. Comparing the sets cited immediately above and those in §3.3.10, we see that the profile is similar to that for final *-uk. However, this final does not normally occur after postalveolars in Common Neo-Hakka. A possible explanation here is that the word in question, which is of a high literary register, is a late borrowing of an intrusive form in *tšuk7. Thus, although it can be reconstructed for O'Connor's Proto-Hakka without difficulty, in Common Neo-Hakka it constitutes a syllabic anomaly. A somewhat similar case is the following, which is also a literary word:

zhú 逐 QYS djuk CDC *jiuk8/EC *druk
 BMH [chhúk]; MX [ts'uk8]; HL [tʃ'uk8]; SX [tʃ'uk8]; LF [tʃ'uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʂuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [tsiuʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'o8]; AY [ts'o6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [tɕ'uk8]; QN [ts'uʔ8]; ND1 [ts'uk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tɕ'uk8] CNH ?

In this case, even if we posit a late loan form, *tɕ'uk8, this will not account for the Wǔpíng and Shàngháng forms, which do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. Thus, while the Proto-Hakka reconstruction is unproblematic, we cannot reconstruct back to the Common Neo-Hakka stage. The implication of these facts is that no ancestral forms for zhù 祝 and zhú 逐 existed at the Common Neo-Hakka. It is possible, however, that such forms were present in the more recent or secondary proto-language that was ancestral to the Mainstream Hakka dialects; and, if this is so, then it is also likely that the forms in question were borrowed from some external source.

3.4 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *e

3.4.1 CNH *-e

This final occurs in variant forms in two sets:

gè 箇、個 QYS kâ- CDC *ko5/EC *'kayh
 BMH [kè ~ kài]; MX [kɛ5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5b ~ ko5w]; SHT [kai5]
 HY [kɛi]†; XY [kɛ]††; DB [kai5]; YL [kai5 ~ kɛ1]; XC [ki5]
 CT [ko5 ~ ke5]; WP [kɛ5]; YD [kai3]; SH [ɛ5 ~ nɛ5]; LC1 [kuo6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kæ5 ~ ke5]; AY [kæ5 ~ ke5]; SY [kæ5 ~ ko1 ~ ke2]; XS [kai5 ~ kɛ5]; QN [kai5 ~ ko5 ~
 ki5]; ND1 [kai5 ~ kɛi5]; ND2 [kai5 ~ kai]‡; ND3 [ke5]
 OPH *kiai5 CNH kai5/L *ko5//*kai5 ~ *ke5

Classifier//subordinative particle. Two entirely different lexical items are combined within this set because the sources write them with the same character. For discussion of the subordinative particle, see specifically Chapter V, §5.2.80.

†Subordinative particle only. Tone neutral.

††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps actually neutral.

‡Second form is the subordinative particle.

shì 事 QYS dzī- CDC *zhei6/EC *dzrih
 BMH [sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [sǐ5 ~ ʃe5b]; SX [sǐ5 ~ ʃe5b]; LF [se6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [sie6]; XY [su3]; DB [ʎe3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [ʃɿ5]
 CT [si5]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ3 ~ sɿ5b ~ sei3b]; LC1 [si6]; LC2 [sɿ6]
 NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [sə6]; ND3 [sə6]
 OPH *ši5 ~ *še5 CNH *še6/L *si6

O'Connor most often reconstructs his PH *-e in sets of the following type:

xǐ 洗 QYS siei: CDC *siai3/EC *'suyx ~ *'siyh
 BMH [sé]; MX [se3]; HL [se3]; SX [se3]; LF [se3]; LZ [ʃe3]; SHT [se3]
 HY [sie3]; XY [sei3]; DB [ʎe3]; YL [sei3]; XC [sei3]
 CT [se3]; WP [se3]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei3]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [si3]
 NK [ei3]; AY [se3]; SY [ei3]; XS [se3]; QN [sei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [siai3]
 OPH *se3 CNH *siai3

The Liánchéng forms represent a variant reading in *si3. The Nánkāng final is, on the contrary, the regular modern reflex of CNH *-iai.

xù 婿 QYS siei- CDC *siai5/EC *'siyh
 BMH [sè]; MX [se5]; HL [se5 ~ se3]; SX [se5]; LF [se5]; LZ [ʃe5]; SHT [se5]
 HY [sie5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [sei5]
 CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [si5]
 NK [ei5]; AY [se5]; SY [ei1]; XS [se5]; QN [sei5 ~ ei5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *se5 CNH *siai5/*si5

However, the full correspondence profiles in sets of this type point clearly to other final types at the Common Neo-Hakka level. Thus, we do not posit CNH *-e here.

3.4.2 CNH *-ie

This final occurs exclusively in variant forms, and mainly those involving CNH *-iu. Some typical examples are:

jù 鋸 QYS kjwo- CDC *kie5 (~ *kiu5)/EC *kah
 BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tɛy5]; XC [tɛi5]
 CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tɛi3]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [koi5]
 NK [ke5]; AY [tɛi5w ~ ke5]; SY [tɛy2]; XS [kɛ5]; QN [tɛi5]; ND1 [kie5]; ND2 [kie5]; ND3
 [kie5 ~ kɛi5]
 [OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5/*kie5

zhǔ 煮 QYS tsjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
 BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
 HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tɕu3]; XC [tɕu3]
 CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃiue3]; LC2 [tʃye3]
 NK [tse3]; AY [tse3]; SY [tse3]; XS [tɕu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tɛiɛ3]; ND2 [tɛie3]; ND3 [tsie3]
 [OPH *tɕu3] CNH *tɕiu3/*tɕie3

zhù 苧 QYS djwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax
 BMH [chhu ~ chhú]; MX [—]; HL [tʃʰu1]; SX [tʃʰu1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsy1]; XY [tsʰy1]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕʰu2]
 CT [tʃʰu1]; WP [thu1]; YD [—]; SH [tshu1w ~ tshɿ1]; LC1 [tʃʰiue1]; LC2 [tʃʰye1]
 NK [tsʰu1 ~ tsʰe1]; AY [tsʰe3 ~ tsʰe1]; SY [tsʰe1]; XS [tɕʰu1]; QN [tsʰu1]; ND1 [tɛʰie1]; ND2
 [tɛʰie1]; ND3 [tsʰie1]
 [OPH *tɕʰu1] CNH *tɕʰiu1/*tɕʰie1

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error.

shǔ 鼠 QYS sjwo: CDC *shie3 (~ *shiu3)/EC *θax
 BMH [chhú]; MX [tsʰu3]; HL [tʃʰu3]; SX [tʃʰu3]; LF [tʃʰu3]; LZ [tʃhu3]; SHT [tsʰu3]

HY [sy3]; XY [ts'y3]; DB [si3]; YL [tɕ'u3]; XC [tɕ'u2]

CT [fu3]; WP [fu5]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃyɛ3 ~ tʃ'ye3]

NK [ɛy3]; AY [ɛe3]; SY [ɛy3]; XS [tɕ'u3]; QN [su3 ~ sui3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]

OPH *tɕ'u3 CNH *tɕ'iu3/*ɕiu3

The final of the Ningdū forms is irregular and enigmatic from a comparative standpoint. The Ānyuǎn final is also unique in the set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *ɕie3, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively due to lack of parallel forms elsewhere.

Nasal initial sets showing CNH *-ie regularly also have variant readings in syllabic nasal syllables. The following are examples:

nǚ 女 QYS ɲjwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax

BMH [ɲg ~ nyí]; MX [ɲ3]; HL [ɲ3]; SX [ɲ3]; LF [ɲ3]; LZ [ɲ3b ~ ɲgi3w]; SHT [ɲ3 ~ ɲi3]

HY [ɲy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲy3]; XC [ni3w ~ ɲ3b]

CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; LC1 [ɲiue3]; LC2 [i3]†

NK [ni3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ɲ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]

[OPH *ɲ3] CNH *ɲ3/*nie3/L *ñiu3

The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngdīng forms, which do not agree in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

yú 魚 QYS ɲjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga

BMH [ɲg]; MX [ɲ2]; HL [ɲ2]; SX [ɲ2]; LF [ɲ2]; LZ [ɲ2]; SHT [ɲ2]

HY [ɲy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ɲy2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [ɲy2]; XC [i2 ~ ɲ2b]

CT [ɲe2]; WP [ɲe2]; YD [ɲei2]; SH [ɲei2]; LC1 [ɲui2]; LC2 [ɲoi2]†

NK [ɲe2]; AY [ji2w ~ ɲ2b]; SY [ɲe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ɲ2]; QN [ɲ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [nie2]; ND2 [nie2 ~ iu3]; ND3 [ɲie2 ~ nie2]††

OPH *ng2 CNH *ɲ2/*ñiu2/*ɲie2/*ɲei2/L *iu2

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɲue2].

††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

The form *ɲie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ɲie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ñiu2. We shall deal with the syllabic nasal forms in sets of this type in §3.7 below.

Examples showing CNH *-ie occur almost exclusively in the Jiāngxī dialects or in Fújiàn dialects that are contiguous to Jiāngxī. An extensive collection of examples has been assembled in Xiè (2003: 56). These materials have in turn been reviewed and discussed by Mei (2013: 305–310), who concludes that *-ie readings in Hakka belong to a lexical layer that arose through contact with the Gàn dialects. We concur with this view. Cf. the following Common Gàn (CG) reconstructed forms, cited from Coblin (2015):

jù 鋸 CG *ke5 ~ *kie5/L *ky5

zhǔ 煮 CG *tɕie3/L *tɕy3

shǔ 鼠 CG *ɕie3/L *ɕy3 (~ *ɕyi3 ?)

nǚ 女 CG *nie3/L *ny3

yú 魚 CG *ɲie2/L *ny3

The historical reasons why Hakka shares such a common lexical layer with Gàn will be further dealt with in §6.1 and §6.2.2.8 of Chapter VI below.

3.4.3 CNH *-ei

This final is restored for the following common etyma:

mǎi 買 QYS mǎi: CDC *mai4/EC *mrex

BMH [mai]; MX [mai1]; HL [mai1]; SX [mai1]; LF [mai1]; LZ [ᵐbai1]; SHT [mai1]

HY [mai5]; XY [mai1]; DB [mai1]; YL [mai1]; XC [mai2]

CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [me3]; LC2 [—]

NK [mæ1]; AY [mæ3]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai1]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai3]; ND2 [mai1]; ND3 [mai1]

OPH *mai1 CNH *mei1/*mei3

mài 賣 QYS mǎi- CDC *mai6/EC *mreh

BMH [mài]; MX [mai5]; HL [mai6]; SX [mai5]; LF [mai6]; LZ [ˠbai5]; SHT [—]

HY [mai6]; XY [mai3]; DB [mai3]; YL [mai3]; XC [mai5]

CT [me6]; WP [mi3]; YD [mei5]; SH [mei3]; LC1 [me6]; LC2 [—]

NK [mæ5]; AY [mæ6]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai3]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai6]; ND2 [mai6]; ND3 [mai6]

OPH *mai6 CNH *mei6/*mei3

Final *-ei also occurs a variant of *-ai in several sets, e.g.,

bài 拜 QYS pǎi- CDC *pai5/EC *prath

BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]

HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]

CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]

NK [pæ5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pai5]; ND2 [pai5]; ND3 [pai5]

[OPH *pai5] CNH *pai5/*pei5

The Chángtǐng and Wúpíng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

pái 牌 QYS bǎi- CDC *bai2/EC *bre

BMH [phài]; MX [p'ai2]; HL [p'ai2]; SX [p'ai2]; LF [p'ai2]; LZ [pha2]; SHT [p'ai2]

HY [p'ai2]; XY [p'ai2]; DB [p'ai2]; YL [p'ai2]; XC [p'ai2]

CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p'e2]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'æ2]; AY [p'æ2]; SY [p'æ2]; XS [p'ai2]; QN [p'ai2]; ND1 [p'ai2]; ND2 [p'ai2]; ND3 [p'ai2]

[OPH *p'ai2] CNH *p'ai2/*p'ei2

The Chángtǐng, Wúpíng, and Liánchéng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

ǎi 矮 QYS ʔai: CDC *ai3/EC —

BMH [ái]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]

HY [ai3]; XY [ɐi3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]

CT [ai3]; WP [a3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [e3]; LC2 [—]

NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ɲai3]; ND2 [ɲai3]; ND3 [ɲai3]

[OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/*ei3

In this set, final *-ei is reflected in the Xinyí, Diànbái, and Yílǒng forms, and in Yǒngdīng, Shàngháng, and Liánchéng of the Fújiàn line.

lái 來 QYS lai CDC *loi2/EC *'li

BMH [lôi]; MX [loi2]; HL [loi2]; SX [loi2]; LF [loi2]; LZ [loi2]; SHT [loi2]

HY [luai2]; XY [luai2]; DB [loi2]; YL [loi2]; XC [loi2]

CT [lai2]; WP [li2]; YD [loi2]; SH [lue2 ~ la2]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [li2]

NK [læ2]; AY [lue2]; SY [læ2]; XS [loi2]; QN [loi2]; ND1 [lai2]; ND2 [lei2]; ND3 [luai2 ~ lei2]

[OPH *loi2] CNH *loi2/*lai2

The Níngdū-2 form and the second Níngdū-3 form probably derive from an earlier *lei2, which is not attested at other points. It is perhaps a loan from Southern Gàn, where this form of the word “to come” is common (See Coblin 2015, Appendix, sub lái 來).

3.4.4 CNH *-eu

Basic examples for this final are:

dòu 豆 QYS dəu- CDC *deu6/EC *'doh

BMH [thèu]; MX [t'eu5]; HL [t'eu6]; SX [t'eu5]; LF [t'eu6]; LZ [theu5]; SHT [t'iu5]

HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'eu3]; DB [t'ei3]; YL [t'ai3]; XC [t'eu5]

CT [t'eu6]; WP [t'ε3]; YD [t'eu5]; SH [thə3]; LC1 [t'eu6]; LC2 [t'vu6]

NK [t'ɜ5]; AY [t'ʉ6]; SY [t'io5]; XS [t'eu5]; QN [t'eu6]; ND1 [t'eu6]; ND2 [t'ieu6]; ND3 [t'iu6]

OPH *t'eu6 CNH *t'eu6

gǒu 狗 QYS kəu: CDC *keu3/EC *'kox
BMH [kéu]; MX [keu3]; HL [keu3]; SX [keu3]; LF [keu3]; LZ [keu3]; SHT [kiu3]
HY [kuai3]; XY [kəu3]; DB [kiɛi3]; YL [kɛ3]; XC [kəu3]
CT [keu3]; WP [kɛ3]; YD [keu3]; SH [kə3]; LC1 [keu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [kɜ3]; AY [ku3]; SY [kio3]; XS [kəu3]; QN [keu3]; ND1 [keu3]; ND2 [kəu3]; ND3 [kəu3]
OPH *keu3 CNH *keu3

lòu 漏 QYS ləu- CDC *leu6/EC *'loh
BMH [lèu]; MX [leu5]; HL [leu6]; SX [leu5]; LF [leu6]; LZ [leu5]; SHT [—]
HY [luai6]; XY [ləu3 ~ ləu5]; DB [lɛi3 ~ lɛi5]; YL [nai3]; XC [ləu5]
CT [leu6]; WP [lɛ3]; YD [leu5]; SH [lə3]; LC1 [leu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [lɛ5]; AY [lɛ6]; SY [lio5]; XS [ləu5]; QN [leu6]; ND1 [leu6]; ND2 [liəu6]; ND3 [liu6]
OPH *leu6 CNH *leu6

móu 謀 QYS mjəu CDC *meu2/EC *mi
BMH [mêu]; MX [meu2]; HL [meu2]; SX [meu2]; LF [meu2]; LZ [ᵐbɛu1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [meu2]; WP [mɛ2w]; YD [mieu2]; SH [mə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mɜ2]; AY [mɘ2]; SY [mio2]; XS [məu2]; QN [—]; ND1 [meu2]; ND2 [məu2]; ND3
[məu2]
OPH *meu2 CNH *meu2

The tone of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.

After sibilants a somewhat different pattern obtains, as exemplified in the following:

shòu 瘦 QYS ʂjəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
BMH [sèu]; MX [seu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃeu5]; SHT [siu5]
HY [suai5]; XY [seu5]; DB [lɛi5]; YL [sai5]; XC [səu5]
CT [seu5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [seu5]; SH [sə5]; LC1 [seu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɜ5]; AY [su5]; SY [ɛio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [seu5]; ND1 [seu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
OPH *seu5 CNH *seu5

zǒu 走 QYS tsəu: CDC *tseu3/EC *'tsox
 BMH [tséu]; MX [tsəu3]; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [tʃəu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
 HY [tsuai3]; XY [tsəu3]; DB [tsei3]; YL [tsai3]; XC [tsəu3]
 CT [tseu3]; WP [tsɛ3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts33]; AY [tsu3]; SY [təio3]; XS [tsəu3]; QN [tseu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
 [tsəu3]
 OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

3.4.5 CNH *-ieu

Examples for this final are:

chóu 綢 QYS ɕjəu CDC *jieu2/EC *driw
 BMH [chhiû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃ'u2]; SX [tʃ'u2]; LF [tʃ'iu2]; LZ [tʃ'hiu2]; SHT [ts'iu2]
 HY [ts'iu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'əu2]; XC [tɕ'əu2]
 CT [tʃ'eu2]; WP [tshɛ2]; YD [ts'iu2]; SH [tɕ'hiu2]; LC1 [tʃ'eu2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu2]; AY [tɕ'ɰ2]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [tɕ'iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'əu2]; ND3
 [ts'əu2]
 OPH *tɕ'iu2 CNH *tɕ'ieu2

jiǔ 久 QYS kjəu: CDC *kieu3/EC *kwix
 BMH [kiú]; MX [kiu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kiu3]; LF [kiu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kiu3]
 HY [kiu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕieu3]; XC [tɕieu3]
 CT [tʃieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [—]; SH [tɕieu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiɐu3]
 NK [tɕieu3]; AY [tɕeu3]; SY [tɕieu3]; XS [tɕieu3]; QN [tɕieu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
 [tsəu3]
 OPH *kiu3 CNH *kieu3

jiǔ 酒 QYS tsjəu: CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux
 BMH [tsiú]; MX [tsiu3]; HL [tsiu3]; SX [tsiu3]; LF [tsiu3]; LZ [tʃiu3]; SHT [tsiu3]

HY [tsiu3]; XY [tsiu3]; DB [tsiu3]; YL [tɛiəu3]; XC [tɛiəu3]
CT [tsieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tɛiəu3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [tsəu3]
NK [tɛiəu3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tɛiəu3]; XS [tsiu3]; QN [tɛiəu3]; ND1 [tɛiəu3]; ND2 [tɛiəu3]; ND3
[tsiu3]
OPH *tsiu3 CNH *tsieu3

niú 牛 QYS ngjəu CDC *ngieu2/EC *ngwi
BMH [nyú]; MX [ɲiu2]; HL [ɲiu2]; SX [ɲiu2]; LF [ɲiu2]; LZ [ɲgiu2]; SHT [ɲiu2]
HY [ɲyai2]; XY [ɲeu2]; DB [ɲiei2]; YL [ɲie2 ~ ɲie2b]; XC [niəu2]
CT [ɲeu2]; WP [ɲe2]; YD [ɲeu2]; SH [ɲə2]; LC1 [ɲeu2]; LC2 [ɲəu2]
NK [niu2]; AY [nə2]; SY [niu2]; XS [niu2]; QN [niu2]; ND1 [ɲəu2 ~ nəu2]†; ND2 [nəu2];
ND3 [nəu2]
OPH *ɲiu2 CNH *ɲieu2/*ɲeu2
†First form found in BJYJ.

It should be noted here that where we posit CNH *-ieu, Proto-Hakka in all cases has *-iu. Our CNH *-iu, on the other hand, represents a final which does not exist in the Mainstream dialects and is consequently not reconstructed by O'Connor for Proto-Hakka. Cf. §3.3.2 above.

3.4.6 CNH *-en

The following are examples for this rather rare final:

ēn 恩 QYS ʔən CDC *en1/EC *'un1
BMH [en]; MX [ɛn1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [ɛn1]; SHT [—]
HY [an1]; XY [in1]; DB [ən1]; YL [ɲan1]; XC [ɲən1]
CT [eɲ1]; WP [eɲ1]; YD [ɛn1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ẽ1]; AY [əɲ1]; SY [ẽ1]; XS [en1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [ɲən1]; ND2 [ɲən1]; ND3 [ən1]
OPH *en1 CNH *en1

gēn 根 QYS kən CDC *ken1/EC *'kun
 BMH [ken ~ kin]; MX [ken1 ~ kin1s]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [kin1]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kən1]; DB [kien1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]
 CT [keŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kẽ1]; LC1 [keŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kẽ1]; AY [kəŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; SY [kẽ1]; XS [ken1]; QN [ken1]; ND1 [kən1]; ND2 [kən1];
 ND3 [kən1]
 [OPH *kin1] CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1

gēn 跟 QYS kən CDC *ken1/EC *'kun
 BMH [ken]; MX [ken1]; HL [ken1]; SX [ken1]; LF [ken1]; LZ [ken1]; SHT [ken1]
 HY [—]; XY [k'in1]; DB [kən1 ~ kien1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]
 CT [keŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kẽ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [kẽ1]; XS [ken1]; QN [—]; ND1 [kən1]; ND2 [kən1]; ND3 [kən1]
 OPH *ken1 CNH *ken1

The Xīnyí form probably represents a different lexical layer. Cf. the set for gēn 根 immediately above.

hèn 恨 QYS ɣən- CDC *xen6/EC *'gunh
 BMH [hèn]; MX [hən5]; HL [hen5]; SX [hen5]; LF [hen6]; LZ [hən5]; SHT [—]
 HY [han6]; XY [hən3]; DB [han3]; YL [—]; XC [hən5]
 CT [heŋ6]; WP [xəŋ3]; YD [hən3]; SH [hẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hẽ5]; AY [hẽ6]; SY [hẽ5]; XS [hən5]; QN [hen6]; ND1 [hən6]; ND2 [hən6]; ND3 [hən6]
 [OPH *hen6] CNH *hen6

3.4.7 CNH *-eŋ

This final is distinguished from *-en in Liánchéng and Níngdū, whose several varieties are therefore determinative for it. When evidence from both these dialect types is lacking, the distinction cannot be definitively determined. Examples for *-eŋ are:

céng 層 QYS dzəŋg CDC *dzeng2/EC *'dzing
BMH [tshên]; MX [ts'ən2]; HL [ts'ən2]; SX [ts'ən2]; LF [ts'ən2]; LZ [tʃhən2]; SHT [ts'ən2]
HY [ts'an2]; XY [ts'ən2]; DB [ts'ən2]; YL [ts'an2 ~ ts'ən2]; XC [ts'ən2]
CT [ts'əŋ2]; WP [tshəŋ2]; YD [ts'ən2]; SH [tshẽ2]; LC1 [ts'ãi2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ẽ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [ts'ẽ2]; XS [ts'ən2]; QN [ts'ən2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2]; ND2 [ts'əŋ2];
ND3 [ts'əŋ2]
OPH *ts'ən2 CNH *ts'əŋ2

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋg: CDC *kheng3/EC *'khingx
BMH [khén ~ hén]; MX [k'ən3w ~ hən3b]; HL [k'ən3w ~ hən3b]; SX [k'ən3w ~ hən3b]; LF
[k'ən3 ~ hən3]; LZ [hən3]; SHT [—]
HY [han3]; XY [hən3]; DB [hən3]; YL [k'an3]; XC [k'ən3w ~ hən3b]
CT [k'əŋ3]; WP [xəŋ3]; YD [k'ən3]; SH [khẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; LC1 [hãi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; AY [k'əŋ3w ~ ɕiəŋ3b]; SY [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; XS [k'ən3]; QN [hən3]; ND1 [k'əŋ3];
ND2 [k'əŋ3]; ND3 [k'əŋ3]
OPH *hən3 CNH *həŋ3 ?/L *k'əŋ3

The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, because determinative forms for it are absent from the set.

néng 能 QYS nəŋg CDC *neng2/EC *'ning
BMH [nên]; MX [nen2]; HL [nen2]; SX [nen2]; LF [nen2]; LZ [len2]; SHT [—]
HY [nan2]; XY [nən2]; DB [nən2]; YL [nən2]; XC [nən2]
CT [neŋ2]; WP [neŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [nẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nẽ2]; AY [nəŋ2]; SY [nẽ2]; XS [nən2]; QN [nen2]; ND1 [nəŋ2]; ND2 [nəŋ2]; ND3 [nəŋ2]
[OPH *nen2] CNH *neŋ2

péng 朋 QYS bəŋg CDC *beng2/EC *'bing
BMH [phên]; MX [p'ən2]; HL [p'ən2]; SX [p'ən2]; LF [p'ən2]; LZ [phən2]; SHT [p'ən2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'uŋ2]; XC [p'uŋ2]
CT [p'əŋ2]; WP [pheŋ2]; YD [p'ən2]; SH [phẽ2]; LC1 [p'ãi2]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'əŋ2]; AY [p'əŋ2]; SY [p'əŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [p'uŋ2]; ND1 [p'əŋ2]; ND2 [p'əŋ2]; ND3 [—]

OPH *p'en2 CNH *p'əŋ2

CNH *-əŋ often appears in the literary correlates of syllables having the popular final *-aŋ. The following are examples:

gēng 耕 QYS keng CDC *kang1/EC *kreng
 BMH [kang]; MX [kaŋ1]; HL [kaŋ1]; SX [kaŋ1]; LF [kaŋ1]; LZ [kaŋ1]; SHT [kaŋ1]
 HY [kaŋ1]; XY [kaŋ1]; DB [kaŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [kən1]
 CT [kaŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kê1]; LC1 [kâi1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kê1]; AY [kâi ~ kəŋ1]; SY [kê1]; XS [ken1]; QN [kaŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kang1] CNH *kaŋ1/L *keŋ1

měng 猛 QYS mōng: CDC *mang4/EC *mrangx
 BMH [mang]; MX [maŋ1]; HL [men3]; SX [men2]; LF [mbaŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [maŋ5]; XY [maŋ1]; DB [maŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ3]
 CT [meŋ3]; WP [mēŋ3]; YD [maŋ3]; SH [məŋ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [məŋ3]; AY [məŋ3]; SY [məŋ3]; XS [—]; QN [men3]; ND1 [məŋ3]; ND2 [maŋ1]; ND3 [məŋ3]
 [OPH ?] CNH *maŋ1/L *meŋ3

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

shēng 生 QYS şong CDC *shang1/EC *sring
 BMH [sang ~ sen]; MX [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; HL [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; SX [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; LF [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; LZ [faŋ1b ~ fən1w]; SHT [saŋ1]
 HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [saŋ1]; XC [ʂaŋ1]
 CT [saŋ1 ~ seŋ1]; WP [seŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1 ~ sen1]; SH [saŋ1 ~ sê1]; LC1 [saŋ1 ~ sāi11]; LC2 [seŋ1 ~ saŋ1]

NK [sã1 ~ sê1]; AY [sã1 ~ səŋ1]; SY [sã1 ~ sê1]; XS [sɛn1 ~ saŋ1]; QN [sen1 ~ saŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
OPH *sang1 CNH *saŋ1/L *seŋ1

Consider now the following set:

gěng 哽 QYS kɔŋ: CDC *kang3/EC *krangx
BMH [káng]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kaŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kaŋ3]; XC [kaŋ3]
CT [keŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [kaŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kě3]; AY [kā3]; SY [kě3]; XS [ken3]; QN [—]; ND1 [kaŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *kaŋ3/L *keŋ3 ?

The coda of the second reconstructed form here is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set. However, by comparison with examples of the type given above, we can be reasonably certain that the Common Neo-Hakka final is *-eŋ.

Comparison with the Proto-Hakka forms cited here indicates that that system had no final *-eŋ. This is because Proto-Hakka is based entirely on dialects where CNH *-en and *-eŋ had merged. This is a significant difference between the two systems.

3.4.8 CNH *-ueŋ

This is a unique final which occurs in a single word:

héng 衡 QYS ɣɔŋ; (ɣwɔŋ) CDC *hang2/EC *grang
BMH [fɛn]; MX [fɛn2]; HL [fen2]; SX [fen2]; LF [—]; LZ [haŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hɛn2]; XC [hən2]
CT [—]; WP [xɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [hê2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hě2]; AY [həŋ2]; SY [hě2]; XS [hɛn2]; QN [—]; ND1 [həŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fɛn2] CNH hueŋ2

Here, though medial *-u- does not survive as such in any modern dialect, its earlier presence can be inferred from the dentilabialization of initial *h- in certain of the Mainstream dialects in the first line of the set.

3.4.9 CNH *-em

This rare final is posited for the following form:

sēn 森 QYS sjəm CDC *shem1/EC *srim
 BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [fem1]; SHT [sim1]
 HY [səm1]; XY [səm1]; DB [ləm1]; YL [ʃen1 ~ san1]; XC [ʃən1]
 CT [seŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ1]; XS [sen1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3 [səm1]
 OPH *sem1 CNH *sem1

Though supporting forms are scant, it is also possible that the following set should be reconstructed with *-em:

shèn 滲 QYS sjəm- CDC *shim5/EC *srumh
 BMH [—]; MX [ts'am1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [seŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [seŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ5]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ2]; XS [sen5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səm5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *sem5 ?

The Méixiàn form is not comparable to the remaining forms in the set.

3.4.10 CNH *-et

This final occurs in independent (i.e., non-doublet) forms in the following set:

shī 虱 QYS sjet CDC *shet7/EC *srit
BMH [set ~ sit]; MX [set7]; HL [set7]; SX [set7]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [sit7]
HY [siat7]; XY [set7]; DB [ʎet7]; YL [seʔ7]; XC [ɕieʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [seʔ7]; YD [seʔ7]; SH [seʔ7]; LC1 [suo6]; LC2 [sue6 ~ sue2]
NK [sə7]; AY [si33]; SY [se5]; XS [—]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [sət7]; ND3 [sət7]
OPH *set7 CNH *set7

It should be noted from the Proto-Hakka forms in sets having our *-et that O'Connor reconstructs two different finals here, i.e., *-et and *-et. He bases these reconstructions on distinctions he found in his Huáyáng data from Sichuān. We have been unable to substantiate the difference in our more extensive Hakka material. (Cf. also §3.4.11 below, where the distinction appears again in the Proto-Hakka reconstructions.) Our view is that the distinction in Huáyáng is probably due to mixing or internal heterogeneity in that dialect. We have consequently not adopted it for our Common Neo-Hakka system.

Elsewhere CNH *-et is found exclusively in doublets with forms ending in *-iat and *-it. Examples are:

bié 別 QYS pjät3, bjät3 CDC *biat8 ~ *piat7
BMH [phiét ~ phét]; MX [p'iet8w ~ p'et8b]; HL [p'iet8]; SX [p'iet8]; LF [p'iat8 ~ p'et8]; LZ [phet8]; SHT [—]
HY [p'iat8]; XY [p'iat8]; DB [p'iet8]; YL [p'iet7]; XC [pieʔ7 ~ p'ieʔ7]
CT [p'e6]; WP [pieʔ8 ~ pieʔ7]; YD [p'ieʔ8]; SH [pieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'ie5]; AY [p'i31]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'iet8]; QN [p'ieʔ8]; ND1 [p'iet8]; ND2 [p'iat8]; ND3 [p'iat8]
[OPH *p'iat8] CNH *p'iat8/L *p'et8

jié 結 QYS kiet CDC *kiat5/EC *'kit
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7w ~ ket7b]; HL [kiet7w ~ ket7b]; SX [kiet7w ~ ket7b]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
HY [kiat7]; XY [kiat7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [tɕieʔ7]; XC [tɕieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [keʔ7 ~ tsieʔ7]; YD [kieʔ7]; SH [tɕieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kia6 ~ ki6]

NK [tɛie7]; AY [tɛi33]; SY [tɛie5]; XS [tɛiet7]; QN [tɛieʔ7]; ND1 [tsət7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [tsat7]

[OPH *ket7] CNH *ket7/L *kiat7

mì 密 QYS mjet3 CDC *mit8/EC —

BMH [mét ~ mít]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [ᵐbit8]; SHT [—]

HY [mit8]; XY [mɛt8]; DB [met8]; YL [miʔ8]; XC [mieʔ8]

CT [mi6]; WP [mɛʔ8 ~ miʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [mɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mie6]; AY [mi31]; SY [mie5]; XS [mit8]; QN [miʔ8]; ND1 [miɛt8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3 [miat8]

[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*mit8

miè 滅 QYS mjiät4 CDC *miat8/EC *met

BMH [mét]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [ᵐbet8]; SHT [—]

HY [miat8]; XY [miat8]; DB [met8]; YL [mɛʔ7]; XC [mieʔ8]

CT [me6]; WP [mieʔ8]; YD [mieʔ8]; SH [mieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mie5]; AY [mi31]; SY [mie5]; XS [miɛt8]; QN [mieʔ8]; ND1 [miɛt8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3 [miat8]

[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*miat8

3.4.11 CNH *-ek

Examples for this final are:

běi 北 QYS pək CDC *pek7/EC *'pik

BMH [pet]; MX [pet7]; HL [pet7]; SX [pet7]; LF [pet7]; LZ [pet7]; SHT [pet7]

HY [pat7]; XY [pɛt7]; DB [pet7]; YL [pɛʔ7]; XC [pɛʔ7]

CT [pe2]; WP [pɛʔ7]; YD [pɛʔ7]; SH [pɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [pə8]; AY [pe6]; SY [pe5]; XS [pet7]; QN [pɛʔ7]; ND1 [pək7]; ND2 [pək7]; ND3 [pək7]

OPH *pet7 CNH *pek7

dé 得 QYS tək CDC *tek7/EC *'tik
BMH [tet]; MX [tət7]; HL [tet7]; SX [tet7]; LF [tet7]; LZ [tət7]; SHT [tət7]
HY [tat7]; XY [tət7]; DB [tət7]; YL [tɛʔ7]; XC [tɛʔ7]
CT [tə2]; WP [tɛʔ7]; YD [tɛʔ7]; SH [tɛʔ7]; LC1 [tuɔ6]; LC2 [tuɐ6]
NK [te8]; AY [te6]; SY [te5]; XS [tet7]; QN [teʔ7]; ND1 [tək7]; ND2 [tək7]; ND3 [tək7]
OPH *tet7 CNH *tek7

kè 刻 QYS khək CDC *khek7/EC *'khik
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k'et7]; HL [k'et7]; SX [k'et7]; LF [k'et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [k'at7]; XY [k'et7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [k'ɛʔ7]; XC [k'ɛʔ7]
CT [k'e2]; WP [khɛʔ7]; YD [k'ɛʔ7]; SH [khɛʔ7 ~ khɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ə8]; AY [k'e6]; SY [k'e5]; XS [k'et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'ək7]; ND2 [k'ək7]; ND3 [k'ək7]
[OPH *k'et7] CNH *k'ek7

zéi 賊 QYS dzək CDC *dzek8/EC *'dzik
BMH [tshét]; MX [ts'et8]; HL [ts'et8]; SX [ts'et8]; LF [ts'et8]; LZ [tʃhet8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'at8]; XY [ts'et8]; DB [ts'et8]; YL [ts'ɛʔ8]; XC [ts'ɛʔ8]
CT [ts'e6]; WP [tshɛʔ8]; YD [ts'ɛʔ8]; SH [tshɛʔ8]; LC1 [ts'uɔ5]; LC2 [ts'uɐ5]
NK [ts'ə1]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [ts'et8]; QN [ts'eʔ8]; ND1 [ts'ək8]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
[ts'ək8]
OPH *ts'et8 CNH *ts'ek8

CNH *-ek frequently occurs in doublets as a correlate of final *-ak. The following exemplify this:

gé 格 QYS kək CDC *kak7/EC *'kak
BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [ket7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]
HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
CT [ka2]; WP [kɛʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5 ~ ke5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7b ~ kək7w]; ND3 [kək7 ~ kak7]

[OPH *kak7] CNH *kak7/L *kek7

cè 冊 QYS tʃhək CDC *chak7/EC *tshrek

BMH [tshak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tʃ'ɛʔ]

CT [ts'a2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshAʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'a6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [ts'ak7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'ak7] CNH *ts'ak7/*ts'ek7

Where stylistic register is indicated in the sources, *-ek final members of such doublets are consistently identified as literary.

Most Hakka dialects have merged CNH *-ek into final *-et. However, the Níngdū dialects preserve the original *-k coda. Where Níngdū forms are absent, *-k can be conjecturally restored by analogy with parallel sets where reconstruction of the coda is firm. The following are examples:

gé 隔 QYS kək CDC *kak7/EC *krek

BMH [ket ~ kak]; MX [kak7]; HL [kak7]; SX [kak7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak7]; SHT [—]

HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]

CT [ka2 ~ ke2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7]; ND3 [kak7]

OPH *kak7 CNH *kak7/*kek7 ?

kè 客 QYS khək CDC *khak7/EC *khrak

BMH [hak ~ khak]; MX [k'et7w ~ hak7b]; HL [k'et7 ~ hak8]; SX [k'et7 ~ hak7]; LF [hak7];

LZ [hak7]; SHT [hak7]

HY [hak7]; XY [k'ak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [k'aʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]

CT [k'a2]; WP [khaʔ7]; YD [k'aʔ7]; SH [khaʔ7]; LC1 [k'o6]; LC2 [k'o6]

NK [k'a8]; AY [k'a6]; SY [k'a5]; XS [k'ak7]; QN [c'aʔ7 ~ k'aʔ7]; ND1 [k'ak7]; ND2 [k'ak7];
ND3 [k'ak7]

[OPH *hak7] CNH *hak7/L *k'ak7/*k'ek7 ?

The tone of the second Hǎilù form is irregular.

In both of these sets Níngdū has only popular readings in *-ak and does not show the literary forms at all. However, by analogy with other such doublet sets, we may speculate that the literary readings had final *-ek here.

As we have noted, opposite our *-ek O'Connor normally reconstructs PH *-et. However, his *-et, mentioned in the preceding section, also occurs here. For example,

sè 色 QYS sjək CDC *shek7/EC *srik
BMH [set]; MX [set7]; HL [set7]; SX [set7]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃet7]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [sət7]; DB [lɛt7]; YL [sɛʔ7]; XC [ʃɛʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [sɛʔ7]; YD [sɛʔ7]; SH [sɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [set7]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [sək7]
OPH *set7 CNH *sek7

And, as indicated above, we have not adopted this distinction for Common Neo-Hakka.

3.4.12 CNH *-uek

This final is reconstructed for the following sets:

guó 國 QYS kwək CDC *kuek7/EC *EC *kwik
BMH [kwet]; MX [kueʔ7]; HL [kueʔ7]; SX [kueʔ7]; LF [kueʔ7]; LZ [ket7b ~ kək7w]; SHT [ket7]
HY [kat7]; XY [kək7]; DB [kuək7]; YL [kueʔ7]; XC [kueʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koæ8]; AY [kuɜ3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kueʔ7]; QN [kuiʔ7]; ND1 [kək7]; ND2 [kək7]; ND3
[kək7]
OPH *kueʔ7 CNH *kuek7

huò 或 QYS ywək CDC *huek8/EC *'gwik
 BMH [fét]; MX [fæt8]; HL [fet8]; SX [fet8]; LF [fet8]; LZ [fæt]; SHT [fet8]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [huɛ2]; XC [huɛʔ7]
 CT [fe2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ8 ~ vu2]; AY [—]; SY [huo5]; XS [fet8]; QN [fɛʔ8]; ND1 [fək8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *fet8] CNH *huek8

Interestingly, the Nánkāng reading appears to derive from an earlier *v- initial form, for which we unfortunately have no comparative evidence from other points.

For the first set O'Connor reconstructs Proto-Hakka final *-uet, the only case where he posits this final. We do not reconstruct *-uet for Common Neo-Hakka at all. The presence of final *-k in the two sets cited here differentiates our system from Proto-Hakka.

3.4.13 CNH *-ep

This final is reconstructed for three sets, as given below. In the first two, the *-ep forms are variant readings and may be loans from some external dialect type:

lì 粒 QYS ljəp CDC *^hlip8/EC *lip
 BMH [lip]; MX [lɛp7]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
 HY [lip7]; XY [nap8]; DB [nəp7]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
 CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liaʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tie7]; AY [tiɜ3]; SY [tie5]; XS [lit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [lip7]; ND3 [lit8]
 [OPH ?] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7/*liap8

It seems likely that CNH *lep7 in this rather complex set is a Yuè dialect loan form. The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms are relatable to this *lep7 but irregularly have nasal initials. This peculiarity is particularly suggestive of Yuè dialect influence. Compare the following set, where this irregularity is not present. The fourth reconstruction, CNH *liap8, is probably a southern Mǐn loan form.

lì 立 QYS ljəp CDC *^hlip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lɛp7]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [liʔ7]
HY [lip7]; XY [lap7]; DB [lɔp8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liʔ7]; SH [tiʔ7]; LC1 [ti6]; LC2 [ti5]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [lit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lit8]
[OPH *lip7] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7

The Diànbái form is clearly to be derived from the third reconstruction but inexplicably has Tone 8 rather than Tone 7.

sè 澀 QYS sjəp CDC *shep7/EC *srip
BMH [sep]; MX [sɛp7]; HL [sep7]; SX [sep7]; LF [sep7]; LZ [ʃep7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɛʔ7]; XC [ʃɛʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [sɛʔ7]; YD [sɛʔ7]; SH [sɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [sɛt7]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *sɛp7 CNH *sep7

The initial of the Xīchāng form probably reflects regional Mandarin influence of some sort.

3.5 Neo-Hakka Finals having the Main Vowel *i

3.5.1 CNH *-i

Examples for this final are:

bí 鼻 QYS bi-4 CDC *bi6 ~ *bit8/bith
BMH [phi]; MX [p'i5]; HL [p'i6]; SX [p'i5]; LF [p'i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [p'i5]
HY [p'i6]; XY [p'i3]; DB [p'i3]; YL [p'i3]; XC [p'i5]
CT [p'i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [phi3]; LC1 [p'i6]; LC2 [p'i5 ~ p'i6]
NK [p'i5]; AY [p'i6]; SY [p'i5]; XS [p'i5]; QN [p'i6]; ND1 [p'i6]; ND2 [p'i6]; ND3 [p'i6]
OPH *p'i6 CNH *p'i6

dì 地 QYS di- CDC *di6/EC *'dayh ?; 'deh ?
 BMH [thì]; MX [t'i5]; HL [t'i6]; SX [t'i5]; LF [t'i6]; LZ [thi5]; SHT [t'i5]
 HY [t'i6]; XY [t'i3]; DB [t'i3]; YL [t'i3]; XC [t'i5]
 CT [t'i6]; WP [thi3]; YD [t'i5]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t'i6]; LC2 [t'i6]
 NK [t'i5]; AY [t'i6]; SY [t'i5]; XS [t'i5]; QN [t'i6]; ND1 [t'i6]; ND2 [t'i6]; ND3 [t'i6]
 OPH *t'i6 CNH *t'i6

qì 氣 QYS khjei- CDC *khi5/EC *khuyh, khiyh
 BMH [hì ~ khi]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [hi5]
 HY [hi5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [tɛ'i5]; XC [ɛi5]
 CT [tʃ'i5 ~ j'i5]; WP [tshi5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [tɛhi5]; LC1 [k'i5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; AY [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; SY [tɛ'i2 ~ ɛi2]; XS [ɛi5]; QN [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; ND1 [ɛi5]; ND2
 [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; ND3 [ts'i5]
 [OPH *hi5] CNH *hi5/L *k'i5

yī 衣 QYS ʔjei CDC *i1/EC *uy, *iy
 BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi1]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ji1]; SHT [—]
 HY [i1]; XY [i1]; DB [zi1]; YL [i1]; XC [i1]
 CT [i1]; WP [i1]; YD [i1 ~ zi1]; SH [i1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i1]; AY [ji1]; SY [ji1]; XS [i1]; QN [i1]; ND1 [i1]; ND2 [i1]; ND3 [i1]
 OPH *i1 CNH *i1

After postalveolars a rather different pattern obtains:

chǐ 齒 QYS tshī: CDC *chi3/EC *chix (khyix)
 BMH [chhí]; MX [ts'ɿ3]; HL [tʃ'ɿ3]; SX [tʃ'ɿ3]; LF [tʃ'ɿ3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ɿ3]; XY [ts'ɿ3]; DB [ts'ɿ3]; YL [tɕ'ɿ3]; XC [tɕ'ɿ3]
 CT [tʃ'ɿ3]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [ts'ɿ3]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [tʃ'ɿ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɿ3 ~ ts'ɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tɕi1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tɕ'ɿ3]
 OPH *tɕ'ɿ3 CNH *tɕ'ɿ3

The tone of the Níngdū-1 form is irregular.

shí 時 QYS ži CDC *zhi2/EC *di
BMH [shî]; MX [sɿ2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃi2]; SHT [si2]
HY [sɿ2]; XY [si2]; DB [si2]; YL [ʂɿ2]; XC [ʂɿ2]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [sɿ2]; YD [si2]; SH [sɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
NK [sɿ2]; AY [sɿ2]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [ʂɿ2]; QN [sɿ2]; ND1 [ɛi2]; ND2 [ɛi2]; ND3 [ɛi2]
[OPH *ʂi2] CNH *ʂi2

zhǐ 紙 QYS tsje: CDC *ci3/EC *tex
BMH [chî]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tʃi3]
HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʂɿ3]; XC [tʂɿ3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tɛi3]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tɛi3]
OPH *tʂi3 CNH *tʂi3

CNH *-i alternates with *-iai in numerous doublets, as the following will exemplify:

lí 犁 QYS liei CDC *liai2/EC *'liy
BMH [lâi ~ lê]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [lie2]; XY [lei2]; DB [le2]; YL [lei2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
CT [le2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei2]; SH [lei2]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [le2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [liei2]; ND3 [liai2]
[OPH *lai2] CNH *liai2/L *li2
†FJFYZ: [le2].

ní 泥 QYS niei CDC *niai2/EC *'niy
BMH [nî ~ nî ~ nâi]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];
LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [nie2]; XY [nei2]; DB [ne2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lei2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ne2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
[OPH *nai2] CNH *niai2/L *ni2

qí 齊 QYS dziei CDC *dziai2/EC *'dziy
 BMH [tshî ~ tshê]; MX [ts'i2w ~ ts'ε2b]; HL [ts'e2]; SX [ts'e2]; LF [ts'e2 ~ ts'i2]; LZ [tʃhε2];
 SHT [ts'ε2]
 HY [ts'ie2]; XY [ts'ei2]; DB [ts'ε2]; YL [ts'ei2]; XC [tɕ'i1]
 CT [ts'e2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhi2 ~ tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'i2 ~ ts'e2]
 NK [tɕ'i2]; AY [ts'i2 ~ ts'e2]; SY [tɕ'i2]; XS [ts'i2]; QN [tɕ'i2]; ND1 [tɕ'i2]; ND2 [tɕ'iei2];
 ND3 [ts'i2]
 OPH * ts'e2 CNH * ts'iai2/L * ts'i2

tì 替 QYS thiei- CDC *thiai5/EC *'thiyh
 BMH [thì ~ thài]; MX [t'i5]; HL [t'i5w ~ t'ai5b]; SX [t'i5w ~ t'ai5b]; LF [—]; LZ [thai5]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [t'ie5]; XY [t'ei5]; DB [t'ε5]; YL [t'i5]; XC [t'i5]
 CT [t'ε5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t'ei3]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'i5]; AY [t'i5]; SY [t'i2]; XS [t'i5]; QN [t'i5]; ND1 [t'i5]; ND2 [t'iei5]; ND3 [t'iai5]
 [OPH *t'ai5] CNH *t'iai5/L *t'i5

Where the sources indicate register for such doublets, the final *-i forms are invariably identified as stylistically literary.

3.5.2 CNH *-ui

Examples for this final are:

féi 肥 QYS bjwei CDC *vui2/EC *buy
 BMH [phûi]; MX [p'i2]; HL [p'ui2]; SX [p'ui2]; LF [p'ui2]; LZ [phui2b ~ fui2w]; SHT [p'ui2]
 HY [fi2]; XY [fui2]; DB [p'ei2]; YL [p'ei2b]; XC [fei2w ~ p'ei2b]
 CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p'o2]; LC2 [p'ue2]
 NK [fi2]; AY [fe2 ~ p'e2]; SY [fi2]; XS [fi2]; QN [fui2]; ND1 [p'ei2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3 [fei2
 ~ p'ei2]
 OPH *p'ui2 CNH *p'ui2/L *fui2

guī 龜 QYS kjwi3 CDC *kui1/EC *kwi
BMH [kwui]; MX [kui1]; HL [kui1]; SX [kui1]; LF [kui1]; LZ [kui1]; SHT [kui1]
HY [kui1]; XY [kui1]; DB [kuei1]; YL [kuei1]; XC [kuei1]
CT [kue1]; WP [kui1]; YD [kuei1]; SH [kuei1]; LC1 [kui1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kue1]; XS [kui1]; QN [kui1]; ND1 [kui1]; ND2 [kui1]; ND3 [kui1]
OPH *kui1 CNH *kui1

léi 雷 QYS lui2 CDC *luoi1/EC *'luy
BMH [lúi]; MX [lui2]; HL [lui2]; SX [lui2]; LF [lui2]; LZ [lui2]; SHT [lui2]
HY [lui2]; XY [—]; DB [lei2]; YL [luei2]; XC [luei2]
CT [lue2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei3]; SH [lei5]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [loi2 ~ lue2]
NK [le2]; AY [le2]; SY [le2]; XS [li2]; QN [lui2]; ND1 [lui2]; ND2 [lui2]; ND3 [lui2]
OPH *lui2 CNH *lui2

tuì 退 QYS thuai- CDC *thuoi5/EC *'thuth
BMH [thúi]; MX [t'ui5]; HL [t'ui5]; SX [t'ui5]; LF [t'ui5]; LZ [thui5]; SHT [—]
HY [t'uai5]; XY [t'ui5]; DB [t'ei5]; YL [t'uei5]; XC [t'uei5]
CT [t'ue5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t'ei3]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'ue5]; AY [t'ue5]; SY [t'e2]; XS [t'i5]; QN [t'ui5]; ND1 [t'ui5]; ND2 [t'uei5 ~ t'ui5];
ND3 [t'ui5]
[OPH *t'ui5] CNH *t'ui5

wèi 位 QYS jwi- CDC *wi6/EC *wuth
BMH [vúi]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [vui6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [vi3]; YD [vi5 ~ vei5]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
[OPH *vui6] CNH *vui6

Examples of *-ui after postalveolars are exceedingly rare and probably of extraneous origin. They will be discussed in §3.5.3.

CNH *-ui occurs in doublets as a variant of *-oi and *-uoi. Examples are:

fèi 吠 QYS bjwpi- CDC *vui6/EC *both

BMH [phùì]; MX [—]; HL [p'oi5]; SX [p'oi5]; LF [p'oi6]; LZ [phoi5]; SHT [p'oi5]

HY [p'uai6]; XY [p'uai3]; DB [p'oi3]; YL [—]; XC [fei5]

CT [p'e6]; WP [phue3]; YD [p'ei5]; SH [phei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fi5]; AY [p'ue6]; SY [fi5]; XS [—]; QN [p'oi6]; ND1 [p'oe6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [p'uai6]

[OPH *p'oi5] CNH p'oi6/*fui6 ?

The tone of the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because all dialects that would show Tone 6 take the first form. It could theoretically also be Tone 5.

huì 會 QYS yuâi- CDC *huoi6/EC *'gwath

BMH [fùi ~ fòi ~ vòì]; MX [fi4 ~ voi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi6b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~ voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ foi5]; SHT [fui5]

HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fui3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ voi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]

CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fe3 ~ ue5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vue3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fue6 ~ voi6]

NK [huæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [hue6 ~ vue6]; SY [hue5 ~ ve5]; XS [voi5 ~ fi5]; QN [fai6]; ND1 [fei6 ~ vei6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]

[OPH *voi6] CNH *vuoi6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

“To be able; to be imminent”/“a meeting”. In Lìzhīzhuāng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”

péi 陪 QYS buâi CDC *buoi2/EC *'bi

BMH [phui]; MX [p'i2]; HL [p'oi2]; SX [p'oi2]; LF [p'ui2]; LZ [phui2]; SHT [p'ui2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'oi2]; XC [p'ei2]

CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'e2]; AY [p'e2]; SY [p'e2]; XS [p'i2]; QN [p'ui2]; ND1 [p'ei2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3 [—]

OPH *p'oi2 ? CNH *p'oi2/*p'ui2

zuì 罪 QYS dzuâi: CDC *dzuoi4/EC *dzuyx
 BMH [tshùì]; MX [ts'ui5w ~ ts'oi1b]; HL [ts'ui6]; SX [ts'ui5]; LF [ts'ui6]; LZ [tʃhui5]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [ts'uai6]; XY [ts'ui3]; DB [ts'ei3]; YL [ts'uei3]; XC [ts'uei5]
 CT [ts'ue6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshei3]; LC1 [ts'ui6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'æ5]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts'i5]; QN [ts'ui6]; ND1 [ts'ui6]; ND2 [ts'ui6]; ND3
 [ts'ui6]
 OPH *ts'ui6 CNH *ts'uoì6/L *ts'ui6
 Cf. Wēngyuán: [ts'ui6].

The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts'ui5.

As indicated by the final example above, in some cases variants in *-ui in these doublets are identified in the sources as of literary register.

3.5.3 CNH *-iui

The following are examples of this final:

shuǐ 水 QYS świ: CDC *shui3/EC *θuyx
 BMH [shúi]; MX [sui3]; HL [ʃui3]; SX [ʃui3]; LF [ʃui3]; LZ [ʃui3]; SHT [sui3]
 HY [sui3]; XY [sui3]; DB [sei3]; YL [ʂuei3]; XC [ʂuei3]
 CT [ʃue3]; WP [fi3b]; YD [fi3]; SH [fi3]; LC1 [ʃe3]; LC2 [ʃye3]
 NK [ey3]; AY [se3]; SY [ey3]; XS [ʂi3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui3]; ND2 [sui3]; ND3 [sui3]
 OPH *šui3 CNH *šiui3
 Cf. Wēngyuán [siui3].

chuí 槌、錘 QYS ɖjwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
 BMH [chhúi]; MX [ts'ui2]; HL [tʃ'ui2]; SX [tʃ'ui2]; LF [tʃ'ui2]; LZ [tʃhui2]; SHT [ts'ui2]
 HY [ts'ui2]; XY [ts'ui2]; DB [ts'ei2]; YL [tʂ'uei2]; XC [tʂ'uei2]
 CT [tʃ'ue2]; WP [tshe2 ~ tshi2]; YD [ts'ei2]; SH [tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ye2]

NK [tɛ'y2]; AY [ts'e2]; SY [tɛ'y2]; XS [tɕ'i2]; QN [ts'ui2]; ND1 [ts'ui2]; ND2 [ts'ui2]; ND3 [ts'ui2]

OPH *tɕ'ui2 CNH *tɕ'ui2

Cf. Wēngyuán [ts'ui2].

The Liánchéng-2 form is quite irregular. We would expect [k'vi2] here for this dialect. The form may be a loan of some sort.

zuì 醉 QYS tswi- CDC *tsui5/EC *tsuth

BMH [tsui5]; MX [tsui5]; HL [tsui5]; SX [tsui5]; LF [tsui5]; LZ [tɕui5]; SHT [tsui5]

HY [tsui5]; XY [tsui5]; DB [tsei5]; YL [tsuei5]; XC [tsuei5]

CT [tsi5]; WP [tse3]; YD [tsei3]; SH [tsei5]; LC1 [tsi5]; LC2 [tɕi5]

NK [tey5]; AY [tse5]; SY [tɕei2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tsui5]; ND1 [tɕei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsi5]

[OPH *tsui5] CNH *tsui5

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsui5].

Many examples of this final occur in doublets of one kind or another, as exemplified in the following:

chuī 吹 QYS tshjwe CDC *chui1/EC *thoy

BMH [chhoi ~ chhui]; MX [ts'oi1]; HL [tɕ'oi1w ~ tɕ'ui1b]; SX [tɕ'oi1]; LF [tɕ'oi1]; LZ [tɕhui1]; SHT [ts'ui2]

HY [ts'ui1]; XY [ts'ue1]; DB [ts'ei1]; YL [tɕ'uei1]; XC [tɕ'uei1]

CT [tɕ'ue1]; WP [tshe1]; YD [ts'ei1]; SH [tshe1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [k'vi1]

NK [tɛ'y1]; AY [ts'e1]; SY [tɛ'y1]; XS [tɕ'i1]; QN [ts'ui1]; ND1 [ts'ui1]; ND2 [ts'ui1]; ND3 [ts'ui1]

[OPH *tɕ'oi1] CNH *tɕ'ui1/L *tɕ'oi1

Cf. Wēngyuán [ts'ui1].

guì 櫃 QYS gjwi-3 CDC *gui6/EC *guth

BMH [khwui]; MX [k'ui5]; HL [k'ui5]; SX [k'ui5]; LF [k'ui6]; LZ [khui5]; SHT [k'ui5]

HY [k'ui6]; XY [k'ui3]; DB [k'uei3]; YL [k'uei3]; XC [kuei5]

CT [k'ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k'uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'y5]; AY [k'ue6]; SY [tɛ'y5]; XS [k'ui5]; QN [k'ui6]; ND1 [k'ui6]; ND2 [k'ui6]; ND3
[k'ui6]
[OPH *k'ui6] CNH *k'ui6/*k'ui6

The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms derive from the second reconstruction.

lèi 淚 QYS ljwi- CDC *lui6/EC *loth
BMH [lùi]; MX [lui5]; HL [lui6]; SX [lui6]; LF [lui6]; LZ [lui5]; SHT [—]
HY [lui6]; XY [lui3]; DB [lui3]; YL [luei3]; XC [nuei5]
CT [lue6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lue6]
NK [ti1]; AY [li6]; SY [—]; XS [li5]; QN [li6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lui6]
[OPH *lui6] CNH *lui6/*lui6

The Nankāng, Ānyuǎn, Xīshuǐ, and Quánnán forms reflect the second reconstruction.

suì 歲 QYS sjwäi- CDC *sioi5/EC *soth
BMH [sòi ~ sùi ~ sè]; MX [sui5w ~ sɛ5b]; HL [soi5]; SX [soi5]; LF [soi5]; LZ [ʃɔi5]; SHT
[sɔi5]
HY [suai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [hɔi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [soi5]
CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛi5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [si5]; QN [soi5]; ND1 [ɛie5]; ND2 [ɛiei5]; ND3 [siai5]
[OPH *sioi5 ?] CNH *sioi5 ~ *sioi5 ?/L *siui5

CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Níngdū forms.

Cf. Wēngyuán: [siui5].

Consider now the following examples:

ruì 銳 QYS jiwäi- CDC *yui6/EC *yoth
BMH [yùi]; MX [iui5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɣuei5]; XC [—]
CT [ʃue5]; WP [—]; YD [iei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lue5]; AY [lue6]; SY [lue3]; XS [—]; QN [iui6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *iui6/*ʒui5

The l- initial forms in this set do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern and appear to be late borrowings of a northern or northern-like [ɭui6].

shuì 睡 QYS ʒjwe- CDC *zhui6/EC *doyh

BMH [shòì]; MX [sɔi5]; HL [ʃoi6]; SX [ʃoi5]; LF [ʃoi6]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [sɔi5]

HY [—]; XY [suai5]; DB [sɔi5]; YL [ʂoi3]; XC [ʂoi5]

CT [ʃue6]; WP [se3]; YD [sɔi5 ~ fei3]; SH [fei3]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [fi6]

NK [sue5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [ʂi5]; QN [sui6]; ND1 [sui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *ʒoi6 CNH *ʒoi6/*ʒui6

Cases of CNH *-ui after postalveolars are very rare in the data. In the case of ruì 銳 “sharp”, our suspicion is that CNH *iui6 is the native Hakka form, while *ʒui5 is of extraneous origin. The same may be true for the form *ʒui6 for “sleep” in the second example. In fact, our suspicion is that all cases of *-ui in this environment may have been borrowed from external sources.

3.5.4 CNH *-in

Examples of this final are:

jǐn 緊 QYS kjien:4 CDC *kin3/EC *kinx

BMH [kín]; MX [kin3]; HL [kin3]; SX [kin3]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [—]

HY [kin3]; XY [kin3]; DB [kən3]; YL [tɛin3]; XC [tɛin3]

CT [tʃɛŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [kiŋ3]; SH [tɛiŋ3]; LC1 [kieŋ3]; LC2 [keŋ3 ~ kæŋ3]

NK [tɛiŋ3]; AY [tɛiəŋ3]; SY [tɛiŋ3]; XS [tɛin3]; QN [tɛin3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [tsən3]; ND3 [tsən3]

OPH *kin3 CNH *kin3

lín 鱗 QYS ljen CDC *l̥in2/EC *lin

BMH [lín]; MX [lin1]; HL [lin1]; SX [lin1]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin1b ~ lin2w]; SHT [lin1]

HY [lin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [teŋ1]; WP [tiŋ1]; YD [liŋ1]; SH [liŋ2w ~ tiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [leŋ1]†
NK [tiŋ2]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin1]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lin2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lin1] CNH *lin1/L *lin2
†FJFYZ: [leŋ1w ~ teŋ2b].

pín 品 QYS phjəm: CDC *phim3/EC *phimx
BMH [phín]; MX [p'in3]; HL [p'in3]; SX [p'in3]; LF [p'in3]; LZ [phin3]; SHT [p'in3]
HY [p'in3]; XY [p'in3]; DB [p'ən3]; YL [p'in3]; XC [p'in3]
CT [p'eŋ3]; WP [phin3]; YD [p'iŋ3]; SH [phin3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'iŋ3]; AY [p'iŋ3]; SY [p'iŋ3]; XS [p'in3]; QN [p'in3]; ND1 [p'in3]; ND2 [p'in3]; ND3
[p'in3]
OPH *p'in3 CNH *p'in3

xīn 新 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sinh
BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [jin1]; SHT [sin1]
HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [lən1]; YL [ɕin1]; XC [ɕin1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [sin1]; YD [sin1]; SH [ɕin1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]
NK [ɕin1]; AY [sin1]; SY [ɕin1]; XS [sin1]; QN [ɕin1]; ND1 [ɕin1]; ND2 [ɕin1]; ND3 [sin1]
OPH *sin1 CNH *sin1

yīn 因 QYS ʔjien4 CDC *in1/EC *in
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin1]
HY [in1]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jin1]; SY [jin1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in1]
OPH *in1 CNH *in1

After postalveolars a different pattern emerges:

chén 陳 QYS djen CDC *jin2/EC *drin
 BMH [chhîn]; MX [ts'ən2]; HL [tj'en2]; SX [tj'en2]; LF [tj'in2]; LZ [tjhin2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'in2]; XY [ts'in2]; DB [ts'ən2]; YL [tɕ'ən2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
 CT [tj'en2]; WP [tshen2]; YD [ts'in2]; SH [tshein2]; LC1 [tj'en2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'in2]; AY [ts'ən2]; SY [tɕ'in2]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [ts'ən2];
 ND3 [ts'ən2]
 [OPH *tʂ'in2] CNH *tʂ'in2

shén 神 QYS dzjen CDC *zhin2/EC *ðin
 BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [sin2]
 HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [ɕən2]; XC [ɕən2]
 CT [ʃen2]; WP [sɛn2]; YD [sɪn2]; SH [seɪn2]; LC1 [ʃen2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕin2]; AY [sən2]; SY [ɕin2]; XS [ɕən2]; QN [ɕin2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [sən2]
 OPH *šin2 CNH *šin2

Particularly interesting in connection with CNH *-in are cases where this final has doublet readings in *-iun. Several examples of this were already cited in §3.3.4 above. We give those again here for ease of reference, together with several more:

jìn 近 QYS gjən:, gjən- CDC *gin4/EC *gunx
 BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k'iun5w ~ k'iun1b]; HL [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; SX [k'iun5 ~ k'iun1];
 LF [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; LZ [k'iun1b ~ k'iun5w]; SHT [k'iun1]
 HY [k'in5]; XY [k'ən1]; DB [k'ən1]; YL [tɕyn1]; XC [tɕin5w ~ tɕ'in5b]
 CT [k'en1]; WP [kheɪ1]; YD [k'un5 ~ k'un1]; SH [khẽ1 ~ tɕhin3]; LC1 [k'ien1 ~ k'iaɪ1]; LC2
 [—]
 NK [tɕ'in1]; AY [tɕ'ien3]; SY [tɕ'in1]; XS [tɕ'in1]; QN [tɕ'iun1]; ND1 [ts'ən1]; ND2 [ts'ən1];
 ND3 [ts'ən6]
 [OPH *k'iun1] CNH *k'iun1/L *k'iun6/*k'in1

qín 芹 QYS gjən CDC *gin2/EC *gun
 BMH [khiûn]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [k'iun2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'in2]; XC [tɛ'in2]
CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tʃhiŋ2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tɛhiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'ih2]; AY [tɛ'iaŋ2]; SY [tɛ'ih2]; XS [tɛ'in2]; QN [tɛ'in1]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *k'iun2] CNH *k'iun2/*k'in2

rěn 忍 QYS nǐjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx
BMH [nyun ~ nyún†]; MX [ɲiun1]; HL [ɲiun1]; SX [ɲiun1]; LF [ɲiun1]; LZ [ɲgiun3]; SHT
[—]
HY [ɲin5]; XY [ɲyn1]; DB [ɲən1]; YL [ɲin3]; XC [nin3]
CT [neŋ1]; WP [niŋ1]; YD [ɲin1]††; SH [ɲiŋ1]; LC1 [ɲien1]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ3]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin3]; QN [nin1]; ND1 [nən3]; ND2 [nən3]; ND3 [nən3]
OPH *ɲiun1 CNH *ñiun1/*ñiun3/L *ñin1/*ñin3
†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

rèn 刃 QYS nǐjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyún]; MX [ɲiun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nən6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲiun3] CNH *ñiun6/*ñin6

yín 銀 QYS ngjen CDC *ngin2/(EC *ngun)
BMH [nyûn]; MX [ɲiun2]; HL [ɲiun2]; SX [ɲiun2]; LF [ɲiun2]; LZ [ɲgiun2]; SHT [ɲiun2]
HY [ɲan2]; XY [ɲen2]; DB [ɲien2]; YL [in2]; XC [in2w ~ iaŋ3b]
CT [ɲeŋ2]; WP [ɲeŋ2]; YD [ɲen2]; SH [ɲẽ2]; LC1 [ɲãi2]; LC2 [ɲue2 ~ ɲæŋ2]
NK [niŋ2]; AY [niəŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [nin2]; QN [niun2]; ND1 [nən2]; ND2 [nən2]; ND3
[nən2]
OPH *ɲiun2 CNH *ñiun2/*ɲen2/*ñin2

In this rather complex set, the first reconstruction is unambiguously supported by all dialects in the first line, by the Liánchéng-1 and Quánnán forms, and by the first Liánchéng variant. The Chángtīng, Ānyuǎn, Xiūshuǐ, and Níngdū points are ambiguous but could arguably derive from the first reconstruction. The Héyuán, Xīnyí, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdīng, and Shàngháng forms, together with the second Liánchéng variant, support the second reconstruction. This form is a possible Yuè dialect borrowing. The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms support the third reconstruction. The Diànbái form must derive from earlier *ŋian2, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set. (Note that reflexes of CNH *-ian are attested variants of CNH *-en after gutturals in this dialect.) The Yílǒng and first Xīchāng forms derive from earlier *in2, a probable Mandarinizing loan form. The Xīchāng bái reading is of uncertain origin.

Most authorities who study the oldest known stages of Chinese envisage unrounded finals in syllables of all the types seen above.³² Hakka shows a mixture of forms, both rounded and unrounded, and where register differences are noted, it is the unrounded forms that are identified as literary. It therefore seems probable that the rounded forms are the autochthonous Hakka ones, while the unrounded literary readings are borrowings from mainstream Chinese varieties. Compare now the following two sets:

qín 芹 QYS gǐən CDC *gin2/EC *gun
 BMH [khiûn]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [k'iun2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'in2]; XC [tɕ'in2]
 CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tɕhiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; AY [tɕ'ɪəŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; XS [tɕ'in2]; QN [tɕ'in1]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'iun2] CNH *k'iun2/*k'in2

qún 裙 QYS gjuən CDC *giun2/EC *gun
 BMH [khiûn]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [k'iun2]; SX [k'iun2]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k'iun2]
 HY [k'un2]; XY [k'un2]; DB [k'un2]; YL [tɕ'yn2]; XC [tɕ'in2]

³² Jerry Norman was an exception to this, as we shall presently see.

CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tʃiŋ2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tɕhiŋ2]; LC1 [k'ueŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; AY [tɕ'ɪəŋ2]; SY [tɕ'yŋ2]; XS [tɕ'in2]; QN [tɕ'iun2]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [ts'ən2];
ND3 [ts'ən2]
OPH *k'iun2 CNH *k'iun2

The first example, qín 芹 “Chinese celery”, is a syllable of the type with which we are concerned here. The second, qún 裙 “skirt”, is historically a “true” rounded final syllable. In native or indigenous Hakka, they are homophones, though for “celery” Hakka also as a borrowed reading in *k'in2. Interestingly, Norman’s Early Chinese also treats these two words as homophones and leaves unexplained the fact that they have different reflexes in many mainstream Chinese varieties. Norman based his Early Chinese final *-un in both these two words on Mǐn evidence. Cf. Proto Mǐn *ghyn2 “celery”; *gyn2 “skirt” (Norman 2014; Ms. 2). But it is highly likely that he was also aware of the complementary and corroborating Hakka evidence. Let us now cite the parallel examples from comparative Shē (Coblin Ms.1):

qín 芹 QYS gjan CDC *gin2/EC *gun
FA [k'in2]; FD [k'yn2]; LY [k'yŋ2]; SM [k'yuŋ2]; SC [k'en2]; HA [k'in2];
GX [tɕ'in2]; CN [k'ən2]; JN [tɕein2]; LS [tɕein2]; LngY [tɕein2];
CZ [k'en2]; FS [k'ion2]; TY [—] CS *k'in2 ~ *k'yn2
The final of the SC form is irregular and not accounted for by either reconstruction.

qún 裙 QYS gjuən CDC *giun2/EC *gun
FA [k'un2]; FD [k'un2]; LY [k'uŋ2]; SM [k'uŋ2]; SC [k'un2]; HA [k'un2];
GX [k'un2]; CN [k'un2]; JN [k'un2]; LS [k'un2]; LngY [k'un2];
CZ [k'un2]; FS [k'un2]; TY [tɕ'yən2] CS *k'un2
The TY word is not derived from the CS reconstructed form.

Here we note that the Common Shē forms also reflect the rounding that Norman’s Early Chinese reconstructions would predict. But in addition to this they also show a difference in actual phonetic realizations of the finals of “celery” and “skirt”, which is not present in either Proto-Mǐn or Common Neo-Hakka. What this means for us is that in future, when we

reconstruct Common Hakka-Shē, we must posit for this stage phonetically different rounded finals for “celery” and “skirt”. And whatever forms we ultimately decide upon will *a fortiori* account for all the Hakka, Shē, and Mǐn evidence. But, ultimately, this step will also necessitate some sort of modification or refinement of Norman’s Early Chinese system, which as it turns out will by the same token account for the different finals of “celery” and “skirt” found today in mainstream Chinese varieties. So it is that the historical phonology of Common Hakka-Shē will contribute to the general history of older stages of Chinese.

3.5.5 CNH *-iŋ

Examples for this final are:

bīng 冰 QYS p̄jəŋ CDC *ping1/EC *ping
 BMH [pen]; MX [pən1]; HL [pen1]; SX [pen1]; LF [pen1]; LZ [pən1]; SHT [—]
 HY [pin1]; XY [pin1]; DB [pən1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]
 CT [peŋ1]; WP [peŋ1]; YD [piŋ1 ~ pən1]; SH [piŋ1 ~ p̄ɛ1]; LC1 [peŋ1]; LC2 [pæŋ1]
 NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]
 [OPH *pen1] CNH *piŋ1/*peŋ1 (?)

The coda in the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because determinative forms excluding final *-n are lacking in the set.

líng 凌 QYS l̄jəŋ CDC *ling2/EC *ling
 BMH [lín]; MX [lin2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2w ~ lin5b]
 CT [leŋ2]; WP [leŋ2]; YD [len2]; SH [liŋ2 ~ l̄ɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [læŋ2]
 NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [liŋ2]; ND3 [liŋ2]
 [OPH *lin2] CNH *liŋ2

yīng 應 QYS ʔjəŋ “ought” CDC *ing1/EC *ing
 BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen5]; SX [in5]; LF [jin5]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin5]

HY [in5]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in5]
CT [eŋ5 ~ ieŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [ɛn3]; SH [iŋ5]; LC1 [äi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [iŋ5]
OPH *in5 CNH *iŋ1/*iŋ5

Both forms mean “ought” in their respective dialects.

In sets of this type, the coda *-ŋ is preserved only in Níngdū-2 and 3. Elsewhere, it merges entirely with *-n.

The following examples involve syllables with Common Neo-Hakka guttural initials:

jīng 京 QYS kjoŋ CDC *kiang1/EC *kang
BMH [kin]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tein1]; XC [tein1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [teiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [keŋ1]
NK [teiŋ1]; AY [teiəŋ1]; SY [teiŋ1]; XS [tein1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kin1] CNH *kiŋ1

xíng 形 QYS ɣieng CDC *hiang2/EC *geng
BMH [hîn]; MX [hin2]; HL [hin2]; SX [hin2]; LF [hin2]; LZ [hin2]; SHT [—]
HY [hin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [hən2]; YL [ein2]; XC [ein2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [siŋ2]; YD [siŋ2]; SH [eiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eiŋ2]; AY [eiəŋ2]; SY [eiŋ2]; XS [ein2]; QN [ein2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [səŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2]
[OPH *hin2] CNH *hiŋ2

Here, Níngdū-1 joins its two congeners in preserving CNH *-ŋ. The same configuration is observable in words having Common Neo-Hakka postalveolars, e.g.,

chéng 承 QYS ʒjəŋ CDC *zhing2 ~ *jing2/EC *ding
BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃeŋ2]; SX [ʃeŋ2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [tʂ'ən2]; XC [tʂ'ən2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [seŋ2]; YD [siŋ2]; SH [sieŋ2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; XS [ɕən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [ts'əŋ2 ~ səŋ2];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *ʂin2] CNH *ʂiŋ2/*tɕ'ɪŋ2

shēng 升 QYS śjəŋ CDC *shing1/EC *θiŋ

BMH [shin]; MX [sən1]; HL [ʃen1]; SX [ʃen1]; LF [ʃin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]

HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [sən1]; YL [ɕən1]; XC [ɕən1]

CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [siŋ1]; SH [seŋ1]; LC1 [ʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [ɕən1]; QN [ɕin1]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1]

[OPH *ʂin1] CNH *ʂiŋ1

zhēng 蒸 QYS tɕjəŋ CDC *cing1/EC *ting

BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]

HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tɕən1]; XC [tɕən1]

CT [tʃeŋ5]; WP [tɕeŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseŋ1]; LC1 [tʃeŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕən1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3
[tsəŋ1]

[OPH *tɕin1] CNH *tɕiŋ1

CNH *-iŋ is particularly common in doublets where it is the literary correlate of *-aŋ (after postalveolar affricates) and *-iaŋ (elsewhere, including fricative *ʂ-). The following are examples:

dìng 定 QYS dieng- CDC *diang6/EC *dengh

BMH [thìn]; MX [t'in5]; HL [t'in6]; SX [t'in5]; LF [t'in6]; LZ [thiaŋ5b ~ thin5w]; SHT [t'in5]

HY [t'in6 ~ t'iaŋ5]; XY [t'in3]; DB [t'en3]; YL [t'in3]; XC [t'in5]

CT [t'eŋ6]; WP [thiŋ3]; YD [t'en5]; SH [thɛ3]; LC1 [t'ai6]; LC2 [tæŋ6]

NK [t'iŋ5]; AY [t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; SY [t'iŋ5]; XS [t'in5]; QN [t'in6]; ND1 [t'in6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; ND2
[t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; ND3 [t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]

[OPH *t'in6] CNH *t'iaŋ6/L *t'iŋ6

chéng 城 QYS zǎng CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
BMH [shâng]; MX [saŋ2]; HL [faŋ2]; SX [faŋ2]; LF [faŋ2]; LZ [faŋ2]; SHT [saŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'ɛn2]; XC [tɕ'ən2w ~ ɕaŋ2b]
CT [faŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [saŋ2]; LC1 [faŋ2]; LC2 [faŋ2]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; AY [sã2]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ2 ~ sã2]; XS [tɕ'ən2 ~ ɕaŋ2]; QN [tɕ'in2 ~ saŋ2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2
~ saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šang2] CNH *šiaŋ2/L *tš'ɪŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [fiã2].

píng 瓶 QYS being CDC *biang2/EC *'beng
BMH [phiâng ~ phên]; MX [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b]; HL [p'iaŋ2]; SX [p'iaŋ2]; LF [p'iaŋ2]; LZ
[phiaŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'iaŋ2]; XY [p'in2]; DB [p'ən2]; YL [p'iaŋ2]; XC [p'in2]
CT [p'ɛŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'ɪŋ2]; AY [p'ɪŋ2]; SY [p'ɪŋ2]; XS [p'in2]; QN [p'in2]; ND1 [p'in2]; ND2 [p'ɪŋ2]; ND3
[p'ɪŋ2]
[OPH *p'iang2] CNH *-p'iaŋ2/L *p'ɪŋ2

qīng 青 QYS tshiang CDC *tshiang1/EC *'tsheng
BMH [tshiang]; MX [ts'iaŋ1]; HL [ts'iaŋ1]; SX [ts'iaŋ1]; LF [ts'iaŋ1]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ1b ~ tʃhin1w];
SHT [ts'iaŋ1]
HY [ts'iaŋ1]; XY [ts'iaŋ1]; DB [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ1]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ1]
CT [ts'ɛŋ1]; WP [tshiaŋ1]; YD [ts'iaŋ1]; SH [tɕhiaŋ1]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; AY [ts'ɪŋ1w ~ ts'ĩã1b]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; XS [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; QN
[tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND1 [tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND2 [tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND3 [ts'ɪŋ1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]
[OPH *ts'iaŋ1] CNH *ts'iaŋ1/L *ts'ɪŋ1

shēng 聲 QYS śjäng CDC *shiang1/EC *θeng
BMH [shang]; MX [saŋ1]; HL [faŋ1]; SX [faŋ1]; LF [faŋ1]; LZ [faŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [saŋ1]; YL [ɕaŋ1]; XC [ɕaŋ1]

CT [fɛŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [faŋ1]; LC2 [faŋ1]
 NK [ɛiŋ1w ~ sã1b]; AY [sã1]; SY [ɛiŋ1 ~ sã1]; XS [ɣən1 ~ ɣaŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1 ~
 saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
 OPH *šang1 CNH *šiaŋ1/L *šiŋ1
 Cf. Qīngliú: [fiã1].

zhěng 整 QYS tšjäng: CDC *ciang3/EC *tengx
 BMH [chín]; MX [tsən3w ~ tsəŋ3b]; HL [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; SX [tʃən3w ~ tʃaŋ3b]; LF [tʃin3];
 LZ [tʃin3]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsəŋ3 ~ ts'in3]; XY [tsin3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tɕən3]; XC [tɕən3]
 CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [tsiŋ3]; SH [tseiŋ3 ~ tsəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃaŋ3]; LC2 [tʃeŋ3]
 NK [tsəŋ3 ~ tsã3]; AY [tseiŋ3 ~ tsã3]; SY [tseiŋ3 ~ tsã3]; XS [tɕən3 ~ tɕaŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—];
 ND2 [tsəŋ1b ~ tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]
 [OPH *tšang3 ?] CNH *tšaŋ3/L *tšiŋ3
 The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.
 Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃã3].

Finally, we should note that no final *-iŋ is reconstructed by O'Connor for Proto-Hakka, since Common Neo-Hakka *-iŋ had merged with *-in in all the Mainstream dialects.

3.5.6 CNH *-im

Examples for this final are:

jīn 金 QYS kjəm CDC *kim1/EC *kum
 BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kinb]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT [kim1]
 HY [kim1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
 CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [keŋ1]; LC2 [keŋ1]
 NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND [tsəm1]; ND3
 [tsəm1]
 [OPH *kim1] CNH *kim1

lín 林 QYS ljəm CDC *lim2/EC *lim
BMH [lîm]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [lim2]; SHT [lim2]
HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [ləm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]
CT [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [tiŋ2 ~ liŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3
[lin2]
OPH *lim2 CNH *lim2
†FJFYZ: [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b].

xún 尋 QYS zjəm CDC *zim2/EC *zim
BMH [tshîm]†; MX [ts'im2]; HL [ts'im2]; SX [ts'im2]; LF [ts'im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'im2]; XY [ts'im2]; DB [ts'əm2]; YL [tɕ'in2]; XC [ɕin2]
CT [ts'eŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2 ~ siŋ2]; YD [ts'iŋ2]; SH [tchiŋ2]; LC1 [ts'eŋ2]; LC2 [tshen2]
NK [tɕ'iŋ2]; AY [ts'iŋ2]; SY [tɕ'iŋ2]; XS [ts'in2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [tɕ'im2]; ND2 [tɕ'im2];
ND3 [ts'im2]
[OPH *ts'im2] CNH *ts'im2
†Tone confirmed apud Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).
The second Wúping form and the Xīchāng form probably reflect an earlier *sim2, but the coda
of this syllable cannot be confirmed comparatively.

yīn 音 QYS ʔjəm3 CDC *im1/EC *um
BMH [yim]; MX [im1]; HL [ʒem1]; SX [im1]; LF [jim1]; LZ [ʒim1]; SHT [jim1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [ieŋ1]; LC2 [iŋ1]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [im1]; ND2 [im1]; ND3 [im1]
OPH *im1 CNH *im1

After postalveolars we find:

chén 沈 QYS ɖjəm CDC *jim2/EC *drum
BMH [chhîm]; MX [ts'əm2]; HL [tʃ'em2]; SX [tʃ'em2]; LF [tʃ'im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'im2]; XY [ts'im2]; DB [ts'əm2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
 CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshɛŋ2]; YD [tshɪŋ2]; SH [tsheɪŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ2]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'əm2]; ND2 [ts'əm2];
 ND3 [ts'əm2]
 [OPH *tɕ'im2] CNH *tɕ'im2

shēn 深 QYS śjəm CDC *shim1/EC *θum
 BMH [chhim]; MX [ts'əm1]; HL [tʃ'em1]; SX [tʃ'em1]; LF [tʃ'im1]; LZ [tʃhim1]; SHT [ts'im1]
 HY [ts'im1]; XY [ts'im1]; DB [ts'əm1]; YL [ɕən1]; XC [ɕən1]
 CT [ʃɛŋ1]; WP [tshɛŋ1]; YD [ts'ɪŋ1]; SH [sɛ̃1w ~ tsheɪŋ1]; LC1 [ʃɛŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕɪŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕɪŋ1]; XS [tɕ'in1]; QN [tɕ'in1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3
 [səm1]
 OPH *tɕ'im1 CNH *tɕ'im1/L *šim1

The final of the Shàngháng wén form is anomalous. It is possible that it was borrowed from another dialect which read *sen1 for the literary form in question.

zhēn 針 QYS tśjəm CDC *cim1/EC *cim (kyim)
 BMH [chim]; MX [tsəm1]; HL [tʃem1]; SX [tʃem1]; LF [tʃim1]; LZ [tʃim1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsim1]; XY [tsim1]; DB [tsəm1]; YL [tɕən1]; XC [tɕən1]
 CT [tʃɛŋ1]; WP [tshɛŋ1]; YD [tsɪŋ1]; SH [tseɪŋ1]; LC1 [tʃɛŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕɪŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tɕɪŋ1]; XS [tɕən1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
 [tsəm1]
 [OPH *tɕim1] CNH *tɕim1

3.5.7 CNH *-it

Examples for this final after different initial types are:

bǐ 筆 QYS pjet3 CDC *pit7/EC *put
 BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [pit7]

HY [pit7]; XY [pit7]; DB [pət7]; YL [piʔ7]; XC [piɛʔ7]
CT [pi2]; WP [piʔ7]; YD [piʔ7]; SH [piʔ7]; LC1 [pi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [pie7]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pit7]; QN [piʔ7]; ND1 [pit7]; ND2 [pit7]; ND3 [pit7]
OPH *pit7 CNH *pit7

qī 七 QYS tshjiet CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
BMH [tshit]; MX [ts'it7]; HL [ts'it7]; SX [ts'it7]; LF [ts'it7]; LZ [tʃhit7]; SHT [ts'it7]
HY [ts'it7]; XY [ts'it7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'it7]; XC [tɕ'ieʔ7]
CT [ts'i2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts'iʔ7]; SH [tɕhiʔ7]; LC1 [ts'ʔ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ie1]; AY [ts'iz3]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [ts'it7]; QN [tɕ'it7]; ND1 [tɕ'it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'it7]
OPH *ts'it7 CNH *ts'it7

rì 日 QYS ńzjet CDC *^hnhit8/EC *nit
BMH [nyit]; MX [ɲit7]; HL [ɲit7]; SX [ɲit7]; LF [ɲit7]; LZ [ɲgit7]; SHT [ɲit7]
HY [ɲit7]; XY [ɲit7]; DB [ɲət7]; YL [ɲiʔ8 ~ ɲieʔ8b]†; XC [ʒɿʔ7w ~ ʒɿ2w ~ nieʔ7b]
CT [ni2]; WP [niʔ7]; YD [niʔ7]; SH [niʔ7]; LC1 [ɲi6]; LC2 [ɲi6 ~ ni6]
NK [nie5 ~ nie7]; AY [ni33]; SY [nie5]; XS [nit7]; QN [niʔ7]; ND1 [nət7]; ND2 [nət7]; ND3
[nət7]
[OPH *^hnit7] CNH *ñit7/*ñiat7

†Second form, sense of “day”, is found in the Glossary section of the source.

The Yílǒng báif form appears to be a substitution of rè 熱 *ñiat8 “hot”, as reconstructed above.

yī 一 QYS ʔjiet4 CDC *it7/EC *it
BMH [yit]; MX [it7]; HL [ʒit7]; SX [it7]; LF [jit7]; LZ [jit7]; SHT [—]
HY [it7]; XY [it7]; DB [zət7]; YL [iʔ7]; XC [ieʔ7]
CT [i2]; WP [iʔ7]; YD [iʔ7]; SH [iʔ7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [i6]
NK [ie7]; AY [ji33]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [iʔ7]; ND1 [it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iat7]
[OPH *it7] CNH *it7

The pattern after postalveolars is exemplified in the following:

shí 實 QYS džjet CDC *zhit8/EC *ðit
 BMH [shit]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [—]
 HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃeiʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [seʔ8 ~ siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [sɿʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sət8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sət8
 ~ sik7]
 [OPH *ʃit8] CNH *ʃit8

shì 室 QYS šjet CDC *shit7/EC *—
 BMH [shit]; MX [sət7]; HL [ʃit7]; SX [—]; LF [ʃit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃeiʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃi2]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [se5]; AY [—]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [sət7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ʃit7] CNH *ʃit7

The tone of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular.

3.5.8 CNH *-ik

In most dialects this final has merged with *-it. However, in Níngdū-2 and 3 the original coda has been preserved. After postalveolar initials Níngdū-1 also retains *-k, while elsewhere it vacillates, sometimes even showing alternate readings in *-t and *-k. Correspondence patterns tend to differ somewhat after different initial types, and more radically after postalveolars. The following are examples of all these points:

dī 滴 QYS tiek CDC *tiak7/EC *'tek
 BMH [tit]; MX [tit7]; HL [tit7]; SX [tit7]; LF [tit7]; LZ [tit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tit7]; XY [tək8 ~ tit8]; DB [tət7]; YL [—]; XC [tiʔ7]
 CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [tiʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti6]
 NK [tie8]; AY [tiɜ3]; SY [tie5]; XS [tit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [tit8 ~ tik7]†; ND2 [tik7]; ND3 [tik8
 ~ tit7]

[OPH *tit7] CNH *tik7

†Second form in BJJ only.

lì 力 QYS ljək CDC *lik8/EC *lik

BMH [lít]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lit8]; LZ [lit8]; SHT [lit8]

HY [lit8]; XY [lit8]; DB [læt8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ8]

CT [li6w ~ ti6b]; WP [tiʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [ti5]; LC2 [ti5 ~ ti6]

NK [ti1]; AY [ti1]; SY [ti5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [lit8]; ND2 [lik8]; ND3 [lik8]

OPH *lit8 CNH *lik8

jí 極 QYS gjək CDC *gik8/EC *gik

BMH [khít]; MX [k'it8]; HL [k'it8]; SX [k'it8]; LF [k'it8]; LZ [khit8]; SHT [—]

HY [k'it8]; XY [k'it8]; DB [k'æt8]; YL [tɕiʔ7]; XC [tɕiɛʔ7]

CT [tʃi6]; WP [tshiʔ8 ~ xeʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ie5]; AY [tɕ'iz1]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [tɕ'it8]; QN [tɕ'iʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3 [ts'ək8]

[OPH *k'it8] CNH *k'ik8

xí 昔 QYS sjäk CDC *siak7/EC *sak

BMH [sit]; MX [sit7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [sit7]; DB [læt7]; YL [ɕiʔ7]; XC [ɕiɛʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [ɕiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕie8]; AY [si33]; SY [ɕie5]; XS [sit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ɕit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sik7]

[OPH *sit7] CNH *sik7

shì 適 QYS sjäk CDC *shiak7/EC *θek

BMH [shit]; MX [sæt7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sə8]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ʃit7] CNH *ʃik7/*ʃik8

The tone and final of the Xiūshuǐ form are irregular.

Compare also the following common etymon, which may in fact show a certain degree of mixing between different Hakka dialect types:

shí 食 QYS dʒjək CDC *zhik8/EC *ɬik

BMH [shit]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [sit8]

HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃeiʔ8]; XC [ʃeʔ8]

CT [ʃi6]; WP [siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5 ~ ʃi5]

NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [sɿʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sək8]; ND2 [sək8]; ND3 [sək8]

OPH *ʃit8 CNH *ʃik8/*ʃit8

The second reconstruction is reflected in the Xiūshuǐ form, the first Quánnán reading, and the second Liánchéng-2 reading. It is perhaps a loan from some other more prestigious form of Mainstream Hakka which had this pronunciation.

CNH *-ik regularly occurs in doublets as a literary correlate of final *-iak. The following are illustrative:

dí 笛 QYS diək CDC *diak8/EC *ʔdiwk

BMH [thák]; MX [tʰak8]; HL [tit7w ~ tʰak8b]; SX [tit7]; LF [tʰak8]; LZ [thak8]; SHT [—]

HY [tʰiak8]; XY [tʰiat8]; DB [tʰet8]; YL [ti2]; XC [tiʔ8]

CT [—]; WP [theʔ8]; YD [tʰiʔ8]; SH [theʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tʰie8 ~ tʰia1]; AY [tʰia6]; SY [tʰie5]; XS [tʰit8]; QN [tʰiʔ8]; ND1 [tʰiak8]; ND2 [tʰiak8]; ND3 [tʰiak8]

[OPH *tʰak8] CNH *tʰiak8/L *tʰik8

The Mandarinized Yǐǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

xí 錫 QYS siek CDC *siak7/EC *ʔsek

BMH [siak ~ sit]; MX [sit7w ~ siak7b]; HL [siak7]; SX [siak7]; LF [siak7]; LZ [ʃiak7]; SHT [siak7]

HY [siaʔ7]; XY [siaʔ7]; DB [liakʔ7]; YL [ɕiaʔ8]; XC [ɕiaʔ7]
CT [sia2]; WP [siaʔ7]; YD [siaʔ7]; SH [ɕiaʔ7]; LC1 [suɔ6]; LC2 [sio6]
NK [ɕiaʔ8]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɕie5 ~ ɕia5]; XS [siaʔ7]; QN [ɕiʔ7]; ND1 [ɕiakʔ7]; ND2 [ɕiakʔ7];
ND3 [sik7 ~ siaʔ7]
OPH *siaʔ7 CNH *siaʔ7/L *sik7

As will have been noted from the above examples, O'Connor's Proto-Hakka has no final *-ik. This is because merger of this Common Neo-Hakka final into CNH *-it has been completed in all Mainstream dialects.

3.5.9 CNH *-ip

Examples for this final after various initial types are:

jí 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7]; YD [kiʔ7]; SH [teiʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [teie7]; AY [tei33]; SY [teie5]; XS [teit7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3
[tsəp7]
OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

lì 立 QYS ljəp CDC *lip8/EC *lip
BMH [líp]; MX [lip8]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip8]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tie5]; AY [ti31]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *lip8 CNH *lip8
†FJFYZ: [li5].

The Níngdū-2 form appears to derive from an earlier *liap8.

yī 揖 QYS ʔjiəp CDC *ip7/EC *ip
 BMH [yip]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [jip8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ieʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [i1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ia5]
 NK [ie7]; AY [jɜ1]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ip7] CNH *ip7

Examples after postalveolar initials are:

shí 十 QYS ʒjəp CDC *zhip8/EC *jip
 BMH [ship]; MX [səp8]; HL [ʃip8]; SX [ʃip8]; LF [ʃip8]; LZ [ʃip8]; SHT [tsip8 ~ sip7]
 HY [sip8]; XY [sip8]; DB [səp8]; YL [ʂeiʔ8]; XC [ʂeʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [ʂeʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sæ5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʂɿt8]; QN [sɿʔ8]; ND1 [səp8]; ND2 [sap8]; ND3 [səp8 ~
 sap8]
 OPH *ʂip8 CNH *ʂip8

The Níngdū forms in [sap8] appear to be loans of some sort.

zhī 汁 QYS tʂjəp CDC *cip7/EC *tip
 BMH [chip]; MX [tsəp7]; HL [tʃip7]; SX [tʃip7]; LF [tʃip7]; LZ [tʃip7]; SHT [tsip7]
 HY [tsip7]; XY [tsip7]; DB [tsəp7]; YL [tʂeiʔ7]; XC [tʂɿʔ]
 CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7 ~ tʂeʔ7]; YD [tsiʔ7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃi6]
 NK [tse8]; AY [tsɜ3]; SY [tse5]; XS [tʂɿt7]; QN [tʂeiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3 [tsəp7]
 OPH *tʂip7 CNH *tʂip7

3.6 The Apical and Rhotic-related Finals

3.6.1 CNH *-i

Examples for this final are:

cí 磁 QYS dži CDC *dzi2/EC *dzi
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'ɿ2]; SX [ts'ɿ2]; LF [ts'ɛ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɿ2]; XC [ts'ɿ2]
CT [ts'ɿ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ts'ɿ2 CNH *ts'ɿ2

sī 思 QYS sī CDC *si1/EC *si
BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [sī1]; SX [sī1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]
CT [sī1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [sī1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [sɿ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [—]
OPH *si1 CNH *si1

zǐ 子 QYS tsǐ: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsix
BMH [tsǐ]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tsǐ3]; SX [tsǐ3]; LF [tsɛ3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsu3]; DB [tɛ3]; YL [tsɿ3]; XC [tsɿ3]
CT [tsi3]; WP [tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tsǐ3]; LC2 [tsɿ3]
NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tsə3]; ND2 [tsə3]; ND3 [tsə3]
OPH *tsi3 CNH *tsi3

The apical vowel in Common Neo-Hakka is identical to that reconstructed by O'Connor for Proto-Hakka, and his transcription for it is retained here. It should be noted, however, that Common Neo-Hakka has doublets in which *-i is paired with *-i, while this is not the case for O'Connor's Proto-Hakka. In sets of this type, Proto-Hakka generally has *-i if the word is popular but *-i if it is of higher or more literary register. And, concomitantly in the Neo-Hakka sources, if register is indicated, the apical vowel forms are identified as literary. Examples are:

sǐ 死 QYS si: CDC *si3/EC *siyx
BMH [sǐ]; MX [si3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [si3]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [si3]
HY [sɿ3]; XY [si3]; DB [ʰi3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [ɛi3]

CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [sɿ3]
 NK [sɿ3]; AY [si3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [si3]; QN [sɿ3 ~ ei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [si3]
 OPH *si3 CNH *si3/*si3

sì 四 QYS si- CDC *si5/EC *sith
 BMH [si]; MX [si5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [si5]; LZ [fɯ3]; SHT [si5]
 HY [sɿ5]; XY [si5]; DB [hi5]; YL [sɿ5w ~ ei5b]; XC [ei5]
 CT [si5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɿ5]; AY [si5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [si5]; QN [ei5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [si5]
 [OPH *si5] CNH *si5/L *si5

zǐ 姊 QYS tsi: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsiyx
 BMH [tsí]; MX [tsi3]; HL [tsi3]; SX [tsi3]; LF [tse3]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsi3]
 HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
 CT [tsi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tsí3]; LC2 [tsɿ3]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tei3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsi3]
 [OPH *tsi3] CNH *tsi3/*tsi3

Finally, in sibilant sets of this type, Héyuán sometimes has variant readings in [iɛ], e.g.,

shǐ 使 QYS šǐ: CDC *shei3/EC *srix
 BMH [sɯ]; MX [sɿ3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [se3]; LZ [fɯ3]; SHT [su3]
 HY [sie3]; XY [su3]; DB [he3]; YL [ɣɿ3]; XC [ɣɿ3]
 CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɿ3]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [sɿ3]; QN [sɿ3]; ND1 [sə3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sə3]
 OPH *si3 CNH *si3

sī 絲 QYS si CDC *si1/EC *si
 BMH [sɯ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [se1]; LZ [fi1]; SHT [su1]
 HY [sɿ1 ~ siɛ1]; XY [si1]; DB [he1]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]
 CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [si1]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [sə1]
[OPH *si1] CNH *si1/*si1

These appear to be due to dialect mixture of some sort. The matter remains to be clarified.

3.6.2 Rhotic *ʔ and related forms ending in final -ə

Syllables having the CDC shape *nhi (i.e., QYS *ńži/ńžje/ńži* and Modern Standard Chinese “er”), are realized in popular words as a Common Neo-Hakka syllabic nasal (see §3.7 below), or as the syllable *ñi. However, they sometimes have variant readings which can be reconstructed comparatively as *ʔ. These forms are surely loans from some form of north Chinese, either the Late Míng/Qīng Guānhuà koine, or in some cases even a variety of Modern Standard Chinese. Additionally, Níngdū sometimes shows a modern reading in [lə] which may reflect an underlying borrowed *ɿə. This may derive from early to mid-Míng Guānhuà forms for the same syllable type, which was spelled by Korean sinologists of the relevant periods as *ri* [ɿ] (early) or rɿ[ɿ] (later).³³ Cf. also southern-type Guānhuà of late Míng times, as reflected in the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Ricci/Ruggieri, which renders this syllable type as *gi* [ɿ] (Coblin 1997; 2001). The rhotic syllable is reconstructable for the Common Neo-Hakka system, since evidence for it occurs at multiple points. Minimally adequate comparative evidence for *lə2 is present in only one set in our date. Examples illustrating all these points are:

ér 而 QYS *ńži* CDC *nhi2/EC *ni
BMH [yî ~ lû]; MX [i2]; HL [ɰi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ɰi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋi2 ~ ji2]; XY [ɳi2]; DB [ɳi2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]
CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
[OPH *i2] CNH *ñi2/*i2/*ə2/*lə2 ?

³³ For full listing and discussion of this material, see Kim (1991).

The second Basil Mission reading, like the Níngdū forms, appears to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *ɿə2. This is reflected in the third reconstruction.

ér 兒 QYS ńźje CDC *nhi2/EC *ne
 BMH [yĩ]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ŋi2]; XY [ni2]; DB [zi2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]
 CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [ə2 ~ ni1]†; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]
 [OPH *i2] CNH *ñi2/*i2/*ə2

† Second form as in the word hŋ3 ni1 [女兒] “daughter”, found in a children’s ditty (Qiū 2012: 327).

ěr 爾 QYS ńźje: CDC *nhi4/EC *nex
 BMH [nyĩ] “you”; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə3]; AY [ə3]; SY [e3]; XS [ə3]; QN [ɜ3]; ND1 [lə3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ə3

The Basil Mission form is simply the second person pronoun. The Lìzhīzhuāng form seems to derive from an earlier *i2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

3.7 Syllabic Nasal

We reconstruct a single syllabic nasal for Common Neo-Hakka, which corresponds directly to syllabic nasal *ŋg [ŋ] in O’Connor’s Proto-Hakka. All cases of it occur as popular-form variants of etyma which also have other reconstructable readings in our data. The following is a sample of such cases:

nǚ 女 QYS ńjwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
 BMH [ńg ~ nyĩ]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3b ~ ɳgi3w]; SHT [ŋ3 ~ ɳi3]

HY [ɲy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲy3]; XC [ni3w ~ ɲ3b]
CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; LC1 [ɲiue3]; LC2 [i3]†
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ɲ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2 [nu3w
~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
[OPH *ng3] CNH *ɲ3/*nie3/L *ñiu3

The second reconstructed form is Gà̃n-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from that family. The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngdīng forms, which do not agree in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

wǔ 五 QYS nguó: CDC *^hngu4/EC *ngax
BMH [ɲg]; MX [ɲ3]; HL [ɲ3]; SX [ɲ3]; LF [ɲ3]; LZ [ɲ3]; SHT [ɲ3]
HY [m3]; XY [ɲ3]; DB [ɲ3]; YL [ɲ3]; XC [ɲ3]
CT [ɲ3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ ɲ3]; YD [ɲ3]; SH [ɲ3]; LC1 [ɲ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɲ3 ~ vu3]; AY [ɲ3 ~ vu3]; SY [ɲ3 ~ vu3]; XS [ɲ3]; QN [ɲ3 ~ vu3]; ND1 [ɲ3]; ND2 [ɲ3];
ND3 [ɲ3]
OPH *ng3 CNH *ɲ3/*vu3

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga
BMH [ɲg]; MX [ɲ2]; HL [ɲ2]; SX [ɲ2]; LF [ɲ2]; LZ [ɲ2]; SHT [ɲ2]
HY [ɲy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ɲy2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [ɲy2]; XC [i2 ~ ɲ2b]
CT [ɲe2]; WP [ɲe2]; YD [ɲei2]; SH [ɲei2]; LC1 [ɲui2]; LC2 [ɲoi2]†
NK [ɲe2]; AY [ji2w ~ ɲ2b]; SY [ɲe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ɲ2]; QN [ɲ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [nie2]; ND2 [nie2 ~
iu3]; ND3 [ɲie2 ~ nie2]††
OPH *ng2 CNH *ɲ2/*ñiu2/*ɲie2/*ɲei2/L *iu2
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɲue2].

††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

ěr 耳 QYS ńzi: CDC *^hnhi4/EC *nix
BMH [nyí]; MX [ɲi3]; HL [ɲi3]; SX [ɲi3]; LF [ɲji3]; LZ [ɲgi3]; SHT [ɲi3]

HY [ŋi3]; XY [ɲi3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲi3]; XC [ni3]

CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ m3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [m3]; LC1 [ɲi3]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ɲ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ɜ3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni1 ~ ə3]

OPH *ɲ_ii3 CNH *ɲ₃/L *ɲ_i3

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ə3.

èr 二 QYS ní- CDC *nhi6/EC *niyh

BMH [nyì]; MX [ɲi5]; HL [ɲi6]; SX [ɲi5]; LF [ɲji6]; LZ [ʔgi5]; SHT [ɲi5]

HY [ɲi6]; XY [ɲi3]; DB [ɲi5 ~ ɲi3]; YL [ɲi3]; XC [ni5]

CT [ni6]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3 ~ ɲ3 ~ hɲ5]; SH [m3 ~ hɲ3]; LC1 [ɲi6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ni5]; AY [ɲ6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [ɜ6 ~ ni6]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [ni6]

OPH *ɲ_ii6 CNH *ɲ₆/*ɲ_i6

The first Quánnán form appears to be a borrowing of a northern form in [ə]. The reconstructed form is supported exclusively by dialects where Common Neo-Hakka Tone 6 became modern Tone 3. Our supposition is that Tone 6 was the origin of the modern tones in these cases.

nǐ 你 QYS nǐ: CDC *ni4/EC —; rǔ 汝 CDC *nhie4/EC *nax

BMH [ní† ~ ni†† ~ nyí††]; MX [ni3w ~ ɲ2b]; HL [ni2 ~ ɲi2]; SX [ɲi2]; LF [ni1 ~ ɲi2]; LZ [ʔgi2b ~ li3w]; SHT [ɲi2]

HY [ɲi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2w ~ ɲi2b]; YL [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; XC [ni2]

CT [ni1]; WP [xɲ2 ~ xm2]; YD [ɲi2 ~ hn2 (~ hɛn2)]; SH [ɲ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]‡

NK [ni2]; AY [ni2 ~ ɲ2]; SY [ni1]; XS [ni1]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [nie1]; ND2 [nie1 ~ nie2]; ND3 [nie1]

[OPH ?] CNH *ɲ2 ~ *ɲ3/*ɲi2/*ni1//L *ni3

†Character reading.

††Modern second person pronouns. All these forms are written in the source as 爾.

‡FJFYZ: [ɲi1].

As noted above, we follow O'Connor in reconstructing this syllable as *ɲ. It takes various different forms in the dialects, and sometimes even in one and the same dialect. For example,

in Yǒngdīng there are three realizations (Huang 1984). And in Shàngháng there is free variant vacillation between ŋ and m̥. The choice of a graphic form for it is thus somewhat arbitrary.

O'Connor posits a second Proto-Hakka syllabic nasal, *m2 [m̥2], specifically for the plain verbal negative particle. Our cognate set for this morpheme (often but not always written with the conventional graph 唔 in our sources) is as follows:

BMH [m ~ m̥]; MX [m̥2]; HL [m̥2]; SX [m̥2]; LF [m̥2]; LZ [m̥1]; SHT [m̥1]
HY [m̥2]; XY [m̥2 ~ m̥2]; DB [m̥2]; YL [m̥2]; XC [m̥2]
CT [ŋ2]; WP [m̥2]; YD [ŋ1]; SH [ŋ1]; LC1 [ŋ2]; LC2 [ŋ2]
NK [ŋ2]; AY [m̥2]; SY [ŋ2]; XS [m̥2 ~ ŋ2 ~ ŋ2]; QN [ŋ2]; ND1 [m̥2]; ND2 [ŋ2]; ND3 [m̥2]
OPH *m2 CNH *m̥2 ~ *m̥1

O'Connor considers the Tone 1 variant of this word to be irregular because it occurs at only one of his token dialect points. It is, however, well attested in the wider Neo-Hakka data, as illustrated here, and must therefore represent a full-fledged variant form in Common Neo-Hakka. Additionally, as indicated by our Xīnyí and Diànbái data, the western Guǎngdōng dialect reflexes of the Common Neo-Hakka forms are not realized as syllabic nasals but are instead full syllables, consisting of initial *m- plus a rounded vocallic final of some sort. As will be argued in §5.2.77 and §5.2.78 of Chapter V, we posit CNH *muo2 ~ *muo1 as the proto-form for this grammatical functor; and for this reason we do not reconstruct syllabic nasals where O'Connor's Proto-Hakka has *m2 for this etymon.

Chapter IV: Reconstruction of the Tonal Categories of Common Neo-Hakka

The reconstructed tonal system for Common Neo-Hakka has seven members, as summarized below. Traditional tone class designations are added for ease of reference.

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. (yīnpíng 陰平) | 3. (shǎngshēng 上聲) | 5. (yīnqù 陰去) | 7. (yīnrù 陰入) |
| 2. (yángpíng 陽平) | | 6. (yángqù 陽去) | 8. (yángù 陽入) |

This system is typologically the same as that reconstructed by O'Connor for Proto-Hakka. As an aid to reading the present chapter, we now cite again the tonal systems of our twenty-six representative dialects. Tone names are those used in the original sources;³⁴ numbers have been assigned by us, using the traditional eight-member system.

1. The Basil Mission Hakka (BMH) Tone System

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| yīnpíng (1) a (unmarked) | shǎngshēng (3) á | qùshēng (5) à | yīnrù (7) aC |
| yángpíng (2) â | | | yángù (8) áC |

2. The Méixiàn 梅縣 (MX) Tone System

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|
| yīnpíng (1) 44 | shǎngshēng (3) 31 | qùshēng (5) 52 | yīnrù (7) 1 |
| yángpíng (2) 11 | | | yángù (8) 5 |

³⁴ The Basil Mission and Lùfēng nomenclatures, which are idiosyncratic, have been modified to conventional modern terminology.

3. The Hǎilù 海陸 (HL) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 53	shǎngshēng (3) 13	yīnqù (5) 31	yīnrù (7) 55
yángpíng (2) 55		yángqù (6) 22	yánggrù (8) 32

4. The Sixiàn 四縣 (SX) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24	shǎngshēng (3) 31	yīnqù (5) 55	yīnrù (7) 22
yángpíng (2) 11			yánggrù (8) 55

5. The Lùfēng 陸豐 (LF) Tone System

yīnpíng (1)	shǎngshēng (3)	yīnqù (5)	yīnrù (7)
yángpíng (2)		yángqù (6)	yánggrù (8)

6. The Lìzhīzhuāng 荔枝莊 (LZ) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 34	shǎngshēng (3) 31	qùshēng (5) 53	yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 21			yánggrù (8) 5

7. The Song Him Tong 崇謙堂 (SHT) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 23	shǎngshēng (3) 32	qùshēng (5) 53	yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 11			yánggrù (8) 5

8. The Héyuán 河源 (HY) Tone System

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 33 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 24 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 12 yīnrù 陰入 (7) 5
 yángpíng 陽平 (2) 31 yángqù 陽去 (6) 55 yánggrù 陽入 (8) 2

9. The Xīnyí sīhè 信宜思賀 (XY) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 45 shǎngshēng (3) 31 qùshēng (5) 51 yīnrù (7) 2
 yángpíng (2) 24 yánggrù (8) 5

10. The Diànbái 電白 (DB) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 34 shǎngshēng (3) 31 qùshēng (5) 54 yīnrù (7) 2
 yángpíng (2) 213 yánggrù (8) 5

11. The Yílǒng 儀隴 (YL) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 33 shǎngshēng (3) 53 qùshēng (5) 13 yīnrù (7) 5
 yángpíng (2) 11 yánggrù (8) 3

12. The Xīchāng 西昌 (XC) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 45 shǎngshēng (3) 31 qùshēng (5) 53 yīnrù (7) 3
 yángpíng (2) 13 yánggrù (8) 5

13. The Chángtīng 長汀 (CT) Tone System

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 33 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 43 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 55
yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24 yángqù 陽去 (6) 21

14. The Wǔpíng (Píngchuān) 武平平川 (WP) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24 shǎngshēng (3) 42 qùshēng (5) 452 yīnrù (7) 32
yángpíng (2) 22 yángqù (8) 4

15. The Yǒngdìng 永定 (YD) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 55 shǎngshēng (3) 53 qùshēng (5) 33 yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 11 yángqù (8) 5

16. The Shàngháng 上杭 (SH) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 35 shǎngshēng (3) 31 qùshēng (5) 53 yīnrù (7) 1
yángpíng (2) 22 yángqù (8) 4

17. The Liánchéng-1 連城 (LC1) Tone System

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 31 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 213 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 42
yángpíng 陽平 (2) 22 yángqù 陽去 (6) 24

18. The Liánchéng-2 連城 (LC2) Tone System

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 44 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 213 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 52

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 22

yángqù 陽去 (6) 35

19. The Nánkāng 南康 (NK) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 44 shǎngshēng (3) 21 qùshēng (5) 53 yīnrù (7) 24

yángpíng (2) 11

yánggrù (8) 55

20. The Ānyuǎn 安遠 (AY) Tone System

yīnpíng 陰平 (1) 35 shǎngshēng 陰上 (3) 31 yīnqù 陰去 (5) 53

yángpíng 陽平 (2) 24

yángqù 陽去 (6) 55

21. The Shàngyóu, Shèxīxiāng 上猶社溪鄉 (SY) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24 shǎngshēng (3) 42 qùshēng (5) 55

yángpíng (2) 11

22. The Xiūshuǐ, Huángshāqiáo 修水黃沙橋 (XS) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24 shǎngshēng (3) 21 qùshēng (5) 53 yīnrù (7) 2

yángpíng (2) 13

yánggrù (8) 5

23. The Quánnán Chéngxiāngzhèn 全南城廂鎮 (QN) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 24	shǎngshēng (3) 42	yīnqù (5) 44	yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 11		yángqù (6) 22	yánggrù (8) 5

24. The Níngdū-1 寧都梅江鎮 (ND1) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 42	shǎngshēng (3) 214	yīnqù (5) 31	yīnrù (7) 3
yángpíng (2) 13		yángqù (6) 44	yánggrù (8) 5

25. The Níngdū-2 寧都梅江鎮 (ND2) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 42	shǎngshēng (3) 213	yīnqù (5) 22	yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 24		yángqù (6) 55	yánggrù (8) 5

26. The Níngdū-2 寧都 (ND2) Tone System

yīnpíng (1) 43	shǎngshēng (3) 213	yīnqù (5) 31	yīnrù (7) 2
yángpíng (2) 24		yángqù (6) 55	yánggrù (8) 5

These systems can be summarized in the following synoptic table. Bracketed parts of the tone names in the first row should be added or deleted as applicable.

Tones and Tone Values of the Surveyed Neo-Hakka Dialects

	Yīnpíng	Yángpíng	Shǎngshēng	(Yīn)Qù (shēng)	Yángqù	(Yīn)Rù (shēng)	Yángù
BMH	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)		(7)	(8)
MX	44	11	31	52		1	5
HL	53	55	13	31	22	55	32
SX	24	11	31	55		22	55
LF	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
LZ	34	21	31	53		2	5
SHT	23	11	32	53		3	5
HY	33	31	24	31	12	55	2
XY	45	24	31	51		2	5
DB	34	213	31	54		2	5
YL	33	11	53	13		5	3
XC	45	13	31	53		3	5
CT	33	24	43	55	21		
WP	24	22	42	452		32	4
YD	55	11	53	33		2	5
SH	35	22	31	53		1	4

	Yīnpíng	Yángpíng	Shǎngshēng	(Yīn)Qù (shēng)	Yángqù	(Yīn)Rù (shēng)	Yángrù
LC1	31	22	213	42	24		
LC2	44	22	213	52	35		
NK	44	11	21	53		24	55
AY	35	24	31	53	55		
SY	24	11	42	55			
XS	24	13	21	53		2	5
QN	24	11	42	44	22	3	5
ND1	42	13	214	31	44	3	5
ND2	42	24	213	22	55	2	5
ND3	43	24	213	31	55	2	5

4.1 Tone 1 (Yīnpíng 陰平)

Most syllables in this large tone class are unproblematic. Examples are,

bīng 兵 QYS pjwŋg CDC *piang1/EC *pang
 BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [pin1]; DB [pin1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]
 CT [peŋ1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [piŋ1]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]
 OPH *pin1 CNH *piŋ1

xiāng 香 QYS xjang CDC *xiong1/EC *hang
 BMH [hiong]; MX [hiɔŋ1]; HL [hioŋ1]; SX [hioŋ1]; LF [hioŋ1]; LZ [hiɔŋ1]; SHT [hiɔŋ1]
 HY [hyɔŋ1 ~ hiɔŋ1]; XY [hiɔŋ1]; DB [hiɔŋ1]; YL [ɛiɔŋ1]; XC [ɛiɔŋ1]
 CT [fiɔŋ1]; WP [siɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [ɛiɔŋ1]; LC1 [fiɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛiɔŋ1]; AY [ɛiɔŋ1]; SY [ɛiɔŋ1]; XS [ɛiɔŋ1]; QN [ɛiɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3
 [sɔŋ1]
 OPH *hiong1 CNH *hioŋ1

However, there are significant numbers of Proto-Hakka and Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 words which have variant readings in other tones in Common Neo-Hakka and which also derive historically from Common Dialectal Chinese tone classes other than Tone 1. We must now turn to examples of this type.

To begin, we note cases of Proto-Hakka Tone 1 words that take CDC Tone 2 (yángpíng 陽平). Some examples are:

lóng 龍 QYS lung CDC *^hlung2/EC *'long
 BMH [lung]; MX [luŋ1]; HL [luŋ1]; SX [luŋ1]; LF [luŋ1]; LZ [luŋ1]; SHT [luŋ2]
 HY [loŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luŋ1]; XC [luŋ1]
 CT [loŋ1]; WP [luŋ1]; YD [luŋ1]; SH [ləŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ləŋ1]
 NK [ləŋ1]; AY [ləŋ1]; SY [ləŋ1]; XS [ləŋ1]; QN [luŋ1]; ND1 [luŋ1]; ND2 [luŋ1]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *lung1 CNH *luŋ1/*luŋ2

máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *^hmou2/EC *'maw
 BMH [mau]; MX [mau1]; HL [mo1]; SX [mo1]; LF [mo1]; LZ [^mbau1]; SHT [mau1]
 HY [mau2]; XY [mɔ1]; DB [mo1]; YL [məu1]; XC [mau2]
 CT [mɔ1]; WP [mɔ1]; YD [mou1]; SH [mu1 ~ mo1]; LC1 [mɔ2]; LC2 [mɔ1]
 NK [mɔ1]; AY [mɔ1]; SY [mɔ1]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau1]; ND1 [mau1]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3
 [mau1]
 OPH *mou1 CNH *mou1/mou2

wén 蚊 QYS mjuən CDC *^hmvun2/EC *mun
 BMH [mun]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun1]; SX [mun1]; LF [mun1]; LZ [^mbun1]; SHT [mun1 ~
 min1]
 HY [mun1]; XY [mun1]; DB [mən1]; YL [un2]; XC [vən2w ~ mən2b]
 CT [meŋ1]; WP [meŋ1]; YD [mun1]; SH [meiŋ1]; LC1 [meŋ1]; LC2 [meŋ2 ~ mæŋ2]
 NK [mẽ1]; AY [məŋ1]; SY [mẽ1]; XS [mən1]; QN [mun1]; ND1 [mən1]; ND2 [mən1]; ND3
 [mən1]
 OPH *mun1 CNH *mun1/L vun2

Examples of this type primarily involve common spoken etyma with sonorant initials. Where the sources indicate stylistic level, alternate readings in Tone 2 are identified as of literary register. Now, from a purely Hakka perspective this poses no historical problem. One simply reconstructs Tone 1 words with Tone 1, Tone 2 words with Tone 2, etc. However, when one then compares Proto-Hakka (or Common Neo-Hakka) with other major dialect groups, it becomes impossible to predict which CDC Tone 2 words will yield Tone 1 as opposed to Tone 2. O'Connor's solution to this conundrum is to envisage a series of voiceless sonorant initials for what he calls a "Pre-Hakka" stage (1976: 55), i.e., a stage that would have predated Proto-Hakka. The presence or lack of voicing in the contrasting sonorant initial series would then account for the later divergent tonal developments in Proto-Hakka. Norman (1989) agrees in full with O'Connor's hypothesis. Oddly, however, throughout his article, he refers to O'Connor's proposed voiceless sonorant series as a feature of "Proto-Kèjiā", rather than of the expected "Pre-Kèjiā". Our suspicion is that this is merely a terminological slip of the pen, rather than disagreement with O'Connor, who was after all working under Norman's direction when he wrote the thesis on which his article was based.

In his Mainstream Hakka data O'Connor did not encounter competing Tone 2 doublet forms in sets of the type that concern us here. However, by the 1980's Norman was well aware of such cases, because by 1989 he had seen Hakka data not available to O'Connor in the 1970's. He remarked (1989: 332, Footnote 12), "This is generally caused by the infiltration of heterogeneous lexical material from later strata or by borrowing from neighboring dialects." This interpretation provides a cogent explanation for the doublets in question.

Another interesting sub-class of Hakka Tone 1 syllables comprises words that belong to CDC Tone 4 (yángshǎng 陽上), a traditional tone class for which no direct correlate is reconstructed in either Proto-Hakka or Common Neo-Hakka. These words may in turn be divided in several sub-groups. The first of these consists of syllables having sonorant initials, including the zero initial. The following are examples:

lǎn 懶 QYS lǎn: CDC *lan4/EC *'lanx
 BMH [lan]; MX [lan1]; HL [nan1]; SX [nan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1]; SHT [lan1]
 HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1 ~ lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan3]
 CT [lan1]; WP [lan1]; YD [lan1]; SH [nã1]; LC1 [la1]; LC2 [la1]
 NK [lã1]; AY [lã3]; SY [lã1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1]; ND1 [lan1]; ND2 [lan1]; ND3 [lan1]
 [OPH *lan1] CNH *lan1/*lan3

mǎ 馬 QYS ma: CDC *ma4/EC *mrax
 BMH [ma]; MX [ma1]; HL [ma1]; SX [ma1]; LF [ma1]; LZ [ᵐba3]; SHT [ma1]
 HY [ma1 ~ ma5]; XY [ma1]; DB [ma1]; YL [ma3]; XC [ma3]
 CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [ma1]; SH [ma1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mo1]
 NK [ma1]; AY [ma3]; SY [ma3]; XS [ma1]; QN [ma3]; ND1 [ma1]; ND2 [ma1]; ND3 [ma1]
 OPH *ma1 CNH *ma1/*ma3

wěi 尾 QYS mjwei: CDC *mvui4/EC *muyx
 BMH [mui]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [ᵐbui1]; SHT [mui1]
 HY [mi5]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
 CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mi1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [mue1]
 NK [mi1]; AY [me1]; SY [mi1]; XS [mi1]; QN [mui1]; ND1 [mei1]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei1]
 OPH *mui1 CNH *mui1

nuǎn 暖 QYS nuân: CDC *non4/EC *'nonx
 BMH [non ~ nón]; MX [nɔn3w ~ nɔn1b]; HL [non1]; SX [non1]; LF [non1]; LZ [lɔn1]; SHT
 [lɔn1]
 HY [nuan 5]; XY [nuan1]; DB [nɔn1]; YL [lɔn1]; XC [nuan2]

CT [nuŋ1]; WP [nuɛŋ1]; YD [lɔn1]; SH [nuɛ̃1]; LC1 [nuɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [noẽ1]; AY [nõ3]; SY [nuɔ̃1]; XS [nɔn1]; QN [nɔn1]; ND1 [noɛn1]; ND2 [nuon3]; ND3
[nuan1]
OPH *non1 CNH *nuon1/*nuon3

yǒu 有 QYS jəu: CDC *yeu4/EC *wix
BMH [yu]; MX [iu1]; HL [ɜu1]; SX [iu1]; LF [jiu1]; LZ [ɜiu1]; SHT [jiu1]
HY [jiu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iu1]; LC1 [ieu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu1]; AY [jɜ3]; SY [jiu3]; XS [iu3]; QN [iu1]; ND1 [iəu1]; ND2 [iəu1 ~ iəu3]; ND3 [iu1
~ iəu3]
OPH *iu1 CNH *ieu1/*ieu3

Words of this type are reconstructed with Tone 1 in Proto-Hakka. However, in Common Neo-Hakka they nearly always have variant readings in Tone 3; and when stylistic register is indicated in the sources, it is the Tone 3 forms in such doublets that are often said to belong to the literary level, as illustrated by the following:

lěng 冷 QYS lɔng: CDC *lang4/EC —
BMH [lang ~ láng ~ len]; MX [laŋ3w ~ laŋ1b]; HL [laŋ1]; SX [laŋ1]; LF [laŋ1]; LZ [laŋ1];
SHT [laŋ1]
HY [laŋ5]; XY [laŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [laŋ3]
CT [leŋ1]; WP [leŋ1]; YD [len1]; SH [lɛ̃1]; LC1 [lāi1]; LC2 [læŋ2]
NK [lāi1]; AY [liã3]; SY [lāi1]; XS [laŋ1]; QN [laŋ1 ~ len1]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2 [lian1]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *lang1] CNH *laŋ1/L *laŋ3/*leŋ1

The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural. The Níngdū forms appear to reflect a proto-form in *lian1. This is a different etymon from that reflected elsewhere in the set. The Ānyuǎn word may be related to this form but disagrees with it in tone.

lǐng 領 QYS lǎng: CDC *liang4/EC *lengx
 BMH [liang]; MX [liang3w ~ lian1b]; HL [lian1]; SX [lian1]; LF [lian1]; LZ [lian1]; SHT [—]
 HY [lian5]; XY [lian1]; DB [lian1]; YL [lian3]; XC [lian2]
 CT [tian1]; WP [liŋ1w ~ tian1 ~ lian1]; YD [lian1]; SH [tiAŋ1 ~ liAŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tian1]
 NK [tiã3]; AY [tiã3]; SY [tiã1 ~ tiã3 ~ liŋ3]; XS [lian3]; QN [lin3 ~ lian3]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2
 [lian1]; ND3 [lian1]
 OPH *liang1 CNH *lian1/L *lian3/*liŋ1

měng 猛 QYS mǒng: CDC *mang4/EC *mrangx
 BMH [mang]; MX [maŋ1]; HL [men3]; SX [men2]; LF [ᵐbaŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [maŋ5]; XY [maŋ1]; DB [maŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ3]
 CT [meŋ3]; WP [meŋ3]; YD [maŋ3]; SH [məŋ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [məŋ3]; AY [məŋ3]; SY [məŋ3]; XS [—]; QN [men3]; ND1 [məŋ3]; ND2 [maŋ1]; ND3
 [məŋ3]
 [OPH ?] CNH *maŋ1/L *meŋ3

The Yílóng and Xīchāng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

mǔ 母 QYS mǎu: CDC *mu4/EC *'mix
 BMH [mu]; MX [mu1]; HL [mu1]; SX [mu1]; LF [mu1]; LZ [ᵐbu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [mu5]; XY [mu1]; DB [mu1]; YL [mu3]; XC [mu2]
 CT [mu3]; WP [mu3w]; YD [mou3]; SH [mei1 ~ mǔ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mu3]; AY [mu3]; SY [mo1]; XS [—]; QN [mu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [mu1]; ND3 [mu3]
 OPH *mu1 CNH *mu1/L *mu3

From sonorant initial syllables we now turn to those having obstruent initials. Sets of this type often occur in doublets, in which the correlate forms take Tone 6.³⁵ The following are examples:³⁶

bèi 被 QYS bje:3 “blanket, coverlet” CDC *bi4/EC *bayh
BMH [phi]; MX [p’i1]; HL [p’i1]; SX [p’i1]; LF [p’i1]; LZ [phi1]; SHT [—]
HY [p’i1 ~ p’i5]; XY [p’i1]; DB [p’i1]; YL [pi5]†; XC [—]
CT [p’i1]; WP [phi1]; YD [p’i1]; SH [phi1]; LC1 [p’i1]; LC2 [p’i1]
NK [p’i1]; AY [p’i1]; SY [p’i1]; XS [p’i1]; QN [p’i1]; ND1 [p’i1]; ND2 [p’i1]; ND3 [p’i1]
[OPH *p’i1] CNH *p’i1

†Not used in ordinary speech in this dialect and of probable Mandarin origin.

dàn 淡 QYS dâm:, dâm- CDC *dam4/EC *’damx
BMH [thàm ~ tham]; MX [t’am5w ~ t’am1b]; HL [t’am6 ~ t’am1]; SX [t’am5w ~ t’am1b]; LF
[t’am1]; LZ [tham1]; SHT [—]
HY [t’am1]; XY [t’am1]; DB [t’am1]; YL [t’an1]; XC [t’an2]
CT [t’aŋ1]; WP [thaŋ3 ~ thaŋ1b]; YD [t’aŋ5 ~ t’aŋ1]; SH [thâ1]; LC1 [t’aŋ1]; LC2 [t’aŋ1]
NK [t’â1]; AY [t’ã3]; SY [t’â1]; XS [t’an1]; QN [t’am1]; ND1 [t’am1]; ND2 [t’am6]; ND3
[t’am1]
[OPH *t’am1] CNH *t’am1/L *t’am6

The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *dai4/EC *’diyx
BMH [thi]; MX [t’i5w ~ t’ai1]; HL [t’i6]; SX [t’i5]; LF [t’i6]; LZ [thai1b ~ thi5w]; SHT [t’ai1
~ t’i5]
HY [t’ie6 ~ t’ie1]; XY [t’i3 ~ t’ei1]; DB [t’i3 ~ t’ei1 ~ t’i5]; YL [t’ei3]; XC [t’i5]
CT [t’e1]; WP [thi1]; YD [t’ei1]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t’e1]; LC2 [t’e1]

³⁵ It should be noted here that some Neo-Hakka dialects have lost CNH Tone 6, merging it with other tones. For example, in Diànbái earlier Tone 6 merges into modern Tone 3, etc. On this, see §4.5 below.

³⁶ The first example does not involve a doublet.

NK [t'i1]; AY [t'e1 ~ t'i6]; SY [t'i1]; XS [t'ɛ1]; QN [t'i1 ~ t'ei1]; ND1 [t'ie1]; ND2 [t'iei1];
ND3 [t'iai1]

OPH *t'ai1 CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

hòu 後 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox

BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5w ~ heu1b]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu6]; LZ [heu1 ~ heu5]; SHT
[hiu5]

HY [huai6]; XY [heu3]; DB [hei3]; YL [hai3]; XC [heu5]

CT [heu6]; WP [xɛ3]; YD [heu1 ~ heu5]; SH [hə1 ~ hə5]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [hɛu6]

NK [hɜ5]; AY [ɛu5]; SY [hio5]; XS [həu5]; QN [heu6]; ND1 [heu6]; ND2 [həu6]; ND3 [həu6
~ hau6]

[OPH *heu6] CNH *heu1/L *heu6

zhàng 丈 QYS djang: CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx

BMH [chhòng]; MX [ts'ɔŋ5w ~ ts'ɔŋ1b]; HL [tʃ'ɔŋ6]; SX [tʃ'ɔŋ5]; LF [tʃ'ɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ1b ~
tʃhɔŋ5w]; SHT [ts'ɔŋ1]

HY [ts'ɔŋ6]; XY [ts'ɔŋ3]; DB [ts'ɔŋ3]; YL [tɕɔŋ5 ~ tɕ'ɔŋ3]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ3]

CT [tʃ'ɔŋ6]; WP [tshɔŋ3 ~ tshɔŋ1]; YD [ts'ɔŋ1 ~ ts'ɔŋ3 ~ ts'ɔŋ5]; SH [tshɔŋ1 ~ tshɔŋ3]; LC1
[—]; LC2 [tʃ'ɔŋ1]

NK [ts'ɔ̃5]; AY [ts'ɔŋ6]; SY [ts'ɔ̃5]; XS [tɕ'ɔŋ5]; QN [ts'ɔŋ5 ~ ts'ɔŋ6]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ5 ~ ts'ɔŋ6];
ND2 [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND3 [ts'ɔŋ1 ~ ts'ɔŋ6]

[OPH *tɕ'ong6] CNH *tɕ'ioŋ1/L *tɕ'ioŋ6

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɔ̃6].

Where stylistic level is identified in the sources, Tone 6 forms in such doublets are usually said to be of literary register. In a second and less common type of obstruent initial example, doublets showing Tone 5 forms are also found, for instance,

bào 抱 QYS bâu: CDC *bou4/EC *'bux

BMH [phàu]; MX [p'au5]; HL [pau1]; SX [pau1]; LF [p'au1 ~ pau1]; LZ [phau3]; SHT [—]

HY [pau5]; XY [p'au2]; DB [p'au3]; YL [pau5]; XC [pau5]

CT [p'ɔ1]; WP [phɔ3]; YD [p'au5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p'ɔ1]
NK [p'ɔ5]; AY [p'ɔ1]; SY [—]; XS [p'au5]; QN [p'au1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [p'au6]; ND3 [p'au6]
[OPH ?] CNH *p'au1/*p'au6/*pau1/*pau5

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix
BMH [fù ~ khiu]; MX [fu5w ~ k'iu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu1]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6 ~ pu5]; XY [p'u1]; DB [p'u1]; YL [fu5w ~ pu1b]; XC [fu5w ~ pu5b]
CT [fu1]; WP [pu1]; YD [fi5]; SH [pu1 ~ phei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pyɛ1]
NK [fu5 ~ fu1]; AY [fu5]; SY [fu1]; XS [fu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [pu1 ~ pu3 ~ fu1 ~ fu5]; ND2
[fu6 ~ p'u1 ~ p'u6]; ND3 [fu6 ~ p'u1 ~ p'u6]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *pu1/*p'u1/*pu5/L *fu5

Níngdū-2 and 3 have variant forms that must derive from earlier *p'u6.

Basil Mission and Méixiàn show for 婦 a second form, reconstructable as CNH *k'ieu1, which occurs exclusively in the bisyllabic compound [sim1 k'iu1] “daughter-in-law” (i.e., corresponding to general southern Chinese xīnfù 新婦 “the new woman”). This compound is given in a number of our Hakka sources; and, following popular native tradition, the second syllable is sometimes written as jiù 舅 (CNH *k'ieu1/*k'ieu6) “maternal uncle”. However, it is now fairly widely thought to be some sort of nonce deformation of the syllable fù 婦, as in xīnfù 新婦.

shè 社 QYS zja: CDC *zhia3/EC *dax
BMH [sha]; MX [sa1]; HL [fa5]; SX [fa1 ~ fa5]; LF [fa5]; LZ [fa1]; SHT [—]
HY [sa5]; XY [sa1]; DB [sa1]; YL [sa3]; XC [ʂɛ5w ~ ʂa5b]
CT [fa1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [sa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa6]; ND2 [sa1 ~ sa6w]; ND3 [sa6]
[OPH *ša1 ~ *ša5 ?] CNH *šia1/L *šia6/*šia5

Norman (1989: 333–334) has interpreted the facts we have noted here in the following way. He observes that CDC yángshǎng tone words regularly join Hakka Tone 1, a development he calls a “distinctive Kèjiā trait”. The presence of Tone 6 readings in such cases is then attributed to what he calls “late reading traditions”. Here we might add that the donor dialects

underlying these proposed reading traditions presumably distinguished upper and lower register qù tones, with the loan forms deriving from the latter tone class. Norman does not mention the smaller number of Tone 5 readings in such sets, perhaps because they were not present in the materials available to him as of 1989. But *mutatis mutandis* his rationale can also be applied in such instances. To wit, we may suppose that loans into Common Neo-Hakka derived from at least two source dialect types. One of these, structurally more archaic as regards tone classes, distinguished upper and lower register qù tones. The other source type had merged CDC Tones 5 and 6 into a common qùshēng class by the time of borrowing, and loans from such structurally more evolved donor dialects would have been assigned to Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 rather than Tone 6.

In concluding this section, it is important to note that Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 forms derived from CDC Tone 4 are, from the standpoint of Common Hakka phonology, methodologically unremarkable. They are simply Tone 1 syllables, and nothing more. And doublet readings in Tones 5 and 6 are simply representative of loan layers, whatever their precise origin may have been. From the standpoint of the reconstructive exercise, they are unproblematic. However, Norman's comparative and historical observations regarding them allow us to account for *how and why* these configurations arose in Hakka as developments of even earlier stages of Chinese, and for that reason they are an important contribution to the history of Hakka phonology.

4.2 Tone 2 (Yángpíng 陽平)

Examples for this tone are as follows:

céng 層 QYS dzəng CDC *dzeng2/EC *'dzing
 BMH [tshên]; MX [ts'en2]; HL [ts'en2]; SX [ts'en2]; LF [ts'en2]; LZ [tʃhən2]; SHT [ts'en2]
 HY [ts'an2]; XY [ts'ən2]; DB [ts'en2]; YL [ts'an2 ~ ts'en2]; XC [ts'ən2]
 CT [ts'ən2]; WP [tshəp2]; YD [ts'en2]; SH [tshẽ2]; LC1 [ts'ãi2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ẽ2]; AY [ts'əp2]; SY [ts'ẽ2]; XS [ts'en2]; QN [ts'en2]; ND1 [ts'əp2]; ND2 [ts'əp2];
 ND3 [ts'əp2]
 OPH *ts'en2 CNH *ts'ən2

hé 禾 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
BMH [vô]; MX [vɔ2]; HL [vo2]; SX [vo2]; LF [vo2]; LZ [vɔ2]; SHT [vɔ2]
HY [vuɔ2]; XY [vɔ2]; DB [vo2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [vo2]; WP [o2 ~ vo2]; YD [vou2]; SH [vu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vu2]
NK [vo2]; AY [vo2]; SY [vo2]; XS [vɔ2]; QN [vo2]; ND1 [vo2]; ND2 [vo2]; ND3 [vo2]
[OPH *vo2] CNH *vuo2

In this set and the following one, Yílǒng and Xīchāng use a Mandarin-like loan form, reconstructable as earlier *ho2.

léi 雷 QYS luài CDC *luoi1/EC *'luy
BMH [lúi]; MX [lui2]; HL [lui2]; SX [lui2]; LF [lui2]; LZ [lui2]; SHT [lui2]
HY [lui2]; XY [—]; DB [lei2]; YL [luei2]; XC [luei2]
CT [lue2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei3]; SH [lei5]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [loi2 ~ lue2]
NK [le2]; AY [le2]; SY [le2]; XS [li2]; QN [lui2]; ND1 [lui2]; ND2 [lui2]; ND3 [lui2]
OPH *lui2 CNH *lui2

má 麻 QYS ma CDC *ma2/EC *mray
BMH [mâ]; MX [ma2]; HL [ma2]; SX [ma2]; LF [ma2]; LZ [ᵐba2]; SHT [—]
HY [ma2]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [ma2]; XC [ma2]
CT [ma2]; WP [ma2]; YD [ma2]; SH [ma2]; LC1 [mo2]; LC2 [mo2]
NK [ma2]; AY [ma2]; SY [ma2]; XS [ma2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [ma2]; ND2 [ma2]; ND3 [ma2]
OPH *ma2 CNH *ma2

nán 男 QYS nām CDC *nom2/EC *'num
BMH [nâm]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [laŋ2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [naŋ2]
NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
OPH *nam2 CNH *nam2

tián 田 QYS dien CDC *dian2/EC *'din
 BMH [thien]; MX [t'ien2]; HL [t'ian2]; SX [t'ian2]; LF [t'ian2]; LZ [then2]; SHT [t'en2]
 HY [t'ian2]; XY [t'ian2]; DB [t'ien2]; YL [t'ien2]; XC [t'ien2]
 CT [t'ɪŋ2]; WP [thien2]; YD [t'ien2]; SH [thiẽ2]; LC1 [t'e2]; LC2 [t'e2]
 NK [t'ie2]; AY [t'i2]; SY [t'ie2]; XS [t'ien2]; QN [t'ien2]; ND1 [t'ien2]; ND2 [t'ian2]; ND3
 [t'ian2]
 OPH *t'ian2 CNH *t'ian2

yá 牙 QYS nga CDC *nga2/EC *ngra
 BMH [ngâ]; MX [ŋa2]; HL [ŋa2]; SX [ŋa2]; LF [ŋa2]; LZ [ŋa2]; SHT [ŋa2]
 HY [ŋa2]; XY [ŋa2]; DB [ŋa2]; YL [ŋa2]; XC [ŋa2]
 CT [ŋa2]; WP [ŋa2]; YD [ŋa2]; SH [ŋA2]; LC1 [ŋo2]; LC2 [ŋo2]
 NK [ŋa2]; AY [ŋa2]; SY [ŋa2]; XS [ŋa2]; QN [ŋa2]; ND1 [ŋa2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋa2]
 OPH *nga2 CNH *ŋa2

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
 BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [ɜam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [ɜam2]; SHT [jam2]
 HY [jiam2]; XY [iam2]; DB [zam2]; YL [ien2]; XC [ien2]
 CT [iŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iã2]; LC1 [ie2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [ien2]; QN [iam2]; ND1 [iam2]; ND2 [iam2]; ND3 [iam2]
 OPH *iam2 CNH *iam2

Cases where CDC Tone 2 words have joined Hakka Tone 1 are discussed in §4.1, in connection with that tone.

4.3 Tone 3 (Shǎngshēng 上聲)

Obstruent and zero initial syllables having this tone are exemplified in the following:

cǎo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *'tshux
BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts'au3]; HL [ts'o3]; SX [ts'o3]; LF [ts'o3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts'au3]
HY [ts'au3]; XY [ts'ɔ3]; DB [ts'o3]; YL [ts'əu3]; XC [ts'au3]
CT [ts'ɔ3]; WP [tshɔ3]; YD [ts'ou3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [ts'ɔ3]; LC2 [ts'ɔ3]
NK [ts'ɔ3]; AY [ts'ɔ3]; SY [ts'ɔ3]; XS [ts'au3]; QN [ts'au3]; ND1 [ts'au3]; ND2 [ts'au3]; ND3
[ts'au3]
OPH *ts'ou3 CNH *ts'ou3

dǐ 底 QYS tiei: CDC *tai3/EC *tiyx
BMH [tái]; MX [tai3]; HL [tai3]; SX [tai3]; LF [tai3]; LZ [tai3]; SHT [—]
HY [tiɛ3]; XY [tai3]; DB [tɛ3]; YL [tei3]; XC [ti3w ~ tai3b]
CT [tɛ3]; WP [ti3]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [tɛ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti3]; AY [tɛ3 ~ ti3]; SY [ti3]; XS [tɛ3]; QN [ti3 ~ tei3]; ND1 [ti3]; ND2 [tiei3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tai3 CNH *tai3/L *ti3

pǐn 品 QYS phjəm: CDC *phim3/EC *phimx
BMH [phín]; MX [p'in3]; HL [p'in3]; SX [p'in3]; LF [p'in3]; LZ [phin3]; SHT [p'in3]
HY [p'in3]; XY [p'in3]; DB [p'ən3]; YL [p'in3]; XC [p'in3]
CT [p'ɛŋ3]; WP [phin3]; YD [p'in3]; SH [phin3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'in3]; AY [p'in3]; SY [p'in3]; XS [p'in3]; QN [p'in3]; ND1 [p'in3]; ND2 [p'in3]; ND3
[p'in3]
OPH *p'in3 CNH *p'in3

xiǎo 曉 QYS xieu: CDC *xiau3/EC *'hewx
BMH [hiáu]; MX [hiau3]; HL [hiau3]; SX [hiau3]; LF [hiau3]; LZ [hiau3]; SHT [hiau3]
HY [hiau3]; XY [hiau3]; DB [hiau3]; YL [ɛiau3]; XC [ɛiau3]
CT [ʃiɔ3]; WP [siɔ3]; YD [seu1 ~ sou1]; SH [ɛiə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃe6]
NK [ɛiɔ3]; AY [ɛiɔ3]; SY [ɛiɔ3]; XS [ɛiau3]; QN [ɛiau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]
OPH *hiau3 CNH *hiau3

ǎi 矮 QYS ʔai: CDC *ai3/EC —
 BMH [ái]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]
 HY [ai3]; XY [ɐi3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]
 CT [ai3]; WP [a3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [e3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ɲai3]; ND2 [ɲai3]; ND3 [ɲai3]
 [OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/*ei3

yǎ 啞 QYS ʔa: CDC *a3/EC *rax
 BMH [áy]; MX [a3]; HL [a3]; SX [a3]; LF [a1]; LZ [a3]; SHT [a3]
 HY [a3]; XY [a3]; DB [a3]; YL [ɲa3]; XC [a3]
 CT [a3]; WP [a3]; YD [a3]; SH [A3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [a3]; AY [a3]; SY [a3]; XS [a3]; QN [a3]; ND1 [ɲa1]; ND2 [ɲa1]; ND3 [ɲa1 ~ ɲa3]
 [OPH *a3] CNH *a3

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
 BMH [yɿ]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [ji3]
 HY [jy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [yɛ3]
 NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
 [OPH *i30] CNH *iu3

Sonorant initial sets are of two types. The first of these is represented by the following examples:

wǎng 網 QYS mjwang: CDC *^hmvong4/EC *mangx
 BMH [mióng]; MX [mionɿ3]; HL [mionɿ3]; SX [mionɿ3]; LF [mionɿ3]; LZ [^{mb}ionɿ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [mɔɿ3]; XY [mɔɿ3]; DB [mɔɿ3]; YL [uɔɿ3]; XC [vɔɿ5]
 CT [vɔɿ3]; WP [mionɿ3]; YD [mionɿ3]; SH [mionɿ3]; LC1 [mionɿ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mɔ̌2]; AY [mɔɿ3]; SY [mɔ̌3]; XS [mɔɿ3]; QN [mɔɿ3]; ND1 [mɔɿ3]; ND2 [mɔɿ3]; ND3
 [mɔɿ3]
 OPH *miong3 CNH *mionɿ3/vɔɿ3

ěr 耳 QYS ní: CDC *^hni4/EC *nix
 BMH [nyí]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni3]; SX [ni3]; LF [ɲi3]; LZ [^ʷgi3]; SHT [ɲi3]
 HY [ɲi3]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni3]
 CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ m3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [ɲ3]; LC1 [ɲi3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ɲ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ɜ3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3
 [ni1 ~ ə3]
 OPH *_ni3 CNH *_ɲ3/L *_ɲi3

liǎng 兩 QYS ljang: “two” CDC *^hliong4/EC *langx
 BMH [lióng]; MX [liɔŋ3]; HL [liɔŋ3]; SX [liɔŋ3]; LF [liɔŋ3]; LZ [liɔŋ3]; SHT [liɔŋ3]
 HY [lyɔŋ3]; XY [liɔŋ3]; DB [liɔŋ3]; YL [liɔŋ3]; XC [liɔŋ3]
 CT [liɔŋ3w ~ tiɔŋ3b]; WP [tiɔŋ3]; YD [liɔŋ3]; SH [liɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiɔŋ3]†
 NK [lið3 ~ tið3]; AY [tiɔŋ3]; SY [tið3]; XS [—]; QN [liɔŋ3]; ND1 [liɔŋ3]; ND2 [liɔŋ1]; †† ND3
 [liɔŋ3]
 [OPH *liong3] CNH *liɔŋ3
 †FJSHFYZ: [tiɔŋ3b ~ liɔŋ3w].

††In Níngdū-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1.
 In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

luǎn 卵 QYS luân: CDC *^hlon4/EC *lonx
 BMH [lón]; MX [lon3]; HL [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [lon3]; LZ [lon3]; SHT [lon3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lon3]; XC [luan5]
 CT [luŋ3]; WP [luɛŋ3]; YD [lon3]; SH [luẽ3]; LC1 [luɔ3]; LC2 [luɐ3]
 NK [loẽ3]; AY [lõ3]; SY [luð3]; XS [lon3]; QN [lon3]; ND1 [loɛn3]; ND2 [luon3]; ND3 [luan3
 ~ lon3]
 OPH *lon3 CNH *luon3

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *^hngua4/EC *ngwrayx
 BMH [ngá ~ ngwá]; MX [ɲa3]; HL [ɲua3]; SX [ɲa3]; LF [ɲua3]; LZ [^ʷga3]; SHT [ɲa3]
 HY [ɲa3]; XY [ɲa3]; DB [ɲa3]; YL [ɲa3]; XC [ɲa3]

CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]
 OPH *ŋua3 CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3
 †FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

wǔ 五 QYS nguo: CDC *^hngu4/EC *ngax
 BMH [ńg]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3]; SHT [ŋ3]
 HY [m3]; XY [ŋ3]; DB [ŋ3]; YL [ŋ3]; XC [m3]
 CT [ŋ3]; WP [ŋ3 ~ m3]; YD [ŋ3]; SH [m3]; LC1 [ŋ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; AY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; SY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; XS [ŋ3]; QN [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; ND1 [ŋ3]; ND2 [ŋ3];
 ND3 [ŋ3]
 OPH *ng3 CNH *ŋ3/*vu3
 CNH *vu3 is attested solely as a variant reading in the Jiāngxī line. It may be a very late loan form in these dialects.

lǎo 老 QYS lâu: CDC *^hlou4/EC *^hlux
 BMH [láu]; MX [lau3 ~ lau5]; HL [lo3]; SX [lo3]; LF [lo3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [lau3]
 HY [lau3]; XY [lo3]; DB [lo3]; YL [ləu3]; XC [lau3]
 CT [lo3]; WP [lo3]; YD [lou3]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [lo3]; LC2 [lo3]
 NK [lo3]; AY [lo3]; SY [lo3]; XS [lau3]; QN [lau3]; ND1 [lau3]; ND2 [lau3]; ND3 [lau3]
 OPH *lou3 CNH *lou3

nǚ 女 QYS njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
 BMH [ńg ~ nyí]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3b ~ ɲgi3w]; SHT [ŋ3 ~ ɲi3]
 HY [ɲy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲy3]; XC [ni3w ~ m3b]
 CT [ni3]; WP [ŋ3]; YD [hŋ3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ŋ3 ~ m2]; LC1 [ɲiue3]; LC2 [i3]†
 NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ŋ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2
 [nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
 [OPH *ŋ3] CNH *ŋ3/*nie3/L *ñiu3
 †Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn: CDC *^hngan4/EC *ngrunx
BMH [nyén ~ ngán]; MX [ɲian3]; HL [ɲian3w ~ ɲan3b]; SX [ɲian3]; LF [ɲan3]; LZ [ɲgan3];
SHT [ɲan3]
HY [ɲan5]; XY [ɲan3]; DB [ɲan3]; YL [ɲan3]; XC [ɲan3]
CT [ɲan3]; WP [ɲan3]; YD [ɲan3]; SH [ɲã3]; LC1 [ɲa3]; LC2 [ɲa3]
NK [ɲã3]; AY [ɲã3]; SY [ɲã3]; XS [ɲan3]; QN [ɲan3]; ND1 [ɲan3]; ND2 [ɲan3]; ND3 [ɲan3]
[OPH *ngan3] CNH *ɲan3/L *ñian3
The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yǎng 仰 QYS ngjang: CDC *ngiong4/EC *ngangx
BMH [nyong ~ nyóng]; MX [ɲioŋ3]; HL [ɲioŋ3]; SX [ɲioŋ3]; LF [ɲioŋ3]; LZ [ɲgion3]; SHT
[—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɲioŋ3]; XC [ɲioŋ1]
CT [ioŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [ɲioŋ3 ~ ɲioŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nið3]; AY [ɲioŋ3]; SY [nið3]; XS [ɲioŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nɔŋ3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲioŋ3] CNH *ñion3
The Chángtīng form reflects a probable variant reading in *ioŋ3 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

In examples of this type, variant readings in tones other than Tone 3 do not normally occur. We have seen in §4.1 that the usual Hakka destination for Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yángshǎng) is Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1. However, in sets such as those seen here, all of which involve CDC Tone 4 syllables, the Hakka destination is Common Neo-Hakka Tone 3. O'Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 340–342) devoted considerable attention to cases of this type. Similarly to the case discussed in §4.1 above, they reasoned that the sonorant initials of such words must have differed from the ordinary voiced ones present in the large body of “regular” syllables now found under Hakka Tone 1. And their explanation for this was that these aberrant sonorants were in fact voiceless at an earlier historical stage.³⁷ Norman also

³⁷ Note that O'Connor specifically characterized this stage as “Pre-Hakka”, while Norman called it “Proto-Hakka”. As indicated above, O'Connor’s terminology is the more apt here.

noted that these proposed voiceless initial syllables tend to recur as a closed set across Hakka dialects, which is not characterizable in terms of objective phonological criteria. The later tonal behavior of such words, or, as Norman put it, the *incidence* of that behavior as determined by earlier initial type, is lexical rather than phonological. His conclusion was then that a Hakka dialect can be identified by the fact that it should contain a significant number of sonorant initial lexemes from *this particular set*, which fall under Hakka Tone 3 rather than Tone 1. As noted in §1.3 of Chapter I, we have adopted this principle as one of our selection criteria for the Neo-Hakka dialects studied in the present work.

In addition to examples of the sort cited above, we also find other sets in which sonorant initial Common Neo-Hakka Tone 3 words occur. The following examples illustrate this:

lǎn 懶 QYS lǎn: CDC *lan4/EC *'lanx
 BMH [lan]; MX [lan1]; HL [nan1]; SX [nan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1]; SHT [lan1]
 HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1 ~ lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan3]
 CT [lan1]; WP [lan1]; YD [lan1]; SH [nã1]; LC1 [la1]; LC2 [la1]
 NK [lã1]; AY [lã3]; SY [lã1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1]; ND1 [lan1]; ND2 [lan1]; ND3 [lan1]
 [OPH *lan1] CNH *lan1/*lan3

lěng 冷 QYS lǒng: CDC *lang4/EC —
 BMH [lang ~ láng ~ len]; MX [lan3w ~ lan1b]; HL [lan1]; SX [lan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1];
 SHT [lan1]
 HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1]; YL [lan1]; XC [lan3]
 CT [len1]; WP [len1]; YD [len1]; SH [lẽ1]; LC1 [lãi1]; LC2 [læŋ2]
 NK [lã1]; AY [liã3]; SY [lã1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1 ~ len1]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2 [lian1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *lang1] CNH *lan1/L *lan3/*len1

lǐ 鯉 QYS lǐ: CDC *li4/EC *lix
 BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]

CT [li3]; WP [ti1]; YD [li1]; SH [ti1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti1]; AY [ti3]; SY [ti1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *li1] CNH *li1/*li3

yǔ 語 QYS ngjwo: CDC *ngie4 (~ *ngiu4) /EC *ngax
BMH [nyi]; MX [ɲi1]; HL [ɲi1]; SX [ɲi1]; LF [ɲi1]; LZ [ɲgi1]; SHT [ji1]
HY [ɲy3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ni3]; WP [—]; YD [ɲi1 ~ ɲi3w ~ hɲ3b]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ni3]; AY [ni3]; SY [ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nu1]; ND2 [nu1]; ND3 [nu3]
OPH *ɲi1 CNH *ñiu1/*ñiu3/iu3
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

mǎ 馬 QYS ma: CDC *ma4/EC *mrax
BMH [ma]; MX [ma1]; HL [ma1]; SX [ma1]; LF [ma1]; LZ [ᵐba3]; SHT [ma1]
HY [ma1 ~ ma5]; XY [ma1]; DB [ma1]; YL [ma3]; XC [ma3]
CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [ma1]; SH [ma1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mo1]
NK [ma1]; AY [ma3]; SY [ma3]; XS [ma1]; QN [ma3]; ND1 [ma1]; ND2 [ma1]; ND3 [ma1]
OPH *ma1 CNH *ma1/*ma3

měi 每 QYS muài: CDC *muoi4/EC *'mix
BMH [mui ~ mi]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [—]; SHT [mui1]
HY [—]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
CT [me3]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mei3]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei3]
[OPH *mui1] CNH *mui1/*mui3

nǎo 腦 QYS nâu: CDC *nou4/EC *'nawx
BMH [náu ~ nó]; MX [nau3]; HL [no3]; SX [no3]; LF [no3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [—]
HY [nau3]; XY [no3]; DB [no3]; YL [nəu3]; XC [nau5]
CT [no3]; WP [no3]; YD [lau3]; SH [no1 ~ no3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no3]

NK [nɔ1]; AY [nɔ3]; SY [nɔ3]; XS [nau3]; QN [nau3]; ND1 [nau3]; ND2 [nau3]; ND3 [nau3]
[OPH *nou3] CNH *nou3/*nou1

Examples of this type are characterized by the peculiarity that they always show multiple readings, at least one of which will be the expected or “regular” Hakka Tone 1 form.³⁸ In cases such as these, we assume that the Tone 3 readings are in fact loans from non-Hakka dialects in which CDC Tone 4 words had become modern Tone 3 (shǎngshēng) and were accordingly borrowed into Hakka Tone 3. Their modern Hakka Tone 3 readings thus have a historically different origin from those seen in inherited popular words.

4.4 Tone 5 (Yīnqù 陰去)

The following sets exemplify obstruent and zero initial syllables under this tone:

àn 闇 ~ 暗 QYS ʔâm- CDC *om5/EC *’umh
BMH [àm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [am5]
HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [an3]; XC [an5]
CT [ɔŋ5]; WP [aŋ5]; YD [aŋ3]; SH [ã5]; LC1 [ɔŋ5]; LC2 [ɔŋ5]
NK [oẽ5]; AY [ã5]; SY [uõ2]; XS [an5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ŋoem5]; ND2 [ŋuom5]; ND3 [ŋuam5]
OPH *am5 CNH *om5/*am5

bài 拜 QYS pwǎi- CDC *pai5/EC *prath
BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]
HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]
CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]
NK [pæ5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ 2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pai5]; ND2 [pai5]; ND3 [pai5]
[OPH *pai5] CNH *pai5/*pei5

The Chángtīng and Wúpíng forms derive from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

³⁸ We have already seen a number of such sets in §4.1 above.

bàn 半 QYS puân- CDC *pon5/EC *'panh
 BMH [pàn]; MX [pan5]; HL [pan5]; SX [pan5]; LF [pan5]; LZ [pan5]; SHT [pan5]
 HY [puan5]; XY [pan5]; DB [pan5]; YL [pan5]; XC [pan5]
 CT [paŋ5]; WP [paŋ5]; YD [pan3]; SH [pã5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [poẽ5]; AY [pã5]; SY [põ2]; XS [pɔn5]; QN [pan5]; ND1 [poen5]; ND2 [puon5]; ND3
 [puan5]
 [OPH *pan5] CNH *pon5

bù 布 QYS puo- CDC *pu5/EC *'pah
 BMH [pù]; MX [pu5]; HL [pu5]; SX [pu5]; LF [pu5]; LZ [pu5]; SHT [pu5]
 HY [pu5]; XY [pu5]; DB [pu5]; YL [pu5]; XC [pu5]
 CT [pu5]; WP [pu5]; YD [pi3]; SH [pɤ5]; LC1 [piue5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pu5]; AY [pu5]; SY [pu2]; XS [pu5]; QN [pu5]; ND1 [pu5]; ND2 [pu5]; ND3 [pu5]
 OPH *pu5 CNH *pu5

In Yǒngdìng the reflex of Tone 5 is usually modern Tone 3, while in Shàngyóu it is Tone 2. In Yílǒng it may be either Tone 3 or Tone 5. All remaining dialects show modern Tone 5. The ambiguity seen in Yílǒng is almost certainly due to dialect mixing of some sort in this language. A similar phenomenon is sometimes also observable in Yǒngdìng, where occasional doublets point to layering as the source of vacillation, e.g.,

bèi 貝 QYS pwài- CDC *puoi5/EC *'path
 BMH [pùi ~ pì]; MX [pi5]; HL [pui5]; SX [pi5]; LF [pui5]; LZ [pui5]; SHT [pɔi4]
 HY [puai5]; XY [puai5 ~ pui5]; DB [pei5]; YL [pei5]; XC [pei5]
 CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pei5 ~ pei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pe5]; AY [pe5]; SY [pe2]; XS [—]; QN [pui5]; ND1 [pei5]; ND2 [pei5]; ND3 [pei5]
 OPH *pui5 CNH *pui5

The second Basel Mission variant may simply reflect the regular Méixiàn reflex of this etymon. The Sìxiàn reflects an earlier *pi5, for which we do not have unambiguous evidence elsewhere.

dài 帶 QYS tâi- CDC *tai5/EC *'tath
 BMH [tài]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]
 HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]
 CT [tai5]; WP [tai5]; YD [tai3 ~ tai5]; SH [tai5]; LC1 [tai5]; LC2 [tai5]
 NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]
 OPH *tai5 CNH *tai5

shòu 瘦 QYS sjəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
 BMH [sèu]; MX [seu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃeu5]; SHT [siu5]
 HY [suai5]; XY [seu5]; DB [lei5]; YL [sai5]; XC [səu5]
 CT [seu5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [seu5]; SH [sə5]; LC1 [seu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɜ5]; AY [sɯ5]; SY [ɕio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [seu5]; ND1 [seu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
 OPH *seu5 CNH *seu5

Sonorant initial Tone 5 words were of special interest to Norman (1989: 330–332), because such syllable types in CDC would normally be expected to join lower register tones in Hakka. Examples are:

lù 露 QYS luo- CDC *^hlu6/EC *'lakh
 BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu5]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [lu6]; XY [lu5]; DB [lu5]; YL [lu5]; XC [lu5]
 CT [lu5]; WP [lu5]; YD [li3]; SH [lɤ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [lu5]; AY [lu5]; SY [lu2]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu5]; ND1 [lu5]; ND2 [lu5]; ND3 [lu5]
 OPH *lu5 CNH *lu5

mà 罵 QYS ma- CDC *^hma6/EC *mrah
 BMH [mà]; MX [ma5]; HL [ma5]; SX [ma5]; LF [ma5]; LZ [^mba5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ma6]; XY [ma5]; DB [ma5]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ma5]; WP [ma5]; YD [ma3]; SH [ma5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ma5]; AY [ma5w ~ mã5]; SY [ma1]; XS [ma5]; QN [ma5]; ND1 [ma5]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ma5]

OPH *ma5 CNH *ma5

mèi 妹 QYS muai- CDC *^hmuoi6/EC *—

BMH [mòi]; MX [mɔi5]; HL [moi5]; SX [moi5]; LF [moi5]; LZ [^mbɔi5]; SHT [mɔi5]

HY [muai6]; XY [muai5]; DB [mɔi5]; YL [moi5]; XC [moi5]

CT [mue5]; WP [muɛ3]; YD [mɔi3]; SH [mue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [moi5]

NK [mæ5]; AY [mue5]; SY [me2]; XS [mɔi5]; QN [mɔi5 ~ mui5]; ND1 [moɛ5]; ND2 [muɛi5];

ND3 [muai5]

OPH *moi5 CNH *muoi5

The Héyuán tone is etymologically expected but not in agreement with the remaining forms in the set.

wèn 問 QYS mjuən- CDC *^hmvun6/EC *munh

BMH [mùn]; MX [mun5]; HL [mun5]; SX [mun5]; LF [mun5]; LZ [^mbun5]; SHT [mun5]

HY [mun5]; XY [mun5]; DB [mən5]; YL [mɛn5]; XC [mən5]

CT [meŋ5]; WP [meŋ5]; YD [mun3]; SH [meiŋ5]; LC1 [meŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [vẽ5 ~ mẽ2]; AY [məŋ5]; SY [vẽ2 ~ mẽ2]; XS [vən5 ~ mən5]; QN [mun5]; ND1 [mən5];

ND2 [mən5b ~ vən5w]; ND3 [mən5]

OPH *mun5 CNH *mun5/L vun5

Here again, O'Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989) propose early (i.e., Pre-Hakka) voiceless sonorant initials as the conditioning factor for development to upper register Tone 5 rather than lower register Tone 6.

4.5 Tone 6 (Yángqù 陽去)

In discussing this tone class, it is necessary to recall that it has been lost entirely from the following dialects: Méixiàn, Sixiàn, Song Him Tong, Diànbái, Yílǒng, Xīchāng, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdīng, Shàngháng, Nánkāng, Shàngyóu, and Xiūshuǐ. Representative examples for Tone 6 are:

ài 礙 QYS ngài- CDC *ngoi6/EC *'ngih
 BMH [ngòi]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ŋoi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [—]; XC [ŋai5]
 CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [—]; SH [ŋue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ŋæ5]; AY [ŋue6]; SY [ŋue5]; XS [ŋoi5]; QN [ŋoi6]; ND1 [ŋoe6]; ND2 [ŋuei6]; ND3 [ŋai6]
 [OPH *ngoi6] CNH *ŋoi6/*ŋai6

The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xīchāng and Níngdū-3 forms. It is almost certainly a later loan into these dialects.

dòu 豆 QYS dəu- CDC *deu6/EC *'doh
 BMH [thèu]; MX [t'eu5]; HL [t'eu6]; SX [t'eu5]; LF [t'eu6]; LZ [thəu5]; SHT [t'iu5]
 HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'eu3]; DB [t'ei3]; YL [t'ai3]; XC [t'au5]
 CT [t'eu6]; WP [t'ε3]; YD [t'eu5]; SH [thə3]; LC1 [t'eu6]; LC2 [t'eu6]
 NK [t'ɜ5]; AY [t'ʉ6]; SY [t'io5]; XS [t'au5]; QN [t'eu6]; ND1 [t'eu6]; ND2 [t'ieu6]; ND3
 [t'iu6]
 OPH *t'eu6 CNH *t'eu6

fèng 鳳 QYS bjung- CDC *vung6/EC *'bumh
 BMH [fùŋ]; MX [fuŋ5]; HL [fuŋ5]; SX [fuŋ5]; LF [fuŋ6]; LZ [fuŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [hoŋ6]; XY [fuŋ3]; DB [fuŋ3]; YL [fuŋ5]; XC [fuŋ2]
 CT [—]; WP [fuŋ3]; YD [fuŋ5]; SH [fəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fəŋ5]; AY [fəŋ6]; SY [fəŋ5]; XS [fəŋ5]; QN [fuŋ5]; ND1 [fuŋ6]; ND2 [fuŋ6]; ND3 [fuŋ6]
 [OPH *fuŋ6] CNH *fuŋ6

làng 浪 QYS lāng- CDC *long6/EC *'langh
 BMH [lòŋ]; MX [lɔŋ5]; HL [lɔŋ6]; SX [lɔŋ5]; LF [lɔŋ6]; LZ [lɔŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [lɔŋ6]; XY [lɔŋ3]; DB [lɔŋ3]; YL [lɔŋ5]; XC [lɔŋ5]
 CT [lɔŋ5]; WP [lɔŋ5]; YD [lɔŋ5]; SH [lɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [lɔ5]; AY [lɔŋ6]; SY [lɔ5]; XS [lɔŋ5]; QN [lɔŋ6]; ND1 [lɔŋ6]; ND2 [lɔŋ6]; ND3 [lɔŋ6]
 [OPH *lɔŋ6] CNH *lɔŋ6

mèng 夢 QYS mjung- CDC *mung6/EC *mingh
BMH [mùŋ]; MX [muŋ5 ~ mu5]; HL [muŋ5]; SX [muŋ5]; LF [muŋ6]; LZ [ᵐbuŋ5]; SHT
[muŋ5]
HY [moŋ6]; XY [moŋ3]; DB [muŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ5]
CT [moŋ6]; WP [muŋ3]; YD [muŋ5]; SH [məŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [məŋ6]
NK [məŋ5]; AY [məŋ6]; SY [məŋ5]; XS [məŋ5]; QN [muŋ6]; ND1 [muŋ6]; ND2 [muŋ6]; ND3
[muŋ6]
[OPH *mung5] CNH *muŋ6

yùn 運 QYS juən- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yún]; MX [iun5]; HL [zun6]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [zun5]; SHT [—]
HY [vun6]; XY [vun3 ~ yn3]; DB [zən5]; YL [yn3]; XC [in5]
CT [veŋ6]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [veŋ6]; LC2 [—]
NK [yŋ5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jyŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iun6]; ND1 [in6]; ND2 [in6]; ND3 [in6]
OPH *iun6 CNH *viun6

Tone 6 syllables often have doublets in Tone 5. The following are examples:

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *'lakh
BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu6]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5w ~ lu6b]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [lu5]
HY [lu6]; XY [lu3]; DB [lu3]; YL [lu3]; XC [lu5]
CT [lu6]; WP [lu3]; YD [li5]; SH [lɛ3]; LC1 [iue6]; LC2 [ye6]†
NK [lu5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lu5]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu6]; ND1 [lu6]; ND2 [lu6]; ND3 [lu6]
OPH *lu6 CNH *lu6/L *lu5
†FJFYZ: [lye6].

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *nguoi6/EC *'ngwath
BMH [ngò]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ᵑgoi5]; SHT [ŋoi5]
HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [uoi3]; XC [vai5]
CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [ŋai5]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋua6]

NK [ɲæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ɲoi5]; QN [ɲoi6]; ND1 [ɲoe6]; ND2 [ɲuei5 ~ ɲuei6]; ND3 [ɲuai6]

OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

The origin of the Yilǒng form is uncertain.

xiàn 縣 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion6/EC *'gwenh

BMH [yèn ~ hièn]; MX [ian5]; HL [zan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan6]; LZ [ʒen5]; SHT [—]

HY [yan6]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [ɕien5w ~ ien3b]; XC [ɕien5]

CT [iŋ6]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [vien5]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve6]; LC2 [ve6]

NK [iẽ5]; AY [jiõ6]; SY [yẽ2]; XS [ɕien5]; QN [iuon6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ian6]; ND3 [ien6]

[OPH *ian5] CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx

BMH [siòng]; MX [sion5w ~ ts'ion5b]; HL [sion5w ~ ts'ion5]; SX [sion5w ~ ts'ion5]; LF [sion5]; LZ [tʃhion5b ~ ʃion5w]; SHT [ts'ion5]

HY [—]; XY [ts'ion5]; DB [hion5]; YL [ɕion5]; XC [tɕ'ion5]

CT [ts'ion6]; WP [sion5 ~ tshion3]; YD [sion3]; SH [ɕion5 ~ tɕhion5]; LC1 [ts'ion6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiõ5 ~ tɕ'iõ5]; AY [ts'ion6]; SY [ɕiõ2 ~ tɕ'iõ5]; XS [ts'ion5]; QN [tɕ'ion6]; ND1 [tɕ'ion6]; ND2 [tɕ'ion6]; ND3 [ts'ion6]

[OPH *ts'ion5] CNH *ts'ion6/L *sion5

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh

BMH [tshià]; MX [ts'ia5]; HL [ts'ia6]; SX [ts'ia5]; LF [ts'ia5]; LZ [tʃhia5]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ia6]; XY [ts'ɛ3]; DB [ts'ia3]; YL [ɕia3]; XC [ɕie5w ~ tɕ'ia5b]

CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts'ia5 ~ ts'ia3]; SH [tɕhia3 ~ ɕia3]; LC1 [ts'io6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɕia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts'ia5]; QN [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6]; ND1 [ɕia6 ~ tɕ'ia6]; ND2 [tɕ'ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts'ia6]

[OPH *ts'ia6] CNH *ts'ia6/L *sia6

Our suggestion regarding Tone 5 variants of this sort is that they are loans from dialects in which CDC Tone 6 had merged into Tone 5. The fact that these variants are frequently identifiable as literary readings would tend to confirm this.

Finally, we should reiterate that many Hakka Tone 6 syllables fall under CDC Tone 4 (yángshǎng). The word xiàng 像 above is in fact such a case. Quite a few more are cited in §4.1 above, where we noted with approbation Norman's hypothesis that these Hakka Tone 6 forms represent a loan layer that postdates older "native" Hakka developments of CDC Tone 4.

4.6 Tone 7 (Yīnrù 陰入)

The following are obstruent initial examples for this tone:

bā 八 QYS pwāt CDC *pat7/EC *pret
 BMH [pát]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
 HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
 CT [pe2]†; WP [piɛʔ7]††; YD [piɛʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
 NK [pa7]; AY [pɜ6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pait7]; QN [pæʔ7]; ND1 [pait7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
 OPH *pat7 CNH *pat7
 †DCBG: var. pa2.
 ††DCBG: paʔ7.

The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin.

bǎi 百 QYS pɔk CDC *pak7/EC *prak
 BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]
 HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
 CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [paʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7 ~ pək7]; ND3
 [pak7]
 [OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

běi 北 QYS pək CDC *pek7/EC *'pik
 BMH [pet]; MX [pet7]; HL [pet7]; SX [pet7]; LF [pet7]; LZ [pet7]; SHT [pet7]
 HY [pat7]; XY [pet7]; DB [pet7]; YL [pɛʔ7]; XC [pɛʔ7]
 CT [pe2]; WP [peʔ7]; YD [pɛʔ7]; SH [pɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pə8]; AY [pe6]; SY [pe5]; XS [pet7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pək7]; ND2 [pək7]; ND3 [pək7]
 OPH *pet7 CNH *pek7

bǐ 筆 QYS pjɛt3 CDC *pit7/EC *put
 BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [pit7]
 HY [pit7]; XY [pit7]; DB [pət7]; YL [piʔ7]; XC [piɛʔ7]
 CT [pi2]; WP [piʔ7]; YD [piʔ7]; SH [piʔ7]; LC1 [pi3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pie7]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pit7]; QN [piʔ7]; ND1 [pit7]; ND2 [pit7]; ND3 [pit7]
 OPH *pit7 CNH *pit7

bó 伯 QYS pək CDC *pak7/EC *prak
 BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]
 HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
 CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [po1 ~ po6]
 NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7]; ND3 [pak7]
 [OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular. The Quánnán form is not directly cognate here and appears to reflect an earlier *pek7, which is not reconstructable for the set as a whole.

chā 插 QYS tʂhǎp CDC *chap7/EC *tshrap
 BMH [tshap]; MX [ts'ap7]; HL [ts'ap7]; SX [ts'ap7]; LF [ts'ap7]; LZ [tʂhɐp7]; SHT [ts'ap7]
 HY [ts'ap7]; XY [ts'ap7]; DB [ts'ap7]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tʂ'aʔ7]
 CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'iaʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'o6]
 NK [ts'a7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ait7]; QN [ts'æʔ7]; ND1 [ts'aip7]; ND2 [ts'ap7];
 ND3 [ts'ap7]
 OPH *ts'ap7 CNH *ts'ap7

The presence of medial -i- in the Yǒngding form is unexplained.

chá 察 QYS tshăt CDC *chat7/EC *tshrat
BMH [tshat]; MX [ts'at7]; HL [ts'at7]; SX [ts'at7]; LF [ts'at7]; LZ [tʃhat7]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'at7]; XY [ts'at7]; DB [ts'at7]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tʂ'aʔ7]
CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'a6]
NK [ts'a7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ait7]; QN [ts'æʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ait7]; ND2 [ts'at7]; ND3
[ts'at7]
OPH *ts'at7 CNH *ts'at7

dā 搭 QYS tậ CDC *top7, *tap7/EC *tup
BMH [tap]; MX [tap7]; HL [tap7]; SX [tap7]; LF [tap7]; LZ [tap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tap7]; XY [tap7]; DB [tap7]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [taʔ7]; YD [taʔ7]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [to6]; LC2 [ta6 ~ to6]
NK [ta7]; AY [tɜ6]; SY [ta5]; XS [tait7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [taip7]; ND2 [tap7]; ND3 [tap7]
OPH *tap7 CNH *tap7

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop
BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]
HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]
CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]
NK [fa7]; AY [fɜ3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

jí 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip
BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]
HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [tɕieʔ7]
CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7]; YD [kiʔ7]; SH [teiʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕie7]; AY [teiɜ3]; SY [tɕie5]; XS [teit7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3
[tsəp7]

OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

In most dialects Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 is retained as an independent tonal category. In Chángtīng it merges with Tone 2 of that dialect, while in Shàngyóu it merges with Tone 5. In Liánchéng it most often becomes Tone 6. In Ānyuǎn, Tone 7 syllables ending in CNH *-p and *-t merge into modern Tone 3, while those ending in *-k go to modern Tone 6. In Nánkāng, syllable final *-p and *-t words remain under this dialect's Tone 7, while final *-k syllables shift to modern Tone 8.

The following are examples of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 syllables having sonorant initials:

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *^hmuk8/EC *'mok
 BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [^mbuk7]; SHT [muk7]
 HY [mok7]; XY [mouʔ7]; DB [muk7]; YL [məuʔ7]; XC [muʔ7]
 CT [mu2]; WP [muʔ7]; YD [muʔ7]; SH [məʔ7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
 NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [muʔ7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7];
 ND3 [muk7]
 OPH *muk7 CNH *muk7

niè 鑼 QYS njäp CDC *^hniap8/EC *nrap
 BMH [nyap]; MX [niap7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [niεʔ8]; XC [niεʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [nie5]; AY [—]; SY [nie5]; XS [niεʔ7]; QN [nieʔ7]; ND1 [naip7]; ND2 [nap7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *^hniap7] CNH *^hniap7

wà 襪 QYS mjwət CDC *^hmvat8/EC *mot
 BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [^mbat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [mat8]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [maʔ7]
 CT [mai2]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [mat7]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [ma6]; LC2 [ma5]

NK [ma8]; AY [m33]; SY [ma5]; XS [mait7]; QN [mæʔ7]; ND1 [mait7 ~ moɛt7]; ND2 [muot7];
ND3 [muat7]

OPH *mat7 CNH *mat7

The Níngdū data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Níngdū-1 is in competition with more general Hakka *mat7.

There are also cases where such Tone 7 forms occur in doublets showing variants in Common Neo-Hakka Tone 8. The following illustrate this:

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *^hliuk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk
BMH [liuk]; MX [liuk7]; HL [liuk7]; SX [liuk7]; LF [liuk7]; LZ [luk7]; SHT [liuk7]
HY [lok8]; XY [louʔ]; DB [luk7]; YL [ləuʔ7]; XC [liuʔ7]
CT [teu2]; WP [tuʔ7]; YD [liuʔ7]; SH [təʔ7]; LC1 [teu6]; LC2 [təu5]†
NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [liuk8]; QN [luʔ7]; ND1 [liuk7]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk7]
OPH *liuk7 CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8
†FJFYZ: [ləu5].

The Xiūshuǐ tone is irregularly of lower register, though its final connects it with CNH *liuk7.

ròu 肉 QYS ńžjuk CDC *^hnhiuk8/EC *nuk
BMH [nyuk]; MX [ɲiuk7]; HL [ɲiuk7]; SX [ɲiuk7]; LF [ɲiuk7]; LZ [ɲgiuk7]; SHT [ɲiuk7]
HY [ɲyok7 ~ nyok8]†; XY [ɲiuk7]; DB [ɲiuk7]; YL [ɲiəuʔ7]; XC [niuk7]
CT [nieu2 ~ niə2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [ɲiuʔ7]; SH [ɲiəʔ7]; LC1 [ɲieu6]; LC2 [ɲio6 ~ ɲiəu5]
NK [niu8]; AY [nio6w ~ ɲ6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7];
ND3 [nuk7 ~ niuk7]
OPH *^hniuk7 CNH *ɲiuk7/*ɲiuk8

†Second form used specifically in the compound [nyok8 tsy1] 肉豬 “castrated hog”. It is the first form which normally means “meat” in this dialect.

O’Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 331–332) have devoted special discussions to cases of this type and attribute the Tone 7 forms to the presence of the now familiar voiceless sonorant initial series posited for Pre-Hakka as a whole. Norman then suggests that Tone 8

variant forms are later literary loans from dialects where CDC sonorants regularly condition the development of modern lower register tones. We agree with this hypothesis.

4.7 Tone 8 (Yánggrù 陽入)

The following are examples for this tone class:

bái 白 QYS bɒk CDC *bak8/EC *brak
 BMH [phák]; MX [p'ak8]; HL [p'ak8]; SX [p'ak8]; LF [p'ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p'ak8]
 HY [p'ak8]; XY [p'ak8]; DB [p'ak8]; YL [p'aʔ8]; XC [p'aʔ8]
 CT [p'a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p'aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ phɛʔ8]; LC1 [p'o5]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [p'a1]; AY [p'a6]; SY [p'a5]; XS [p'ak8]; QN [p'aʔ8]; ND1 [p'ak8]; ND2 [p'ak8]; ND3
 [p'ak8]
 OPH *p'ak8 CNH *p'ak8
 †FJFYZ: p'o5.

shé 舌 QYS dʒjät CDC *zhiat8/EC *ɬat
 BMH [shét]; MX [sat8]; HL [ʃat8]; SX [ʃat8]; LF [ʃat8]; LZ [ʃet8]; SHT [set8]
 HY [siat8]; XY [sat8]; DB [sat8]; YL [ʂɛʔ8 ~ ʂaʔ8]; XC [ʂɛʔ8]
 CT [ʃe6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ sɛʔ8]; YD [sɛʔ8]; SH [sɛʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
 NK [se5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʂet8]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [sait8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sat7]
 OPH *ʂat8 CNH *ʂiat8

shí 十 QYS ʒjəp CDC *zhip8/EC *jip
 BMH [ship]; MX [səp8]; HL [ʃip8]; SX [ʃip8]; LF [ʃip8]; LZ [ʃip8]; SHT [tsip8 ~ sip7]
 HY [sip8]; XY [sip8]; DB [səp8]; YL [ʂeiʔ8]; XC [ʂɛʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [sɛʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sæ5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʂt8]; QN [sɪʔ8]; ND1 [səp8]; ND2 [sap8]; ND3 [səp8 ~
 sap8]
 OPH *ʂip8 CNH *ʂip8

The Níngdū forms in [sap8] appear to be loans of some sort.

luò 落 QYS lâk CDC *lok6/EC *'lak
BMH [lók]; MX [lók8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lók8]; SHT [lók8]
HY [lók8]; XY [lók8]; DB [lók8]; YL [lók8]; XC [lɔʔ8]
CT [lo6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8 ~ laʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [lu5]; LC2 [lu6 ~ lu5]
NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lók8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lók8]; ND3 [lók8]
OPH *lok8 CNH *lok8

rè 熱 QYS nǎjät CDC *nhiat8/EC *nat
BMH [nyét]; MX [ɲiat8]; HL [ɲiet8]; SX [ɲiet8]; LF [ɲiat8]; LZ [ʔget8]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲiat8]; XY [ɲiat8]; DB [ɲiat8]; YL [ɲieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ8]
CT [ne6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [ɲieʔ8]; SH [ɲieʔ8]; LC1 [ɲi5]; LC2 [ni5]
NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
OPH *ɲiat8 CNH *ñiat8

là 蠟 QYS lâp CDC *lap8/EC *'lap
BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]
CT [la6]; WP [laʔ7]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [laʔ7]; LC1 [lo6]; LC2 [lo6]
NK [la5 ~ la7]; AY [lɜ3]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]
[OPH *lap8] CNH *lap8/*lap7

là 臘 QYS lâp CDC *lap8/EC *'lap
BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [lap8]
HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [laʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [laʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [la5]; AY [lɜ1]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]
[OPH *lap8] CNH *lap8/*lap7

nà 納 QYS nâp CDC *nop8/EC *nap8
 BMH [náp]; MX [nap8]; HL [nap8]; SX [nap8]; LF [nap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
 HY [nap8]; XY [nap8]; DB [nap8]; YL [—]; XC [naʔ7]
 CT [na6]; WP [naʔ8]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [naʔ8 ~ naʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no5]
 NK [na7]; AY [nɜ1]; SY [na5]; XS [nait8]; QN [næʔ8]; ND1 [naip8]; ND2 [nap8]; ND3 [nap8]
 [OPH *nap8] CNH *nap8

In most dialects, this tone is retained as such and becomes modern Tone 8. In Chángtīng it merges with Tone 6 of that dialect. In Liánchéng and Shàngyóu it merges into modern Tone 5 of these languages. In Nánkāng its development is somewhat complex. In obstruent initial words having the Common Neo-Hakka codas *-p and *-t it merges with modern Tone 5. However, in sonorant initial words with final *-p and *-t, it may become either Tone 5 or 7, the vacillation between the two, as exemplified by the set for là 蠟 “wax” above, suggesting that dialect mixture is in play here. Tone 8 syllables ending in the Common Neo-Hakka coda *-k merge into modern Tone 1. In Ānyuǎn, syllables in Common Neo-Hakka final *-p and *-t go to modern Tone 1, while those having final *-k merge into Tone 5.

Here we should note an interesting peculiarity of Nánkāng. To wit, comparing our observations in the present section and in §4.6 above, we see that Nánkāng Tone 8 is not descended from Primitive Hakka Tone 8 at all. Instead, this modern Nánkāng tone derives entirely from two other sources, i.e., 1) from Common Neo-Hakka Tone 7 when this tone is found in syllables ending in CNH *-k, and 2) from loanwords in CDC Tone 8, which have been borrowed into Hakka from other dialects where this tone class was still retained.

Finally, in closing we should recall that reconstructed Tone 8 forms regularly occur in doublets, where they function as literary correlates of Tone 7 words. These have been discussed, with examples, in §4.6.

Chapter V: Exercises in Comparative Lexical Reconstruction

5.1 Introduction

Comparative phonological reconstruction in the study of Chinese dialects focuses of necessity on the syllable, both because this unit is a fundamental one in the phonology of all known forms of Chinese and because dialectological source materials often give lexical data in the form of syllable inventories. However, spoken Chinese of all types is of course composed not simply of strings of syllables but rather of sentences composed of words, which may be either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. And, ultimately, the task of comparative and historical dialectologists who specialize in historical phonology must be to elucidate the phonological history of entire words, whatever their length. Research of this type involves comparative reconstruction of a sort which differs in certain ways from that undertaken in Chapters II–IV above, though the two approaches of course have much in common, and the sound correspondences and diachronic phonological processes they uncover will ultimately be essentially identical.

A full-fledged phonological reconstruction of the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon lies far beyond the scope of the present work. Indeed, it is questionable whether such an undertaking would be possible today on the basis of currently available data. But it is perhaps worthwhile to consider briefly how the task might be accomplished. The intent of the present chapter is to do this by attempting a comparative reconstruction of seventy-nine Hakka lexemes,³⁹ illustrating how such reconstructions might be effected and how the knowledge of the sound correspondences uncovered in the preceding chapters of the present work can aid us in arriving at the earlier forms of full words in the proto-lexicon.

Unless otherwise indicated, the lexical items in this chapter are taken from the same sources used to compile the Appendix. However, two sources, those used for Liánchéng-1 and Xiūshuǐ in fact do not contain lexical sections as such. Necessarily, therefore, these dialect

³⁹ Most of these were suggested to the present writer by the late Professor Jerry Norman during discussions about the feasibility of using the comparative method in the study of dialect lexicons.

points have had to be excluded from the data sets. In one or two exceptional cases, where the said sources do specifically cite spoken lexical forms, the relevant data have of course been added.⁴⁰ As was our practice in the first three chapters, we require data from at least two different dialect points as a basis for comparative reconstruction. Subtypes of the same dialect are counted in aggregate as a single point, rather than as multiple points. The reason for this is that, for example, comparison of data from all three Níngdū points might yield a “Proto-Níngdū” form, but it could not support a Common Neo-Hakka one.

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 wider Hakka-speaking area, though not part of the canonical written system. We have included many of these forms for the convenience and interest of readers. However, it has seemed otiose to add such characters for point after point in long series of closely related forms, which readers can easily recognize as close cognates. In these cases, only the first instance of a character is noted, and the following ones are suppressed. In some cases characters seem to have been added in the sources simply for the sake of supplying a sinographic representation, or as the result of traditional-type *běnzikǎo* 本字考 studies by the respective authors of the sources. Where these seemed highly tenuous or speculative we have usually not included them here. But in the cases where sinographic forms are in fact cited, 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 the QYS classes of the Chinese characters given in the sources. We are not concerned in the present chapter with graphs or their readings. Our object is solely to recover wherever possible the Common Neo-Hakka origins of the modern spoken forms.

⁴⁰ For example, the spoken forms of the plain verbal negatives in these dialects are given in the sources and explicitly identified. They have therefore been included in the pertinent data set.

5.2 Cognate Sets

People

5.2.1 “son”

BMH [lài; lài tsù] 孺; 孺子; MX [lai5 ɛ] 孺口; HL [lai6 ɭ2; lai6 tsǐ3]; SX [lai5 ə2; lai5 tsǐ3];

LF [lai5 tse; lai5 tse3]; LZ [lai5 tʃu3]; SHT [lai5 tsu1]

HY [lai5 tsə]; XY [tsɛi2; tsu3] 仔; 子; DB [tɛ3]; YL [—]; XC [nai5 tsɿ3]

CT [lai5 ~ lɛ5 tsɿ3]; WP [tsɿ3 li2] 子哩; YD [tsi3; lai5 tsǐ3]; SH [tsɿ3 li5]; LC2 [næŋ2 næŋ2 tsɿ3]

NK [tse3] 崽; AY [tse3]; SY [tse3]; QN [lai5 lɛi]; ND1 [tsə3]; ND2 [tsə3; lai5 tsə3]; ND3 [lai6

A very widely attested Hakka etymon meaning “son” can be reconstructed as CNH *lai6. This syllable is used alone at some points but is also frequently combined with suffixes to form nominal compounds. It is to these compounds and suffixes that we must now turn.

A common nominalizing suffix is the general Chinese word zǐ 子, and we should note that pronunciations of this suffix may be drawn from different lexical strata in the individual dialects. For example, the character reading for zǐ 子 in Héyuán is [tsɿ3] (< *tsǐ3), but the suffix of the Héyuán compound for “son” is [tsə] (< *tse3), which is a different and almost certainly older stratum pronunciation of the etymon zǐ 子.⁴¹ This same older layer pronunciation is found in the Lùfēng forms, one of which reads the suffix in its full canonical third tone while the other uses the neutral tone. The proto-form can perhaps be represented as *tse3. Yet another variant of this etymon in Héyuán is [tsie3], reflecting the curious final variation [ɿ ~ i ~ ie] after sibilants in this dialect, as discussed in §3.6.1 of Chapter III. This morpheme occurs, for example, in the compound [kui3 tsie3] 鬼子 “child, youngster”, for which see §5.2.3 below.

Let us now turn to the Méixiàn form. What has occurred here is that the suffixal element has been reduced from an earlier *tse (as is in fact still found in Lùfēng) to an atonal residue consisting of the bare vowel, with the reduction probably due to the unstressed pronunciation

⁴¹ Compare here the full cognate set for zǐ 子 in the Appendix.

of the suffix. Something very similar has happened in the first Sixiàn form, while the parallel second form uses instead the character reading for the suffix. Multi-stratal complexities of this type occur in many of the noun cognate sets in the present chapter.

The regular character reading reflex of the syllable *tsi3 子 in Diànbái is [tɛ3],⁴² and this is also true when this morpheme is used as a suffix. In Níngdū-2 the regular reflex is [tsə3], and this is also usually the case in the suffixal use, e.g., ND2 [lai5 tsə3] < CNH *lai6 *tsi3 “son”. However, in this particular Níngdū subtype, suffixal [tsə3] is sometimes sporadically reduced to [tə3], e.g., ND2 [kan1 tə3] < CNH *kan1 tsi3 間子 “room (in a building)”. Here again we may suspect that intonational factors furnish the conditioning factor for the reduction.

The forms for zǐ 子 in the Jiāngxī line dialects are sometimes transcribed in the sources as zǎi 崽/仔 “child, son”, but this practice is in our opinion erroneous. The Common Neo-Hakka form this etymon is *tsai3 (with Tone 2 variant also attested), whose modern finals in the dialects in question should be -ai, -æ or -ei, as determined by dialect and intonational factors. (Cf. Chapter III, §3.1.4). The confusion on the part of our Jiāngxī sources is perhaps occasioned by the fact that the canonical character reading for zǐ 子 in most of these languages is [tsɿ3]. In Níngdū the sources correctly transcribe the relevant forms as 子, probably because the modern spoken pronunciations for the most part agree with the character readings.

Another etymon meaning “son” is in fact the etymon zǐ 子 itself. Note now the Wǔpíng form [tsɿ3 li2]. This compound has been formed by combining [tsɿ3], the regular Wǔpíng derivative of CNH *tsi3, with a native Hakka nominalizing suffix beginning in the lateral initial l-. Our hypothesis is that the full form for the suffix in question should be reconstructed as CNH *lei. Tonal realizations in the dialects are Tones 1, 3, 5, and Neutral. These variations may be conditioned by intonational factors when the suffix is joined with other syllables in compounds.

The diachronic syllable final development of the morpheme *lei, though somewhat intricate, but can be disentangled and summarized as follows, beginning with the syllable finals:

⁴² See again the Appendix for this.

1. *lei retains more or less its full initial and final inventory in several dialects, e.g.,

MX [k'iun1 nei1] < *CNH *k'iun lei [菌□] “mushroom”

QN [lai5 lei] < CNH *lai6 lei “son”

ND1 [nət7 tɛi3 sən2] < *ñit7 lei šin2 [日□辰] “day”

2. The diphthongal final *ei of *lei undergoes metathesis in Héyuán, yielding modern [iɛ]:

HY [ɲit7 liɛ] < CNH *ñit7 lei [日□] “day”

3. The final of *lei is reduced to *-i in Wǔpíng, Shàngháng, Nánkāng (when initial *l- has been modified to modern [t]), and Shàngyóu, e.g.,

WP [niʔ7 ti3] < CNH *ñit7 lei “day”

SH [hɲ3/ɲ3 ni1] < CNH *ɲ3 lei [女□] “daughter”

NK [nie6 ti2 t'ɜ2] < CNH *ñit7 lei t'eu2 [日□頭] “day”

SY [nie5 ti3 eiŋ2]; < *ñit7 lei šin2 [日□辰] “day”

4. In Chángtīng and Nánkāng (if initial *l- is retained unchanged) the final of *lei loses its second element, *-i, and retains only the nuclear mid-unrounded vowel, which is then realized as modern [e] or [ə], e.g.,

CT [ue1 le5] < CNH *oi1 lei “mother”

NK [p'u2 lə] < CNH *p'u lei “gourd”

5. In the variety of Hǎilù reported by Yáng (1957), *lei is reduced to a syllabic lateral, e.g., HL [lai6 ɭ2] < CNH *lai6 lei “son”. This suffix is not used in the variety of Hǎilù spoken by our own Hǎilù informant. For example, he says only [lai6 ə2] for “son”.

Nominalizing *lei also undergoes certain “sandhi-like” initial changes in several of the dialects. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Nasalization in the presence of a preceding nasal

MX [k'iun1 nei1] < * CNH *k'iun lei “mushroom”

SH [hɿ3/ɿ3 ni1]; WP [ɿ3 ni1] < CNH *ɿ3 lei “daughter”

2. Assimilation to preceding final dental stop

WP [niʔ7 ti3] < CNH *ɳit7 lei “day”

NK [nie6 ti2 t'ɿ2] < CNH *ɳit7 lei t'eu2 [日口頭] “day”

SY [nie5 ti3 eiŋ2] < *ɳit7 lei šin2 [日口辰] “day”

ND1 [nət7 tɛi3 sən2] < *ɳit7 lei šin2 [日口辰] “day”

In these cases, the *-t l- > -t t- assimilation must have occurred before the relevant dialects lost or modified final *-t. In Níngdū-1 final *-t was of course never lost and is still in place.

It is now worthwhile to consider the possible origin of the Hakka nominalizer *lei. Our hypothesis is that it may in fact be a permutation of the native form *lai5 “son”, which has undergone a change in its nuclear vowel and in many cases lost or modified its original tone (i.e., *lai5 > *lei), due to its intonational peculiarities as a derivational suffix. Here we may recall the words zǐ 子 “son, child” and ér 兒 “son”, which have had similar histories in the early written vernacular as well as in many modern Chinese dialects (Norman 1988a: 114).

Finally, in closing in this section we note that there appear a number of different Common Neo-Hakka words meaning “son”, all of which are supported by material from at least two or more dialect points. However, it has not been possible on the basis of the modern data to settle upon a single Hakka “Ur-form” having this meaning. This fact suggests that the plethora of forms we see today are the result of competing forms and processes in different parts of the Hakka-speaking area and that, if there ever was a single word in the proto-language, we will

probably not be able to recover it by direct comparison of the modern data. If any of its reflexes survive today, they may be concealed in such a way as to make them irretrievable.

5.2.2 “daughter”

BMH [mòì tsù] 妹子; MX [mòi5 ɛ3] 妹□; HL [moi5 ɭ2; ɳ3] 妹□; 女; SX [moi5 ə2; ɳ3]; LF [moi5 tse; moi5 tse3]; LZ [ˈmboi5 tʃu3]; SHT [mòi5 tsu1]
HY [a1 ɳy3] 啊女; XY [ɳy3]; DB [ɳi3]; YL [—]; XC [kuei1 ni3; tɐ'ian1 t'əu2 moi5 tsɿ3] 閨女; 青頭妹子
CT [mue5 tsɿ3]; WP [ɳ3 ni1] 女呢; YD [hɳ3; moi3 tsi3]; SH [ɳ3 ni5]; LC2 [mòi5 tsɿ3]
NK [nie3]; AY [nie3]; SY [niẽ3] 姪; QN [mòi5 lei2]; ND1 [niɛ3]; ND2 [nie3]; ND3 [nie3]

The historically oldest Hakka word having the sense of “daughter” is *nǚ* 女, which is the basic lexeme in Classical and Literary Chinese. However, three different phonological forms of this etymon are found in the Hakka dialects. One of these, which is perhaps the “native” form as well as the earliest one is reconstructable as Common Neo-Hakka *ɳ3. Another is derived from the literary reading *ɳiu3. The final form is reconstructable as CNH *nie3 and occurs exclusively in the Jiāngxī dialects. It is clearly connected in some way to the southern Gàn dialect word for “daughter” (cf. Common Gàn *nie3), which is used in Gàn-speaking areas contiguous to the Jiāngxī Hakka ones (cf. Coblin 2015: 248). The basic etymon *ɳ3 is expanded as *ɳ3 lei in two of the Fújiàn dialects, i.e., Wǔpíng and Shàngháng. The Héyuán form is recognizably formed by adding the prefix *a1, which is common as a noun formative for kinship and other intimate terms and names in southern dialects.

An entirely different set of compounds meaning “daughter” takes as its root the etymon *muoi5 “younger sister”. This syllable is most frequently combined with the suffix *zǐ* 子 to form binomes, from which, following the developmental intricacies discussed in the preceding section, the various modern compounds are derived from either CNH *muoi5 *tse3 or *muoi5 *tsi3. On the other hand, the first Hǎilù compound and the Quánnán form reflect instead an earlier CNH *muoi5 lei, where the nominal suffix is the native Hakka morpheme *lei.

5.2.3 “child, youngster”

BMH [sè nyîn; sè tsú nyîn; sè tsú; a tsiâu, a tsiâu tsâi, a tsiâu tsú] 細人; 細子人; 細子; 阿口;
 阿口仔; 阿口子; MX [se5 ɲin2 ɛ] 細人口; HL [se5 ɲin2]; SX [se5 ɲin2]; LF [se5 ɲin; se5
 ɲin tse] 細人; 細人子; LZ [a1 tɕiau2 tɕu3] 阿焦子; SHT [tsiau2 tsai3] 口仔
 HY [kui3 tsie3] 鬼子; XY [noŋ5 tsei2] 口仔; DB [lei5 nuŋ5 tsət]; YL [sei5 ɲin2]; XC [—]
 CT [se5 neŋ2 lə]; WP [si5 ɲin2 tsɿ3]; YD [sei3 ɲin2 tsi3]; SH [sei5 ɲin2 tsɿ3; sei5 kuei3 tsɿ3
 ɲin2]† 細人子; 細鬼子人; LC2 [si5 ɲien2 tsɿ3]
 NK [ei5 ɲa2 lə] 細伢兒; AY [thæ6 se5 tse3] 太細崽; SY [eiŋ2 ɲa2 tsɿ3]; QN [sei5 ɲa1 lei] 細
 伢兒; ND1 [eiɛ5 tɕi5 tsə3] 細口子; ND2 [eiɛi5 nən2 tsə]; ND3 [sie5 nən2 tsə]
 †A surprising number of further forms having the sense “child” are listed by the source. Only
 those that are of comparative interest are included here.

Words for “child” are of several types. One of these is based on the root *tsiau2, from which are derived the compounds *a1 tsiau2, a1 tsiau2 tse3/tsi3, *a1 tsiau2 tsai2 ~ 3, etc.

Another set of forms takes as its base the compound *siai5 ~ *si5 ɲin2 “little person”, where *siai5 and *si5 are popular and literary pronunciations respectively of xī 細, the general Hakka word for “small”. This compound is then expanded by addition of nominal suffixes to form *siai5 ~ *si5 ɲin2 tse3/tsi3 and *siai5 ~ *si5 ɲin2 lei.

In the Jiāngxī line we encounter the root *ɲa2 “boy”, which is widespread in central Chinese dialects (cf. Common Gàn *ɲa2 “boy, young unmarried male”; Common Central Xiāng *ɲɔ2 “id”). This syllable forms the lexical nucleus of the Hakka compound *siai5 ~ *si5 *ɲa2 lei. The Shàngyóu form is probably derived from *si5 *ɲa2 tsi3, with sandhi deformation of the final and tone of *si5, through the influence of the following syllable *ɲa2.

Particularly interesting are the Xīnyí and Diànbái forms, which are based on a root syllable reconstructable as *nuŋ5. In Gāozhōu 高州, another western Guǎngdōng dialect surveyed in Lǐ (1999), we find for “child” the form [nuŋ5 tsai]⁴³, which parallels our Xīnyí form and

⁴³ Second syllable with a modified high even tone, probably serving as surrogate for an unstressed or neutral tone.

supports the reconstruction of a CNH *nuŋ5 tsai2. The first part of the Diànbái form is recognizably derived from *siai5 nuŋ5, with the third syllable being of uncertain meaning and origin.⁴⁴ The syllable *nuŋ5 is also etymologically obscure, but something further can be said about it. The combination *siai5 nuŋ5 is reminiscent of the compound *siai5 ńin2 “little person” mentioned above. Pān and Chén (1995) have cited extensive textual evidence that an old word nóng 儂, meaning “person, human being”, was current in Guǎngdōng in pre-modern times. Could this etymon be preserved as a fossilized form in our western Guǎngdōng word for “child”? The tone of this nóng 儂 does not agree with that of our *nuŋ5, and the matter must therefore remain uncertain.

5.2.4 “boy”

BMH [sè a ko] 細亞哥; MX [sɛ5 lai5 ɛ; sɛ5 a1 kɔ1 ɛ3] 細孺□;細阿哥□; HL [se5 lai6 ə2]; SX [se5 lai5 ə2];⁴⁵ LF [lai5 tse; lai5 tse3] 孺子; LZ [ʃɛ5 lau3 kɔ1; lau3 thai1 tʃai3] 細老哥; 老弟仔; SHT [—]
HY [nam2 tsiɛ3] 男子; XY [ŋa5 tsei2] □仔; DB [lei5 lo3 ko1] 細佬哥; YL [lai5 tsɿ3]; XC [sei5 vaə2; nan2 vaə2] 細娃兒; 男娃兒
CT [—]; WP [tha3 li5 tsɿ3] 大細子; YD [t'ai5 sei3 tsi3; sei3 fou3 tsi3] 大細子; 細夥子; SH [tha3 sei5 tsɿ3; tha3 sei5 tsɿ3 ɳiŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ei5 ŋa2 lə]; AY [lõ3 kue3 tse] 卵鬼子; SY [eiŋ2 ŋa2 tsɿ3]; QN [lai5 tsei3 lei1]; ND1 [lai6 lai6 tse6]; ND2 [lai5 lai5 tsə3; lai5 tsə nən2]†; ND3 [sie5 lai5 tsə]

†The first form refers specifically to small boys.

There are many terms for “boy” in the dialects. The following can be reconstructed comparatively: *siai5 a1 ko1 (tsi3), *siai5 lou3 ko1, *siai5 lai5 tse3/tsi3, and *t'ai5 siai5 tse3/tsi3.

⁴⁴ Our suspicion is that it may actually be a fusion of *tsai3 tsi, but this is of course entirely conjectural in the absence of comparative support.

⁴⁵ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch'ien.

The Nánkāng form is derivable from *si5 ɲa2 lei, while the Shàngyóu word may represent a structurally parallel *si5 ɲa2 tsi3.

It is of course possible to analyze further forms in this set by applying what we have so far learned regarding noun formatives, even though we do not have parallel evidence supporting true comparative reconstruction, e.g.,

QN [lai5 tsei3 lei1] < *lai5 tsai3 lei)

ND2 [lai5 lai5 tsə3 < *lai5 lai5 tsi3 (showing reduplication of lai5 “son” with diminutive/affectionate connotation to yield the sense “small boy”); [lai5 tsə nəŋ2] < *lai5 tsi3 ɲin2

ND3 [sie5 lai5 tsə] < *siai5 lai5 tsi3

5.2.5 “girl”

BMH [mòì tsù; mòì tsái; sè mòì] 妹子; 妹仔; 細妹; MX [se5 moi5 ɛ] 細妹□; HL [se5 a1 moi5] 細阿妹†; SX [se5 a1 moi5]†; LF [moi5 tse; moi5 tse3]; LZ [ˈbɔi5 tʃai3]; SHT [—]

HY [ɲy3 tsiɛ3] 女子; XY [muai5 tsei2]; DB [moi5 tsət8 p'o2] 妹□婆; YL [moi5 tsɿ3]; XC [ni3 vaə2; moi5 tsɿ3] 女娃兒; 妹子

CT [se5 mue5 tsɿ3] 細妹子; WP [—]; YD [sei3 moi3 tsi3]; SH [mue5 tsɿ3; mue5 tsɿ3 ɲiŋ2] 妹子人; LC2 [moi5 tsɿ3 ɲieŋ2]

NK [mæ5 tse3 lə] 妹崽兒; AY [moe5 tse3] 妹子; SY [me2 tse3 tsɿ3] 妹崽子; QN [moi5 tsei3 lei]; ND1 [niɛ3 tsə3] 女子; ND2 [nie3 nie3 tsə3] 女女子; ND3 [sie5 nie3 tsə]

†Both terms said to refer specifically to teenage girls.

The most common word for “girl” is derivable from CNH *muoi5 tse3/tsi3, a word that is, as we have seen, also used for “daughter” in some dialects. This compound is often expanded to *siai5 muoi5 tsi3. Also found in some Fújiàn dialects is another expansion, *muoi5 tsi3 *ɲin2. The Taiwan dialects use *siai5 a1 muoi5.

Quánnán [mɔi5 tsei3 lei] is ultimately derivable from *muoi5 tsai3 lei. However, the Nánkāng form must derive from *muoi5 tse3 lei, where *tse3 is an early layer realization of the etymon zǐ 子, as is also found in Ānyuǎn. The Shàngyóu form is most interesting. It has been constructed by adding the literary or reading form *tsi3 to the already constituted compound *muoi5 tse3. Thus, the full compound comprises two different realizations of the etymon zǐ 子.

The Níngdū dialects use derivatives of the basic compound *nie3 tsi3, which may then be expanded in the usual ways. Note the reduplicative diminutive form in Níngdū-2, which parallels this dialect's form for "little boy" discussed above. (Cf. English "my little girl" [= "my daughter"].)

5.2.6 "mother"

BMH [oi; mi ~ me; a mi ~ me; mō] 娘; 姆; 阿姆; 嫲; MX [ɔi1 ɛ; a1 mɛ1; a1 ma2] 娘□; 阿姆; 阿嫲; HL [oi1; a1 mɛ1]; SX [oi1; a1 mɛ1]; LF [oi1 tse; a3 mɛ1]; LZ [a1 mbi1]; SHT [ma1; mi1]
HY [a1 ma3]; XY [lɔ31 mu1; lɔ3 uai1; a1 ma1] 老母; 老娘; 阿媽; DB [a1 sam3; a1 nɛŋ5; a1 lɔ3; a ma1] 阿孺; 阿奶; 阿嫂; 阿媽; YL [oi2 ia2; oi2 tsɿ3] 娘爺; 娘子; XC [a1 mɛ1]
CT [ue1 le5; m1 mɛ1; m1 ma8] 娵哩; 姆媿; 媽媽; WP [ue1 li3; ua1 li3; i5 iaʔ7; i5 iaʔ7]; [mi1 mi1]; YD [oi1 tsi3; a1 mɛ1; a1 ma2]; SH [ue1 li5; meŋ1 mɛ1; nɛ̃1 nɛ̃1; i1 ia5 nɛ̃1]; LC2 [oi1; moi1]
NK [mo1]; AY [oe1]; SY [mo1]; QN [ɔi1 lau3] 娘老; ND1 [m1 ma2]; ND2 [m3 ma3]; ND3 [m2 mɛ1]

The most common word for "mother" over most of the Hakka-speaking area is *oi1. It is sometimes expanded as *oi1 tsi3 or *oi1 lei. The Xīnyí form, [lɔ3 uai1], probably derives from *lou3 oi1, though we cannot reconstruct this word comparatively. The Quánnán form [ɔi1 lau3] appears to descend from a reversal of this compound, i.e., *oi1 lou3. Again, comparative reconstruction is not possible here.

As outlined in §3.2.5 of Chapter III, our view is that the syllables *mi*¹, *me*¹, *mɛ*¹, *mei*¹ and *moi*¹ in these forms all derive from an archaic Hakka word **moi*¹, meaning “mother”. Now, a common compound in the Hakka-speaking area adds the intimate/affectionate kinship prefix *a*¹- to this root syllable, and for the resulting compound we can then envisage a Common Neo-Hakka origin in **a*¹ *moi*¹ “mother”. Furthermore, this compound may, in our view, have fused to yield the word **oi*¹ “mother” that is widely found in Hakka dialects but is absent from Shē and Paleo-Hakka. Some dialects have both the fused form **oi*¹ and the unfused one, **a*¹ *moi*¹. It is not unusual for a language to retain an original unfused expression alongside a fused one. Compare, for example, English “goodbye”, which is the fused form of “God be with you” and “don’t”, alongside “do not”, etc.

The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms reflect yet another form, reconstructable as **mo*¹. What may be same word was also known to the Basil Mission compilers, though they assign it Tone 2 rather than Tone 1. Whether and in what way this word may be related to others in the present set seems uncertain.

Body Parts and Related Entities

5.2.7 “face”

BMH [mièn] 面; MX [miɛn5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [—]; LZ [ˈben5 pat7] 面鉢; SHT [—]

HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [miɛn5]; YL [miɛn5]; XC [miɛn5]

CT [—]; WP [mieŋ5]; YD [miɛn3]; SH [miẽ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [miẽ5]; AY [mi5]; SY [miẽ5]; QN [miɛn5]; ND1 [miɛn5]; ND2 [mian5]; ND3 [mian5]

The Common Neo-Hakka form for “face” is *mian5. The Héyuán word derives from an earlier Tone 6 form which is probably of extraneous origin.

5.2.8 “eye”

BMH [ngán; ngán chu] 眼; 眼珠; MX [muk7 tsu1; ɲian3 tsu1] 目珠; 眼珠; HL [muk7 tʃu1; ɲan3]; SX [muk7 tʃu1; ɲan3]; LF [ɲan3; muk7; muk7 tʃu1]; LZ [ʔgan3]; SHT [ɲan3]

HY [ɲan5]; XY [ɲan3]; DB [ɲan3]; YL [ɲan3 tsu1]; XC [ɲan3 tɕu1]

CT [mu2 tʃu1]; WP [muʔ7 tu1]; YD [muʔ7 tsi1]; SH [məʔ7 tsu1]; LC2 [myɛ6 tʃyɛ1]

NK [ɲã3 tɛy1]†; AY [ɲan3 tsɿ1]; SY [ɲã3 tɛy1]; QN [ɲan3 tsu1]; ND1 [ɲan3 tɕiaŋ1] 眼睛; ND2 [ɲan3 tɕiaŋ1]; ND3 [ɲan3 tsiaŋ1]

†This second syllable is anomalous for this dialect. The expected form would be [tsu1]. Our suspicion is that the source (BJYJ) has miscopied it.

The monosyllable CNH *ɲan3 is well attested in the sense “eye”. Even more common is the expanded binome *ɲan3 tɕiu1. Also well represented is the parallel binome *muk7 *tɕiu1. The monosyllabic form *muk7 occurs only in Lùfēng in our data. Níngdū has a form directly comparable to MSC yǎnjīng 眼睛, which is not attested elsewhere. It is clearly extraneous.

5.2.9 “mouth”

BMH [chòì]; MX [tsòì5] 嘴(>喙); HL [tʃoi3]; SX [tʃoi3]; LF [tʃoi5]; LZ [tʃoi3]; SHT [tsòì3]
 HY [tsuai5]; XY [tsuai5]; DB [tsòì5]; YL [tsòì5 pau1] 嘴包; XC [tsòì5 pa1] 嘴巴
 CT [tʃue5]; WP [tsuæ5 mɪŋ2; tsi5 pɔ1] 嘴口; 嘴包; YD [tsei3 pa1]; SH [tsue5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsuæ5]; AY [tsue5]; SY [tɛy2 pɔ1]; QN [tsòì5]; ND1 [tsoɛ5]; ND2 [tsuei5]; ND3 [tsuai5]

Most points use a form derivable from CNH *tʃoi5 for the sense “mouth”. Hǎilù and Sixiàn unaccountably reflect an earlier form in Tone 3, i.e., CNH *tʃoi3. Most of our sources write this word with the character zuǐ 嘴 (QYS tsjwe:, CDC *tsui3), but bēnzikǎo adepts point out that this graphic assignment cannot be correct. They suggest instead the graph chuì 喙 (QYS tshjwäi-, CDC *chioi5), whose aspirated initial is in fact also not a perfect fit for the Hakka word. In any case, reconstruction of the Common Neo-Hakka form is unproblematic from a comparative standpoint, except for the question of Tone 5 ~ 3 variation. CNH *tʃoi5 also forms two variant compounds, *tʃoi5 pau1 and *tʃoi5 pa1 “mouth” in the Sichuān dialects. Many points have reading pronunciations for the character 嘴 which reflect CNH *tsui3 (for which see the Appendix, sub zuǐ 嘴), and Yǒngdīng use this form in its word for “mouth”. In fact, it creates a compound, regularly derivable from CNH *tsui3 pa1, which may have been borrowed in its entirety from some standard koine. The second Wǔpíng form and the Shàngyóu word are curious. They appear to descend from CNH *tsui5 pau1,⁴⁶ in which the first syllable is a blend, with its syllabic form taken from *tsui3 and its tone modified to that of CNH *tʃoi5.

5.2.10 “nose”

BMH [phì ~ phì kung ~ phì khung] 鼻; 鼻公; MX [p'i5 kuŋ1]; HL [p'i6 k'uŋ1]; SX [p'i5 k'uŋ1]; LF [p'i6 k'uŋ3]; LZ [phi5 kuŋ1; phi5 kɔ] 鼻公; 鼻哥; SHT [p'i5 kuŋ1]
 HY [p'i6 kuŋ1]; XY [p'i3 koŋ1]; DB [p'i3 kuŋ1 t'ei2] 鼻公頭; YL [p'i3 t'ai2] 鼻頭; XC [p'i5 kuŋ1]

⁴⁶ Recalling here that Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 regularly yields Shàngyóu Tone 2.

CT [p'i6 kəŋ1]; WP [phi3 kuŋ1]; YD [p'i5 kuŋ1]; SH [phi3 ku1] 鼻菇; LC2 [p'i6 tseu1] 鼻
𪗇

NK [p'i5 kəŋ1]; AY [p'i6 kəŋ1]; SY [p'i5 kəŋ1]; QN [p'i6 kuŋ1]; ND1 [p'i6 kuŋ1]; ND2 [p'i6
kuŋ1]; ND3 [p'i6]

Most words for “nose” in the Hakka dialects are directly derivable from CNH *p'i6 kuŋ1. A rare variant, *p'i6 k'uŋ1, is also reconstructable comparatively. The Diànbái form is a further expansion of the basic binome, formed by adding the nominal suffix *t'eu2. The monosyllable *p'i6 is also an attested form, supported by Basil Mission and Níngdū-3. The Yílǒng form is an expansion of this basic monosyllable, using the nominal suffix *t'eu2. The vowel of the second syllable in the Chángtīng form is unaccountably unrounded. We would expect CT [koŋ1] in a set of this type.

5.2.11 “neck”

BMH [kiáng; kiáng ken ~ kin; kiáng lúŋ; kiáng piàng] 頸; 頸筋; 頸龍; 頸柄; MX [kiaŋ3
kin1] 頸根; HL [kiaŋ3 kin1]; SX [kiaŋ3 kin1]; LF [kiaŋ3]; LZ [kiaŋ3; kiaŋ3 kut1] 頸; 頸
骨; SHT [kiaŋ3]

HY [kiaŋ3]; XY [kiaŋ3]; DB [kiaŋ3 kut7] 頸骨; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [tʃiaŋ3]; WP [tsiaŋ3 kəŋ1; kuɛ1 tsɿ3] 頸根; 脖子; YD [kiaŋ3 kun1] 頸筋; SH [teiaŋ3];
LC2 [kiaŋ3 kuɛ6]

NK [teiaŋ3 teiŋ1] 頸莖; AY [teiaŋ3 pã3] 頸板; SY [teiaŋ3 teiŋ1] 頸莖; QN [teiaŋ3 pan3] 頸
板; ND1 [tsaŋ3]; ND2 [tsaŋ3]; ND3 [tsaŋ3]

The basic monosyllable for this sense is CNH *kiaŋ3. Also very common is the corresponding binome *kiaŋ3 kin1 ~ ken1. Most interestingly, the Yǒngdìng form, whose second syllable, kun1, shows the type of *-in/ *-un doublet with kin1 which we have discussed in §3.5.4 of Chapter III above. A somewhat rare variant is reconstructable comparatively as *kiaŋ3 *kiŋ1. The first Wǔpíng binome is connected with this form but is not systematically derivable from it. The remaining forms are expansions of *kiaŋ3 for which we lack comparative evidence.

5.2.12 “elbow”

BMH [shiú tsang] 手脰; MX [su3 tsan1]; HL [fu3 tsan1]; SX [fu3 tsan1]; LF [—]; LZ [fiu3 tʃan1 kək7; fiu3 tʃan1 theu2] 手脰角; 手脰頭; SHT [—]
 HY [siu3 tsan1]; XY [siu3 tsan1]; DB [siu3 an2 ts'ək8] 手□□; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [se3 tsan1 kək7 the2] 手脰角頭; YD [siu3 tsan1]; SH [ɕiu3 tsan1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiu3 tsā1]; AY [eu3 tsā1]; SY [tsā1 tsā1]; QN [ɕiu3 tsan1]; ND1 [seu3 tsan1]; ND2 [sau3 tsan1]; ND3 [sau3 tsan1]

The basic form for this word is CNH *šieu3 tsan1. The Wǔpíng form is an expansion of this basic term, in which two further syllables have been added. It can be compared with the two Lìzhīzhuāng forms to arrive at a full reconstructed compound *šieu3 tsan1 kək7 t'eu2, which then enables us to elucidate all three modern words, the two Lìzhīzhuāng compounds being derivable from *šieu3 tsan1 kək7 and *šieu3 tsan1 t'eu2. We lack comparative evidence regarding the Diànbái form.

5.2.13 “heel”

BMH [kiok ken; kiok tsang] 腳跟; 腳脰; MX [—]; HL [kiok7 tsan1]; SX [kiok7 tsan1]; LF [kiok7 kin1]; LZ [kiok7 tʃan1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kypk7 tsan1]; XY [kiok7 tsan1]; DB [kiok7 tsan1 t'ei2] 腳脰頭; YL [—]; XC [teioʔ7 kən1; teioʔ7 həu5 kən1] 腳跟; 腳後跟
 CT [tʃio2 tsan1]; WP [tsioʔ7 tsan1; tsioʔ7 tsan1 kək7 the2] 腳脰; 腳脰角頭; YD [kiok7 tsan1]; SH [teioʔ7 tsan1]; LC2 [kiəu3 tsan1]
 NK [teio8 tsā1]; AY [teio6 tsā1]; SY [teio5 tsā1]; QN [teioʔ7 tsan1]; ND1 [tsok7 tsan1]; ND2 [tsok7]; ND3 [tsok7 tsan1]

The most common Hakka word for this body part is a binome, reconstructable as CNH *kiok7 tsan1. A much less common form is *kiok7 ken1, which appears to be an intrusion, probably from a northern source. The Lùfēng form is interesting, since its reading of the second syllable is not regularly derivable from CNH *ken1 but must instead come from *kin. Cf., for

comparison, 根 CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1 in the Appendix. The second Xīchāng form is identical with MSC jiǎohòugēn 腳後跟, and is almost certainly a loan from this or some similar Mandarin source.

5.2.14 “saliva, spittle”

BMH [héu shúi; héu lan] 口水; 口口; MX [héu3 lan1; héu3 lan1 sui3] 口瀾; 口瀾水; HL [héu3 lan; héu3 fui3] 口涎; 口水; SX [héu3 lan; héu3 fui3]; LF [—]; LZ [héu3 fui3]; SHT [—]
HY [huai3 sui3]; XY [héu3 sui3]; DB [hei3 sei3]; YL [k'ɛ3 suei3 tsɿ3]; XC [həu3 ɕuei3]
CT [héu3 lan1] 口瀾; WP [xɛ3 lan1]; YD [k'eu3 lan1; k'eu3 fi3]; SH [khə3 lā1; khə3 lā1 fi3];
LC2 [həu3 la1]
NK [hɜ3 lā1]; AY [ɛu3 lā1 se1]; SY [hio3 lā1]; QN [héu3 sei3]; ND1 [héu3 lan6 sui3]; ND2 [həu2 lan2; həu2 lan2 sui3] 喉瀾; 喉瀾水: ND3 [həu3 lan1 sui3]

The basic native Hakka form for this word is reconstructable as *héu3 lan1, in which the root etymon is *lan. Aberrant tones for this morpheme occur in Níngdū-1 and 2. The first Níngdū-2 syllable shows a tonal deformation, in which it has aberrant Tone 2 rather than expected Tone 3. It is possible that the syllable has been reinterpreted as the word hóu 喉 “throat”, as implied by the sinographic transcription adopted by the source. A common expansion of the basic word is *héu3 lan1 šiui3, which has probably been modeled on the intrusive borrowing of the more general Chinese word kǒushuǐ 口水. This compound is also found at various points, sometimes as a variant and sometimes as the sole word, and is reconstructable as CNH *héu3 *šiui3. Most points adopt the native Hakka word *héu3 “mouth” for the first syllable in these compounds. However, Yǒngdīng and Shàngháng use the literary reading form *k'eu3.

5.2.15 “(human) breast”

BMH [nèn ku] 乳□; MX [nen5 ku1] 奶姑; HL [nen5 ku1] 乳菇; SX [nen5 ku1]; LF [nen5];
 LZ [—]; SHT [lən5 ku1]
 HY [ŋian1] □; XY [nən5]; DB [nen5]; YL [lan5 lan5] □□; XC [nən5 nən5]
 CT [neŋ5 tsɿ3]; WP [neŋ5 ku1]; YD [lən3 ki1]; SH [lě5 tsɿ3]; LC2 [neŋ5 kyɛ3]
 NK [næ3 po1 lə] 奶波兒; AY [niŋ3 tse3] 奶崽; SY [po1] 波; QN [nen3] 奶; ND1 [nan1 tsə]
 奶子; ND2 [—]; ND3 [nam1 tsə] □□

The basic etymon for this sense is CNH *nen5. The Quánnán form is tonally irregular. The most common compound form is *nen5 ku1, where the element *ku1 is of obscure origin. The basic syllable is reduplicated in Xīchāng, and the Yílǒng form may have the same origin, though its initial l- is irregular. Compounding with forms of the nominal suffix *tsi3 is seen in the Chángtīng and Shàngháng forms. Shàngyóu and Nánkāng appear to share a form *po1 “breast”, which is unrelated to other forms in the set. The Níngdū-1 and 3 forms have initial syllables that are obscure but may be related to CNH *nen5 in some way. Words such as “breast” are not infrequently subject to deformation as nursery forms, and some process of this type may have been in play here.

Places

5.2.16 “house”

BMH [vuk; vuk tsú; vuk shà;] 屋; 屋子; 屋舍; MX [vuk7 ɛ3] 屋□; HL [vuk7]; SX [vuk7];
LF [vuk7; vuk7 ka7]; LZ [vuk7]; SHT [vuk7]
HY [ok7]; XY [ouʔ7]; DB [uk7]; YL [uʔ7]; XC [vuʔ7; vuʔ7 tsɿ3]
CT [vu2]; WP [uʔ7]; YD [vuʔ7]; SH [vəʔ7]; LC2 [vyɛ6]
NK [vu8]; AY [vu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [vuk7]; QN [vuʔ7]; ND1 [vuk7]; ND2 [vuk7]; ND3 [vuk7]

The basic Hakka word for this structure is CNH *vuk7. The binome *vuk7 tse3/tsi3, which is theoretically reconstructable on the basis of the Basil Mission and Méixiàn forms, is very likely an intrusion from a northern source.

5.2.17 “room (in a building)”

BMH [fông kien ~ kan; kien ~ kan fông] 房間; 間房; MX [fɔŋ2 kian1; kian1 ɛ3] 房間; 間□;
HL [kian1 fɔŋ2]; SX [kian1 fɔŋ2]; LF [kian1 fɔŋ2]; LZ [kan1 tu3] 間肚; SHT [fɔŋ2 kan1]
HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [fɔŋ2 kan1]; YL [fɔŋ2 kan1]; XC [fɔŋ2 kan1]
CT [tʃĩŋ1]; WP [tsiɛŋ1 tsɿ3]; YD [fɔŋ2 kian1]; SH [tɕiɛ̃1]; LC2 [ke1]
NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 [kan1 tɔ3]; ND3 [kan1]

The basic form having the sense “room” is CNH *kan1, but the literary variant *kian1 is also common. These forms are at many points expanded as *kian1/kan1 fɔŋ2 or *fɔŋ2 kian1/kan1. The Wǔpíng form takes the suffix *tsi3. The second Méixiàn form and the Níngdū-2 form are in fact also derived from *kian1 tse3 and *kan1 tsi3 respectively.

5.2.18 “grave/tomb”

BMH [thì; mù] 地; 墓; MX [t'i5; mu5]; HL [fun2 mu5] 墳墓; SX [fun2 mu5]; LF [t'i6; t'i6
fun2]; LZ [fun2 theu2; fun2 m̥bu5; thi5 fun2] 墳頭; 墳墓; 地墳; SHT [—]

HY [t'i6]; XY [san1 t'i3] 山地; DB [fən2 lan1] 墳山; YL [fən2]; XC [fən2]
 CT [t'i6]; WP [t'i3]; YD [t'i5; t'i5 fun2] 地; 地墳; SH [thi3]; LC2 [t'i6]
 NK [t'i5]; AY [t'i6]; SY [t'i5]; QN [t'i6]; ND1 [mu5 nau3] 墓腦; ND2 [mu6; t'i6]; ND3 [mu6
 nau2] 墓□

The basic word for “grave” throughout the Hakka-speaking area is derivable from CNH *t'i6 ‘earth’, which may have originated as a mortuary taboo form. A reconstructable compound formed on this base is *t'i6 fun2. The monosyllable *mu5 ~ *mu6 is also attested. The Hǎilù and Sìxiàn forms, which correspond directly to MSC fénmù 墳墓, are perhaps calques on the Taiwan Mandarin word for “grave”.

5.2.19 “mountain”

BMH [san] 山; MX [—]; HL [san1]; SX [san1]; LF [san1]; LZ [lian1 koŋ1] 嶺崗; SHT [lian1
 koŋ1]
 HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [lian1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʂan1]
 CT [tiaŋ1]; WP [tiaŋ1]; YD [san1]; SH [tiaŋ1]; LC2 [tiaŋ1]
 NK [tiã1]; AY [tiã1]; SY [tiã1]; QN [lian1]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2 [lian1 ~ san1]; ND3 [lian1]

Two forms compete in this sense in the dialects, i.e., CNH *san1 and *lian1. The former is of course the general Chinese word for “mountain”, while the latter is a semantically reapplied form, originally meaning “range, ridgeline” in wider Chinese. One compound, CNH *lian1 koŋ1, is reconstructable comparatively.

Times

5.2.20 “night”

BMH [yà pu shîn; yà pu thêu] 夜晡辰; 夜晡頭; MX [ia5 pu1 t'eu2]; HL [ia5 kian1] 夜間; SX [ʒa6 kian1]; LF [ja6]; LZ [ʒa5 ʰban3 ʃin2; ʒa5 pu1 ʃin2] 夜晚辰; 夜晡辰; SHT [ja5] HY [am5 man2] 暗響; XY [ia3]; DB [am5 kən1 t'ei2] 暗今頭; YL [ia3 pu1 t'ai2]; XC [an5 pu1] 暗晡
CT [ɔŋ5 pu1; ɔŋ5 pu1 t'ə le5] 暗晡; 暗晡頭哩; WP [ia3 pu1] 夜晡; YD ia5 pi1]; SH [ã5 pu1 thə2; [ia3 pu1 thə2; ia3 ã5 pu1]; LC2 [ɔŋ5 pye2 t'eu2]
NK [ia5 pu1 t'ɜ2]; AY [ia6 pu1]; SY [ia5 mǎ5 eiŋ2] 夜暝辰; QN [ia6 pu1]; ND1 [ia6 pu1sən2]; ND2 [ia1 pu1]; ND3 [ia6 pu1sən2]

The basic monosyllable *ia6 “night” occurs at several points. However, this element is more often joined with another syllable, *pu1, whose original meaning in textual sources was “late afternoon, early evening”. This compound, CNH *ia6 pu1, is then sometimes expanded to form longer compounds. Two which are reconstructable comparatively are *ia6 pu1 t'eu2 and *ia6 pu1 ʃin2. The Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms are derived from *ia6 kian1, a probable Mandarin loan form or calque. Another family of compounds is formed on *am5 “dark”, e.g., *am5 pu1, *am5 pu1 t'eu2. The Héyuán and Shàngyóu forms are particularly interesting. In each, the second syllable is probably really a tonal deformation of the word “late”, CNH *man1/*man3 [晚]. Cf. §5.2.22 below.

5.2.21 “day, daytime”

BMH [nyit shîn thêu] 日辰頭; MX [ɲit7 sən2 t'eu2]; HL [ɲit7]; SX [ɲit7]; LF [ɲit7; ɲit7 ʃin2 t'eu2]; LZ [ɲgit7]; SHT [ɲit7]
HY [ɲit7 liɛ] 日□; XY [p'ak8 ɲit7] 白日; DB [nət7 t'ei2] 日頭; YL [ɲieʔ8 tsɿ3 t'ai2]; XC [p'aʔ8 niɛʔ7]
CT [ni2 le5] 日□; WP [niʔ7 ti3] 日裡; YD [ɲiʔ7 li3 si t'eu] 日裡時頭; SH [ɲiʔ7 ɲiʔ8 thə2]; LC2 [ni6 tʃɛu5] 日晝

NK [nie7 ti2 t'ə2]; AY [ni3 tsɿ3] 日子; SY [nie5 ti3 ɕiŋ2]; QN [niʔ7 tsɿ3]; ND1 [nət7 tɕi3 sən2] 日底辰; ND2 [nət7 tə3 sən]; ND3 [nət7 tsəu5 sən2] 日晝辰

The basic morpheme for “day”, CNH *ñit7, is used in all dialects save Yílǒng, which instead utilizes a reflex of *ñiat8 “hot” as its ordinary word for “day”, perhaps due to some sort of semantic substitution or transposition. Compounds and expansions are numerous. Some of those that can be reconstructed comparatively are as follows: *ñit7 t'eu2, *ñit7 šin2 t'eu2, and *ñit7 tsɿ3. The Níngdū-2 form expands the last of these by adding its reflex of *šin2 “unit of time”. The derivation of the second syllable [tə3] from *tsi3 is as described in §5.2.1.

In several of the Fújiàn dialects another compound, derived from CNH *ñit7 lei, is used. In Yǒngding this compound is further expanded by adding an atonal reflex of the word *ši2 t'eu2 “time”. Other points have expanded the binomial compound with monosyllabic suffixes, e.g., Shàngyóu and Níngdū-1: *ñit7 lei šin2. The Nánkāng form must come from *ñit7 lei t'eu2, though we lack a parallel for it elsewhere.

Finally, for Liánchéng-2 and Níngdū-3 we can reconstruct CNH *ñit7 tšieu5, which the latter point has expended as trinominal *ñit7 tšieu5 šin2.

5.2.22 “morning”

BMH [chau shîn thêu] 朝晨頭; MX [tsau1 sən2; tsau1 sən2 t'eu2] 朝晨; 朝晨頭; HL [tʃau1 ʃen2 t'eu2; tʃau1 ʃen2 tso3] 朝晨頭; 朝晨早; SX [tʃeu1 ʃen2 t'eu2; tʃeu1 ʃen2 tso3]; LF [ʃau2 tso3; min2 tʃau1 tso2; ʃau2 tso3 ɳit7; min2 tʃau1 ɳit7]; LZ [tʃau1 ʃin2 tʃau3] 朝晨早; SHT [tsau1 sin2 t'eu2] 早晨頭
HY [ta3 tsiau1 tsau3] 打朝早; XY [tsə3 sɔŋ3] 早上 ; DB [tso3 kən1 t'ei2] 早今頭; YL [tsəu3 sɔŋ3]; XC [ʂɔŋ5 tɕəu5] 上晝
CT [tsə3 ʃen2 t'ə2 le5] 早晨頭哩; WP [tsə1 siŋ2]; YD [tseu1 siŋ2 si2 t'eu2] 朝晨時頭; SH [tsə1 seŋ2]; LC2 [t'e1 kɔŋ1 t'vu2] 天光頭
NK [tsə1 ɕiŋ2 t'ə2]; AY [ts'iŋ1 tsə3] 清早; SY [tɕ'iŋ1 tsə3]; QN [tɕ'iŋ1 tsə3]; ND1 [tsau3 sən2] 早晨; ND2 [tsau3 sən2]; ND3 [tsau3 sən2]

Two etyma, i.e., CNH *tšiau1 and *tsou3, are used to form compounds meaning “morning”. From these are made the two most common reconstructable compounds in this sense, *tšiau1 šin2 and *tsou3 šin2. These in turn can be expanded as *tšiau1 šin2 t’eu2, *tšiau1 šin2 tsou3, and *tsou3 šin2 t’eu2.

Yǒngdīng further expands *tšiau1 šin2 by adding *ši2 t’eu2, here with full tones pronounced. Chángtīng adds the nominal suffix *lei to *tsou3 šin2 t’eu2.

5.2.23 “late”

BMH [àm; chhî] 暗; 遲; MX [ts’ɿ2]; HL [am5]; SX [am5];⁴⁷ LF [am5 tʃiu5] 暗晝; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts’i2; an5]; XY [ts’i2]; DB [ts’i2]; YL [ts’ɿ2]; XC [—]
CT [ɔŋ5] 暗; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ia3] 夜; LC2 [me6] □
NK [ia5] 夜; AY [ia5]; SY [jia5]; QN [jia6]; ND1 [jia5]; ND2 [ŋan5] 晏; ND3 [ts’i]

Three monosyllables are reconstructable for this sense, i.e., *am5, *tš’i2, and *ia5 ~ *ia6. In Héyuan, which has both *am5 and *tš’i2, the former means “relatively later in time”, while the second connotes “later than expected, later than ideal”. CNH *ia5 is generally written as yè 夜 “night” in the sources. However, it is noteworthy that in Ānyuǎn and Níngdū-1 the expected tone for this word would be Tone 6 rather than Tone 5. And in both these dialects the etymon yè 夜 “night” is indeed read in Tone 6. Cf. §5.2.20 above.

⁴⁷ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.

Plants

5.2.24 “rice plant”

BMH [vô] 禾; MX [vɔ2]; HL [vo2]; SX [vo2]; LF [vo2]; LZ [vɔ2]; SHT [vɔ2]
 HY [vuɔ2]; XY [vɔ2]; DB [vo2]; YL [kuʔ7 tsɿ3] 穀子; XC [kuʔ7 tsɿ3]
 CT [vo2]; WP [o2]; YD [vou2]; SH [vu2]; LC2 [vu2]
 NK [vo2]; AY [vo2]; SY [vo2]; QN [vo2]; ND1 [vo2]; ND2 [vo2]; ND3 [vo2]

The virtually universal word for this plant is reconstructable as CNH *vuo2. Exceptional are the Sìchuān dialects, where the native Hakka word has been replaced by the general North Chinese form gǔzi 穀子, which simply means “grain”.

5.2.25 “gourd”

BMH [fû lû] 葫蘆; MX [—]; HL [fu2 lu2]; SX [fu2 lu2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [fu2 lu2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu2 tsɿ3 kua1] 葫子瓜; XC [k'u2 lu2 ~ fu2 lu2]
 CT [—]†; WP [phu2 tsɿ3] 蒲子; YD [p'i2 tsi3] 蒲子; SH [phu2 tsɿ3] 葫子; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'u2 lə] 匏兒; AY [p'u2 tse3] 匏崽; SY [p'u2 tsɿ3] 匏子; QN [p'u2 tsɿ3]; ND1 [p'u2
 tsə3]; ND2 [p'u2 tsə3] 蒲子; ND3 [lit7]
 †Cf. CT [faŋ1 p'u2] 番匏 “pumpkin”.

Three compounds having this sense are reconstructable comparatively. One is CNH *fu2 lu2, which is etymologically identical with the general and standard Chinese word húlu 葫蘆. The first syllable of the first Xīchāng form perhaps reflects Hakka speakers' reaction to Mandarin initial h- before absolute final -u, an impossible combination in Hakka. The second compound is *p'u2 tsɿ3, formed on a root *p'u2, which is unrelated to the syllable *fu2 (< CDC *hu2) of CNH *fu2 lu2. It will be noted that our sources differ considerably in their sinographic representations of this *p'u2. In any case, this etymon is limited to the Fújiàn and Jiāngxī lines in our data, where, significantly, the competing form *fu2 lu2 does not occur. Note that the Nánkāng compound takes the native Hakka nominal suffix derived from *lei, rather than the syllable *tse3/*tsi3 found elsewhere.

5.2.26 “thorn”

BMH [lét ~ net] 笏; MX [—]; HL [ts’iuk7]; SX [ts’iuk7];⁴⁸ LF [let7]†; LZ [let7]; SHT [let7] HY [let7] 𦵏; XY [let7]; DB [let7]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]††; WP [lɛʔ7] ‡; YD [lɛʔ7] ‡; SH [lɛʔ7] ‡; LC2 [—]

NK [le1]; AY [lɜ6]; SY [le4]; QN [lɛʔ7]; ND1 [lit7]; ND2 [lik7] ‡†; ND3 [lit7]

†As part of the word for “swelling, bubo”. Cf. English “prickly heat”.

††DCBG: [lit7].

‡In names for “cucumber”, which is called “thorn melon, prickly melon” (CNH *lek7 kua1; 𦵏瓜) in these dialects.

‡†In this dialect used in the sense of “conifer needle” as well as “thorn”.

A single etymon for “thorn” occurs consistently across all of the dialects except those spoken in Taiwan. However, correspondence patterns point to two different early forms for it. To wit, the Níngdū words must derive from CNH *lik7, whereas the remaining forms in our data seem to point to an earlier *let7. Nevertheless, conservative dialects not included in our database have as coda final -k rather than -t, e.g., Xīhé 西河 [nek7], Lùchuān 陸川 [lek7] (both in Guāngxī, data cited after DCBG). The original form can thus be restored as CNH *lek7. The two Taiwan dialects reflect an entirely different form, reconstructable as *ts’iuk7. Yáng (1957) does list this syllable in his glossary but assigns it the sense “to pierce” and also includes it as part of the word for “toothpick”. He does not give the sense “thorn” for it. We have followed our own informants here.

⁴⁸ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.

Animals and Insects

5.2.27 “male of animals”

BMH [kú] 牯; MX [ku3] 牯; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [kuŋ1]
HY [ku3]; XY [ku3]; DB [kuŋ1] 公; YL [kuŋ1; ku3]†; XC [kuŋ1; ku3; ku3 tsɿ3; nan2; ŋa2]
公; 牯; 牯子; 男; 牙††

CT [ku3]; WP [ku3; ku3 tsɿ3]‡; YD [ki3]; SH [ku3]; LC2 [kyɛ3]

NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; QN [ku3; ku3 t'ɛu2] ‡†; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [ku3]

†Both anteposed rather than postposed. [ku3] is used exclusively for cattle.

††[ku3] anteposed or [ku3 tsɿ3] postposed for cattle. [kuŋ1] anteposed for horses. [ku3] postposed for sheep/goats. [ŋa2] anteposed or [ku3] postposed for dogs. [kuŋ1] postposed or [nan2] anteposed for cats. [ŋa2] or [kuŋ1] anteposed for swine.

‡ [ku3 tsɿ3] exclusively for castrated swine.

‡†Both forms for swine, only [ku3] for other animals.

All forms in this set are postposed unless otherwise indicated. The general etymon is suffixed CNH *ku3. Expansions of this form to binomes are of the usual type, suffixing *tsi3 or *t'ɛu2. The Song Him Tong and Diànbái forms are perhaps loans from Yuè dialects. They can be derived from a CNH *kuŋ1. The exceedingly complex and varied usages in the Sichuān dialects may be due to the influence of the various Mandarin varieties spoken there, both standard and local, with which these Hakka dialects are, and for some time have been, in intimate contact.

5.2.28 “female of animals”

BMH [mâ] 𪛗; MX [ma2] 𪛗; HL [ma2]; SX [ma2]; LF [ma2]; LZ [ma2]; SHT [ma2]
HY [ma2]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [sa1; mu3; ts'əu3; ɲy3; ma2] 沙; 母; 𪛗; 𪛗†; XC [mu3; ma2]††

CT [ma2]; WP [ma2]; YD [ma2]; SH [ma2]; LC2 [mo2]

NK [p'o2]; AY [ma2]; SY [p'o2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [p'o2]; ND2 [p'o2]; ND3 [p'o2] 婆

† [sa1] for cattle. [mu3] for sheep. [ts'əu3] for dogs, [ɲy3] for cats. [ma2] for swine. The first four are anteposed, the fifth postposed.

†† [mu3] anteposed for horses, dogs, and swine. [ɲy3] anteposed for cats. [ma2] postposed for cattle and sheep/goats.

The general morpheme having this sense is CNH *ma2. (Permutations of what is apparently the same etymon are also used in the sense “(human) mother”; cf. §5.2.6 above). However, in the Jiāngxī line another form, CNH *p'o2 predominates. The Sichuān dialects again show a large number of forms for individual animals, indicating mixture of some sort.

5.2.29 “male of birds”

BMH [kung; sang] 公; 生;† MX [kuŋ1; saŋ1]††; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]

CT [kəŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kuŋ1 thə2] 公頭; LC2 [kəŋ1]

NK [kəŋ1 t'ə2]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1 t'io2]; QN [kuŋ1 t'əu2]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]†; ND3 [kuŋ1]

† [sang] anteposed specifically for roosters.

†† For roosters, [saŋ1 kɛ1] 生雞 and [saŋ1 kɛ1 kuŋ1] 生雞公.

‡ Longer form: [t'iei2 tsai1 kuŋ1] 啼雞公.

The basic etymon for this sense is postposed CNH *kuŋ1. A much rarer form which is nonetheless reconstructable is anteposed *saŋ1. A common binome, found at various points, is *kuŋ1 t'eu2.

5.2.30 “female of birds”

BMH [mâ; lòn]†; MX [ma2; lòn5 ɛ3] 嫲; 嫲□†; HL [ma2; lon5 |2]†; SX [ma2; lon5 ə2]†; LF [—]; LZ [mba2; phɔ2] 嫲; 婆; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [ma2]; XC [ma2]

CT [ma2; luŋ5 tsɿ3] 嫫; 鸞子†; WP [ma2; luɛŋ5 tsɿ3]; YD [ma2; lɔn3]†; SH [ma2; luẽ5 tsɿ3];

LC2 [mo2; lue5] 嫫; 鸞†

NK [p'o2]; AY [ma2]; SY [p'o2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [p'o2]; ND2 [p'o2; luon5 tsə]; ND3 [p'o2]

† Second forms said specifically to denote young hens that are not yet laying.

The basic etymon indicating this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ma2. Somewhat less common is *p'o2. The suffix for a not yet laying hen or pullet is *luon5. This is in turn further expanded as *luon5 tse3/tsɿ3 at various points. The second Méixiàn and Sìxiàn forms are derived from CNH *lon5 tse3, while the second form in Hǎilù is recognizable as descending from *lon5 lei.

5.2.31 “earthworm”

BMH [hién kung] 蟪公; MX [hian3 kuŋ1]; HL [hian6 kuŋ1; fuŋ2 kuŋ1] 蟪公; 紅公; SX [hian5 kuŋ1; fuŋ2 kuŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒɛn2] 緣; SHT [vɔŋ2 hɛn3] 黃蟪

HY [hyan3]; XY [foŋ2 san3] 紅蟪; DB [fuŋ2 hien3] 紅蟪; YL [tɕ'y2 ɕyer5] 蚰蟪兒; XC [ɕiɛn2 kuŋ1]

CT [voŋ2 tɕ'iy3] 黃犬; WP [vɔŋ2 tshien3]; YD [ts'uŋ2 p'ien3; t'i5 liuŋ2] 蟲片; 地龍; SH [fəŋ2 piẽ3] 紅扁; LC2 [vɔŋ2 khue3]

NK [ɕyẽ3 kəŋ1] 蟪公; AY [ɕuɔ3] 蟪; SY [ɕyẽ3 kəŋ1]; QN [ɕiuɔn3 kuŋ1 t'eu2] 蟪公頭; ND1 [ho2 p'ien1] 河鞭; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ho2 pian3] 河扁

The basic etymon denoting this creature is reconstructable as CNH *hion3. It also has a tonal variant in *hion6. The Tone 2 reading of the first syllable in the Xīchāng word is actually a sandhi permutation of basic Tone 5 in this dialect, which in turn can be assumed to be a reflex of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 6 here. The most common binome formed on this basic morpheme is *hion3 ~ hion6 kuŋ1. Another which is reconstructable comparatively is *fuŋ2 hion6. Popular etymology explains the first syllable as hóng 紅 (CNH *huŋ2) “red”. However, this does not account for the Diànbái form, for in this dialect “red” is [huŋ2]. It is thus better to

reconstruct the proto-form of the syllable as *fuŋ2, whatever its ultimate etymology may be.⁴⁹ The second syllable of the Xīnyí form is anomalous. If it is related to the etymon *hion3, it has undergone irregular changes of some sort.

The second etymon for “earthworm” in the dialects is CNH *pian3. The second syllables of the first Yǒngding form and the Níngdū-1 form appear to be related to this word but cannot be regularly derived from it.

The third reconstructable word in this set, which is found dialects of the Fújiàn line, is a binome, i.e., CNH *voŋ2 *k’ion3. The sources write it as huángquǎn 黃犬 “yellow dog”, which may be a folk etymology. This syllable *k’ion3 may be some sort of permutation of the form *hion3 found elsewhere.

5.2.32 “bedbug”

BMH [chhiù chhûng] 臭蟲; MX [kən1 pi1] 干蟬; HL [tʃ’u5 p’i5 tʃ’uŋ2] 臭屁蟲; SX [tʃ’u5 p’i5 tʃ’uŋ2]; LF [—]; LZ [kən1 pi1] 干蜚; SHT [ts’iu5 ts’uŋ2; ts’iu5 p’i5 ts’uŋ2] 臭蟲; 臭鼻蟲

HY [kəm1 pi1] 干蜚; XY [ku1 pi1] 枯□; DB [kən1 pi1] 干□; YL [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]; XC [tʃ’əu5 tʃ’uŋ2]

CT [kuŋ1 pi1] 干蟬; WP [kuɛŋ1 pi1] 干蟬; YD [kuan1 pi1] 官蟬; SH [kuā1 p’i1] 官蟬; LC2 [tʃ’u5 tʃ’əŋ2; kəŋ1 pi1]

NK [tə’iu5 ts’əŋ2]; AY [kǝ1 pi1]; SY [tə’iu2 ts’əŋ2]; QN [kən1 pi1]; ND1 [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts’əu5 ts’uŋ2]

Several compounds having this sense are readily reconstructable. One, CNH *tʃ’ieu5 *tʃ’iuŋ2, is simply the general Chinese word chòuchóng 臭蟲 “bedbug”. A closely related

⁴⁹ Xīnyí is unfortunately of no help to us here, for in this dialect “red” has alternate pronunciations, i.e., [hoŋ2] and [foŋ2].

compound is *tš'ieu5 p'i5 *tš'iuŋ2, where the meaning of the second syllable is less than certain. Popular etymology associates it with *p'i5 “fart”, hence, “stinking fart bug”.

The third form can be restored as CNH *kon1 pi1, and the various different graphic forms for it in the sources show that its graphic etymology in Chinese is problematic. Additionally, there are several other forms which appear to be deformations or permutations of this compound. The syllable *pi1, which also occurs in Shē 𪛗 and in some Gàn dialects, has been compared by Pān (2005: 22–23) with a Hmong-Mien/Miáo-Yáo root of the same meaning.⁵⁰ An aspirated form of this etymon is found in the Shàngháng compound, and it is also possible that the enigmatic middle syllable in *tš'ieu5 p'i5 *tš'iuŋ2 is some type of deformation of it.

5.2.33 “louse”

BMH [set ~ sit mâ]; MX [set7 ma2] 蝨嫫; HL [set7 l2; set7 ma2]; SX [set7 ə2; set7 ma2]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃit7 mba2]; SHT [sit7; sit7 ma2]
 HY [siat7 ma2]; XY [sət7 ma24]; DB [lɛt7 ma2]; YL [sɛʔ7 ma2]; XC [ciɛʔ7 ma2]
 CT [se2 ma2]; WP [sɛʔ7 ma2]; YD [sɛʔ7 ma2]; SH [sɛʔ7 ma2]; LC2 [suɐ6 mo1]
 NK [sə7 p'o2] 蝨婆; AY [si33 ma2]; SY [se5 p'o2]; QN [seʔ7 ma2]; ND1 [sət7 p'o2]; ND2 [sət7 p'o2]; ND3 [səp7 p'o2]

The basic morpheme for this sense is reconstructable as CNH *set7. A variant form, *sit7, is also attested. The most common binomial word is *set7 ~ *sit7 ma2. Another form, *set7 p'o2, is found in some of the Jiāngxī dialects and is reminiscent of an analogous form which is frequently found in Gàn dialects (cf. Coblin 2015: 267). The Níngdū-3 form is interesting in that the coda of the first syllable [səp7] (< *set7) has assimilated to the initial of following *p'o2. This has not happened in the other two Níngdū subvarieties. As we have seen above, the suffixes of the first Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms can be identified as CNH *lei and *tse3 respectively.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ratliff (2010: 248), who reconstructs Proto-Hmong-Mien *pji “bedbug” for this root.

5.2.34 “cockroach”

BMH [tshát; vông tshát] 蠹; 𧈧; MX [—]; HL [k'i2 ts'at8; voŋ2 ts'at8] 蜚𧈧†; 黃𧈧; SX [k'i2 ts'at8; voŋ2 ts'at8]; LF [k'i2 ts'at8]; LZ [voŋ2 tʃhat8]; SHT [—]
HY [k'i2 ts'at8] 蜚蜚; XY [voŋ2 ts'at8]; DB [voŋ2 ts'at8]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [voŋ2 ts'ε3]; WP [—]; YD [voŋ2 ts'at8]; SH [voŋ2 ts'at8]; LC2 [voŋ2 ts'a5]
NK [vɔ̃2 ts'a8]; AY [voŋ2 ts'ɜ1]; SY [vɔ̃2 ts'a5]; QN [voŋ2 ts'aʔ8]; ND1 [voŋ2 ts'ak7]; ND2 [voŋ2 ts'at8]; ND3 [voŋ2 ts'at8]

†Written in the source with a graph composed of 蟲+察.

The most common word for this insect is CNH *voŋ2 ts'at8. A somewhat less common one is *k'i2 ts'at8. The basic etymon in these cases appears to be CNH *ts'at8. The Chángtīng reflex of this form has an aberrant final. In Níngdū-1 both the coda and the tone of the second syllable are incommensurate with the reconstructed form.

5.2.35 “wing”

BMH [yít kak] 翼翻; MX [it8 kak7] 翼甲; HL [ʒit8 kap7] 翼甲; SX [it8 kap7]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒit8 phak7] 翼拍; SHT [jit8]
HY [it8 p'aŋ3] 翼膀; XY [it8]; DB [zət8]; YL [tsɿ5 pəŋ3] 翹膀; XC [iʔ8 p'aʔ7] 翼𧈧
CT [i6 p'a2] 翼爬; WP [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; YD [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; SH [iʔ8 kaʔ7]; LC2 [i5 huɐ1] 翼汗
NK [ie7 p'ɔ̃3]; AY [iɔ1 kuɜ1] 𧈧骨; SY [jie5 pɔ̃3]; QN [ieʔ8 p'ɔ̃3]; ND1 [iet8 p'ak8] 翼白;
ND2 [ik8 p'ak7] 翼拍; ND3 [iat8 p'ak7] 翼拍

The most common etymon having this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ik8, with the coda confirmed by the Níngdū-2 form. Several dialects use this syllable alone in the sense “wing”. Variant binomes, *it8 kak7 ~ *it8 kap7 are also readily reconstructable. In the Jiāngxī line we find forms in Quánnán and Níngdū-1 and 3 which appear to derive from an earlier CNH *iat8. How this may be related to more general *ik8 seems indeterminate, the sinographic representations of the sources notwithstanding. A suffix reconstructable as *pəŋ3 ~ *p'əŋ3 is also used with both *ik8 and *iat8 at various points to form binomial compounds. Another such

suffix, which occurs in all three varieties of Níngdū and, interestingly, in Xīchāng, can be reconstructed as CNH *p'ak⁷, with the lower register tone in the Níngdū-1 compound being anomalous.

Foods

5.2.36 “rice (cooked)”

BMH [fàn] 飯; MX [fan5]; HL [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fon6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5]

HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5]

CT [p'uɛŋ6 ~ p'uŋ6]; WP [phuɛŋ3]; YD [p'ɔn5]; SH [phuɛ3]; LC2 [p'a6]

NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p'an6]; ND3 [p'an6]

The most frequently encountered form for this common etymon is CNH *fan6. However, in the Fujian dialects an archaic form, *p'on6 is found. And in Ningdū in Jiāngxī there occurs a third permutation, which is perhaps derivable from earlier *p'an6. The matter is uncertain.

5.2.37 “egg”

BMH [lón; chhun] 卵; 春; MX [lon3]; HL [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [tʃ'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]

HY [ts'un1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [t'an3; ts'an1] 蛋; 春; YL [ts'un1]; XC [t'an5]

CT [t'aŋ6]; WP [t'aŋ3]; YD [lon3; ts'un1; t'an5]; SH [t'ã3]; LC2 [luɐ3]

NK [t'ã5]; AY [t'ã6]; SY [t'ã5]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ka3 ka2] □□; ND2 [ka1 ka1]; ND3 [ka1 ka1]

Three forms for “egg” are reconstructable. One of these is CNH *tʃ'iun1, whose medial *-i- we can reconstruct on the basis of the correspondence profile of the modern forms, even though no medial survives in them. (See §3.3.4 of Chapter III.) The second and third forms are *luon3 and *t'an3, both of which are attested in the written language, the third corresponding to the MSC form dàn 蛋.

5.2.38 “mushroom”

BMH [ku; ngâ ku; shú ku] 菇; 芽菇; 薯菇†; MX [k'iun1 nei1] 菌兒††; HL [hion1 ku1] 香菇; SX [hion1 ku1]; LF [—]; LZ [tuŋ1 ku1; fa1 ku1] 冬菇; 花菇; SHT [tuŋ1 ku1; ts'au3 ku1] 冬菇; 草菇

HY [muɔ2 ku1] 蘑菇; XY [mouʔ7 ku] 木菇; DB [mo2 ku1] 蘑菇; YL [ku1 tsɿ3] 菇子 XC [tein5 tsɿ3] 菌子

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ki1; mou2 ki1; sɔŋ1 ki1] 菇; 蘑菇; 香菇; SH [ku1; tɕhiŋ1] 菇; 菌; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1] 菇

†Several more such compounds are given in the source.

†† After DCBG.

The basic morpheme for this sense is CNH *ku1. Several dialects use it alone as a monosyllable. In others it is found only in compounds. Two of these which are readily reconstructable are *hion1 ku1 and *mo2 ku1, both of which have correlates in the modern standard language, i.e., xiānggū 香菇 and mógū 蘑菇. Another less common etymon for “mushroom” is *k'iun1 ~ *k'iun6. The Méixiàn form derives from CNH *k'iun1 lei, with the native Hakka nominal suffix.

5.2.39 “meat”

BMH [nyuk] 肉; MX [ɲiuk7]; HL [ɲiuk7]; SX [ɲiuk7]; LF [ɲiuk7]; LZ [ɳgiuk7]; SHT [ɲiuk7] HY [ɲyok7]; XY [ɲiuk7]; DB [ɲiuk7]; YL [ɲiəuʔ7]; XC [ɲiuk7]

CT [niə2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [ɲiuʔ7]; SH [ɲiəʔ]; LC1 [ɲieu6]; LC2 ɲieu5]

NK [niu8]; AY [ɲ6]; SY [niu5]; XS [ɲiuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7]; ND3 [ɲiuk7]

The general word for “meat” in Common Neo-Hakka is *ɲiuk7, which is of course the same etymon found in MSC. The Ānyuǎn syllabic nasal form is interesting. Whether it is a direct reflex of CNH *ɲiuk7 or is instead an archaic survival from an even earlier lexical stratum is a question which deserves further study.

Implements

5.2.40 “wok”

BMH [vók] 鑊; MX [vók8]; HL [vók8]; SX [vók8]; LF [vók8 t'eu2] 鑊頭; LZ [vók8 theu2]; SHT [—]
HY [vók8 t'uai2] 鑊頭; XY [vók8 t'eu2]; DB [vók8]; YL [vók8]; XC [vók8; vók8 t'eu2]
CT [kól t'ə2] 鍋頭; WP [ueʔ8; ueʔ8 the2] 鑊; 鑊頭; YD [vók8 t'eu2]; SH [vók8 t'ə2]; LC2 [kwól t'eu2]
NK [vól t'ə2]; AY [vók8 t'u2]; SY [vók8 t'io2]; QN [vók8 t'eu2]; ND1 [vók8]; ND2 [vók8]; ND3 [vók8]

The basic etymon for this implement is CNH *vók8. This morpheme takes the suffix *t'eu2 at many points. Another, far less common, word is *kuól t'eu2, whose initial syllable is directly cognate to the MSC word guō 鍋 “wok”.

5.2.41 “chopsticks”

BMH [khwài tsú; chhù tsú; chhù chak] 筷子; 箸子; 箸隻; MX [k'uai5 tsak7; ts'u5 tsak5] 筷隻; 箸隻; HL [tʃ'u6; k'uai5 ʔ2] 箸; 筷□; SX [tʃ'u6; k'uai5 ə2] 箸; 筷□; LF [k'uai5]; LZ [khai5 tʃu3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'y6]; XY [k'ai5]; DB [ts'i3]; YL [k'uai5 tsɿ3]; XC [k'uai5 tsɿ3]
CT [k'ue5 tsɿ3]; WP [k'uai5 tsɿ3]; YD [k'uai5 tsɿ3]; SH [k'ua5 tsɿ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ua5 lə] 筷兒; AY [k'ua5 tsɿ3]; SY [k'ua5 tsɿ3]; QN [k'uai5 tsɿ3]; ND1 [k'ai5 tsə3]; ND2 [tɕ'ie6]; ND3 [k'ai5 tsə3]

Two morphemes occur in this sense. The first is *k'uai5 (?), which is found only in compounds, two of which are reconstructable comparatively, i.e., *k'uai5 (?) tse3/tsi3 and *k'uai5 (?) *tsak7. Final correspondences for this syllable are irregular in some cases. For example, compare the Ānyuǎn and Quánnán readings for kuài 筷 above with those for kuài 塊 (CNH *k'uai5), i.e., AY [k'ue5] and QN [k'ai5] respectively. This suggests that the syllable kuài 筷 is probably a late layer loan or intrusion in Hakka, rather than an old form. And, in

fact, the word kuàizi 筷子 is thought to be late in Chinese, since in texts it is first attested in the Míng/Qīng period.

The second word is *tš'iu6, which is textually attested much earlier, may occur as a monosyllable in some dialects, or in the binome *tš'iu6 *tšak7 in others. The Níngdū-2 form, though ultimately etymologically related to CNH *tš'iu6 must have a different origin and in fact must derive from a Gàn-like earlier *tš'ie6. On this, see Chapter III, §3.3.2 and §3.4.2. The Nánkāng form derives from earlier *k'uai5 lei, which uses the native Hakka nominal suffix.

5.2.42 “saw”

BMH [kì] 鋸; MX [ki5 ε3] 鋸□; HL [ki5 ɿ2] 鋸□; SX [ki5 ə2] 鋸□; LF [ki5 tse; ki5 t' o2]; LZ [ki5 tʃai3] 鋸仔; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kie5 tsə] 鋸子; ND3 [—]

The name for this common tool is absent from the lexical sections of most of the sources available to us. However, nearly all of them give syllables for the basic monosyllabic morpheme in question, allowing us to reconstruct CNH *kiu5/*kie5. One compound, *kiu5/*kie5 tse3/tsi3, is readily reconstructable. Note that the Méixiàn and Sìxiàn forms descend from *kiu5 tse3. The Hǎilù form, on the other hand, must derive from *kiu5 lei.

5.2.43 “bamboo mat”

BMH [chuk tshiák; chuk thiàm] 竹蓆; 竹簟; MX [tsuk7 ts'iak8]; HL [tʃuk7 ts'iak8]; SX [tʃuk7 ts'iak8]; LF [tʃuk7 ts'iak8]; LZ [tʃuk7 tʃhiak8]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsok7 ts'iak8]; XY [tsouʔ7 ts'iak8]; DB [tsuk7 ts'iak8]; YL [miɛʔ8 te'iaʔ8 tsɿ3] 篾席子;
 XC [liɔŋ2 te'iaʔ8 tsɿ3] 涼蓆子
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsuʔ7 ts'iaʔ8]; SH [tsəʔ7 te'ia te'iaʔ8ʔ8]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'ia1]; AY [tsɿ5 ts'ia5]; SY [tsu5 tɛ'ia5]; QN [tsuʔ7 tɛ'iaʔ8]; ND1 [tɛ'iak8 tsə2]; ND2 [miat8 tɛ'iak8]; ND3 [miat8 ts'iak8] 篾席

The most common word for this item is a binome, CNH *tʃiuk7 ts'iak8, where the second syllable is the morpheme meaning “mat”. A less common compound which is also reconstructable comparatively is *miat8 ts'iak8, to which Xīchāng adds the common nominal suffix *tsi3. Quite interestingly, the second Basil Mission form contains the syllable which corresponds to the most frequently seen Gàn dialect etymon for “bamboo mat”, Common Gàn *diem6 簾. We are unable to reconstruct it for CNH comparatively on the basis of our Hakka data.

Verbs

5.2.44 “lay eggs”

BMH [sang lón] 生卵; MX [saŋ1 lón3]; HL [sen1 lon3]; SX [sen1 lon3]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃaŋ1 tʃhun1] 生春; SHT [—]
 HY [saŋ1 ts'un1]; XY [saŋ1 ts'un1]; DB [laŋ1 ts'an1]; YL [saŋ1 ts'un1]; XC [ʃaŋ1 t'an5] 生蛋
 CT [o1 t'aŋ6] 屙蛋; WP [saŋ1 t'aŋ3]; YD [sen1 lón3]; SH [sẽ1 t'ã3]; LC2 [w1 lue3; saŋ1 lue3] 屙卵; 生卵
 NK [sã1 t'ã5]; AY [sã1 t'ã6]; SY [sã1 t'ã5]; QN [saŋ1 ts'un1]; ND1 [saŋ1 ka3 ka2]; ND2 [saŋ1 ka1 ka1]; ND3 [saŋ1 ka1 ka1] 生□□

The most common word for this function is CNH *saŋ1. The literary pronunciation of the same etymon, *seŋ1, is used at certain points in the Fújiàn line, as is also another word, CNH *o1, whose basic sense is “defecate” (Chángtīng; Liánchéng-2, first form).

5.2.45 “eat”

BMH [shit]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [sit8]
 HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃeiʔ8]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃit6]; WP [siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
 NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [sək8]; ND2 [sək8]; ND3 [sək8]

The Hakka word for “eat” is universally derivable from CNH *sik8. As pointed out in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of this etymon in the colloquial stratum is a necessary condition for membership in the Neo-Hakka dialect group.

5.2.46 “eat breakfast”

BMH [shít chau ~ cheu] 食朝; MX [sət8 tsau1]; HL [ʃit8 tʃau1]; SX [ʃit8 tʃeu1]; LF [ʃit8 tʃau1]; LZ [ʃit8 tʃau1]; SHT [—]
HY [sit8 tsiau1]; XY [sit8 tsau1]; DB [sət8 tsau1]; YL [ʃeiʔ8 ~ seiʔ8 tsau1]; XC [ʃeʔ8 tʃau1]
CT [ʃi6 tʃɔ1]; WP [—]; YD [siʔ8 tseu1]; SH [seiʔ8 tsə1]; LC2 [ʃi5 t'e1 kəŋ1 p'a6] 食天光飯
NK [sə1 tsɔ3 eiŋ2] 食早晨; AY [se6 tsɔ1] 食朝; SY [se5 ~ sɿ5 tsɔ3 eiŋ2]; QN [seʔ8 tsau1];
ND1 [sək8 tsau1 p'an6] 食朝飯; ND2 [sək8 tsau1 p'an6]; ND3 [sək8 tsau1 p'an6]

The most widely found phrase for this expression is CNH *ʃik8 *tʃiau1. A much rarer but still reconstructable expansion of it is *ʃik8 *tʃiau1 ʃin2.

5.2.47 “drink”

BMH [shít; yím; chhot] 食; 飲; 啜; † MX [sət8; ts'ət7] 食; 啜; HL [ʃit8; lim1]; SX [ʃit8; lim1]; †† LF [ʃit8; jim3]; LZ [ʃit8; zim3]; SHT [sit8]
HY [suat7] □; XY [nim3] □; DB [sət8]; YL [həuʔ8] 喝; XC [ʃeʔ8]
CT [ʃi6; tʃ'ue2] 食; 啜; WP [tshueʔ7] 啜; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8; tshueʔ7]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5 ~ sɿ5]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [sək8]; ND2 [sək8]; ND3 [sək8]

†Second form said to be less common. Third form said to mean “suck, sip” rather than “drink” per se.

††The second form in Hǎilù and Sixiàn is used exclusively for the drinking of alcoholic beverages. It is traditionally written 飲.

The most common form for this verb is *ʃik8, which also means “to eat” in Hakka. Another form, found in some dialects, is reconstructable as *tʃ'uoʔ7. This word has the specialized senses “suck, sip, slurp”, but at some points has apparently also been generalized to the broader sense of “drink”. The alternate form [lim1], found in Hǎilù and Sixiàn, may be a loan from Taiwanese Southern Mǐn.

5.2.48 “drink boiled water”

BMH [shít kún shúi] 食滾水; MX [sət8 kun3 sui3]; HL [ʃit8 kun3 ʃui3]; SX [ʃit8 kun3 ʃui3];
 LF [ʃit8 kun3 ʃui3]; LZ [—]; SHT [sit8 ts’a2] 食茶
 HY [suat kun3 sui3] 𠵿滾水; XY [nim3 kun3 sui3] 𠵿滾水; DB [sət8 kun3 sei3]; YL [həuʔ8
 k’oi1 suei3] 喝開水; XC [ʂɛʔ8 hoi1 ʂuei3] 食開水
 CT [ʃit6 kueŋ3 ʃue3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ8 kueŋ3 ʃi3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə1 k’æ1 ɛy3]; AY [se6 kuəŋ3 t’əŋ1] 食滾湯; SY [se5 ~ sɿ5 t’əŋ1 ɛy3] 食湯水; QN [seʔ8
 k’oi1 sui3]; ND1 [sək8 teien1 sui3] 食煎水; ND2 [sək8 teian1 sui3]; ND3 [sək8 k’ai1 sui3]
 食開水

The generally reconstructable expression for this act is CNH *sik8 kun3 šiui3. A less common one is the alternate form *sik8 k’oi1 šiui3. Xīchāng uses the autochthonous Hakka reading derived from *hoi1 in lieu of *k’oi1 in this phrase. Other expressions in the set are not reconstructable comparatively.

5.2.49 “wear (clothing)”

BMH [chok] 著; MX [tsək7]; HL [tʃok7]; SX [tʃok7]; LF [tʃok7]; LZ [tʃək7]; SHT [tsək7]
 HY [tsək7]; XY [tsək7]; DB [tsək8]; YL [tʂəʔ7]; XC [tʂəʔ7]
 CT [tʃo2]; WP [tsəʔ7]; YD [tsəʔ7]; SH [tsoʔ7]; LC2 [tʃu6]
 NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; QN [tsoʔ7]; ND1 [tsək7]; ND2 [tsək7]; ND3 [tsək7]

The universal Hakka word for this action is derivable from CNH *tʂok7.

5.2.50 “go”

qù 去 QYS khjwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *khah
 BMH [hi]; MX [hi5b]; HL [hi5b]; SX [hi5b]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [hi5]
 HY [hy5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [tɕ’i5]; XC [ɕi5]
 CT [tʃ’i5]; WP [si5]; YD [k’i3]; SH [khi5]; LC1 [k’ui5]; LC2 [hoi5]

NK [he5]; AY [ei5]; SY [he2]; QN [ei5]; ND1 [ɛie5 ~ ɛie2]; ND2 [ɛie5]; ND3 [sie5]

All dialects use the same etymon for this action, but several variant proto-forms of it occur. Most dialects use a form directly derivable from CNH *hiu5. However, the regular reflex of CNH *hiu5 in Xīnyí should be [hy5] rather than [hi5]. The reason for this discrepancy may be that Xīnyí borrowed a late *hi5 (< *hiu5) from some other, perhaps more prestigious, form of Hakka. Another form, *hie5 is reconstructable on the basis of a number of the Jiāngxī dialects. This form may be the result of contamination from dialects of the Gàn family, which have reflexes of Common Gàn *k'e5 ~ *k'ie5 as their cognate word for “to go”. However, it cannot simply be a Gàn loan, for the Gàn dialects have a stop rather than a fricative initial in this word. Yet another lexeme, derivable from CNH *k'iu5, is a literary form in many of the dialects but is actually used as the word for “to go” in others. The Yílǒng form reflects an earlier *k'i5. The regular reflex of an earlier syllable *k'iu5 in this dialect would be [tə'y5].

5.2.51 “walk”

BMH [hāŋ] 行; MX [haŋ2]; HL [haŋ2]; SX [haŋ2]; LF [haŋ2]; LZ [haŋ2]; SHT [haŋ2]
HY [haŋ2]; XY [haŋ2]; DB [haŋ2]; YL [tsai3] 走; XC [tsəu3]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [haŋ2]; SH [haŋ2]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [teio3]; QN [haŋ2]; ND1 [haŋ2]; ND2 [haŋ2b]; ND3 [haŋ2]

The nearly universal Hakka word for this action is derivable from CNH *haŋ2. The Sīchuān dialects and Shàngyóu use forms of the Mandarin-like zǒu 走 (CNH *tseu3).

5.2.52 “run”

BMH [tséu; hiak] 走; □; MX [ts'iaŋ7] 趲; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [hiak7;
tʃeu3] □; 走; SHT [tsiu3]
HY [p'au3] 跑; XY [tseu3]; DB [tsei3]; YL [p'au3; piau1] 跑; 𢀇; XC [piau1] 𢀇
CT [tseu3; p'ɔ3] 走; 跑 WP [tsɛ3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC2 [—]

NK [po5] 𠂔; AY [tsu3]; SY [ei3 po2] 起𠂔; QN [piʔ8] 𠂔; ND1 [p'au1]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3 [tsəu3]

OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

The most common word for “to run” is CNH *tseu3. A far less common one is *p'au3, which is also the MSC word. Another form, which occurs in the two Sīchuān dialects, is *piaul. Yet another form which is reconstructable comparatively is *hiak7. It is possible that the Méixiàn form is somehow related to this word, though the initial correspondence would be irregular.

5.2.53 “stand”

BMH [khi] 企; MX [k'i1] 企/倚; HL [k'i1]; SX [k'i1]; LF [k'i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]

HY [k'i5] 倚; XY [k'i1]; DB [k'i1]; YL [tɕ'i1] 企; XC [tɕ'i2] 企

CT [tʃ'i1]; WP [tshi1]; YD [k'i1]; SH [tɕhi] 企/倚; LC2 [k'i1]

NK [tɕ'i1]; AY [tɕ'i3]; SY [tɕ'i1]; QN [tɕ'i1]; ND1 [tɕ'i1]; ND2 [tɕ'i1]; ND3 [ts'i1]

The universal Hakka word for “to stand” is reconstructable as CNH *k'i1. Modern forms lacking Tone 1 appear to be aberrant in some way.

5.2.54 “search”

BMH [tshîm] 尋; MX [ts'im2]; HL [ts'im2]; SX [ts'im2]; LF [ts'im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'im2]; XY [ts'im2]; DB [ts'əm2]; YL [tɕ'in2]; XC [tsau3] 找

CT [ts'ej2]; WP [tshij2]; YD [ts'ij2]; SH [tɕhij2]; LC2 [tshen2]

NK [tɕ'ij2]; AY [ts'ij2]; SY [tɕ'ij2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [tɕ'im2]; ND2 [tɕ'im2]; ND3 [ts'im2]

Nearly all points use for this sense a word reconstructable as CNH *ts'im2. Xīchāng has borrowed a form of the Mandarin word zhǎo 找.

5.2.55 “sleep”

BMH [shòì muk] 睡目; MX [sɔi5 muk7]; HL [foi6 muk7]; SX [foi5 muk7];⁵¹ LF [foi6; foi6 muk7] 睡; 睡目; LZ [foi5 lək8 kau5] 睡落覺; SHT [sɔi5 muk7]
HY [—]; XY [suai5 ɲan3] 睡眠; DB [sɔi5 kau5] 睡覺; YL [ʂoi3 ~ soi3 kau5]; XC [ʂoi5 kau5]
CT [ʃue6 mu5]; WP [se3 muʔ7]; YD [fei3 muʔ8]; SH [fei3 məʔ7]; LC2 [ɲaŋ3; fi6] 𠵿; 睡
NK [ɕie7 kɔ5] 歇覺; AY [ei33 ɲã3] 歇眼; SY [ɕie5 kɔ2]; QN [saiʔ7 kau5] 歇覺; ND1 [ts'ait7 ɲan3]; ND2 [ts'ai6 ɲan3]; ND3 [—]

The most common word for “sleep” in Hakka is CNH *ʂoi6 muk7. A somewhat less common one is *ʂoi6 *ɲan3. CNH *ʂoi6 kau5, which corresponds to the MSC form shuìjiào 睡覺, is also reconstructable comparatively. None of these is found in the Jiāngxī dialects, for which another form, *hiat ɲan3 is reconstructable.⁵² The Níngdū forms may be related to this compound in some way but their first syllable does not show a regular correspondence pattern.

5.2.56 “is/are (copula)”

BMH [hè] 係; MX [hɛ5]; HL [he6]; SX [he5]; LF [he5]; LZ [hɛ5]; SHT [he5]
HY [hai6]; XY [hɛi5]; DB [hɛ5]; YL [hei5]; XC [hei5]
CT [he6]; WP [xe5]; YD [hei5]; SH [hei3]; LC2 [ji6]
NK [he5]; AY [he6]; SY [he5]; QN [hei6]; ND1 [hei6]; ND2 [hei6]; ND3 [hei6]

This set, which involves a single etymon, shows a unique correspondence profile vis-à-vis the final types posited in Chapter III. Among these, it bears similarities to CNH *-iai (Chapter III, §3.1.5), and *-ei (§3.4.3), and to a lesser extent to CNH *-e (§3.4.1). O'Connor’s Proto-Hakka reconstruction for it is *he6. In our Common Neo-Hakka System, we have thus far posited no proto-forms having CNH *-ei after gutturals. Our reconstruction for the copula can therefore be a tentative CNH *hei6. As pointed out in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of this

⁵¹ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch’ien.

⁵² For the reconstruction of the first syllable, see the Appendix, sub xiē 歇.

copular etymon is according to our assignment criteria a necessary condition for membership in the Neo-Hakka dialect group.

5.2.57 “fall”

1. “drop, fall, fall down; let drop; lose”

BMH [tiet] 跌; MX [tiet7]; HL [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiat7; tiat7 lok8] 跌; 跌落; LZ [tet7; tɔi1] 跌; □; SHT [—]

HY [p’iak7] □; XY [tiat7]; DB [tiet7; tɛp8] 跌; □; YL [tiɛʔ7]; XC [tiɛʔ7]

CT [təu1] 丢; WP [tiɛʔ7]; YD [tiɛʔ7]; SH [tiɛʔ7]; LC2 [te6 p’i1] 跌□

NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tiet7]; ND2 [tiat7]; ND3 [tiu1]

OPH *tiat7 CNH *tiat7

The general word which is reconstructable for this congeries of senses is CNH *tiat7. It includes, but is not limited to, the common MSC sense “to fall as a result of tripping” (i.e., MSC diē 跌).

2. “fall (sc. rain, snow, etc.)”

BMH [lók] 落; MX [lók8]; HL [lók8]; SX [lók8]; LF [lók8]; LZ [lók8]; SHT [lók8]

HY [lók8]; XY [lók8]; DB [lók8]; YL [lók8]; XC [lɔʔ8]

CT [lo6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC2 [lu5]

NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lók8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lók8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lók8]; ND3 [lók8]

This word occurs in all the dialects and is derived from CNH *lók8

5.2.58 “give”

fēn 分 QYS pjuən CDC *fun1/EC *pun

BMH [pun1 ~ pin1] 分; MX [pun1]; HL [pun1] 分; SX [pun1]; LF [pun1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [pin1] □

HY [pa3] 把; XY [pi1] 昇; DB [pən1]; YL [kən1] 給; XC [kən1]

CT [te2] 𠂔; WP [peŋ1]; YD [pun1]; SH [peŋ1]; LC2 [k'ua6] 𠂔

NK [na1]; AY [na1]; SY [na3 pa3]; QN [na1]; ND1 [nak7]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3 [nak7]

The most widely used word for this sense can be reconstructed as CNH *pun1, with a rarer variant form, *pin1. The Jiāngxī dialects use an entirely different word, *na1. Whether, and how, the Níngdū forms in [nak7] might be related to this *na1 is uncertain. The Sīchuān dialects use yet another form, which is reconstructable as *ken1. This word is a Southwest Mandarin loan form which in texts is usually written gēn 跟 rather than as gěi 給, as our sources happen to do.

5.2.59 “set out rice seedlings”

BMH [tshap thiēn; tshap yong; shi thiēn; shì vō] 插田; 插秧; 蒔田; 蒔禾; MX [sɿ5 t'ien2]

蒔田; HL [ʃi6 vo2] 蒔禾; SX [ʃi5 vo2]; LF [ta3 kuk7 ts'ia2]; LZ [ʃi2 then2]; SHT [ts'ap7 jəŋ1] 插秧

HY [sɿ2 t'ian2]; XY [ts'ap7 t'ian2] 插田; DB [ts'ap7 t'ien2]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [ʃi2 t'ien2]; WP [sɿ3 thiēn2]; YD [si5 t'ien2]; SH [sɿ3 thiē2]; LC2 [ʃi2 ~ t'e2]

NK [sɿ5 t'ie2]; AY [sɿ5 t'i2]; SY [sɿ5 t'ie2]; QN [sɿ5 t'ien2]; ND1 [tsoɛ1 vo2] 栽禾; ND2 [tsuei1 vo2]; ND3 [tsuai1 vo2]

Several words for this important agricultural activity are reconstructable. The most common is *ši5 *t'ian2, with some tonal variation in the readings of the first syllable. An alternate form is *ši5 *vuo2. CNH *ts'ap ion1 corresponds the general and MSC expression chāyāng 插秧. The Níngdū dialects all use an entirely different form, which corresponds directly to the most widely found Gàn dialect form for this sense, i.e. Common Gàn *tsoi1 uo2 栽禾. This is not reconstructable comparatively on the basis of our Common Neo-Hakka data. If it existed, the expected CNH form would be *tsoi1 vuo2.

5.2.60 “return, come back”

BMH [chón loi] 轉來; MX [tsən3 loi2]; HL [tʃon3 loi2]; SX [tʃon3 loi2]; LF [tʃon3 loi2]; LZ [tʃon3 loi2]; SHT [tsən3 loi2]
 HY [tsuan3 luai2]; XY [tsuan3 luai2]; DB [tsən3 loi2]; YL [kuei1 loi2] 歸來; XC [—]
 CT [tʃuŋ3 lai2]; WP [tseŋ3 li2]; YD [—]; SH [tsuẽ3 lue2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kui1 lei2]; ND3 [kui1 lei2]

The more common compound having this sense derives from CNH *tʃuon3 loi2. A somewhat less common one is *kui1 loi2.

5.2.61 “return home”

BMH [kwui ka; kwui chón] 歸家; 歸轉; MX [tsən3 vuk7 k'ua1] 轉屋下; HL [tʃon3 vuk7 ha5]; SX [tʃon3 vuk7 k'a5]; LF [tʃon3 vuk7 ka1]; LZ [tʃon3 vuk7 kha1]; SHT [tsən3 tau5 loi2 vuk7 k'a1] 轉到來屋下
 HY [tsuan3 ok7 k'a1]; XY [tsuan3 ouʔ7] 轉屋; DB [tsən3 uk7 k'ua1]; YL [—]; XC [loʔ8 vuʔ7; kui1 vuʔ7; kui1] 落屋; 歸屋; 歸
 CT [tʃuŋ3 vu2 ha1] 轉屋下; WP [kui1 vuʔ7 ha1] 歸屋下; YD [—]; SH [tsuẽ3 lue2] 轉來; LC2 [kue3 hue5] 轉去
 NK [tsoẽ3] 轉; AY [kue1 ve5] 歸口; SY [tsuʔ3 vu5 ti3] 轉屋裡; QN [kui1 vuʔ7 k'a1] 歸屋下; ND1 [kui1 ei5] 歸去; ND2 [kui1 vuk7 k'a1]; ND3 [sie5 kui1] 去歸

The words *tʃuon3 and *kui1, both meaning “to return”, are basic for this action. The most common compound having the sense “return home” is reconstructable as *tʃuon3 vuk7 (+ k'a1 ~ k'a5 ~ k'ua1). There are many variant readings for the optional third syllable of this expression, which is traditionally identified as a form of xià 下. If this etymological assignment is correct, then further elucidation of the variant pronunciations in question is warranted. A reconstructable compound taking *kui1 as its nuclear verb is *kui1 vuk7 (ha1 ~ k'a1), again with optional third syllable.

5.2.62 “smell (trans. vb.)”

BMH [vũn; phi5] 聞; 鼻 MX [p'i5]; HL [p'i6]; SX [p'i5];⁵³ LF [—]; LZ [phi5] 鼻; SHT [mun2; p'i5] 聞; 鼻

HY [hin5] 嗅; XY [ŋoŋ5] □; DB [niũŋ5] □; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [p'i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [—]; LC2 [p'i6]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [p'i6]

The generally reconstructable form for this sense is CNH *p'i6, which is homophonous with the monosyllabic etymon meaning “nose” (cf. §5.2.9 above). The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms are unique and appear to be related to each other in some way, but their ultimate origin is obscure. Cf. Common Gàn *hiũŋ5 “to smell” (Coblin 2015: 279). Basil Mission [vũn] and Song Him Tong [mun2] are literary and popular forms respectively of the same etymon as MSC wén 聞 “to smell”.

5.2.63 “give birth (human)”

BMH [sang; kiũŋ; yong] 生; 供; 養; MX [kiũŋ5]; HL [zɔŋ1; sen1 zɔŋ1] 養; 生養; SX [kiũŋ5]; LF [joŋ1]; LZ [zɔŋ1] 養; SHT [saŋ1]

HY [jyɔŋ3; ha1 ts'an3] 養; 下產; XY [saŋ1]; DB [zɔŋ1] 養; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [tʃioŋ5 ~ tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsiũŋ5]; YD [kiũŋ1]; SH [tɕiəŋ1]; LC2 [kien1]

NK [iõ3]; AY [tɕiəŋ5]; SY [jiõ3]; QN [tɕiəŋ5]; ND1 [saŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ5]; ND3 [tsuŋ1]

The most common word for giving birth has two alternate reconstructed forms, i.e. CNH *kiũŋ5 ~ *kiũŋ1. Two other forms are *ioŋ1 ~ *ioŋ3 and *saŋ1, the latter of which corresponds to the more general Chinese form sheng 生.

⁵³ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch'ien respectively.

5.2.64 “give birth (animal)”

BMH [—]; MX [ha3] 下; HL [kiuŋ5]; SX [kiuŋ5];⁵⁴ LF [—]; LZ [ʃaŋ1; ʒoŋ1] 養; SHT [saŋ1] 養; HY [jyŋŋ5] 養; XY [lɔk8]; DB [ʎaŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [lo6] 落; WP [ioŋ1]; YD [ioŋ1]; SH [ioŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iɕ1]; AY [ha3]; SY [ha3]; QN [ioŋ3]; ND1 [lɔk8]; ND2 [lɔk8]; ND3 [lɔk8]

Four different verbs are reconstructable for this sense, i. e., *saŋ1, *ioŋ1, *lɔk8, and *ha3. The latter two basically mean “to let down, let fall”. Cf. English “to drop a calf, drop a fawn, etc.” The Taiwan dialects use *kiuŋ5, which also can denote birthing by humans.

5.2.65 “weep”

BMH [kiàu]; MX [kiau5; kiau5 tsɿ1] 叫; 叫□; HL [kiau5; kiau5 t'ai2] 叫; 叫啼; SX [keu5; keu5 t'ai2]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5 tʃɔi5] 叫喙; SHT [kiau5]
 HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [teiau5]; XC [teiau5]
 CT [tʃɔi5]; WP [tsio5]; YD [kieu3]; SH [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [teio5]; AY [teio5]; SY [teio2]; XS [teiau5]; QN [teiau5]; ND1 [teiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~ teiau1]; ND3 [tsau5]

The common word for this action is CNH *kiau5, whose general Chinese meaning is “cry out, shout”. (Cf. English “to cry”.) A reconstructable compound is *kiau5 *t'ai2. For the reconstruction of the second syllable, cf. the Appendix, sub tí 啼.

5.2.66 “speak, talk”

BMH [kóng; và] 講; 話; MX [kɔŋ3; va5]; HL [kɔŋ3; va5]; SX [kɔŋ3]; LF [kɔŋ3]; LZ [kɔŋ3]; SHT [kɔŋ3; va5]
 HY [kɔŋ3]; XY [kɔŋ3]; DB [kɔŋ3]; YL [kɔŋ3]; XC [kɔŋ3]

⁵⁴ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch'ien.

CT [kəŋ3; va6]; WP [kəŋ3; va3]; YD [kəŋ3; va5]; SH [kəŋ3; va3]; LC2 [kəŋ3; vo6]
NK [va5]; AY [va6]; SY [va5]; QN [va6]; ND1 [va6]; ND2 [va6]; ND3 [va6]

Two different etyma are found in this sense, i.e., CNH *kəŋ3 and *va6. Some dialects use both, others only one.

5.2.67 “know”

BMH [hiáu]; MX [ti1; ti1 tet7] 知; 知得; HL [ti1; ti1 tet7; hiau3 tet7 (L)] 知; 知得; 曉得;
SX [ti1; ti1 tet7; hiau3 tet7 (L)]; LF [ti1]; LZ [ti1; ti1 tau5] 知; 知道; SHT [ti1; hiau3 ~
hæu3 tet7] 知; 曉得
HY [ti1 tat7] 知得; XY [ti1 tet7]; DB [tet7 ti] 得知; YL [ɕiau3 tɛʔ7] 曉得; XC [ti1; ɕiau3
tɛʔ7] 知; 曉得
CT [ʃiɔ3 tɔ2; ti1 tɔ3] 曉得; 知倒;† WP [ti1 tɛʔ7; siɔ3 tɛʔ7] 知得; 曉得; YD [ti1 sou1; ti1
tɛʔ7] 知曉; 知得; SH [ti1 tɛʔ7; ɕiɔ3 tɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃ6 tuɐ6; ti1 tuɐ6;] 識得; 知得†
NK [ɕiɔ3 tɛ8]; AY [ɕiɔ3 tɛ6]; SY [ɕiɔ3 tɛ5]; QN [ɕiau3 tɛʔ7]; ND1 [sau3 tək7]; ND2 [sau3
tək7]; ND3 [sau3 tək7]

†Second forms said by the sources to refer specifically to knowing as the result of having heard.

A basic and probably very old etymon having this sense is reconstructable as CNH *ti1. Its most common compound form is *ti1 tek7. The other form that is common in the dialects is *hiau3 tek7, which is also used in the modern standard language and widely in the regional vernaculars (i.e., xiǎode 曉得). In Hakka varieties that have both forms, *hiau3 tek7 is sometimes identified as being of elevated or literary register.

5.2.68 “forget”

BMH [thiam piòng ~ fòng; mông kî; m2 kî tet7; kî m2 tet7] □□; 忘記; 唔記得; 記唔得; MX
[t'iam1 mɔŋ5 ~ miɔŋ5; t'iam1 piɔŋ5] 添忘; 添放; HL [mɔŋ2 ki5] 忘記; SX [mɔŋ2 ki5];

LF [m2 ki5 tet7] 唔記得; LZ [t'iam1 m^hɔŋ5; m1 ki5 tet7] 添忘; 唔記得; SHT [t'iam1 pɔŋ5] □□
 HY [m2 ki5 tat7]; XY [mo2 ki5 tet7] 無記得; DB [moŋ3 ki5]; YL [tɕi5 m2 tɕʔ7]; XC [tɕi5 m2 tɕʔ7; m2 tɕi5 tɕʔ7] 記唔得; 唔記得
 CT [t'iɛ1 piɔŋ5 le2; t'ɪŋ1 piɔŋ5] 添□哩; 添放; WP [thiaŋ1 miɔŋ5 lei2] 添忘哩; YD [t'iaŋ1 piɔŋ5]; SH [thiã1 piɔŋ5]; LC2 [t'e1 piɔŋ5]
 NK [læ2 liɔ3] 諗了; AY [læ2]; SY [læ2 mɔ̃5] 諗忘; QN [ŋ2 tɕi5 tɕʔ7] 唔記得; ND1 [t'it7 lai2 t'iau6] □諗掉; ND2 [t'ik7 lai6 t'iau6]; ND3 [t'et7 lei2 liau3] □□了

A common word for this concept in the Hakka dialects is reconstructable as CNH *t'iam1 piɔŋ5. Popular etymology associates the second syllable of this compound with fang 放 (CNH *piɔŋ5) “put aside, release”. The etymology of the first syllable is obscure. In the Méixiàn form [t'iam1 miɔŋ5], the second syllable may actually be a sandhi variant of [piɔŋ5], while that of the form [t'iam1 mɔŋ5] may be a deformation of this [miɔŋ5] through association with the word wàng 忘 (CNH moŋ2) “forget”.

Another morpheme meaning “forget” is found in the Jiāngxī dialects and is reconstructable as CNH *lai2. What is probably the same form is also widely used in the southern Gàn dialects (Common Gàn *lai2 “forget”). CNH *lai2 is used alone in Ānyuǎn and in various compounds elsewhere, none of which are reconstructable comparatively. However, the Nánkāng form is almost certainly derived from *lai2 liau3, with the common suffix liau3 了, and the Shàngyóu form appears to have been formed by adding the word wàng 忘, here read in Tone 5 rather than with the usual Hakka Tone 2.

Another word meaning “forget” is CNH *moŋ2 ki5, which corresponds to MSC wàngjì 忘記. Many dialects simply negate the word for “to remember” to express the sense “forget”, the usual forms for this configuration being *m[ə]2 (< *muo2) ki5 tek7 and/or *ki5 *m[ə]2 tek7.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ For the verbal negative particle represented here as *m[ə]2 (< *muo2), see §5.2.76 below.

5.2.69 “carry (as a pole load on the shoulder of one person)”

BMH [khai]; MX [k'ai1] 揸; HL [k'ai1]; SX [k'ai1]; LF [k'ai1]; LZ [k'ai1]; SHT [k'ai1]
HY [k'ai1]; XY [tam1] 擔; DB [tam1]; YL [k'ai1]; XC [k'ai1]
CT [k'ai1 ~ k'ɛ1]; WP [k'a1]; YD [k'ai1]; SH [kha1]; LC2 [k'a1]
NK [k'æ1]; AY [k'æ1]; SY [k'æ1]; QN [k'ai1]; ND1 [k'ai1]; ND2 [k'ai1]; ND3 [k'a1]

The general Hakka word for this verb is reconstructable as *k'ai1. The Níngdū-3 final is irregular. The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms derive from CNH *tam1, an entirely different etymon which is widely used in both modern and literary Sinitic.

The Hakka word *k'ai1 has been linked to Classical Chinese hè 荷 “to carry” (CDC *ho4/EC *'gayx) in a special sub-chapter by Lán (1999: 171–176). More recently, cf. Norman (2014: 13).⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In fact, Norman had already held this view for a great many years, as revealed in conversations and correspondence with the present writer during the final decades of the last century. It is also discussed in his posthumous papers, now in the possession of the Fudan University library.

Descriptive words and expressions

5.2.70 “cold”

BMH [lang ~ lǎng; hón lang] 冷; 寒冷; MX [laŋ1] 冷; HL [laŋ1]; SX [laŋ1]; LF [laŋ1]; LZ [laŋ1]; SHT [laŋ1]
 HY [laŋ5]; XY [laŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [laŋ3]
 CT [huŋ2; leŋ1] 寒; 冷; WP [leŋ1]; YD [hɔn2]; SH [lẽ1; huẽ2] 冷; 寒; LC2 [huẽ2]
 NK [lã1] 冷; AY [liã3]; SY [lã1]; QN [laŋ1]; ND1 [hoen2]; ND2 [liaŋ1]; ND3 [huan2]

Three forms are reconstructable for this sense, i.e., CNH *laŋ1, *leŋ1, and *hon2. The Níngdū-2 form is written as lěng 冷 in the source but is not directly comparable to CNH *laŋ1 or *leŋ1. It probably represents a different etymon. CNH *laŋ1 and *leŋ1 are, respectively, vernacular and literary variants of the same etymon.

5.2.71 “dirty, filthy”

BMH [láp sap; là sap; lat sap; lò sò; èu lèu; ep tep]†; MX [eu5 neu5; mɛ5] □□; □; HL [o1 tsou1]; SX [ou1 tsou1];⁵⁷ LF [la6 sap7]; LZ [eu5 leu5; lɔ5 ʃɔ5; lui5 tʃui5] 歐漏; □□; 累贅; SHT [lɔ5 sɔ5]
 HY [nie5] □; XY [nei5] □; DB [vɔt7 ts'ɔt7] 齷齪; YL [laʔ7 t'aʔ8; tsɔŋ1 tɛʔ3 hen3] 邋遢; 髒得很; XC [m2 kɔn1 tɛ'iaŋ5] 唔乾淨
 CT [o1 ts'o; la6 tʃe6]; WP [laʔ7 taʔ7]; YD [ou1tsou1; leʔ8 tseʔ8; laʔ8 taʔ8]††; SH [laʔ7 taʔ7]; LC2 [la5 tʃa5]
 NK [la5 se7]; AY [—]; SY [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [vo1 tsau1]; ND2 [vo1 tsau1]; ND3 [au1 tsau1]

†The final form means “untidy, disorderly”.

††The third form has the sense “disorderly, messy”.

Nearly all of these expressions are sound symbolic, and such forms are notoriously susceptible to nonce permutations. The following Common Neo-Hakka reconstructions can be

⁵⁷ Hǎilù and Sixiàn forms elicited from Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch'ien.

posited comparatively: *lap8 sap7, *la6 sap7; *lo5 so5, *eu5 leu5, *(v)o1 tsou1. Another form, with the shape *laC t(‘)aC, appears at various points, but the dialects that show it happen to have either lost the Common Neo-Hakka syllable final consonants or merged them as glottal stops. Thus, no full reconstruction is possible.

Pronouns

5.2.72 “I”

BMH [ŋái]; MX [ŋai2]; HL [ŋai3]; SX [ŋai3]; LF [ŋai3]; LZ [ʔgai2]; SHT [ŋai2]
 HY [ŋuai5]; XY [ŋai2]; DB [ŋai2]; YL [ŋai2]; XC [ŋai2]
 CT [ŋai1]; WP [ŋa2]; YD [ŋai2]; SH [ŋa2]; LC1 [ŋa1]; LC2 [ŋa1]
 NK [ŋæ1]; AY [ŋæ2]; SY [ŋæ1]; XS [ŋai1]; QN [ŋai1]; ND1 [ŋai1]; ND2 [ŋai1]; ND3 [ŋai1]

The segmental form of this pronoun is readily reconstructable for all of Hakka, with the exception of the Héyuán form, whose final is anomalous because of its medial -u-. But, curiously, there are three different tonal values for the word, to wit: CNH *ŋai1, *ŋai2, *ŋai3. As noted in §1.3 of Chapter I, the presence of a pronoun read as, or derivable in some way from, a “*ŋai-like” syllable is a necessary condition for membership in the Hakka family according to our assignment criteria.

5.2.73 “you”

BMH [nyí] 爾; MX [ŋ2]; HL [ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni2]; LZ [ʔgi2]; SHT [ŋi2]
 HY [ŋi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2]; YL [ŋ2]; XC [ni2]
 CT [ni1]; WP [xŋ2 ~ xm2]; YD [hn2 (~ hɛn2)]; SH [ŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ni2]; AY [ŋ3]; SY [ni1]; XS [ni1]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [niɛ1]; ND2 [nie1]; ND3 [nie1]

Three different etyma are reconstructable for this pronoun, the first of which has Tone 2 and 3 variant readings, i.e., CNH *ŋ2 ~ *ŋ3, *ni1, and *ni2.

Níngdū has a Gàn-like form pointing to earlier *nie1, for which comparanda are not found at other points. Cf. Common Gàn *nie (tone indeterminate) “you”. This word is probably intrusive in Hakka.

5.2.74 “he/she/it”

BMH [kīb ~ khīw] 佢; MX [ki2]; HL [ki2]; SX [ki2]; LF [ki2]; LZ [ki2]; SHT [ki2]
 HY [k'ī2]; XY [ki2]; DB [k'ī2]; YL [tɕi2]; XC [tɕi2]
 CT [ke1]; WP [ke2]; YD [ki2]; SH [ki2]; LC2 [koi1]†
 NK [ke1 ~ kə2]; AY [tɕi1]; SY [tɕi1]; XS [tɕi1]; QN [tɕi2]; ND1 [tɕiɛ1]; ND2 [tɕiɛ1]; ND3
 [tsie1]
 †Cf. FJFYZ: [kye1].

This pronoun takes two basic forms, one of which is common and can be reconstructed with CNH *k- and the other rare and having initial *k'. Reconstruction of the final is, on the contrary, highly problematic. The Chángtīng, Wǔpíng, Nánkāng and Níngdū forms, taken together, point unmistakably to an earlier *kie1, i.e., showing Gàn-like final *-ie (see §3.4.2 of Chapter III). In Common Neo-Hakka this final invariably occurs in doublet readings having CNH final *-iu, and the Liánchéng-2 form must in fact derive from *kiu1 (see §3.3.2). But the remaining forms in the set do not show the expected correspondence profile for *-iu after gutturals, making the reconstruction of the forms *kiu1 and *kiu2 here somewhat questionable. They would instead suggest *ki1 and *ki2. Thus, reconstruction of this pronoun's full Common Neo-Hakka form remains difficult. If *kiu1 and *kiu2 are in fact the correct proto-forms, then the perturbation in the expected correspondence patterns among reflexes requires further elucidation.

5.2.75 “this”

BMH [nyâ; nyâ; lê, li, lî] □□; MX [ke3 ke5; ɛ3 ke5] □𠂔; HL [li3 kai5; lia3 kai5; lia3 tɕak7]
 □𠂔; □𠂔; SX [li3 kai5; lia3 kai5; lia3 tɕak7]; LF [li2 tɕak7; li2 kai5; lia3 tɕak7; lia3 kai5];
 LZ [ɳgia3 tɕak7] □𠂔; SHT [ŋia3 tsak7]
 HY [it7 tsak7] 一隻; XY [ti3 tsak7]; DB [ti3 tsak7]; YL [i3 kai5] □𠂔; XC [i3 tsaʔ7; ei3 tsaʔ7]
 CT [ni3] □; WP [nɔŋ3]; YD [li5 kai3; ti5 kai3] □𠂔; SH [tiʔ7 ke5; ti7 ɛ5]†; LC2 [i3] □
 NK [kə2]; AY [kə1]; SY [kə1]; QN [kai2]; ND1 [ti2 kei5] □□; ND2 [ti3]; ND3 [ti5 tsak7]
 □𠂔

†Glottal stop drops in the first syllable of the second form.

Forms for the near demonstrative are quite diverse. We shall deal here with those for which comparative reconstruction is possible. Where the sources give only compounds which include classifiers, the full recorded forms are cited in the table. But our discussion will focus only on the monosyllabic pronominal roots.

A form that is found in Basil Mission, Lìzhīzhuāng, and Song Him Tong can be reconstructed as CNH *ñia, with tonal variants in Tones 1, 2, and 3. The Taiwan dialects and Lùfēng have a possibly related form which is reconstructable as *lia3, though the initial discrepancy cannot be accounted for by regular sound change.

Another form for which there is good comparative evidence in the dialects is *li, with Tone 2 and 3 variants. This is paralleled by another form *ti, with the same tonal variants. The Shàngháng forms are almost certainly derived from this *ti, with irregular development of a rogue final glottal stop. How *li and *ti might be related to each other and/or to the Chángtīng form seems uncertain. We may recall that many dialects of the Fújiàn and Jiāngxī lines have sporadic modern initial t- reflexes of CNH *l- before the vowel *i (Chapter II, §2.2.4). However, this phenomenon is not found in our Níngdū varieties; and these dialects in fact have modern [ti] as their near demonstrative. Thus, The *li > ti change cannot be invoked to conflate *li and *ti into a single etymon in Common Neo-Hakka. We have no choice but to retain both in the common system.

Finally, we find in the Jiāngxī line a form reconstructable as CNH *kai, with tonal variants in Tone 2 and 3. The Meixiàn root [kɛ3] seems to be related to *kai3 of this set but is not derivable from it by regular sound change. However, Meixiàn final -ɛ can descend regularly from CNH *-iai and *-e after gutturals (see §3.1.5 and §3.4.1 of Chapter III). Our view is that the correct proto-final in this case is *-e, for reasons that will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.76 “that”

BMH [kài; kà]; MX [kɛ5 kɛ5; ɛ5 kɛ5]; HL [kai2 tʃak7; na1 kai5] 口隻; 那個; SX [kai5 tʃak7; na1 kai5]; LF [kai2 tʃak7; ka3 kai5]; LZ [kai5 tʃak7; ai5 tʃak7] 個隻; 口隻; SHT [ai5 tsak7] 口隻

HY [kuai5 tsak7]; XY [kai5 tsak7]; DB [kai5 tsak7]; YL [kai5 kai5] 口個; XC [i5 tsaʔ7; ei5 tsaʔ7; nɛ5 tsaʔ7] 口隻; 那隻

CT [kɛ3]; WP [ka3]; YD [kai5 kai3]; SH [kaʔ7 kɛ5; ka7 ɛ5]†; LC2 [ka3]

NK [ni5]; AY [pe1] □; SY [kæ5]; QN [nei3] 那; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kɛi3]; ND3 [ke5 tsak7]

†Glottal stop drops in the first syllable of the second form.

The most common form for the far demonstrative is CNH *kai5, with variants in Tones 2 and 3. Interestingly, the Héyuán form has a final which should derive from CNH *-oi or *-uoi, and this is in fact reminiscent of this dialect’s aberrant final in the first person pronoun.

The relevant Méixiàn form again shows final -ɛ, with which we can compare the Chángtīng and Níngdū-2 and 3 forms, which have finals -ɛ, -ɛi, and -ɛ respectively. This correspondence profile points to CNH *-e as the origin of all three modern finals (see §3.4.1 of Chapter III). This deictic in Méixiàn appears to be directly related to the near demonstrative, from which it is distinguished by tone difference. For this reason, we may suspect that the Méixiàn near demonstrative should be derived from earlier *ke3.

A number of dialects show a form which is reconstructable as *ka5, with tonal variant in Tone 3. This form is very likely a deformed permutation of *kai5 ~ *kai3. Likewise for the form [ai5] in Lìzhīzhuāng, which appears to be a mere variant of the competing form [kai5] there.

Xīchāng [ne5], Nánkāng [ni5], and Quánnán [nei2] can perhaps be derived from earlier *ne5 ~ *ne3, though we would expect Xīchāng final [ɛi] in a set of this type (see §3.4.1 of Chapter III).

Hǎilù and Sixiàn show variant forms in [na1], which may be a borrowing from Taiwan Mandarin.

Function words

5.2.77 existential negative (“not have/not exist”)

BMH [mâu ~ mô] 無; MX [mo2] 無; HL [mo2] 麼; SX [mo2]; LF [mo2]; LZ [mbau2] 有;
SHT [mau2] 有

HY [mo2] 無; XY [mo2 iu1] 無有; DB [mo2 iu1] 無有; YL [mau2; mau2 tɛʔ7] 有; 有得;
XC [mau2; mau2 tɛʔ7] 有; 有得

CT [mo2] 毛; WP [mo2] 毛; YD [mou2]; SH [mu2]; LC2 [mo2]

NK [mo2] 無; AY [mo2]; SY [mo2]; QN [mau2] 無; ND1 [mau2] 無; ND2 [mau2] 有; ND3
[mau2] 毛

Two etyma function as existential negatives in Hakka, both of which were known to the Basil Mission compilers. The first word is reconstructable as CNH *mau2. It is worth noting that this syllable cannot have been derived from CNH *mou2. We can determine this from the Yílǒng form. In this dialect, modern [au] after labials can only derive from earlier *-au, as exemplified in bāo 包 YL [pau1] (<CNH *pau1) “wrap”; mǎo 卯 YL [mau3] (<CNH *mau3) “fourth earthly branch”. CNH *-ou yields Yílǒng [əu] in this environment, as in máo 毛 YL [məu1] (<*mou1) “(body) hair”; bǎo 保 YL [pəu3] (<*pou3) “protect”. In the above set, all cases of -au or -əu should therefore be derived from earlier *-au. (Cf. Chapter III, §3.2.4 and §3.1.7 regarding CNH *-ou and *-əu respectively. Compare also the cognate set for máo 毛 in the Appendix.)

The remaining forms (including Yǒngdìng [mou2], it should be noted) should probably descend from the second existential negative, which must have had initial *m- plus a rounded final of some sort. The two western Guǎngdōng dialects, Xīnyí and Diànbái, are of particular interest, because they combine this negator with a following [iu1], which is of course the basic existential verb yǒu 有(=CNH *ieu1). Thus, in these dialects our target word negates the existential element, while in the remaining ones where it occurs, it is the negative existential *par excellence*. Let us, then, consider the full reconstruction of this Common Neo-Hakka syllable. Its final appears to have been rounded, and at first glance a likely possibility seems to have been CNH *-o. However, this solution does not account for the Héyuán form, for in this

dialect CNH *-o consistently yields HY -uo after labials. Compare for example mó 磨 HY -[muɔ2] (< CNH *mo2) “grind”, pó 婆 HY [p’uɔ2] (< CNH *p’o2) “old woman”. Indeed, the existential negative mɔ2 appears to be the only syllable in our Héyuán lexical material where modern final -ɔ occurs after a labial initial. The syllable is thus structurally and typologically unique. All this strongly suggests that the final of the ancestral form of this word must also have been in some way unique in the common system. Our suggestion is that the Common Neo-Hakka form be reconstructed as *muo2. CNH *-uo, it will be recalled, is reconstructed after both gutturals and coronals, but we have not so far posited it after labials (see Chapter III, §3.2.3). We may assume that this *muo2 became later [mo2] or [mɔ2] in most dialects, but [mu2] in Shàngháng. Its specific development in Héyuán can be represented schematically as follows, where the parallel evolution of syllable type *mo is juxtaposed for comparison:

	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
negative	*muo2	> *mo2	> mɔ2

	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
“grind”	*mo2	> muɔ2	muɔ2

Thus, the words for the negative and the verb “grind” were never homophonous in Héyuán and therefore never merged there. It is sometimes taken for granted, either explicitly or tacitly, that all the Hakka existential negatives cited in the above set have a common origin in a single proto-form. But, as we have attempted to show here this view will not stand up to comparative analysis. Instead these forms must be viewed as two different syllable types having two separate origins, one of which we have reconstructed as CNH *mau2, and the other as *muo2. Whatever actual reconstructions one posits for them, they cannot have been one and the same morpheme in the proto-system.

5.2.78 verbal negative (“not”)

BMH [m ~ m̂]; MX [m2]; HL [m2]; SX [m2]; LF [m2]; LZ [m1]; SHT [m1]
HY [m2]; XY [m2 ~ mɔ2]; DB [mo2]; YL [m2]; XC [m2]

CT [ŋ2]; WP [ɱ2]; YD [ŋ1]; SH [ŋ1]; LC1 [ŋ2]; LC2 [ŋ2]

NK [ŋ2]; AY [ɱ2]; SY [ŋ2]; XS [ɱ2 ~ ŋ2 ~ ŋ2]; QN [ŋ2]; ND1 [ɱ2]; ND2 [ŋ2]; ND3 [ɱ2]

In this set we are able to add vernacular forms from Liánchéng-1 and Xiūshuǐ, since the sources happen to provide them in the case of this grammatical functor. From this material we note that most Hakka dialects use a syllabic nasal as their verbal negative. However, the western Guāngdōng dialects are exceptional in utilizing forms in modern [mo2] and [mɔ2]. This is true of all nine dialects surveyed in the source for these languages (i.e., Li 1999), and in all nine cases the negative in question is in each dialect identical with that dialect's existential negative. Xīnyí differs from its fellow western Guāngdōng dialects in that, in addition to verbal negative [mɔ2], it also has as a syllabic nasal [ɱ2]. The syllabic nasal is used exclusively to negate the copula [hei5], while [mɔ2] is used for all other verbs. The relationship between the two is therefore allomorphic in the dialect.

In accounting for the forms in this set, our hypothesis is that the original verbal negative was in fact CNH *muo2 ~ *muo1, i.e., essentially same word reconstructed as the existential negative in a number of dialects, with the exception that some dialects have a Tone 1 variant for the verbal negative. This negative may have been very lightly stressed, or even unstressed, in most environments and in most dialects, often becoming something like *mə in actual speech. Subsequently, everywhere but in western Guāngdōng it was reduced to a syllabic nasal, *ɱ2 ~ *ɱ1, which was then either retained as such or modified to a velar or dental syllabic nasal. In Xiūshuǐ all three syllabic nasal types occur, apparently in free variation. These points are illustrated as follows:

General Development: *muo2 > *mə2 > *ɱ2 > Modern forms: ɱ2/ŋ2/ŋ2

Western Guāngdōng: *muo2 > Modern forms: mo2/mɔ2

The appearance of the syllabic nasal as a copular negator in Xīnyí is interesting. It is theoretically possible that it is an endogenous development. More likely in our opinion is that it has been borrowed from some external source, either a Yuè dialect or some other form of Hakka.

5.2.79 perfective negative (“not yet”)

BMH [mâng; mâng tshiên]; MX [maŋ2 t'ien2; ɱ2 t'ien2] 盲□; 唔□; HL [maŋ2; maŋ2 tet7]
□得; SX [maŋ2; maŋ2 tet7]; LF [maŋ2]; LZ [˦bɑu2] 冇; SHT [mau2]
HY [mau2]; XY [mɔ2]; DB [mo2]; YL [ɱ2 tɛ'ien2] 唔前; XC [ɱ2 tɛ'ien2]
CT [maŋ2 ts'ɛŋ2] 蠻曾; WP [maŋ2; maŋ2 niɛŋ2]; YD [mou2]; SH [maŋ2 ɳiẽ2 (~ tɛhiẽ2)];
LC2 [ɲ2 ts'æŋ2; maŋ2] 蠻曾; 盲
NK [ɲ nẽ2] 無曾; AY [ɲ ts'əŋ2]; SY [ɲ ts'ẽ2]; QN [ɲ tɛ'ien2]; ND1 [mau2]; ND2 [mau2];
ND3 [mau2]

This concept is expressed in several ways in the dialects. Two of these are easily described. To wit, the existential negatives *mau2 (Lizhīzhuāng, Song Him Tong, Héyuán, and Níngdū) and *muo2 (Xīnyí, Diànbái, and Yǒngdìng) are simply anteposed to the main verb in the same way as the existential negative méiyǒu 沒有 is formed in MSC.

The remaining dialects use other words and constructions. Basil Mission, along with many other points, has two different forms. The first of these is a word reconstructable comparatively as CNH *maŋ2, which is at first glance etymologically obscure, as the different sinographic representations of it in the various sources indicate. In fact, however, this syllable is almost certainly a fusion of the general Hakka verbal negative plus the word céng 曾, which is used in the analogous formal written MSC and pre-modern Guānhuà expression bùcéng 不曾 “not yet”. Recalling now Jerry Norman’s suggestion that the Hakka plain verbal negative derives from the Classical Chinese negative wú 無 (1995: 33), the possible fusional derivation in his Early Chinese system can be hypothesized as follows:

EC *ma 無 + *’dzing 曾 > Pre-CNH *m[ə]2 (< *muo2) + *ts’ɛŋ2 > CNH *maŋ2

As can be seen in the data set, this word *maŋ2 functions alone as a perfective negative in a number of the dialects. However, Basil Mission also gives a second form, mâng tshiên, to which we must now turn our attention. The second element in this phrase also occurs in the Yílǒng, Xīchāng and Quánnán forms, as well as in the second Shàngháng variant; and these are sufficient to support the reconstruction of CNH *ts’ian2. This syllable is homophonous with the word qián 前 (CNH *ts’ian2) “before”, and some of our sources actually identify it with

this word. In our view, this traditional interpretation may in fact be correct, i. e., it is possible that things which had not yet been done were to be viewed as “*not yet* having occurred *before*”. But in any case what is of primary importance here is that there is no difficulty in reconstructing the earlier form of the syllable.

Now, the interesting pair of Shàngháng forms strongly suggests that the syllable [ɲiẽ2] in the variant phrase [maŋ2 ɲiẽ2] is simply an assimilated or sandhi form of [tɕhiẽ2] (< CNH *ts'ian2). And this observation suggests a key to two further forms in the set, i. e., Méixiàn [maŋ2 t'ien2] and Wǔpíng [maŋ2 niẽ2]. In these phrases, the enigmatic second syllables [t'ien2] and [niẽ2] are almost certainly also simply assimilatory permutations of earlier *ts'ian2.

With these observations in mind, we now turn to [ɱ2 tɕ'ien2] of the two Sichuān dialects and to Quánán [ɲ tɕ'ien2]. In these cases it seems clear that the general Hakka verbal negative ɱ2/ɲ2 (< *mɔ2 < *muo2) has been combined with *ts'ian2 to form the perfective negative construction. And this in turn supports our analysis of the Méixiàn form [ɱ2 t'ien2].

We now turn to Liánchéng-2 [ɲ2 ts'æŋ2], Ānyuǎn [ɲ ts'əŋ2], and Shàngyóu [ɲ ts'ẽ2]. Here we simply have the general Hakka verbal negative combined with the word céng (CNH *ts'əŋ2), i. e., a Hakka analogue of formal MSC and older Guānhuà bùcéng 不曾. And the odd second syllable of Nánkāng [ɲ nẽ2] is then surely a permutation of earlier *ts'əŋ2, as our source has in fact suggested. This then leaves us with the Chángtīng form [maŋ2 ts'əŋ2], which appears to be a combination of the two Common Neo-Hakka syllables *maŋ2 and *ts'əŋ2. It may seem odd that *maŋ2, which we believe to be a fusion of [ɱ2] (< *mɔ2 < *muo2) and *ts'əŋ2, could then be tautologically recombined with yet another *ts'əŋ2. However, the reason for this may be that the etymological origin of *maŋ2 was no longer fully recognized in this dialect, and so, on the model of forms like *maŋ2 ts'ian2, a new form *maŋ2 *ts'əŋ2 was created to serve as perfective negative in Chángtīng.

Finally, we may note that the secondary forms read [maŋ2 tet7] in Hǎilù and Sixiàn are reconstructable as CNH *maŋ2 tek7, where the second syllable is dé 得, as the source has in fact recognized.

5.2.80 subordinative/attributive particle

BMH [kè ~ kài]; MX [ke5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]

HY [kɛi]†; XY [kɛ]††; DB [kai5]; YL [kɛ1]; XC [ki5]

CT [ke(5)]‡; WP [kɛ(5)]; YD [kai3]; SH [kɛ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [ke5]; AY [ke5]; SY [ke2]; XS [kɛ5]; QN [ki5]; ND1 [kɛi5]; ND2 [kɛi]†; ND3 [ke5]

†Tone neutral in our material.

††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps equivalent to a neutral tone.

‡Tone normally neutral.

Two forms for the subordinative particle are reconstructable, i.e., CNH *kai5 and *ke5, both of which are reflected in the Basil Mission materials. It is theoretically possible that these two words derive from a common source, e.g., that *ke5 evolved from *kai5 due to the special unstressed intonational realization this element probably had in ordinary speech. The matter is indeterminate but should be investigated.

Chapter VI: Varia and Conclusions

6.1 The Demographic and Migration History of the Hakka-speaking People and the Shē Ethnic Minority.

6.1.1 The Early Period

Since the history of the Hakka is closely intertwined with that of the Shē minority, whose language is also closely related to Neo-Hakka, it will be necessary to discuss the two together here. As a separate study of Shē language and history will be published later (Coblin Ms.1), our remarks on the Shē will be abridged here.

It is generally agreed that the earliest large-scale Sinitic penetration of South China was the five-army, 500,000-man expedition launched by Qín Shǐhuáng 秦始皇 (259 BC–210 BC) in 221 BC. Historical source material on the specific activities of this expeditionary force in the South Central Highlands has been conveniently collected and summarized by Li (1993: 117–118). The relevant Qín 秦 subsidiary force of 100,000 moved up the basin of the Gàn 贛 River to its southernmost terminus and occupied the area of intersecting tributary watersheds where modern Gànzhōu 贛州 and Nánkāng 南康 are located. From there they seized control of the Héngpǔ 橫浦 Pass and crossed over into the area south of the ranges. In subsequent years, they posted garrisons in the interior of the Highlands. These outposts were manned not only by regular rank and file troops but also by military-agricultural colonists. A very similar garrison system was maintained during the subsequent Western and Eastern Hàn 漢 periods (202–8 BC and 9–220 AD respectively; Li 1993: 118). Additionally, the numbers of the garrison contingents and colonists were supplemented at a slow but steady rate by non-military immigrants. These civilians came for various reasons. First of all, though Chinese farmers in general preferred to settle in the fertile flatlands of the Gàn watershed, some hardy souls nonetheless chose to brave the unknown and move from there into the Central Highlands, where the first colonists had already put down roots. Secondly, there was in the upland areas the added incentive that it was easier there to remain off the official tax registers and also to escape the corvée levy. And, finally, the Highlands offered a safe refuge during the periods of civil anarchy and military disorder that became increasingly pressing as the Hàn Dynasty declined and ended

and the Six Dynasties Period (third through sixth centuries AD) began. All in all, the absolute numbers of Sinitic immigrants in the Central Highlands was not great, but these people did come to constitute a Sinitic majority there. This point now leads us to consider who made up the non-Sinitic *minority* of the area.

Lǐ (1993: 118) points out that, from the beginning, the Sinitic settlers, whom we shall henceforth designate as the “Highlanders”, lived among, and in close contact with, the indigenous aboriginal inhabitants of the South Central Highlands. Who, then, were these people? Although it is difficult to identify them with certainty, we can draw certain inferences regarding them, based on statements found in traditional Chinese historical sources (Lǐ 1993: 118). To begin, it is clear that they were culturally and linguistically non-Sinitic. We know this because they were denoted in Chinese sources using terms such as Yuè 越 and Mán 蠻, which were reserved for peoples the Chinese considered to be “barbarians”, i.e., ethnically different from themselves. Secondly, it is clear from the descriptions we have of them that they were rather diverse, being comprised of what the Chinese perceived as different groups of people, rather than a single linguistic or ethnic entity. Thirdly, they are said to have comprised tribal or extended clan groupings rather than centrally governed, highly structured polities of the sort found among the Chinese. Fourthly, they were at least partially migratory rather than being sedentary on a Chinese model. And, lastly, they lived by swidden field farming and/or hunting and gathering, rather than as Chinese-style labor-intensive agriculturalists. These people, with whom the Highlanders lived in close, and to a considerable extent amicable, association, we shall call here the “(Aboriginal) Indigenes” of the South Central Highlands.

The fall of the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty in 316 AD initiated what traditional Chinese historians call Yǒngjiā zhī 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, it would seem that their influence on the Jiāngxī area was minimal, for here the northern migrations affected only the northernmost rim 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. 2, 398–399). What happened over most of the region south of there appears to have simply been

a continuation of the longstanding, steady, low-level movement into optimally cultivable flatlands, and, from there, to a lesser degree, onward into the Highlands. These trends led to settlement not only in the Gàn watershed proper, reaching downward to the Gànzhōu area and beyond, but also into tributary drainages such as that of the Fǔ River 撫河, where modern Línchuān 臨川 and Nánchéng 南城 are located (Huáng 1996: 33), and thence into the mountains above these places. But a massive wave or “population pulse” of immigrants such as that which affected the demographic picture farther east did not occur in Jiāngxī. The general trend of gradual, “trickle down” migration continued, apparently as late as the first part of the Táng 唐 period (618–907). The migration routes followed by the migrants who ultimately contributed to the gradually growing numbers of Highlanders are shown in Map II.



Map II: Major Routes followed by Migrants who reached the Central Highlands

As we have noted above, it is widely assumed that relations between the Highlanders and the Indigenes were symbiotic and, on the whole, amicable during the periods with which we have so far dealt. This inference is derived from the subsequent linguistic and cultural characteristics of the much later Shē people, who are thought to be descended from the Indigenes (Lǐ 1993, and many similar studies collected in Shī 1987, and Association for Yan Huang Culture of Fujian 2007, vol. 1).⁵⁸ What, first of all, was the nature of the symbiosis

⁵⁸ In this connection, see also Leong 1997: Introduction by G. William Skinner, and 31–34.

envisaged here? To begin, we should recall that Sinitic migrants into the Highlands were, upon their arrival there, not real Highlanders, but instead transplanted “lowlanders”, i.e., Chinese farmers accustomed to tilling fertile and readily irrigable flatlands and planting lowland cultivars there. The Highlands were a very different place from those with which these people were acquainted. These new lands were heavily forested, and their climate was drier and cooler than the flatlands. Also, soils in the Highlands were fundamentally different from those which the migrants had previously farmed. Settling in their new homes must have seemed a daunting task to them. On the other hand, the Indigenes were on their home ground in the Highlands. They had had generations of experience in upland forest clearance and were highly knowledgeable about soil types, planting, and the varieties of cultivars that would thrive in Highland fields. Their tutelage would have been invaluable to their new neighbors. On the other hand, the Highlanders brought with them from the valleys below a higher level of culture, both material and intangible, than the Indigenes had hitherto known. Each side would, then, have had much to learn from the other. Of particular interest to us is the probability that a significant number of Indigenes shifted from their own non-Sinitic language or languages to the form of Chinese spoken by the Highlanders. This point now brings us to the question of Shē origins, on which we must briefly comment.

In discussing the origins of the Shē people,⁵⁹ it is useful to make a distinction between the modern-day Shē, who in recent centuries have lived in a widely dispersed archipelago of relatively introverted village communities, mainly in the coastal provinces of Guǎngdōng, Fújiàn, and Zhèjiāng 浙江, and the clearly identifiable Shē of historical times. We shall accordingly call the latter the “Ancestral Shē”, while the former will when necessary be referred to as the “Modern Shē”, or simply as the “Shē”. We may then note that there is good evidence of several kinds for linking the original home of the Ancestral Shē with the South Central Highlands, where the non-Sinitic Aboriginal Indigenes and the Sinitic Highlanders lived together symbiotically in early times. To begin, there is strong evidence in Chinese historical

⁵⁹ A detailed and penetrating recent study of this entire question is Liú Tíngyù’s (2013) doctoral dissertation, from which our thinking on these matters has greatly benefitted. We are most grateful to Dr. Liú for allowing us to read this fine contribution.

sources for this link. Full argumentation, based on both dynastic and local histories, has been provided by Zhōu (1987: 281–284). In quite a different vein, oral tradition from Shē settlements in Guǎngdōng links the Shē with the Highlands. And clan registers from there tell the same story (see Zhū & Jiāng: 4–6, for both types of Guǎngdōng evidence). Finally, it is interesting that a number of toponyms in the Highlands contain the syllable shē, written either 畚 or 肇 (Zhou 1987: 283–284). The former could conceivably mean simply “swidden field”, but the latter is unlikely to have had that meaning. It seems possible that these place names indicate the presence of a people called “Shē” there in pre-modern times. These points, taken together, suggest that the Ancestral Shē constituted at least a part, and perhaps even a predominant part, of the Aboriginal Indigenes in the period stretching from the earliest Sinitic settlement of the Central Highlands down to the first half of the Táng period.

With these conclusions in mind, we can now turn to the matter of language. To begin, we may reasonably suspect that the Sinitic immigrants who first entered and began to settle the Central Highlands spoke some sort of early or “pre-medieval” Chinese. This “Southern Highland Chinese” must ultimately derive from one or more sub-varieties of early Sinitic language, which were at some point brought into the lowlands of the Yangtze and Gàn watersheds, whence the earliest Highlanders of course had proximally come. From the time of the first Qín-period military-agricultural colonists down through the Hàn and Six Dynasties eras, successively later and phonologically more evolved language types must have been imported into the Highlands and gathered into the linguistic amalgam that was developing there. But, except where we are actually able to find clear evidence for finer distinctions and gradations, we have no choice but to treat this early form of Highland Chinese as a unitary entity.⁶⁰

In his book *Chinese*, Norman (1988a: 210) envisaged an early type of Sinitic, which he called “Old Southern Chinese”, and which would have been ancestral to several different modern southern dialect families. This view, which has engendered some controversy (e.g., see Sagart 2002), was nonetheless maintained by Norman until the end of his life (see ap. Coblin

⁶⁰ One type of such evidence is in fact the distinction between Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka, mentioned in §1.2 of Chapter I. We shall return to this matter in §6.4.3 below.

2013: 223–225). It is important to note that Norman did not necessarily think of his Old Southern Chinese as a single, homogeneous language, for as part of his 1988 proposal he spoke of *different types* of Old Southern Chinese; and he also suggested that these linguistic sub-varieties “no doubt quickly began to develop local peculiarities, influenced in many cases by the aboriginal languages found in various regions” (1988a: 210). Now, we can if we choose conceive of our “Early Central Highlands language” as such an early southern Sinitic language sub-variety, which for convenience we can view as having originally belonged to a broader “Early South Central Chinese”. If we elect this option, then how this language may have been related to other early Sinitic varieties spoken south of the Yangtze, i.e., those found outside the greater Central Highlands region, will not be of immediate concern to us in the present study. It is rather upon South Central Highlands Chinese itself, and its ultimate relationship to Neo-Hakka and modern Shē, that we must focus our attention in the present chapter, especially in §6.3 and §6.4 below.

The Modern Shē speak a form of Chinese, which is comprised of closely related dialects of the same Sinitic language (Yóu 2002).⁶¹ And it is clear that these dialects are in certain respects rather archaic, a point with which we shall deal in more detail in §6.2 below. It therefore seems likely that the Ancestral Shē also spoke this form of Chinese in the period predating the diaspora that carried the later Shē to their present locations. It also seems reasonable to suppose that what they spoke was a form of Early South Central Chinese, i.e., the language of the Highlanders with whom they lived in close association after Sinitic penetration of the Highlands. It is widely assumed that the Ancestral Shē were “language shifters” (Sagart 2002), who gave up their own language(s) in favor of Chinese; and this too is a reasonable supposition. Exactly how the shift began and was carried through is of course uncertain. Presumably, the Ancestral Shē, at least, must have become bilingual as part of the process. To what extent the Highlanders may also have spoken both languages is less certain. Whether or not the Ancestral Shē and the

⁶¹ Here we must note that we are unconvinced of the official Chinese government position that the Honte, a Hmong-Mien-speaking people of southeast Guǎngdōng, are ethnically Shē. For, as of this writing no real evidence for this has been published. If such evidence exists, it should be given a thorough and detailed airing. In any case, we will not deal further with the Honte here.

Highlanders actually intermarried has been a contentious issue. Opponents of this view usually cite as evidence the fact that the Modern Shē who have remained in their own closed enclaves are rather strictly endogamous. But this is of course an anachronistic argument. It tells us little about what the Ancestral Shē did or did not do. On the other side of the debate, evidence from clan registers has been marshaled to support the theory of intermarriage (e.g., Dèng 2007: 177–179). In the end, this issue can perhaps only be resolved by DNA studies; and recent studies are indeed beginning to point in the direction of a shared genetic heritage between descendants of the two groups (e.g., Liu et al. 2017). In any case, intermarriage, if it occurred, would certainly have facilitated bilingualism and, ultimately, language shift.

6.1.2 The Medieval Period

As noted in the preceding section, Sinitic migration into the Gàn watershed was a process of slow percolation before Táng times, and its effects on the South Central Highlands were presumably also gradual and incremental. However, beginning in the latter half of the Táng period and extending down to the Sòng 宋 Dynasty (960–1279), two monumental events occurred in Chinese demographic history which changed forever the societal and ethnic complexion of the Central Highlands.

The first upheaval was a large-scale southern migration wave, which began with the so-called Ān-Shǐ zhī luàn 安史之亂 “the disorders of Ān Lùshān 安祿山 and Shǐ Sī míng 史思明” (755–763). These disasters permanently destabilized the Táng Dynasty, resulting in massive demographic dislocation in north China and in southward migrations that continued for nearly two centuries. Gě et al. identify among these movements three major migration streams, only one of which is of direct concern to us here. This was an extensive 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 Ānhuī 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 Jí’ān 吉安) area and beyond there to the southern

terminus of the drainage basin. Also part of this major stream was a lesser rivulet, which moved directly from the central Jiāng-Huái 江淮 region across the Yangtze into the Póyáng Plain, joining there with the migrants of the main stream as they pushed southward. 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. 3, 291–300). And, most significantly for us, as the best land in the lower watershed was occupied, appreciable numbers of immigrants would have moved farther on into the South Central Highlands.

The second 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 disaster initiated the Jìngkāng zhī nán 靖康之難 “the crisis of the Jìngkāng period”. 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. 4, 222–229). This was in a sense a reprise of the extensive population movements of the Ān-Shǐ period, and would again have thrown new northern migrants into the South Central Highlands.

The Ān-Shǐ and Jìngkāng migration waves would have resulted in unprecedented population increases and pressures in the Highlands. What effect did these events have on social and ethnic relations there? Very valuable historical source material bearing on this question has been gathered in Xiè (2007: 120–127), on which we shall base the following observations. For the mid to late ninth century, i.e., in the latter part of the Ān-Shǐ migration period, Chinese histories begin to report an increasing number of rebellions and depredations in the Highlands by groups of people identified as “barbarians” (i.e., yǐliáo 夷僚 or mánliáo 蠻僚; somewhat later also shānliáo 山僚 and dòngliáo 峒僚). These are all conventional terms of that period for non-Sinitic peoples, and Xiè cites further evidence, for example surnames of the rebel leaders, that suggests the groups in question were comprised partly, or perhaps even mostly, of Ancestral Shē. These rebels were active in virtually all parts of the Central Highlands, and they sometimes also moved farther east, descending rivers that rose in the Highlands and attacking

cities and towns in the coastal areas around modern Fúzhōu and Xiàmén. There, in the southern Mǐn lowlands at least, they apparently sometimes joined forces with aboriginal peoples who were indigenous to those areas. Whether they were related either culturally or linguistically to these lowland indigenes is uncertain.⁶²

In addition to “barbarian” rebellions, the histories also report depredations caused by persons referred to as shānkòu 山寇 “mountain bandits”, an expression normally reserved for Sinitic, or at least highly sinicized, rebels. The military situation in the Highlands was apparently rather complex. At times, both rebel types separately attacked the established authorities and/or individuals who were regarded by the government as law-abiding (i.e., tax-paying) citizens. In other instances they either fought against each other or, conversely, joined forces to attack others outside their own groups whom they viewed as common enemies. Subsequently, beginning in the Southern Sòng period (1127–1279), the historical sources provide evidence for another spike in interethnic strife and general societal violence (see especially Xiè 2007: 123 et sq.), continuing until the beginning of the Yuán 元 Dynasty (1271–1368). This corresponds directly to the period of the Jìngkāng migrations. The picture that emerges during this time replicates in many respects that we have painted for the late Táng. Interestingly, it is in connection with Sòng-time disturbances in southern Fújiàn that the term “Shē” is first used in the histories as a designation for the non-Sinitic rebels.

How are we to assess the historical information reviewed here? We should perhaps begin by considering the question of land ownership. The Ancestral Shē were semi-migratory slash-and-burn agriculturists. When they had cleared a plot of land, they farmed it for two or so years; and when the soil nutrients had been depleted, they left the plot behind and moved on. This seems to have been their practice from time immemorial. It was a lifeway which conditioned a particular attitude towards land and land use. To wit, land was utilized temporarily and then abandoned, to return to forest or jungle. Of course, while one used it, one in a sense possessed it; but there would have been inherent in this possession no concept of individual legal

⁶² During the late Táng, the non-Sinitic population of southern Fújiàn was still quite large, and in many areas Chinese immigrants were only beginning to enter and establish themselves (Jerry Norman, p.c.).

ownership. And, significantly, it would have been next to impossible for any governmental agency to impose land taxes on slash-and-burn farmers, for land that is used temporarily and then abandoned cannot be systematically registered, and there are consequently no owners who can be assessed for its value.

The case of the Sinitic Highlanders was an altogether different one, for they came from a long-established society of sedentary farmers. We have supposed that they benefitted greatly from the tutelage of the Ancestral Shē when they cleared their land, prepared the soil for planting, and chose the particular upland crops that were best suited for their new Highland fields. But at that point they parted ways with their non-Sinitic mentors. For the Highlanders, once they had cleared a plot, would have remained on it. The inevitable diminution of fertility in their fields would not have concerned them, for they had had millennia of experience in nurturing cropland and maintaining its productivity by adding fertilizers. And they would very quickly have diversified and rotated their cultivars to obtain maximum crop yields from their fields. The ability to do these things had been bred into them for untold generations. Hence, when they had settled on a piece of land, they considered it to be theirs and no one else's. Land ownership was as much a part of their culture as their skills in intensive tillage of the land. And, inevitably, sooner or later the officialdom would appear, register the land, and begin taxing it in the time-honored way.

Aboriginal and Sinitic concepts of land use and possession were thus diametrically opposed and intrinsically incompatible. However, the Ancestral Shē and the Highlanders were initially able to coexist peacefully because of low population density in the Highlands during the pre-Táng eras, and their symbiotic relationship consequently remained intact. The large-scale influx of immigrants resulting from the Ān-Shǐ and Jīngkāng migration waves upset the equilibrium that had previously existed. The semi-migratory lifeway of the Ancestral Shē brought them into direct conflict with the increasing numbers of sedentary Hàn Chinese, who would have viewed as trespassing any movement through, and/or temporary sojourns upon, lands that had been claimed by them as permanent farmsteads. Friction was inevitable and eventually led to violence. The Chinese officialdom took the side of the Hàn Chinese, since they were taxpayers and were culturally and economically Sinitic. Hence, when the Shē rose up

against what they perceived as infringement on their traditional slash-and-burn livelihood, they were branded as “barbarian rebels” and treated accordingly. The heavy influx of lowlanders from the Central Plains also led to friction between these new arrivals and the established Highlanders. This was occasioned in the main by increased competition for available land, but it was also exacerbated by the fact that the new immigrants spoke dialects that differed substantially from those of the Early South Central Highlanders and were also culturally different from them in other ways. This led to quarrels, which eventually engendered full-fledged warfare between the two Sinitic groups. It would seem that the officialdom, which was culturally and politically more closely tied to the new arrivals, took their part in the matter and accordingly branded the resentful Highlanders as “mountain bandits”. Interestingly, in certain instances the Ancestral Shē “rebels” and the Highlander “bandits” found it expedient to set aside their differences and make common cause against the new immigrants, whom they apparently sometimes perceived as a common enemy. As interests and animosities waxed and waned, alliances shifted and evolved, resulting in the complex scenario of “rebellion” and “banditry” reported in the traditional historical sources.

6.1.3 The Highland Interregnum

Tensions and conflicts between contending groups in the South Central Highlands continued into the Míng 明 Dynasty (1368–1644). However, they did undergo important evolutionary changes, which would ultimately give rise to various pre-modern and modern cultural and linguistic configurations of South China. It is to these developments that we shall now turn.

Beginning with the Sinitic groups, Leong (1997: 34–35) notes that hostile confrontations in the Highlands continued into the fifteenth century, with the government taking active steps to suppress violence as late as 1485. But this is not the full story, for it appears that during the Yuán and early Míng, which Leong characterizes as an “incubation period”, accommodation was occurring to various degrees and at various levels of the people’s lives. To wit, it seems probable that, as hostilities subsided, rancor was replaced first by burgeoning tolerance and then,

ultimately, by amity. In the long run there was also intermarriage, and with this came active linguistic amalgamation. Thus, part of the incubation process referred to by Leong involved a melding of the Early South Central Chinese language of the long-established Sinitic Highlanders with the later northern-type speech forms of the newer Sinitic immigrants. The resulting common tongue had an archaic substratum, upon which were overlaid successive later layers that shared common features with the languages of both the Ān-Shǐ and Jīngkāng migrants. The outcome was a stratally complex common speech form spoken by all Sinitic people of the Highlands. Along with language, there was also a blending of material and non-material cultures. From the Highlanders came some elements which had been inherent in the lives of the earliest Sinitic settlers before their advent in the Highlands, and others which developed there afterwards in response to the new, upland environment to which they had been forced to adapt. It has also been suggested in numerous studies included in Shī (1987) and Association for Yan Huang Culture of Fujian (2007: vol. 1)⁶³ that there were certain non-Sinitic cultural elements borrowed from the Ancestral Shē during this stage. On the other hand, from the later migrants came cultural features brought from north of the Yangtze in the late Táng and Southern Sòng periods. The end result was an entirely new Central Highland Sinitic culture, whose individuality derived in great part from the unique blend of its formative components.

Turning now to the Ancestral Shē, what can we say about their experience during Leong's "incubation" period? We are able to discern two separate and in a sense complementary reactions to the economic and societal stresses of that time. On the one hand, with the end of the old symbiotic relationship with the Highlanders, many of the Ancestral Shē began to turn inward, and cleave unto their own. To whatever extent they could, they stayed to themselves, continued to speak their own archaic form of Early South Central Chinese, little influenced by the speech of new lowland Chinese migrants, and maintained as much distance as possible from all outsiders. But, where contact was necessary or expedient, they maintained it, mastering to whatever extent necessary the evolving Sinitic speech of the Highlanders as a second language and using it when communication with their Sinitic neighbors was unavoidable. On the other

⁶³ See especially Dèng 2007: 181–183. Cf. also Li 1993: 125–126.

hand, where contacts were actively hostile, the Shē fought back even harder than before, and violence between them and the Chinese became even more intense (Leong 1997: 35).

In summary, the Interregnum was characterized on the Sinitic side by “incubation”, in which there came into being a unique type of Chinese culture, accompanied by an attendant new form of Sinitic language, which we shall call “New South Central Highlands Chinese”. On the Ancestral Shē side, there was reclusion, withdrawal from avoidable contact with the Chinese, and continued use of their own, relatively conservative form of Early South Central Chinese, which many generations before had replaced their original non-Sinitic language(s). It is these two very different developments in the population dynamics of the Central Highlands that occasioned the fundamental split in what had once been the common type of early Chinese spoken by the Sinitic Highlanders and the Chinese-speaking Ancestral Shē.

6.1.4 Late Migration and Diaspora

In this section we shall examine the ultimate emergence of the Hakka and Modern Shē peoples as fully separate ethno-linguistic entities. In so doing, we shall rely heavily on the book *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History* (1997) by Sow-theng Leong (Chinese: Liáng Zhàotíng 梁肇庭). In this groundbreaking work, Leong applies G. William Skinner’s “regional systems” model to the interpretation of population dynamics in Southeast China during the past 800 years and arrives at an incisive, nuanced, and in our opinion eminently convincing explanation for the development of the modern Hakka and Shē ethnic and linguistic groups.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ It must be observed here that Leong’s book supersedes the much older but still often cited study by Luó Xiānglín 羅香林 (Luó 1933), to which it is in our view far superior. However, it is noticeable that Leong’s book has hardly ever been mentioned by scholars working in China and does not seem to have been very widely known there. The reason for this is almost certainly that Leong chose to write his book in English rather than Chinese. It is to be hoped that the new Chinese translation of this work, published in 2013, will be widely read in China by scholars there who study Shē and Hakka history. For Leong’s critique of Luó’s work, see 1997: 29–30; cf. also Lǐ (1993: 129) for a similar assessment.

At the risk of oversimplification, we can summarize Leong's approach by noting that Skinner's model, as applied by Leong to the South Central Highlands, predicts that migration out of this area, which lies at the juncture of several of Skinner's "economic macro-regions", should occur in conjunction with economic upswings in the areas into which migration moved. Conversely, economic downswings there would induce no new migration, would retard or halt ongoing migration, and would sometimes lead to demographic backwash into or in the direction of the migrational source points. This is the model that informed Leong's analysis and will in turn guide our discussion in the present section.

Beginning with the group we have chosen to call Sinitic Highlanders, Leong notes that his "incubation period", which is dated to ca. 1320–1520, coincided with a stage of prolonged depression in the lowlands of all the Skinnerian economic macro-regions surrounding the South Central Highlands. Leong calls these highlands the "Hakka Heartland" (see Leong 1997: 34 et sq., and Skinner's detailed introduction to this work, esp. 4 et sq.). Map III shows this Hakka Heartland as delineated in a map made by Skinner for Leong's book (1997: 24, Map 1.2), with the geographical range of the Ancestral Shē superimposed.



Map III. The Hakka Heartland (orange), enclosing the Ancestral Shē Settlement Area (olive),
ca. 1500

During this time of external economic stagnation, there was no migration out of the Highlands. Instead, the Highland population remained in place, and Leong’s “incubation” led to consolidation and crystallization of Sinitic Highland culture and language. But by ca. 1530 an economic upswing had begun, which continued and persisted until a new decline cycle set in with the collapse of the Míng and the beginning of the Qīng 清 Dynasty (1644–1912). During the period of economic improvement, Highlanders began to leave their homeland and descend the drainage basins of rivers that flowed into the eastern coastal and Lǐngnán 嶺南 regions, where they hoped to identify and exploit newly available economic opportunities and resources. In moving down into lower country, they nonetheless tended to halt in areas that were topographically higher than the already densely populated flatlands. In these foothill

regions they put to good use their expertise in upland land clearance and farming, as well as other similarly acquired high-country skills such as mining, stone quarrying, logging, and medicinal herb harvesting. The lands they settled could, if still ownerless, simply be squatted upon, or, if already owned, cheaply rented from lowland landlords, who considered unirrigable soil where wet rice cultivation was not feasible to be of little economic value.

As we have noted, the Highlanders had a unique culture and language, which had evolved over many generations in their South Central Highland home. This was immediately noticed by the lowlanders who, in response, called them “strangers” or “outsiders”, i.e., Kèjiārén 客家人, Kèrén 客人, or Kèmín 客民. Strictly speaking, therefore, it is only beginning in this period that we can legitimately speak of “Hakka culture” or “Hakka language”. For to do so for earlier times is anachronistic, as if one were to call the Franks “Frenchmen” or Queen Boudica’s warriors “Englishmen”.⁶⁵ Furthermore, we should note that in this period the concept of a “Hakka” people existed only among the lowlanders. There is no evidence that the migrant Highlanders thought of themselves in these terms. In other words, to use Leong’s parlance (1997: 20), they were already an identifiable cultural body but not yet a separate ethnic group.⁶⁶ Finally, we must observe that the Highlanders who did not emigrate were never considered to be “Hakka” by anyone in pre-modern times. They quite naturally regarded themselves then, as they still do today, simply as bēndirén 本地人, “indigenes, people of this place”. It is on the contrary modern linguists who, as a result of comparative dialectological research, have chosen to call them and their speech “Hakka”.⁶⁷

⁶⁵See Lǐ (1993: 129) for an excellent discussion of this point.

⁶⁶ Leong, it will have been noted, uses the designation “Hakka” for chronological stages that precede the actual appearance of this term and the concepts it embodies in China as outlined here. Our usage is of course different from his, for we intentionally apply the term “(South Central) Highlanders” to these earlier “Pre-Hakka” stages.

⁶⁷ At this point we may note that, ultimately, there were back-migrations of “true” Hakka into peripheral areas of the Central Highlands. And, significantly, the “bēndirén Highlanders” who had never emigrated viewed these back-migrants not as compatriots but rather as outlanders, whom they characterized with

When the economy of South China again declined, and finally reached its apogee around 1700 (see Leong 1997: 42, Figure 2.1), competition for dwindling resources led to friction between the Hakka and the lowlanders. The situation was further exacerbated by environmental degradation resulting from Hakka upland farming and logging activities. Extensive denudation of the foothills led to serious erosion, which in turn caused disastrous flooding and other damage in the plains below. The combination of these factors eventually sparked outright violence and conflict between the Hakkas and the lowlanders. It was at this point that there occurred among the Hakkas what Leong characterizes as “ethnic mobilization” (1997: 14). In other words, external pressures and ethnic conflict engendered first ethnic awareness and then ethnic solidarity. It was at this point, then, that a full-blown Hakka ethnic consciousness or ethnicity emerged, and it is from this point onward that we are at last fully justified in using the term “Hakka” in its modern senses and applications. The economic cycle we have described here repeated itself several times over the centuries, and the population movements which occurred at the cyclic economic upturns are accordingly characterized by Leong (1997: Chapter 2) as the “Hakka Migrations”, a term we shall adopt here.

We shall now return to the story of the Shē. As noted in the preceding section, in response to conflict with the Sinitic population of the South Central Highlands, the Ancestral Shē tended to retreat from contact with their antagonists. However, when provoked, they resisted vigorously. The level of violence resulting from these conflicts seriously alarmed the Míng government and in the 1500’s led to increasingly harsh and repressive “pacification” campaigns, which continued into the 1600’s (Leong 1997: 35). In the end, the Shē resistance was decisively crushed, and this reverse led to their large-scale exodus from the Highlands. It is this demographic scattering that we shall call the “Shē Diaspora” and which we feel marks the transition from the “Ancestral Shē” phase to the modern or “true Shē” stage. The Diaspora occurred along two rather different trajectories. Perhaps the largest number of Shē moved southeastward to far northeastern Guǎngdōng. From there, many roamed northward into coastal Fújiàn. Some then continued onward into southern Zhèjiāng, and in some cases even farther to

terms such as Guǎngdōngrén 廣東人 “people from Guǎngdōng” or Kèjí 客籍 “foreign registrants”, linguistic and cultural similarities notwithstanding.

the north and northwest.⁶⁸ They intersettled among the Hàn Chinese of these areas, but always in their own villages or hamlets, where they became sedentary farmers on the Chinese model. Though they remained socially reclusive, they freely left their villages for economic purposes, to market their agricultural produce and handicrafts and to work as day laborers among their Hàn neighbors. As a consequence of this, most of them became bilingual or multi-lingual, speaking both their own received Sinitic Shē language and the local dialect(s) of their Hàn Chinese neighbors.⁶⁹

Another group of Shē followed a rather different path. To begin, we should note that the Shē Diaspora was to a considerable extent contemporaneous with the Hakka Migrations. And it would seem that some Shē, rather than moving to the coastal areas where most now live, instead travelled somewhat in tandem with, or in some cases even together with, the Hakkas who moved to the foothills of western Fújiàn (Leong 1997: 46). The Hakkas, it will be recalled, often rented upland property from lowland landlords (dìzhǔ 地主). They in turn could sublet their lands, whereupon they became shānzhǔ 山主 “mountain landlords”. It would appear that some Shē, rather than maintaining a hostile or reserved stance towards the Hàn Chinese Hakka, developed newly friendly relations with them. The Hakkas, for their part, remembered the Shē’s expertise in upland land clearance and hired them as short-term laborers to work in that capacity

⁶⁸ It is interesting to consider the surprisingly broad geographical extend of this population dispersal. Wáng (2007: 219) believes that it was caused in good part by the Qīng government’s concerted efforts to put an end to the Shē’s semi-migratory lifeway and compel them to adopt a settled life, enter the bǎojiǎ 保甲 system, and be registered for taxation and corvee service. In the end, of course, they had no recourse but to halt their migratory movements and submit.

⁶⁹ At this point it is worth mentioning that many Shē today preserve in their oral history an ancestral origin myth, which identifies their primeval place of origin as the environs of Fènghuángshān 鳳凰山, a mountain slightly north of the city of CháoZhōu. This account seems to reflect a subliminal memory of the odyssey that led their ancestors first to northeast Guǎngdōng, before many of them then continued on farther northward. However, in our view this story probably refers only to a major way-station in their journey. As argued in §6.1.1 above, their distal place of origin seems to have been the South Central Highlands.

(Leong 1997: 47). The Shē who accepted such employment would then build temporary shelters or huts, called liáo 寮, on the land and live there while they cleared the new fields and prepared them for cultivation.⁷⁰ Such people are sometimes referred to in written sources not as Shē but as liáomín 寮民 “shed or shack people”, and their Hakka employers are sometimes called liáozhǔ 寮主 “shed landlords”. In this way, the ancient symbiotic relationship of the South Central Highlands, between the Ancestral Shē and the Highlanders, was reinstituted and then survived into much later times among their descendants in the uplands of western and west-central Fújiàn.

In summary, we can now make some generalizations about the Shē Diaspora. It would seem that the identifiable Modern Shē today are the descendants of people who were chary of contact with the Hàn Chinese and maintained reclusive, inward-looking social relations, rather strict endogamy, and their own form of Sinitic speech. These people are the speakers of the Shē language with which we have been concerned here. Because they became bilingual in the dialects of their new homes, their Shē dialects also show more or less extensive late-stage borrowing from the dialects of those places, i.e., Yuè, Mǐn, Southern Wú, and also, notably, Hakka. Late-stage borrowings from Hakka in particular introduce considerable complexity into the study of the Shē dialects. This is because some ostensibly “Hakka” material may actually be inherited directly from the Early South Central Chinese stage, while other items may be genuine borrowings from the much later “true Hakka” dialects of people who had undergone the genuine ethnic and linguistic transformation of Leong’s “ethnic mobilization”. In places where the Ancestral Shē were willing to associate more closely with the Hàn Chinese, and probably to intermarry with them, such as in western Fújiàn, and possibly also in the Central Highlands, the Shē underwent full-fledged assimilation and completely disappeared as a discrete and identifiable ethnic group (cf. Segawa 1994: 195). And, significantly, these assimilated Shē lost entirely their unique Early Central Chinese-rooted language.

⁷⁰ The use of the term liáo 寮 (Common Shē *lau2) must predate the advent of the Diaspora, since it is in fact the Common Shē word for “house, home” and is found in all the Modern Shē dialects.

In this section we have outlined the historical and demographic interrelationships between the Hakka and Shē-speaking peoples. What then does this tell us about the probable relationship between the Hakka and Shē languages? First, we may suppose that these two dialect types shared a common history during the period when the Ancestral Shē and Early South Central Highlanders enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. The common language spoken by the two groups at this time can be tentatively called “Common Hakka- Shē”. Later, after relations between the two groups began to sour they went their separate ways and their dialects would presumably also have begun to diverge. The language spoken by the Central Highlanders would have been significantly influenced by contact with northern forms of Chinese, brought into the Highlands during the periods of the Ānshǐ and Jīngkāng migrations. This form of later South Central Highland Chinese would have been coeval with Common Neo-Hakka, the reconstructed sound system to which the present work is devoted. The language of the Ancestral Shē, by virtue of the fact that its speakers increasingly eschewed contact with all Hàn Chinese by at least late Táng times, would have been far less influenced by convergence with the late medieval forms of Chinese imported into the Highlands during the major migration events. For this reason, though it surely would have undergone internal developments of its own, it would almost certainly have preserved some features of the original form of Early South Central Highland Chinese to a greater degree than had the language of the Sinitic Highlanders. This more archaic form of language would have been equivalent to Common Shē, whose phonological system must be restored by comparing the modern Shē dialects.

It will be noted that the historical outline developed here is consonant with our views on the nature of the relationship between Hakka and Shē as outlined in §1.2 of Chapter I. This is of course hardly coincidental, since any model for the development of these languages must embrace and interrelate both the linguistic and historical aspects of the problem. It only remains to mention again our remarks in Chapter I regarding the difference between the modern Neo-Hakka and Paleo-Hakka dialects and situate them within the historical model we have developed. To wit, our view is that the ancestral Paleo-Hakka dialects were spoken by emigrant groups who left the Central Highlands separately in early periods and settled apart from one another in various areas outside the Highland heartland. Thus, their languages do not form a genetic taxon but are paraphyletic with Common Hakka-Shē. The latter was what continued to

be spoken in the Highlands after the speakers of the ancestral Paleo-Hakka dialects had departed. This hypothesis of course requires testing, which can ultimately be carried out only when we have in hand a full reconstruction for Common Hakka-Shē, with which we can then compare the various forms of Paleo-Hakka. Work of this sort lies in the future. However, we shall present a more detailed overview of this entire issue in §6.4 below.

6.2 Lexical Layering in Common Neo-Hakka

6.2.1 Syllable initials

6.2.1.1 Undentilabialized labials

It is well known that Hakka dialects have fairly numerous undentilabialized labial initials in popular words, while showing dentilabials, or forms reflecting earlier dentilabials, in corresponding character readings and in words of higher stylistic register (Norman 1988a; 1989). Examples of both will be found in §2.1 of Chapter II above. Parallel cases can often be found in Shē. However, it is quite noticeable that in Hakka non-dentilabialized sets there are nearly always competing dentilabialized examples, while the corresponding Shē sets usually have exclusively, or nearly exclusively, labial initials. Compare the following examples:⁷¹

⁷¹ Hakka sets are cited in abbreviated form. For full citation, see the Appendix. As indicated in Chapter II above, Common Shē (CS) will be cited as reconstructed in Coblin (Ms.1). Dialect points are: Fújiàn-Fú'ān 福安 (FA), Fúding 福鼎 (FD), Luóyuán 羅源 (LY), Sānmíng 三明 (SM), Shùchāng 順昌 (SC), Huá'ān 華安 (HA); Jiāngxī-Guìxī 貴溪 (GX), Tàiyuán 太源 (TY); Zhèjiāng-Cāngnán 蒼南 (CN), Jǐngníng 景寧 (JN), Lìshuǐ 麗水 (LS), Lóngyóu 龍游 (LngY); Guǎngdōng-Cháo zhōu 潮州 (CZ), Fēngshùn 豐順 (FS).

Hakka

feī 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy

[OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/*fui1

Shē

feī 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy

FA [pui1]; FD [pui1]; LY [pui1]; SM [pui1]; SC [pui1]; HA [pui1];

GX [pui1]; CN [pui1]; JN [pui1]; LS [pui1]; LngY [pui1];

CZ [pui1]; FS [pui1]; TY [pui1] CS *pui1

Hakka

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong

[OPH *p'ong ~ *p'ung1] CNH *p'ong1/*p'ung1/*fug1

Shē

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong

FA [p'ung6]; FD [p'yng6]; LY [p'ung6]; SM [p'ung6]; SC [p'ung6]; HA [p'ung6];

GX [p'ung6]; CN [p'əŋ6 ~ p'əŋ3]; JN [p'yng6 ~ p'yng3]; LS [p'yng6 ~ p'yøŋ3]; LngY [p'yung6 ~ p'yong3];

CZ [p'ung6]; FS [p'ung6]; TY [—] CS *p'iuŋ6 ~ *p'iuŋ3 ~ *p'ung6

Hakka

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh

[OPH *fan6 ?] CNH *p'on6/L *fan6

Shē

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh

FA [p'uan6]; FD [p'uan6]; LY [p'uaŋ6]; SM [p'uaŋ6]; SC [p'uɔn6 ~ p'uan6]; HA [p'an6];

GX [p'uan6]; CN [p'uan6]; JN [p'ɔn6]; LS [p'uan6]; LngY [p'uɔn6];

CZ [p'an6]; FS [p'an6]; TY [p'uaŋ6] CS *p'uon6

Hakka

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix

[OPH *fu5] CNH *pu1/*p'u1/*pu5/L *fu5

Shē

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix

FA [p'iu6]; FD [p'iu6]; LY [p'iu6]; SM [p'iu6]; SC [p'iu6]; HA [p'iu6];

GX [p'iu6]; CN [p'iu6]; JN [p'iu6]; LS [p'iu6]; LngY [p'iu6];

CZ [p'iu6]; FS [p'iu6]; TY [fu3] CS *p'iu6

The TY form is of extraneous origin.

Hakka

wèn 問 QYS mjuən- CDC *^hmvun6/EC *munh

OPH *mun5 CNH *mun5/L vun5

Shē

wèn 問 QYS mjuən- CDC *^hmvun6/EC *munh

FA [mun1]; FD [mun1]; LY [muŋ1]; SM [muŋ1]; SC [mun1]; HA [mun1];

GX [mun1]; CN [mun1]; JN [mun1]; LS [mun1]; LngY [men1];

CZ [mun1]; FS [mun1]; TY [mən6] CS *mun1

Occasionally one also encounters cases where Hakka forms dentilabialize nearly everywhere while Shē does not show this change at all, e.g.,

Hakka

fěn 粉 QYS pjuən: CDC *fun3/EC *punx

[OPH *fun3] CNH *fun3

Shē

fěn 粉 QYS pjuən: CDC *fun3/EC *punx

FA [pun3]; FD [pun3]; LY [puŋ3]; SM [puŋ3]; SC [pun3]; HA [pun3];

GX [pun3]; CN [pun3]; JN [pun3]; LS [pun3]; LngY [pen3];

CZ [pun3]; FS [pun3]; TY [—] CS *pun3

Hakka

fán 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom

OPH *fam2 CNH *fam2

Shē

fán 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom

FA [p'un2]; FD [p'un2]; LY [p'un2]; SM [p'un2]; SC [p'un2]; HA [p'un2];

GX [p'un2]; CN [p'un2]; JN [p'un2]; LS [p'un2]; LngY [p'un2];

CZ [fuam2]; FS [p'um2]; TY [—] CS *p'um2 ?

The CZ form is irregular and clearly has a different origin from other forms in this set.

Reconstruction of the Common Shē final is problematic.

Hakka

fén 墳 QYS bjuən CDC *vun2/EC *bun

[OPH *fun2—] CNH *fun2

Shē

fén 墳 QYS bjuən CDC *vun2/EC *bun

FA [p'un2]; FD [p'un2]; LY [p'un2]; SM [p'un2]; SC [p'un2]; HA [p'un2];

GX [p'un2]; CN [p'un2]; JN [p'un2]; LS [p'un2]; LngY [p'en2];

CZ [p'un2]; FS [p'un2]; TY [pən2] CS *p'un2

As indicated above, Shē does of course have dentilabial-derived forms for non-popular lexemes, though these are realized not as dentilabials in Common Shē, but rather as *h(u)-. The following are examples:

Hakka

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop

OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

Shē

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop

FA [huat7]; FD [huat7]; LY [huaʔ7]; SM [huaʔ7]; SC [huat7]; HA [huat7];

GX [huat7]; CN [huat7]; JN [fuat7]; LS [huat7]; LngY [fuot7];
CZ [huat7]; FS [fuat7]; TY [xaiʔ7] CS *huat7

Hakka

fèng 鳳 QYS bjung- CDC *vung6/EC *bumh
[OPH *fuŋ6] CNH *fuŋ6

Shē

fèng 鳳 QYS bjung- CDC *vung6/EC *bumh
FA [huŋ6]; FD [huŋ6]; LY [huŋ6]; SM [huŋ6]; SC [huŋ6]; HA [huŋ6];
GX [huŋ6]; CN [huŋ6]; JN [fuŋ6]; LS [fuŋ6]; LngY [fuŋ6];
CZ [huŋ6]; FS [fuŋ6]; TY [fuŋ6] CS *huŋ6

The Hakka material reviewed here shows two lexical layers that are reconstructable for the common system, one having undentilabialized labial initials and the other showing dentilabialization. Since it is generally agreed that dentilabials in most dialects evolved from earlier labials, we can confidently seriate our two layers, placing the labial stratum earlier than the dentilabial one. The probable date for dentilabialization in North China was the Táng period, and in the Northwest, which is particularly rich in historical phonological evidence of various kinds, the date for the onset of the process can be narrowed to approximately 600 AD, with completion achieved by about 750–800 AD (Coblin 1991a; 1991b; 1994).⁷² This leads us to suspect that the Common Neo-Hakka dentilabialized stratum is likely to have been laid down as a result of the Ānshǐ migration wave of late Táng to Five Dynasties times, though some forms could of course date from later than that. This means that Primitive Neo-Hakka of the pre-Ānshǐ period almost certainly did not have dentilabial initials. This supposition is supported by the very robust corpus of undentilabialized forms in Common Shē, for we can assume that this conservative form of South Central Highlands Chinese would be likely to have preserved an

⁷² It is possible that dentilabialization originally began in Northwest China and then spread from there to other areas. This is of course conjectural. What we can confidently say is that it began quite early in the northwest.

intact older layer of conservative forms as against a weaker stratum of later dentilabialized competing forms. It is important, however, to note that Shē did have dentilabialized forms. This tells us that Common Hakka-Shē was itself a stratally complex language. The more archaic, still completely undentilabialized language from which both branches evolved would have been earlier, and almost certainly of pre-Táng provenance. We can therefore be fairly certain that the Common Hakka-Shē unity survived until the Ānshǐ period; and this agrees well with our historical evidence, which indicates that Sinitic-Shē relations began to sour as a result of the heavy influx of northern Ānshǐ-stage immigrants.

6.2.1.2 Unshifted dental stops

Norman (1989) has drawn attention to a small number of Hakka unshifted dentals, i.e., Early Chinese dental stop initials belonging to the traditional QYS shéshàng 舌上 class which have not undergone affrication. Hakka correspondence sets of this type invariably involve a mixture of stop and affricate forms. An example from Norman's own list of eight such syllables is the following:

zhōng 中 QYS tjung CDC *ciung1/EC *trung
[OPH *tung5 ~ tšung1] CNH *tuŋ1/L *tšiuŋ1

Opposite this we find the following Shē set:

zhōng 中 QYS tjung CDC *ciung1/EC *trung
FA [tuŋ1]; FD [tuŋ1]; LY [tuŋ1]; SM [tyuŋ1]; SC [tyuŋ1]; HA [tuŋ1];
GX [tuŋ1]; CN [tuŋ1]; JN [tuŋ1]; LS [tuŋ1]; LngY [tuŋ1];
CZ [tuŋ1]; FS [tuŋ1]; TY [tɕuŋ1] CS *tuŋ1 ~ *tiuŋ1

The TY form is not derivable from either reconstruction and appears to be a loan.

Another interesting case is the following:

zhī 知 QYS tje CDC *ci1/EC *tre
[OPH *ti1] CNH *ti1/L *tši1

Here we can compare our Shē correspondence set for the verb in question:

“To Know”

FA [hai1 liaʔ]; FD [hieu3 tiʔ7]; LY [hai1 liaʔ]; SM [te1]; SC [hieu3 taʔ7]; HA [te1];
GX [hieu3 taʔ7]; CN [hieu3 tiʔ7]; JN [hou3 tiʔ7]; LS [hieu3 tiʔ7]; LngY [eieu3 tiʔ7];
CZ [te1]; FS [te1]; TY [eieu3 taʔ7] CS *hai1 siaʔ [解 O]/*te1 [知]/*hieu3 *taʔ7~ *tiʔ7 [曉
得]

Only two of our Shē dialects, Cháozhōu and Fēngshùn, use forms of the etymon zhī 知 as their word “to know”. These enable us to reconstruct the Common Shē form of this word as *te1. In both of the above examples, we see that, where Shē forms are available for comparison, they consistently have dental stop rather than affricate initials.

In addition to these examples, there are fairly numerous instances where Common Neo-Hakka has only affricate initial forms, while Common Shē must be reconstructed with competing stop and affricate initial readings. Some examples are:

Hakka

chōu 抽 QYS tʰjəu CDC *chieu1/EC *thriw
[OPH *tʰ'iu1] CNH *tʰ'ieu1

Shē

chōu 抽 QYS tʰjəu CDC *chieu1/EC *thriw
FA [t'iu1]; FD [t'iu1]; LY [t'iu1]; SM [t'iu1]; SC [t'iu1]; HA [t'iu1];
GX [ts'øu1]; CN [t'iu1]; JN [t'iu1]; LS [tɕ'iu1]; LngY [tɕ'iu1];
CZ [t'iu1]; FS [tʃ'eu1]; TY [—] CS *t'iu1 ~ *tʃ'iu1

Hakka

chuí 槌、錘 QYS dʒwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
OPH *tʰ'ui2 CNH *tʰ'ui2

Shē

chuí 槌 QYS dʒwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
FA [t'ui2]; FD [t'ui2]; LY [t'ui2]; SM [t'ui2]; SC [t'ui2]; HA [t'ui2];

GX [t'ui2]; CN [t'ui2]; JN [t'ui2 ~ tɛ'y2]; LS [t'ui2 ~ tɛ'y2]; LngY [t'ui2 ~ tɛ'y2];
 CZ [t'ui2 ~ ts'ui2]; FS [t'ui2 ~ tʃ'ui2]; TY [—] CS *t'ui2 ~ *tʃ'yi2

Hakka

zhàng 丈 QYS djang: CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx

[OPH *ts'ong6] CNH *ts'ion1/L *ts'ion6

Shē

zhàng 丈 QYS djang: CDC *jiong4/EC *drangx

FA [tɛ'yøŋ6]; FD [tɛ'yøŋ6]; LY [tɛ'yøŋ6]; SM [tɛ'yøŋ6 ~ t'ɔŋ6]; SC [tɛ'yøŋ6]; HA [tɛ'ion6];

GX [ts'ɔŋ6 ~ t'ɔŋ6]; CN [tɛ'yøŋ6]; JN [tɛ'yøŋ6]; LS [tɛ'yøŋ6]; LngY [tɛ'yøŋ6];

CZ [ts'ɔŋ6]; FS [tʃ'ɔŋ6]; TY [tʃ'uon6 ~ tʃ'on1] CS *tʃ'ion6 ~ *t'on6

Hakka

zhuō 桌 QYS (tāk) CDC —/EC —

[OPH *tsok7] CNH *tsok7

Shē

zhuō 桌 QYS (tāk) CDC —/EC —

FA [tɔʔ7]; FD [tɔʔ7]; LY [tɔʔ7]; SM [—]; SC [—]; HA [—];

GX [tɔʔ7]; CN [tɔʔ7]; JN [tɔʔ7]; LS [tɔʔ7]; LngY [tɔʔ7];

CZ [—]; FS [—]; TY [tʃɔʔ7] CS *tɔʔ7

The TY form reflects a different origin from that of the remaining forms in this set and is probably borrowed from some external source.

Here we have a situation that is in certain ways analogous to that seen for dentilabialization. To wit, the unshifted dentals belong an older layer, while the affricate initial forms represent a later one. And here again it is widely held that the stop to affricate shift in question occurred in the north in Táng times. In the Northwest, we can date its onset to the Mid-Táng, slightly later than dentilabialization (Coblin 1991b; 1994). That its advent in Hakka should be associated with the Ānshǐ migration wave seems likely, and we can accordingly assign the pre-affrication layer to some time before that.

6.2.1.3 Fricativization of Early Chinese *kh- to *h-

In popular words, Common Dialectal Chinese syllables having initial *kh- nearly always have Common Neo-Hakka variant readings in *h-, while higher register syllables tend to show only the stop initial. With this in mind, compare now Hakka sets of this type with corresponding ones in Common Shē:

Hakka

kāi 開 QYS khài CDC *khai1/EC *'khuy

[OPH *k'oi1] CNH *hoi1/*k'oi1

Shē

kāi 開 QYS khài CDC *khai1/EC *'khuy

FA [hoi1]; FD [hoi1]; LY [hui1]; SM [hue1]; SC [hue1]; HA [hoi1];

GX [hue1]; CN [huei1]; JN [fɔi1]; LS [fɔi1]; LngY [foi1];

CZ [hue1]; FS [fɔi1]; TY [xuɔi1] CS *hoi1 ~ *huoi1

The JN, LS, LngY, and FX appear to derive from the second reconstruction. The TY form could descend from either.

Hakka

kāng 糠 QYS khang CDC *khong1/EC *'khang

[OPH *hoŋ1] CNH *hoŋ1/L *k'ŋ1

Shē

kāng 糠 QYS khang CDC *khong1/EC *'khang

FA [hoŋ2]; FD [hoŋ2]; LY [hoŋ2]; SM [hoŋ2]; SC [hoŋ2]; HA [hoŋ2];

GX [hoŋ2]; CN [hoŋ2]; JN [hoŋ2]; LS [hoŋ2]; LngY [hoŋ2];

CZ [hoŋ2]; FS [hoŋ2]; TY [—] CS *hoŋ2

Hakka

kên 肯 QYS khang: CDC *kheng3/EC *'khangx

OPH *hen3 CNH *heŋ3/L *k'ɛŋ

Shē

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ: CDC *kheng3/EC *'khingx

FA [heŋ3]; FD [heŋ3 ~ heŋ3]; LY [heŋ3]; SM [hieŋ3]; SC [heŋ3]; HA [heŋ3];

GX [heŋ3]; CN [hieŋ3]; JN [hieŋ3]; LS [hieŋ3]; LngY [heŋ3];

CZ [heŋ3]; FS [heŋ3]; TY [xɛn3] CS *heŋ3

From examples of this type we see that where Common Neo-Hakka shows *k'- ~ *h- variants, Common Shē invariably has forms in *h-. And in the Hakka materials, if information on wén/bái levels is available, the *h- initial forms will nearly always be assigned the latter register. This strongly suggests that in Common Hakka-Shē the original initial in such etyma was *h-, with the *k'- forms having been introduced later as borrowings from more prestigious forms of Chinese. In other words, it is likely that in cases such as these Early Central Highlands Chinese had undergone a general shift from *kh- to *h-. Later, newer aspirated stop forms were reintroduced into Common Neo-Hakka, but Common Shē to a great extent escaped this process. It is worth noting that Common Gàn also shows occasional traces of this phenomenon, for example, cf. kǒu 口 CG *heu3b ~ *k'eu3w; but such cases are rare there. What this suggests is that the old *kh- > *h- shift may have been a characteristic not only of Early Central Highland Chinese but rather also of Early South Central Chinese in general. In the Gàn basin north of the Central Highlands the feature was almost entirely effaced by the influx of inundating northern immigrant lects during the Ānshǐ and Jìngkāng migrations. In the Highlands, it was partially eroded in the speech of the Sinitic Highlanders, as they ultimately amalgamated with immigrants from the north. But the Ancestral Shē, who eschewed contact with all Hàn Chinese beginning in the late Táng period, were relatively unaffected by the change.

Our proposed early *kh- > *h- change did not affect Common Mǐn, as reconstructed by Norman (1974),⁷³ or Common Wú (Simmons 1999: Chapter 3), so far as we know. Traces of it in the Yuè dialects suggest that Yuè-speaking areas of today were at some point influenced by Early South Central Chinese. Perhaps some variety of it was actually the dominant Sinitic

⁷³ In his last years, Norman preferred the term “Common Mǐn” to “Proto-Mǐn”. Additionally, he also read the name Mǐn as Mìn, which he considered the more correct form for the dialect name.

speech form before the massive influx of northern speakers into Guǎngdōng in medieval times. It does not occur in Common Central Xiāng (Coblin 2011). Probably, it was an archaic innovation of South Central (i.e., non-western and non-eastern) Chinese in the pre-Táng period, when this type of language was crystallizing south of the Yangtze in the Gàn River drainage basin and areas directly south of there.

Examples of the *kh- > *h- before high front vowels are rather rare in the data, for reasons that remain unclear. The following are examples:

Hakka

qǐ 起 QYS khjǐ: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3/*k'i3

Shē

qǐ 起 QYS khjǐ: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
FA [hi3]; FD [hi3]; LY [hi3]; SM [hi3]; SC [hi3]; HA [hi3];
GX [hi3]; CN [hi3]; JN [hi3]; LS [hi3]; LngY [hi3];
CZ [hi3]; FS [hi3]; TY [tɕ'i3] CS *hi3

The TY form appears to be derived from a loan, originally read *k'i3.

Hakka

qiān 牽 QYS khien CDC *khian1/EC *'khen
[OPH *k'ian1] CNH *k'ian1/*hian1

Shē

qiān 牽 QYS khien CDC *khian1/EC *'khen
FA [hen1]; FD [hien1]; LY [heŋ1]; SM [hieŋ1]; SC [hen1]; HA [hen1];
GX [hien1]; CN [hien1]; JN [hien1]; LS [hien1]; LngY [hien1];
CZ [hen1]; FS [hen1]; TY [tɕ'ian1] CS *hien1

A different set of cases is also directly connected with the sound change we have been considering here. The following are examples:

Hakka

kū 窟 QYS khuət CDC *khut7/EC *'khut

[OPH *fut7] CNH *fut7/L *k'ut7

Shē

kū 窟 QYS khuət CDC *khut7/EC *'khut

FA [hut7]; FD [hut7]; LY [hu?7]; SM [hu?7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hut7];

GX [hut7]; CN [hut7]; JN [fut7]; LS [fut7]; LngY [fut7];

CZ [hut7]; FS [fut7]; TY [—] CS *hut7

Hakka

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax

[OPH *fu3] CNH *fu3/L *k'u3

Shē

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax

FA [hu3]; FD [hu3]; LY [hu3]; SM [hu3]; SC [hu3]; HA [hu3];

GX [hu3]; CN [hu3]; JN [fu3]; LS [fu3]; LngY [fu3];

CZ [hu3 ~ k'u3]; FS [fu3]; TY [fu3] CS *hu3

The second CZ form appears to be a loan.

Hakka

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot

[OPH *fat7] CNH *k'uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)

Shē

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot

FA [huot7]; FD [huot7]; LY [huo?7]; SM [hu?7]; SC [hut7]; HA [hət7];

GX [hut7]; CN [hət7]; JN [fuot7]; LS [fuot7]; LngY [fuot7];

CZ [huot7]; FS [fuot7]; TY [xoi?7] CS *huot7 ~ *hut7

The JN and LngY forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those of SM, SC and GX derive from the second. The remaining forms do not constitute a recognizable

correspondence set, appearances notwithstanding. Since the word is of literary register, in many contexts we may suspect that these readings are borrowed.

In these sets, Common Neo-Hakka has initial *f- opposite *k'- in variant pairs, while the corresponding Common Shē forms show CS *h-. Here we may be reasonably certain that Common Neo-Hakka has innovated by dentilabializing *h- before the vowel *u, while Common Shē preserves the older configuration in *h-. This *h-, in turn, can be viewed as deriving from an even earlier *kh-, which has fricativized in Early South Central Chinese. If this view is correct, then the Neo-Hakka dialects share the *hu- > *fu- change as an innovation vis-à-vis the Common Hakka-Shē language, which would mark them as a taxonomic unit and differentiate them from Shē.

6.2.1.4 Hakka Popular *v- corresponding to literary *h-

The following are examples of this variant pairing:

Hakka

huáng 皇 QYS ywâng CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang

OPH *fong2 CNH *voŋ2/*huoŋ2

Shē

huáng 皇 QYS ywâng CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang

FA [uoŋ2]; FD [huoŋ2]; LY [uoŋ2]; SM [uoŋ2]; SC [uoŋ2]; HA [moŋ2];

GX [huoŋ2]; CN [yuoŋ2]; JN [uoŋ2]; LS [uoŋ2]; LngY [uoŋ2];

CZ [moŋ2]; FS [fuŋ2]; TY [—] CS *huoŋ2 ~ uoŋ2

Hakka

hún 魂 QYS yuən CDC *hun2/EC *'gun

[OPH *fun2 (~ vun2 ?)] CNH *vun2/L *hun2

Shē

hún 魂 QYS yuən CDC *hun2/EC *'gun

FA [hun2]; FD [hun2]; LY [hun2]; SM [hun2]; SC [hun2]; HA [hun2];
 GX [hun2]; CN [hun2]; JN [un2]; LS [un2]; LngY [un2];
 CZ [hun2]; FS [fun2]; TY [xun2] CS *hun2 ~ *un2

Hakka

huó 活 QYS yuât CDC *huot8/EC *'got
 [OPH *fat8] CNH *vot8/*huot8

Shē

huó 活 QYS yuât CDC *huot8/EC *'got
 FA [huat8]; FD [uat8]; LY [uaʔ8]; SM [huaʔ8]; SC [huot8]; HA [uat8];
 GX [huat8]; CN [ɣuat8]; JN [uot8]; LS [uat8]; LngY [uot8];
 CZ [huat8]; FS [ʒat8]; TY [uaiʔ8] CS *uot8 ~ *huot8

The FS form must derive from earlier *iat8.

Also of related interest in this connection is the following word, which has no literary form in Hakka:

Hakka

hé 禾 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
 [OPH *vo2] CNH *vuo2

Shē

hé 禾 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2/EC *'goy
 FA [uo2]; FD [uo2]; LY [uo2]; SM [mo2]; SC [mo2]; HA [mo2];
 GX [uo2]; CN [ɣuo2 ~ ɣo2]; JN [uo2]; LS [uo2]; LngY [uo2];
 CZ [mɔ2 ~ mo2 ~ uo2]; FS [vɔ2 ~ vuo2]; TY [vo2] CS *uo2

With this compare now the following word which both popular and literary readings:

hé 和 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
 [OPH *vo2] CNH *vuo2/L *huo2

All of these examples except for hé 禾 “rice plant”, which is a purely popular word in Hakka, are clearly indicative of layering. Where wén/bái stylistic register is noted in the sources, forms having CNH *v- are identified as bái, while *h- marks the wén or literary variant. In the corresponding Shē sets, the initial configuration is invariably an onset in Common Shē *u-. This suggests that the CNH *v-/CS *u- type syllables belong to an older popular layer. However, this then raises a further question, i.e., which modern type best represents the earlier, i.e., Common Hakka-Shē initial configuration? In other words, is CNH *v- original, or is *u- the older form?

In dealing with this problem, we must begin by noting a significant fact, i.e., in the above examples all Common Neo-Hakka *v- forms and all Common Shē *u- forms have rounded nuclear vowels. But let us now compare examples where the main vowels are unrounded:

Hakka

huá 滑 QYS ywāt CDC *huat8/EC *grot ? ~ *grut ?

OPH *vat8 CNH *vat8

Shē

huá 滑 QYS ywāt CDC *huat8/EC *grot ? ~ *grut ?

FA [iat8 ~ iet8]; FD [iat8]; LY [iaʔ8]; SM [iaʔ8 ~ ɲiaʔ8]; SC [iat8]; HA [iat8 ~ iet8];

GX [iat8]; CN [ɲiat8 ~ iat8]; JN [iat8]; LS [iat8]; LngY [iat8];

CZ [ɲiat8 ~ ɲiat8]; FS [ʒat8]; TY [vaiʔ8] CS *iat8 ~ *ɲiat8

The TY form is not accounted by the reconstruction. It is derivable from an earlier *uat8 of non-Shē origin.

Hakka

huán 還 QYS ywan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren

[OPH *van2] CNH *van2/L *huan2

Shē

huán 還 QYS ywan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren

FA [ian2]; FD [ian2]; LY [iaŋ2]; SM [iaŋ2]; SC [ian2]; HA [ɲian2];

GX [ian2]; CN [ian2]; JN [ian2]; LS [ian2]; LngY [ian2];

CZ [ian2 ~ hen2]; FS [zan2]; TY [ian2] CS *ian2

This set comprises the Shē words for “to return (v.t)”. The HA initial is unexpected.

In these cases, comparison with the Common Neo-Hakka forms would lead us to expect Common Shē onsets in *ua-; but instead we find there *ia-. What has apparently happened is that the onset vowel of original “pre-Common Shē” *ua- has been unrounded to *i- by assimilation to the following vowel. This assumption suggests explanations for the Common Shē forms in the following pairs of sets:

Hakka

huáng 黃 QYS ywâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang

OPH *vong2 CNH *voŋ2/*huoŋ2

Shē

huáng 黃 QYS ywâng CDC *huong2/EC *’gwang

FA [uoŋ2]; FD [huoŋ2]; LY [uoŋ2]; SM [uoŋ2]; SC [uoŋ2]; HA [mɔŋ2];

GX [huoŋ2]; CN [yuoŋ2]; JN [uoŋ2]; LS [uoŋ2]; LngY [uoŋ2];

CZ [mɔŋ2]; FS [vuŋ2]; TY [foŋ2] CS *huoŋ2 ~ uoŋ2 ~ *ian2

Here, it seems probable that the third variant form for the word “yellow” in Common Shē was pre-Common Shē *uaŋ2, which had become *ian2 by the Common Shē stage. The first and second forms in this set appear to be of extraneous origin.

Hakka

héng 橫 QYS ywong “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng

OPH *vang2 CNH *vuaŋ2

Shē

héng 橫 QYS ywong “horizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng

FA [huaŋ2]; FD [huaŋ2]; LY [huaŋ2]; SM [huaŋ2]; SC [heŋ2 ~ iaŋ2]; HA [huaŋ2];

GX [huoŋ2 ~ iaŋ2]; CN [huaŋ2]; JN [huoŋ2 ~ fɔŋ2]; LS [huoŋ2 ~ fɔŋ2]; LngY [huoŋ2 ~ fɔŋ2];

CZ [uaŋ2]; FS [vaŋ2]; TY [ian2] CS *huaŋ2 ~ *huoŋ2 ~ *uaŋ2 ~ *ian2

The first SC form appears to be a loan, perhaps from some northern dialect or koine.

This example is in certain ways similar to the preceding one, except that here we have a seeming contradiction, for we find variants in both CS *uaŋ2 and *iaŋ2. Our suggestion in this case is that the form *uaŋ2 is in fact a late borrowing into Shē, which has therefore escaped the dissimilation process we have proposed above. This approach also allows us to account for the following example:

Hakka

huà 話 QYS ywai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
[OPH *fa6 ~ *va5 ?] CNH *va6 ~ *voi1/L *hua6

Shē

huà 話 QYS ywai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
FA [uo6]; FD [ua6]; LY [ua6]; SM [ua6]; SC [ua6]; HA [ua6];
GX [uo6]; CN [yua6]; JN [uo6]; LS [uo6]; LngY [uo6];
CZ [ue6 ~ ua6]; FS [voi6~ va6 ~ ua6]; TY [vΛ6 ~ vo6] CS *ua6 ~ *uo6

The first CZ and FS variant forms are irregular. The CZ form is probably a Southern Mǐn loan.

We may tentatively suppose that CS *ua6 in this example is of extraneous origin. The second variant, *uo6, is unproblematic. Perhaps it represents an original or “native” Shē form.

With these points in mind, we must now consider the following pair of sets:

Hakka

kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *khuai5/EC *khwrath
[OPH *k'uai5] CNH *k'uai5/*fai5

Shē

kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *khuai5/EC *khwrath
FA [hi ai1]; FD [hi ai1]; LY [hie i1]; SM [hi ai1]; SC [hie i1 ~ hi ai1]; HA [hi ai1];
GX [hi ai1]; CN [hi ai1]; JN [hi ai1]; LS [hi ai1]; LngY [ɕie i1];
CZ [hie i1]; FS [hi ai1]; TY [k'Λ i1] CS *hi ai1

The TY word is not derivable from CS *hi ai1 and is in fact probably a loan from a southern Wú dialect.

Beginning with the Hakka set, we see a Common Neo-Hakka variant pair of the sort encountered in §6.2.1.3 above. And we may suspect that the form *k'uai5 is the later borrowed member of the pair, while CNH *fai5 is the older form, almost certainly descended from earlier *huai5. This is the form which should be compared with the Common Shē one. But instead of a Common Shē *huai1 here, we find instead CS *hiai1.⁷⁴ This surely is because an earlier pre-Common Shē *huai1 (< *huai5) has undergone the vowel dissimilation observed above and become *hiai1. And from this example we can also draw another inference, i.e., that this dissimilatory process must have affected *u regardless of whether it occurred in absolute initial position or after some other element. This then leads us to suspect that the original Common Hakka-Shē initial configuration of words such as huá 滑 and huán 還 was also *ua- rather than *va-. Shē has innovated by dissimilating *ua- to *ia-, while Hakka has changed it to *va-. Neither has retained the original form for these words.

We have already seriated the two lexical layers with which we have been dealing in this section. In closing, we shall also attempt to date them more precisely on an absolute chronological scale. And here early Northwest Chinese evidence can again be brought into play. For example, let us consider the word huán 還 from the list above. In northwest transcriptions of the fifth century AD, this syllable 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 (Coblin 1994). Evidence of this type confirms our suspicion that Common Neo-Hakka forms in *v- (< Common Hakka-Shē *u-) are older, while those in *h- are later. But it also aids us in dating these forms. For the former can now be identified as of pre-Táng provenance and may in fact date from Yǒngjiā or even earlier times, while the latter can probably be assigned to the Ān-Shǐ layer of the late Táng period.

⁷⁴ Note that Common Shē Tone 1 is the regular correlate of Common Neo-Hakka Tone 5 in syllables of this type, as has been pointed out by Nakanishi (2010).

6.2.1.5 Common Neo-Hakka *ts'- corresponding to *s-

The following are examples of this pairing:

Hakka

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx

[OPH *ts'iong5] CNH *ts'iong6/L *siong5

Shē

CS *ts'iong6⁷⁵

Hakka

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh

[OPH *ts'ia6] CNH *ts'ia6//L *sia6

Shē

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh

FA [tɕ'ia6]; FD [sia6]; LY [tɕ'ia6]; SM [ɕia6]; SC [tɕ'ia6]; HA [ɕia6];

GX [ɕia6]; CN [ɕia6]; JN [ɕia6]; LS [ɕia6]; LngY [ɕia6];

CZ [ɕia6]; FS [ɕia6]; TY [—] CS *sia6 ~ *ts'ia6

Hakka

xú 徐 QYS zjwo CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za

[OPH *ts'i2] CNH *ts'iu2/*siu2

Shē

CS *sy2⁷⁶

In examples of this type, CNH *s- initial forms are often identified as being of literary register. QYS and Common Dialectal Chinese forms have the fricative initial *z-, and the usual initial in the North Chinese koines of various periods is also a fricative rather than an affricate.

⁷⁵ Reconstruction based on data from Dèng (2013).

⁷⁶ Reconstruction based on data from Dèng (2013).

It therefore seems probable that the CNH *s- forms represent northern importations. Dating of such borrowing is difficult. A possible instance where this can be accomplished using tonal criteria will be discussed in §6.2.3.4 below.

6.2.1.6 Common Neo-Hakka *ŋ- vs. corresponding to *v-

Examples of this pairing are:

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *ngui6/EC *'ngwath
OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

wán 頑 QYS ngwǎn CDC *nguan2/EC *ngron
[OPH *ngan2] CNH *ŋuan2/*van2

wù 悟 QYS nguo- CDC *ngu6/EC *'ngah
[OPH ?] CNH *ŋu6/*vu6

Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of late Táng and Five Dynasties times render wài 外 as 'gwe or 'goi, 頑 as 'gwan, and wù 悟 as 'gu, where initial 'g- probably represents the prenasalized consonant [ʔg], a special characteristic of medieval Northwest Chinese dialects. Farther east the initial was probably simply [ŋ] during the same period. The Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin reconstruction for wài 外 is *vuai6 (Coblin 2010: 168), showing loss of the earlier initial nasal. The Common Neo-Hakka form *vai5 has the same general syllabic shape as this early Mandarin syllable. It is probable that Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin dates from the time of the Jīngkāng migrations, and we may accordingly suspect that *v- initial readings in such sets as these date from no earlier than that, while our *ŋ- initial forms must be older.

6.2.2 Syllable finals

6.2.2.1 CNH *-iai vs. *-i

Syllables reconstructed with CNH *-iai often have variants in *-i, and the sources frequently identify the latter as literary readings (see Chapter III, §3.1.5 for examples). A typical syllable of this type is the following:

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *'diyx
OPH *t'ai1 CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

In 'Phags-pa Chinese this word is spelled di [ti], indicating that in standard forms of Chinese of the 1200's its final was -i (Coblin 2007). In late Táng Tibetan transcriptions from Dunhuang, it is spelled as de, while in Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit from the mid-Táng it represents Indic dhe (Coblin 1994). However, there are also other syllables in the Táng Chinese Buddhist transcriptional corpus where the final in question here (i.e., QYS -iei) renders Indic i. Probably, the merger of this final into a common *-i was already in progress in late Táng times in the north. Thus, the CNH -i final literary readings for words such as dì 弟 could have been borrowed as early as the Ānshǐ migration period but might also date from as late as the Jīngkāng stage or later. It is therefore difficult to arrive at a precise dating. The Common Shē form for dì 弟 is *t'ai6, and in our view the Common Hakka-Shē final was probably *-iai6, i.e., identical with the Common Neo-Hakka form and Norman's Common Dialectal Chinese *-iai. The absolute chronological age of this final is not determinable using the methods we have so far employed to deal with such problems, since nothing like it is reflected in early transcriptional or other such materials.

6.2.2.2 CNH *-an vs. *ian

CNH final *-an in examples of this type occurs after velar initials. An example is the following:

jiān 間 QYS kǎn CDC *kan1/EC *kren
[OPH *kan1] CNH *kan1/L *kian1

This syllable is usually spelled *kan* in Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional sources, while in ‘Phags-pa Chinese it is spelled *gȳan* [kjan]. It is likely that the literary layer form dates from the *Jingkāng* stage, while the older form **kan1* could derive from any period before that time.

6.2.2.3 CNH *-oi vs. *-ai

An example of this pairing type is the following:

ài 愛 QYS ʔai- CDC *oi5/EC *’uyh
[OPH *oi5] CNH *oi5/*ai5

Rounding in the main vowel of this final had already been lost by the mid-Táng, when the Buddhist transcriber Amoghavajra (705–774) used the syllable ài 愛 to render Sanskrit *ai* and *āi*. Many more such examples from this period occur in the transcriptional data, and all later sources confirm that the final was basically “ai-like”. This suggests that Common Neo-Hakka -ai final forms of this type were probably introduced by at least the early Ānshǐ period, though they may date from earlier times. Northwest Chinese *fǎnqiè* formulae from mid-Táng times and erroneous character substitutions from Dunhuang vernacular texts strictly separate QYS final -ai and -āi final syllables, indicating that these had not yet merged at that time. But, whatever the difference between them was, it cannot have involved a rounding contrast of the *oi/ai* type in the Northwest. By ‘Phags-pa times, the two finals had completely merged as [ai]. The Common Shē reconstruction for ài 愛 is **oi1*, confirming the rounding of the final for Common Hakka-Shē, which, it may be noted, also agrees with that of Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese reconstruction.

6.2.2.4 CNH *-on vs. *-an

Transcriptional evidence bearing on syllables with this final type date back to Eastern Hàn times, and all of it points to “an-like” readings. However, Common Shē has **-on*, confirming rounding at least back to the Common Hakka-Shē stage for this family of dialects. Interestingly,

examples of the following type do allow us to situate our *-on readings within a general time frame:

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɔn-, bjwɔn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh
[OPH *fan6 ?] CNH *p'on6/L *fan6
CS *p'uon6

Here, the undentilabialized Common Neo-Hakka initial of the first form enables us to date the entire syllable form to at least the Six Dynasties period, as we have seen in §6.2.1.1 above. This then gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the final.

6.2.2.5 CNH *-ot vs. *-at

After labial initials, *-at occurs as a variant reading for *-ot in nearly all of our examples for this final. A sample case is the following:

bō 鉢 QYS puât CDC *pot7/EC *'pot
[OPH *pat7] CNH *pot7/*pat7
CS *puot7

The following case is of particular interest:

fā 發 QYS pjwɔt CDC *fat7/EC *pot
OPH *pot7 CNH *pot7/L *fat7

Here, the undentilabialized initial of CNH *pot7 places this syllable no later than Six Dynasties times, suggesting that the rounded final also dates from no later than that. The word bō 鉢 “alms bowl” is an Eastern Hàn transcription of an Indic form (cf. Sanskrit pātra, Pāli patta “id”), with an unrounded vowel. Northwest transcriptional evidence from Amoghavajra uses fā 發 as a transcription of Sanskrit phal-, showing that the vowel of the syllable was unrounded in mid-Táng times. (The Chinese initial correspondence with Indic ph- here may reflect dentilabialization on the Chinese side. This process had of course long since occurred in North Chinese by Amoghavajra’s time.) The dentilabial initial of the literary form allows us to

date it to the Ānshǐ period or later. Interestingly, the Common Shē forms for this word are *huot7 ~ *huat7, which reflect a dentilabialized reading rather than a labial one. This form must therefore postdate the Common Hakka-Shē period.

6.2.2.6 CNH *-iu vs. *-ie

This pairing is well represented in the data; and, as pointed out in §3.3.2 and §3.4.2 of Chapter III, the *-ie forms in such cases are based entirely on data from the Jiāngxī dialects or from Fújiàn dialects that are contiguous to Jiāngxī. Mei (2013: 305–310), has suggested that the *-ie readings belong to a layer that arose in Hakka through contact with the Gàn dialects. This view is convincing, in our opinion. However, exactly what the nature of the contact with Gàn was remains to be determined. Direct borrowing is of course a possibility. Survival of a vestigial substrate of some sort should also be considered. Complex examples of the following type are particularly interesting:

Hakka

nǚ 女 QYS njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax

[OPH *ŋ3] CNH *ŋ3/*nie3/L *ñiu3

Shē

nǚ 女 QYS njwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax

FA [ŋy3 ~ ɲi3]; FD [ŋy3 ~ ɲi3]; LY [ŋy3 ~ ɲi3]; SM [ŋy3]; SC [ŋy3]; HA [ɲiu3];

GX [ŋøu3 ~ ɲiu3]; CN [ɲy3 ~ ɲi3]; JN [ɲy3 ~ ɲi3]; LS [ŋy3]; LngY [ɲy3];

CZ [ɲion3]; FS [ɲiu3]; TY [ɲiu3] CS *ŋy3 ~ *ɲi3

Hakka

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga

OPH *ng2 CNH *ŋ2/*ñiu2/*ɲie2/*ɲei2/L *iu2

Shē

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga

FA [ŋy2]; FD [ŋy2]; LY [ŋy2]; SM [ŋy2]; SC [ŋy2]; HA [ɲiu2 ~ ɲiu2];

GX [ŋøu2 ~ ŋiu2]; CN [ŋy2]; JN [ŋy2]; LS [ŋy2]; LngY [ŋy2];
CZ [ŋion2]; FS [ŋiu2]; TY [ŋiu2] CS *ŋy2

In the Mainstream Hakka dialects, the syllabic nasal forms for “woman, daughter” and “fish” are the popular pronunciations, which occur as the ordinary vernacular words for these entities. And throughout the Hakka-speaking world, where these syllabic nasal forms are paired with other realizations of the etyma in question, the former are normally identifiable as *bái* pronunciations, while the latter are viewed as *wén* readings. For these reasons, it seems highly likely that the syllabic nasal forms belong to the oldest layer of the Common Neo-Hakka lexicon, while the other readings are later accretions of some sort.

With these observations in mind, we can now turn to the parallel Common Shē sets. Here we find that the word for “fish” is reconstructed as CS *ŋy2, while one of the forms for “woman, daughter” is *ŋy3. And it is significant that the Common Shē final *-y often corresponds directly to CNH *-iu in cognate sets. Now, no syllable type *ŋiu having been reconstructed for Common Neo-Hakka, we are led to wonder if in “pre-CNH”, the words for “fish” and “woman, daughter” were in fact *ŋiu2 and *ŋiu3 respectively. Whether the Common Hakka-Shē forms had finals in *-iu, *-y, or something else, must await full comparative study of Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē.

Returning to the Hakka set for “woman, daughter”, we may now speculate that the original, “native” form for this word was *ŋiu3. This represents the oldest layer. Somewhat later than this is *nie3, which is extraneous and ultimately derives in some way from Gàn. And, finally, we have *ñiu3, which is clearly identifiable as a reading pronunciation for the character nǚ 女. This is almost certainly an extraneous loan form. The oldest form, *ŋiu3 (>*ŋ3), may in fact derive from the Early Central Highlands Chinese period. The latest form, *ñiu3, could perhaps have been imported during the Ānshǐ migrations. The remaining form, *nie3, is of uncertain antiquity. Clarification of its history must await further studies of the population dynamics of central and southern Jiāngxī in the relevant periods.

The Common Neo-Hakka forms for “fish” are somewhat more complex. In parallel with “woman, daughter”, we can posit *ŋiu2 (>*ŋ2) as the oldest form, *ñiu2 as a later, medieval

period importation, and *ŋie2 as a “Gàn-influenced” form. The literary character reading *iu2 must be very recent and may even date from as late as the early modern or modern periods. The final form, *ŋei2, must for the nonce remain a mystery. We cannot convincingly tie it to anything else we have been dealing with here.

6.2.2.7 CNH *-iaŋ vs. *-iŋ and *-aŋ vs. *-eŋ

As we have seen in §3.5.5 and §3.4.7 of Chapter III, these pairings represent popular vs. literary pronunciations of the same etyma. And where Common Shē forms are available, they invariably correspond to the *a-vowel forms in Hakka, e.g.,

tīng 聽 QYS thieng CDC *thiang1/EC *’theng
[OPH *t’ aŋ5] CNH *t’ iaŋ1/*t’ iaŋ5//L *t’ iŋ1/*t’ iŋ6
CS *t’ aŋ1

shēng 生 QYS şong CDC *shang1/EC *sring
OPH *sang1 CNH *saŋ1/L *seŋ1
CS *saŋ1⁷⁷

It seems beyond question that the *a-vowel readings in these sets represent the older forms in Hakka, while those in *-iŋ and *-eŋ are later importations, probably dating from the period of the Jingkāng migrations. This observation then leads to a further one, which may ultimately prove to be of some importance for Chinese linguistic and demographic history. For a striking fact is that the layering observable in these Hakka finals is also detectable in the Gàn and Central Xiāng dialect groups. Compare now the following:

⁷⁷ Data supporting this reconstruction were taken from Dèng (2013).

	Common Neo-Hakka	Common Gàn ⁷⁸	Common Central Xiāng ⁷⁹
tīng 聽			
Layer I	*t'iaŋ1	*t'iaŋ1	*t'ioŋ1
Layer II	*t'ioŋ1	*t'ioŋ1	*t'in1
shēng 生			
Layer I	*saŋ1	*saŋ1	*soŋ1
Layer II	*seŋ1	*seŋ1	*sən1

It defies credence to suppose that these stratal parallels are fortuitous, particularly in view of the fact that the three dialect groups in question form a continuum, beginning with Hakka in the southeast, moving then north and westward through Gàn, and finally arriving at Central Xiāng to the west. And if, as we have suggested, the Hakka layers were laid down as the result of particular migration waves, then it stands to reason that the same waves must have affected the areas where the Gàn and Central Xiāng dialects are spoken.

6.2.2.8 CNH *-i vs. *-i

As we have seen in §3.6.1 of Chapter III, the apical final *-i is an integral and well-established part of the Common Neo-Hakka sound system. However, it does alternate there with *-i, especially in the popular layer of the lexicon. The following examples illustrate this:

sī 絲	QYS	si	CDC *si1/EC *si
[OPH *si1]		CNH *si1/*si1	
CS *si1			
sǐ 死	QYS	si:	CDC *si3/EC *siyx
OPH *si3		CNH *si3/*si3	
CS *si3			

⁷⁸ After Coblin (2015).

⁷⁹ After Coblin (2011).

zǐ 姊 QYS tsi: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsiyx
 [OPH *tsi3] CNH *tsi3/*tsi3
 CS *tsi3

Apicalization of earlier *i in syllables of this type is generally thought to have occurred in North Chinese in late Táng to Five Dynasties times. In Northwest transcriptions of the mid-Táng period, Amoghavajra still used such syllables to transcribe Sanskrit forms having the vowel -i-, and Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions from Dunhuang spelt them with Tibetan -i. Our guess would be that apical vowel readings in Hakka should probably be dated to the Ānshǐ migration period or later.

6.2.3 Tones

6.2.3.1 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 2

This type of pairing involves syllables of the following type:

lóng 龍 QYS lung CDC *^hlung2/EC *'long
 OPH *lung1 CNH *luŋ1/*luŋ2

máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *^hmou2/EC *'maw
 OPH *mou1 CNH *mou1/mou2

wén 蚊 QYS mjuən CDC *^hmvun2/EC *mun
 OPH *mun1 CNH *mun1/L vun2

As mentioned in §4.1 of Chapter IV, Norman (1989) pointed out that Tone 1 readings of syllables of this sort are a distinctive peculiarity of Hakka. He also suggested that Tone 2 variant forms, which are often specifically identified as literary in register, are later borrowings from some external source. The third example above is interesting in this respect, since the Tone 2 form of the pair shows dentilabialization. This suggests that it was borrowed no earlier than ca. 600 AD and probably dates from mid-Táng times or later. Perhaps it, together with other such Tone 2 variants, are importations of the Ānshǐ period.

6.2.3.2 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 3

Words of this type have exclusively sonorant initials or zero syllable onsets, e.g.,

yǒu 有 QYS jəu: CDC *yeu4/EC *wix

OPH *iu1 CNH *ieu1/V B*ieu3

lěng 冷 QYS lɔŋ: CDC *laŋ4/EC —

[OPH *laŋ1] CNH *laŋ1/L *laŋ3/*leŋ1

lǐng 領 QYS ljäng: CDC *liang4/EC *lengx

OPH *liang1 CNH *liaŋ1/L *liaŋ3/*liŋ1

The Tone 1 readings of such pairings are prototypically Hakka and represent a native development. On the other hand, when stylistic register is indicated in the sources, it is the Tone 3 variants that are usually said to belong to the literary register. In Common Dialectal Chinese, these syllables had Tone 4 (yángshǎng), while it is a notable characteristic of North Chinese dialects that such words join the common shǎngshēng of these languages. That the Tone 3 character readings in question here were borrowed from a northern dialect or koine of this type seems likely, and that must have happened after the assignment of these syllables to northern Tone 3. When this may have occurred is a question to which we shall turn in the next section.

6.2.3.3 CNH Tone 1 vs. Tone 6

This pairing is closely related to that discussed in the preceding section, in that it involves obstruent initial words that had Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yángshǎng). Examples of it are:

dàn 淡 QYS dām:., dām- CDC *dam4/EC *'damx

[OPH *t'am1] CNH *t'am1/L *t'am6

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *'diyx

OPH *t'ai1 CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

hòu 後 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
[OPH *heu6] CNH *heu1/L *heu6

Norman (1989: 333–334) considered the Tone 1 readings in syllables of this type to be a “distinctive Kèjiā trait”. The presence of Tone 6 readings in such cases he then attributed to “late reading traditions”. We may suppose that these later readings were imported at a time when the donor dialects, which were almost certainly northern, still retained upper and lower register qùshēng tones and assigned Common Dialectal Chinese obstruent initial yángshǎng words of this type to the lower tone (i.e., Tone 6, yángqù). As has often been noted on the basis of textual evidence of various types (e.g., Wáng 1985), this major tone change had begun in North China by the latter part of the Táng Dynasty. Thus, our Tone 6 variants probably date from the Ānshǐ period or later. The same inference can be drawn for the Tone 3 variants discussed in the preceding section, for they must belong to a period after Common Dialectal Tone 4 (yángshǎng) had been lost in the North and the sonorant initial syllables in question had joined the now general shǎngshēng tone (i.e., northern Tone 3).

6.2.3.4 CNH Tone 6 vs. Tone 5

The following are examples of this pairing type:

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *'lakh
OPH *lu6 CNH *lu6/L *lu5

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *ngui6/EC *'ngwath
OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

xiàn 縣 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion6/EC *'gwenh
[OPH *ian5] CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
[OPH *ts'iong5] CNH *ts'ion6/L *sion5

As noted in §4.5 of Chapter IV, Tone 5 variants in pairs of this sort may be loans from northern dialects in which CDC Tone 6 had merged into Tone 5. However, arriving at an exact chronology for this development is difficult. Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, which probably dates from the time of the Jingkāng migrations, can be reconstructed with distinct upper and lower qù tones (Coblin 2011). Loans into Hakka from this type of dialect would presumably postdate the Jingkāng period. But if the borrowed material came from more northerly dialect types, this time frame might not be valid. The matter remains problematic. The forms for the syllable wài 外 are interesting in this connection. As noted in §6.2.1.5 above, Dunhuang Tibeto-Chinese transcriptions of late Táng and Five Dynasties times render this word as ‘gwe and ‘goi, where initial ‘g- probably represents the prenasalized consonant [ʔg]. Farther east the initial was probably simply [ŋ] during the same period. The Common Yangtze Watershed Mandarin reconstruction for this syllable is *vuai6 (Coblin 2011: 168), showing loss of the earlier initial nasal. The Common Neo-Hakka form *vai5 has the same general syllabic shape as this early Mandarin syllable but must date from a time when upper and lower qù had merged. Perhaps it was borrowed during the late Southern Sòng period, if not later than that.

6.2.3.5 CNH Tone 8 vs. Tone 7

Cases of this pairing involve sonorant initial syllables. The following are examples:

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *^hliuk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk

OPH *liuk7 CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8

ròu 肉 QYS ńjuk CDC *^hnhiuk8/EC *nuk

OPH *_nliuk7 CNH *ñiuk7/*ñiuk8

As we have noted in §4.6 of Chapter IV, O’Connor (1976: §6.2) and Norman (1989: 331–332) attribute Tone 7 readings of this syllable class to the presence of a voiceless sonorant initial series at some earlier stage of the language. Norman then suggests that Tone 8 variant readings in such cases are later literary loans from dialects where Common Dialectal Chinese sonorants regularly condition the development of modern lower register tones. This proposal is surely

correct, but it remains difficult to date the suggested Tone 8 loan stratum in absolute chronological terms. In any case, we are clearly dealing with layering here.

6.3 Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē — Determining the Relationship

In §1.2 of Chapter I we noted the important contribution of Nakanishi (2010), in which he pointed out that the Shē dialects share common innovations with Hakka vis-à-vis the QYS. And, significantly, he also showed that the Shē dialects possess among themselves unique common innovations which are not shared with the rest of Hakka (i.e., our Neo-Hakka). In other words, the Shē dialects differ *en bloc* from the “traditional” Neo-Hakka group in significant and demonstrable ways. Nakanishi’s case is patently convincing. However, in our view there should be added to it a demonstration that Common Shē cannot possibly be systematically derived from Common Neo-Hakka and cannot therefore simply be considered a Neo-Hakka dialect. This is what we shall attempt to do in the present section.

Our first point concerns the undentilabialized labials and unaffricated dental stops discussed in §6.2.1.1 and §6.2.1.2 above. In each of these cases, Common Shē possesses specific archaic initial forms which are not present in Common Neo-Hakka, so far as we can currently determine. In cases such as these, the Common Shē forms cannot be generated from the reconstructed Common Neo-Hakka system using ordered rules or regular processes. If we assume that Shē and Hakka had a proximate common origin, which is in fact the position of both Nakanishi and the present work, then we can hypothesize that Neo-Hakka has undergone extensive erosion of its original unchanged labials and dentals through replacement by later borrowed forms.⁸⁰

The second point concerns the curious *ua > *ia change in Common Shē, with which we have dealt in §6.2.1.4 above. When this configuration occurs in absolute initial position, we

⁸⁰ Logically there is of course the alternate possibility that Common Neo-Hakka is derived from Common Shē. To the best of our knowledge no one has ever proposed this, and it could in fact be easily refuted. We shall not deal with it further here.

have proposed that its pre-Shē origin was *ua-. The corresponding Hakka configuration is *va-. It is of course theoretically possible that an earlier *va- could have yielded Common Shē *ia-; but a change of this sort would be unusual. Vowel unrounding of *u to *i as a dissimilatory change is the simpler and more natural alternative. And, additionally, we have noted the case of the word kuài 快, which is *hia1 in Common Shē but *k'uai5 and *fai5 (< *huai5) in Common Neo-Hakka. Here, the simplest assumption is that both the Shē and second Hakka forms derive from an earlier *huai5. There is no simple or cogent way that the Shē form could derive from an earlier *fai5.

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē have a generally parallel distinction between dental and postalveolar/alveopalatal fricatives, e.g., CNH *s-/ʃ-; corresponding to CS *s-/ʃ-, etc. However, there is not complete parity between the two systems. Compare, for example, the following Shē sets:

shān 衫 QYS ʃam CDC *sham1/EC —
FA [ʃam1]; FD [sam1]; LY [ʃaŋ1]; SM [saŋ1]; SC [san1]; HA [sam1];
GX [san1]; CN [sam1]; JN [sam1]; LS [san1]; LngY [san1];
CZ [sam1]; FS [sam1]; TY [ʃan1] CS *ʃam1
Cf. CNH *sam1

shuāng 霜 QYS ʃjang CDC *shong1/EC *srang
FA [ʃɔŋ1]; FD [sɔŋ1]; LY [ʃɔŋ1]; SM [sɔŋ1]; SC [sɔŋ1]; HA [sɔŋ1];
GX [sɔŋ1]; CN [sɔŋ1]; JN [sɔŋ1]; LS [sɔŋ1]; LngY [sɔŋ1];
CZ [sɔŋ1]; FS [sɔŋ1]; TY [ʃɔŋ1] CS *ʃɔŋ1
Cf. CNH *sɔŋ1

shuāng 雙 QYS ʃaŋg CDC *shong1/EC *strong
FA [ʃuŋ1]; FD [suŋ1]; LY [ʃuŋ1]; SM [suŋ1]; SC [suŋ1]; HA [suŋ1];
GX [suŋ1]; CN [suŋ1]; JN [suŋ1]; LS [suŋ1]; LngY [suŋ1];
CZ [suŋ1]; FS [suŋ1]; TY [ʃuŋ1] CS *ʃuŋ1
Cf. CNH *suɔŋ1

shù 數 QYS sju- CDC *shu6/EC *sroh
 FA [ɬu1]; FD [su1]; LY [ɬu1]; SM [su1]; SC [su1]; HA [su1];
 GX [su1]; CN [su1]; JN [su1]; LS [su1]; LngY [su1];
 CZ [su1]; FS [ɬu1]; TY [ɬu1] CS *ɬu1
 Cf. CNH *su5

In these cases Common Shē has *f- opposite CNH *s-, and it is obvious that the difference between the two systems cannot be predicted on the basis of the Common Neo-Hakka configuration. However, the distribution of *f- in Common Shē does match perfectly that of CDC *sh- (and QYS ɬ-) in these examples. Clearly, then, what has happened is that Hakka has lost an earlier distinction which Shē has preserved; and, ultimately, Common Hakka-Shē must be reconstructed with the older initial distribution in order to derive the modern forms of each branch. But to derive Common Shē directly from Common Neo-Hakka would be impossible.

Our fourth point involves tonal categories. In §6.2.3.5 above, we have noted a set of sonorant initial entering tone words that take Proto-Hakka Tone 7 rather than the lower register Tone 8 that would be expected in such cases. These, according to O'Connor and Norman, must derive from older forms with voiceless sonorant initials. Cases of this tonal oddity do occur in the Shē data, but they are rare. The following is an example:

niè 鑼 QYS njäp CDC *^hniap8/EC *nrap
 FA [ɲiap7]; FD [nɛp7]; LY [ɲieʔ7]; SM [nieuʔ7]; SC [nieuʔ7]; HA [nep7];
 GX [nieuʔ7]; CN [niap7]; JN [niap7]; LS [nieuʔ7]; LngY [nieuʔ7];
 CZ [ɲiap7]; FS [ɲiep7]; TY [—] CS *ɲiap7 ~ *niap7 ~ *ɲiep7 ~ *niep7

This complex set clearly reflects a variety of readings from disparate sources. But all four suggested reconstructions are supported by examples from at least two dialect points.

Cf. CNH *ñiap7

However, most such cases where O'Connor and Norman noted this peculiar Hakka tone 7, and for which we also have parallel Shē data, take Common Shē tone 8. The following are examples:

wà 襪 QYS mjwɔt CDC *^hmvat8/EC *mot

FA [uat8]; FD [uat8]; LY [uaʔ8]; SM [muaʔ8 ~ mueʔ8]; SC [muot8 ~ mot8]; HA [mut8];
GX [muot8 ~ mot8]; CN [yuet8 ~ yat8]; JN [uot8 ~ uat8]; LS [uot8 ~ uat8]; LngY [muot8 ~
uat8];

CZ [mat8]; FS [muat8 ~ mat8]; TY [mɔiʔ8] CS *uot8 ~ *muot8

The m- initial SM, SC, HA, and CZ forms derive regularly from the first reconstruction. Those of GX, LngY, FS, and TY derive from the second. The final of the first CN form is irregular and unexpected in a set of this type.

Cf. CNH *mat7

rì 日 QYS ńzjet CDC *^hnhit8/EC *nit

FA [ɲit8]; FD [ɲit8]; LY [ɲiʔ8]; SM [ɲiʔ8]; SC [ɲit8]; HA [ɲit8];
GX [ɲit8]; CN [ɲit8]; JN [ɲit8]; LS [ɲit8]; LngY [ɲit8];

CZ [ɲit8]; FS [ɲit8]; TY [ɲiʔ8] CS *ɲit8

Cf. CNH *ɲit7/*ɲiat7

é 額 QYS ngɔk CDC *^hngak8/EC *ngrak

FA [ɲaʔ8]; FD [ɲaʔ8]; LY [ɲaʔ8]; SM [ɲaʔ8]; SC [ɲaʔ8]; HA [ɲaʔ8];
GX [ɲaʔ8]; CN [ɲaʔ8]; JN [ɲaʔ8]; LS [ɲaʔ8]; LngY [ɲaʔ8];

CZ [ɲiaʔ8]; FS [ɲaʔ8]; TY [ɲɔʔ8] CS *ɲaʔ8

The final of the TY form is irregular.

Cf. CNH *ɲak7/*ɲiak7/*ɲek7

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *^hmuk8/EC *^ʷmok

FA [muʔ8]; FD [muʔ8]; LY [muʔ8]; SM [muʔ8]; SC [muʔ8]; HA [muʔ8];
GX [muʔ8]; CN [muʔ8]; JN [muʔ8]; LS [muʔ8]; LngY [muʔ8];

CZ [muʔ8]; FS [muʔ8]; TY [məuʔ8] CS *muʔ8

Cf. CNH *muk7

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *^hliuk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk

FA [lyʔ8]; FD [lyʔ8]; LY [lyʔ8]; SM [lyuʔ8]; SC [lyuʔ8]; HA [lioʔ8];
GX [liuʔ8]; CN [lyʔ8]; JN [lyʔ8]; LS [lyʔ8]; LngY [lyuʔ8];

CZ [lioʔ8]; FS [lioʔ8]; TY [liəuʔ8] CS *liuʔ8

Cf. CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8

Here the third Common Neo-Hakka form does have a Tone 8 reading, but it is clearly the first form, *liuk7, which must correspond directly to the Common Shē form.

The Proto-Hakka forms in these sets cannot be ancestral to the Shē ones. Instead, we must suppose that the Common Shē tone class is the original one and that the Neo-Hakka pattern has evolved later, probably as conditioned by the presence of voiceless sonorant initials proposed by O'Connor and Norman.

Our fifth and last point relates to the tonal problems discussed in §6.2.3.3 above. Both Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē are reconstructed with tonal systems in which Common Dialectal Chinese Tone 4 (yǎngshǎng) has been lost. Many Chinese dialects that have undergone this change merge the earlier Tone 4 syllables into Tone 6 (yǎngqù) in obstruent initial syllables, and Common Shē is in fact a case of this type. Common Neo-Hakka, on the other hand, moves them to CNH Tone 1. The following are examples of this syllable type:

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *'diyx

FA [t'ai6]; FD [t'ai6]; LY [t'ai6]; SM [t'ai6]; SC [t'ai6]; HA [t'ai6];

GX [t'ai6]; CN [t'ai6]; JN [t'ai6]; LS [t'ai6]; LngY [t'ai6];

CZ [t'ai6]; FS [t'ai6]; TY [t'ai6] CS *t'ai6

Cf. CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

Here, the finals tell us that the Hakka literary form *t'i6 cannot be directly compared to CS *t'ai6. It is instead CNH *t'iai1 that shows a regular correspondence, i.e., CNH *-iai = CS *-ai.

zhù 苧 QYS djwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax

FA [tɛ'y6]; FD [tɛ'y6]; LY [tɛ'y6]; SM [tɛ'y6]; SC [tɛ'y6]; HA [tɛ'iu6];

GX [t'u6 ~ tɛ'iu6]; CN [t'u6]; JN [tɛ'y6]; LS [tɛ'y6]; LngY [tɛ'y6];

CZ [ts'oi6]; FS [tʃ'u6]; TY [tɛy2] CS *tʃ'y6

The final of the CZ form is irregular, as are the initial and tone of the TY form.

Cf. CNH *tʃ'iu1/*tʃ'ie1

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong
FA [p'uŋ6]; FD [p'yŋ6]; LY [p'uŋ6]; SM [p'uŋ6]; SC [p'uŋ6]; HA [p'uŋ6];
GX [p'uŋ6]; CN [p'əŋ6 ~ p'əŋ3]; JN [p'yŋ6 ~ p'yŋ3]; LS [p'yŋ6 ~ p'yøŋ3]; LngY [p'yŋ6 ~
p'yøŋ3];
CZ [p'uŋ6]; FS [p'uŋ6]; TY [—] CS *p'iuŋ6 ~ *p'iuŋ3 ~ *p'uŋ6
Cf. CNH *p'oŋ1/*p'uŋ1/*fuŋ1

One might perhaps argue that the Common Shē Tone 6 forms in cases of this type are later loans which correspond to the Common Neo-Hakka literary layer that reads Tone 6 in syllables of this type. However, the set for 弟 proves that this is in fact not so. The Common Shē Tone 6 forms must on the contrary belong to the oldest attested layers of this dialect type. And, significantly for us, they cannot be regularly derived from Common Neo-Hakka Tone 1 forms in a regular way.

In addition to the five systemic obstacles we have posed above to a putative derivation of Common Shē from Common Neo-Hakka, there are many, many cases of individual words or small groups of words that are not explainable in terms of such a derivation. We shall cite one of these here as an illustration. Compare the following pairs:

Hakka

zhēng 爭 QYS tʂeng CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
[OPH *tsang1] CNH *tsaŋ1/L *tseŋ1

zhēng 正 QYS tʂjäŋg “first Lunar month” CDC *ciang1/EC *teng
[OPH *tʂang5 ~ *tʂang1] CNH *tʂaŋ1/L *tʂiŋ1

Shē

zhēng 爭 QYS tʂeng CDC *cang1/EC *tsreng
FA [tsaŋ1]; FD [tsaŋ1]; LY [tsaŋ1]; SM [tsaŋ1]; SC [tsaŋ1]; HA [tsaŋ1];
GX [tsaŋ1]; CN [tsaŋ1]; JN [tsaŋ1]; LS [tsaŋ1]; LngY [tsaŋ1];
CZ [tsaŋ1]; FS [tsaŋ1]; TY [tʂaŋ1] CS *tʂaŋ1

zhēng 正 QYS tǐāng “first Lunar month” CDC *ciang5/EC *teng
 FA [tɕiaŋ1]; FD [tɕiaŋ1]; LY [tɕiaŋ1]; SM [tɕiaŋ1]; SC [tɕiaŋ1]; HA [tɕiaŋ1];
 GX [tsaŋ1]; CN [tɕiaŋ1]; JN [tɕiaŋ1]; LS [tɕiaŋ1]; LngY [tɕiaŋ1];
 CZ [tsaŋ1]; FS [tʃaŋ1]; TY [tʃaŋ1] CS *tʃiaŋ1

Here it is evident the popular Hakka forms rather than the literary ones are the direct cognates of the parallel Shē syllables. And it is equally clear that Common Shē preserves an older distinction (as represented by CDC *-ang vs. *-iang) between the finals *-aŋ and *-iaŋ that Common Neo-Hakka does not have. In order to explain the relationship between the two dialect types here, we must posit an earlier stage, i.e., Common Hakka-Shē, and then assume that Hakka has lost medial *-i- in the word for “first Lunar month” while Shē has retained it. (For further discussion, cf. §3.1.12 and §3.1.13 of Chapter III.)

A full enumeration of such individual examples belongs by rights to a specialized comparative study of Hakka and Shē that lies beyond the scope of the present work. Our goal here has merely been to put permanently to rest any suspicions that the Shē dialects might be considered Neo-Hakka pure and simple.

In closing this section, we note again that we are in essential agreement with Nakanishi (2010) regarding the relationship between Hakka and Shē, to wit, they are separate daughter branches of an earlier common entity. Nakanishi has chosen to call that common entity “Hakka”. Our choice is to call it Common Hakka-Shē. But this is in the end a difference in nomenclature rather than of substance. It does not affect the overall agreement in our respective assessments of the nature of affiliation between the two dialect types.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In this section we amalgamate our demographic and linguistic findings into a common historical-developmental model, which then provides a blueprint for future comparative Hakka and Early South Central Highland Chinese research.

6.4.1 The Hakka question in historical perspective

In our view it is essential to move beyond current concerns with specifically Hakka demographic and linguistic history and think instead of South Central Highlanders and Early South Central Highland Chinese. For, while the speakers of Mainstream Hakka dialects today are indeed descended in part from the South Central Highlanders, and certain strata of their speech derive from Early South Central Chinese, neither they nor their dialects are the sole progeny of those early Han Chinese people and their language. Indeed, as Leong (1997) has argued, the term “Hakka” is most accurately viewed as denoting an ethnicity, which crystallized only relatively recently, during and after the Hakka Migrations. While we may wish to continue the common practice of referring to the speech forms used by the modern ethnic group as “Hakka dialects”, we tread on the shifting sands of anachronism and ahistoricity when we conflate all linguistic scions of Early South Central Chinese as “Hakka”, and all speakers of these languages as “Hakkas”. These practices should be discarded in the interests of both historical accuracy and terminological precision.

6.4.2 The Hakka-Shē question in historical perspective

A comparison of the migration and demographic historical outline presented in §6.1 with the linguistic findings of Nakanishi (2010), as adumbrated in §6.3, will show that the two mesh rather well. In §6.1 we saw that the Early South Central Highlanders and the Aboriginal Indigenes of the Central Highlands experienced an early period of symbiosis, during which the former shifted to the speech of the latter. Later, there was a rift between the two peoples, with the Aboriginal Indigenes in particular adopting a strategy of avoidance and reclusion.

Nakanishi’s finding was that the Shē dialects and those now often called Neo-Hakka (Xīn Kèjiāhuà) possess a number of common innovations, but that the Shē dialects themselves also show uniquely shared innovations in which the Neo-Hakka dialects had no part. Our own conclusions, as developed in §6.3, indicate that, though Common Shē is closely related to Common Neo-Hakka, it cannot be derived from it. Instead Shē and Neo-Hakka must be viewed as daughter branches deriving from a common source, which we have tentatively called

Common Hakka-Shē. In other words, the relationship between Shē and Hakka is similar to that between Old Frisian and Old English. These two languages are very closely related, but neither can be derived from the other. Instead, Germanists envisage a slightly older common ancestor, which is usually called Proto-Anglo-Frisian. In the case of Hakka and Shē, we hypothesize that Common Hakka-Shē corresponds to a stage of South Central Highlands Chinese, at the time when this language was spoken in common by both the Sinitic Highlanders and the Aboriginal Indigenes, and before the two groups separated. After that separation occurred, two separate languages developed, one which was Primitive Neo-Hakka and the other Common Shē. As the speech of the Sinitic Highlanders was affected by wave after wave of new Sinitic immigration into the Highlands, this type of language became the lexically multi-stratal entity we have reconstructed as broader or more general (as opposed to strictly Primitive) Common Neo-Hakka. Common Shē of course also evolved, but often not in the same ways as its sister lect, Common Neo-Hakka.

6.4.3 The Paleo-Hakka question in historical perspective

The expressions Paleo-Hakka (Lǎo Kèjiāhuà 客家話) and Neo-Hakka (Xīn Kèjiāhuà 新客家話) are of relatively late coinage. Their locus classicus is unknown to the present writer. The term Lǎo Kèjiāhuà is used in the conclusion of Zhāng and Wàn (1996), where it is enclosed in quotes, as if readers should perhaps be expected to view it as neologism. In Xiàng and Cáo (2005: 165) both Lǎo Kèjiāhuà and Xīn Kèjiāhuà are in active use and appear to be established terms. In any case, the concepts underlying these terms crystalized over several decades, beginning by at least the 1980's. In that period Chinese linguists and dialectologists were taking increasing notice of certain taxonomically obscure dialects, spoken mainly in northern Guǎngdōng and usually simply called tǔhuà 土話 “local patois” or píng huà 平話 “plain speech, ordinary vernacular”. In handbooks and atlases of that era these languages were often simply identified as “unclassified”; but, increasingly, dialectologists began to notice that they showed certain “Hakka-like” features, while at the same time lacking a number of the prototypical diagnostic characteristics used to identify “real” Hakka dialects. And it was also observed that the speakers of these dialects did not self-identify with the Hakka ethnic group,

share in their migration traditions, or otherwise feel any particular kinship with them. It was therefore hypothesized that these “quasi-Hakkas” were the descendants of early emigrants from the ancestral Hakka Heartland in the Central Highlands whose dialects had not yet undergone the changes that would have made them canonically Hakka. It is in this sense that they were viewed as “old”, while Hakka dialects proper, which were in a sense more evolved, were said to be “new”. It is very important to note that these Lǎo Kèjiāhuà speech forms were not so named because they possessed early textual attestation. It is for this reason that we have chosen to call them “Paleo-Hakka” here, rather than “Old Hakka”, a translation which in English does imply such textual attestation for a language. The term Neo-Hakka for Xīn Kèjiāhuà has been coined merely to maintain English etymological parity between the two Greek root-based expressions.

The Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka dialect that is probably best known in the West is Nánxióng 南雄. This is because of a short but very informative study of this language published by Søren Egerod (1983). Egerod’s conclusion regarding the taxonomy of Nánxióng was that it was either some unusual form of Mǐn, or at least a highly “Mǐn-like” language. Nearly a decade later, Laurent Sagart (2001) published a reassessment of the taxonomic problem, basing himself on Egerod’s original article, his own fieldwork, and a later study of Nánxióng by Xiè (1991). Sagart concluded that Nánxióng is basically Hakka-like, though it differs from typical Hakka dialects in significant ways. His reasoning and conclusions are clearly and succinctly outlined in the abstract, which is consequently worthy of full citation (1991: 142):⁸¹

Although Hakka and Nanxiong differ in their mode of devoicing, the dialect of Nanxiong city has a split treatment of the entire zhuoshang category remarkably similar to Hakka in its lexical incidence. This suggests that they share a recent common ancestor, from which the zhuoshang split was inherited. It is argued that the set of zhuoshang words which have tone 1 in standard Hakka and tone 1 or 2 in Nanxiong had tone 4 in the parent language. It is also argued that this common ancestor had not yet merged its

⁸¹ In this connection readers may also wish to compare the views of Zhāng and Wàn (1996) on Nánxióng.

quanzhuo initials with the voiceless aspirated initials. The ancestral tone 4 then merged with tone 1 in Hakka and with tone 1 or 2 in Nanxiong; and devoicing occurred separately in Nanxiong and Hakka.⁸²

Several points here are significant both for their insightfulness and their prescience. To wit, (1) Nánxióng differs from Hakka (i.e., what is now called “Neo-Hakka”), (2) Nanxiong and Hakka share certain features that have been widely believed to uniquely characterize Hakka but must now be viewed as including Nanxiong, (3) Nanxiong and Hakka must share a proximate common ancestor, and (4) Nanxiong and Hakka must have diverged at a time when the unique features shared by both had already developed in the ancestral language but when the features that distinguish the two types had not. These observations, it should be recalled, predate the advent of the terms “Paleo-Hakka” and “Neo-Hakka” by perhaps as much as four years but fully presage the concepts they embody. Additionally, they add an historical dimension to the discussion which is of fundamental importance to the chronological model we have developed in this section. For, it will be recalled, that model does not yet take account of the earliest developmental stages envisaged by Sagart in his article. However, before rectifying this deficiency, we should turn briefly to the further accrual of information about Paleo-Hakka that has occurred during the last two decades.

By the beginning of the new century, scholarly interest in Paleo-Hakka had spread well beyond Nánxióng to a wider area of northern Guǎngdōng. A major book-length contribution of this period was the detailed comparative study by Zhuāng Chūshēng 莊初昇 (2004), which afforded readers a synoptic view of the broader typological range and geographical extent of Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka. A further article a few years later was devoted specifically to the classification of these dialects (Zhuāng 2008). As time passed, it became clear that curious

⁸² The Chinese version of the abstract, which is interesting in its own right, reads as follows: 從詞彙角度看，南雄城裏話濁上字的演化和客家話是一致的，尤其是次濁上聲字的歸類，如：「馬、有、野」為一類。這表明南雄方言和客家話源於幾百年前贛南一帶的某種方言。當時這種方言還保留著全濁聲母。但南雄方言和客家話全濁聲母的清化方式完全不同，說明這兩種方言是從這同一種方言分化出來之後才發生濁音清化的。

dialects of the Paleo-Hakka type are found not only below the South Central Highlands in Guǎngdōng but also north and west of them, in adjacent areas of Húnán and in Jiāngxī. A recent doctoral dissertation is devoted in part to a survey and assessment of the latter type, with comparisons between them and the Neo-Hakka dialects of that area (Zhāng 2014a).

It is interesting at this point to consider what light these ongoing studies of Paleo-Hakka throw upon Sagart's reflections of nearly a quarter century ago regarding Nánxióng. Sagart noted that QYS *zhuó* initial syllables became voiceless plain (i.e., unaspirated) in Nánxióng, while in (Neo-)Hakka they uniformly yield voiceless aspirates. When Nánxióng is compared with Neo-Hakka dialects in order to reconstruct a common ancestral system, this correspondence pattern requires the reconstruction of a third manner type (i.e., neither voiceless plain nor voiceless aspirated) in order to account for the development of all initial classes represented in Neo-Hakka and Nánxióng. The modern data do not tell us what the phonetic nature of this third series was. They only confirm that it must have existed. Different transcriptional strategies can be used in such circumstances. A relatively abstract one would be to reconstruct something like *pH, *tH, *tsH, etc., which would contrast with *p, *t, *ts, etc., and *p', *t', *ts', etc., in order to yield the modern configurations found in the two dialect types. A more "realistic" approach, based on our knowledge of other dialect families and Chinese historical phonology, would be to adopt phonetic-like transcriptions such as *b, *d, *dz, or *pf, *tf, *tsf, etc. But whatever course is chosen, the earlier existence of the new third series must be recognized and noted. And, as Sagart pointed out, this shows that the ancestral language from which Neo-Hakka and Nánxióng derive was in this respect the same as the QYS (and of course also Common Dialectal Chinese).

Since Sagart wrote his article, the initial systems of many Paleo-Hakka dialects have been described; and Zhuang (2008: 49–51) has provided a succinct summary of these findings, specifically as they bear on the northern Guǎngdōng dialects. As it turns out, only Nánxióng realizes QYS *zhuó* stops and affricates across the board as voiceless plain. However, a number of other dialects do this to a lesser degree and under specific conditions, such as in the presence of certain initial articulatory classes and/or tone categories. But what is significant is that Sagart's original prediction of an ancestral third initial type holds for every one of these dialects,

i.e., the development of each modern system can be predicted, *mutatis mutandis*, in terms of that three-manner system, but none can be accounted for without it.

Another prediction made by Sagart in his article is that the ancestral language must have had an independent Tone 4 (i.e., *yángshǎng* tone). This has now been concretely substantiated by Zhuāng (2012) for a Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka dialect, and by Zhāng (2014b) for a Jiāngxī one, in both of which the said tone actually survives. Thus, what Sagart hypothesized regarding tone classes purely on the basis of comparative evidence has now been confirmed by actual descriptive examples discovered through new fieldwork.

The above observations bring us at last to the historical considerations with which we are primarily concerned here. To begin, it should be noted that the Paleo-Hakka dialects in aggregate do not constitute a taxonomic unit or node within a Stammbaum. That is to say, they do not show uniquely shared innovations *vis-à-vis* some earlier linguistic system. What they have in common is that each of them *individually* has certain characteristics that are prototypically Hakka and others that are characterizable as “pre-Hakka”, in the sense that they appear to predate the development of the prototypical Hakka system. Thus, the various individual Paleo-Hakka dialects, together with Common Hakka-Shē, can be said to form a higher taxon corresponding to Sagart’s proposed ancestral common language. For this reason, it would not be methodologically or historically valid to reconstruct a “Common Paleo-Hakka” system. Instead, the Paleo-Hakka dialects should be treated as independent collateral branches with Common Hakka-Shē, and then compared with it and with one another to arrive at the higher or older common stage.

How, then, are we to integrate all these points into the general historical model developed in the preceding section? To begin we note that the Guǎngdōng Paleo-Hakka varieties are spoken in upland riverine valleys and defiles that rise in the southern parts of the Central Highlands (Zhuāng 2004: 8). According to Zhāng (2014a: 228–230), those spoken in Jiāngxī are found in the relatively flat parts of riparian basins on the north side of the Highlands, while the Neo-Hakka dialects of that region are spoken at higher elevations in the uplands.

We may now hypothesize that Sagart's proposed ancestral language should in fact be identified with our Early South Central Highlands Chinese. He has further quite plausibly suggested that the speakers of the ancestral forms of what we now call Paleo-Hakka left the Highlands before the development of those features that ultimately came to typify the Hakka dialects. To this we can now add the further observation that their departure must in fact have occurred before the breakup of Common Hakka-Shē, which, as Nakanishi has shown, does share so many of these prototypically Hakka characteristics. The fact that the Paleo-Hakka dialects of today do not form a common taxon suggests that there must in fact have been a multiplicity of such emigrations, almost certainly at different times and under different historical circumstances. Migrants who moved south stopped and settled in the valleys of northern Guǎngdōng. Those who moved northward occupied relatively desirable flatlands of the riverine basins they encountered there. Much later, when true Neo-Hakka migrants arrived in these Jiāngxī areas, they settled in the more upland areas, where Zhāng (2014a) reports that their descendants are located today. Presumably, the Paleo-Hakka dialects of Húnán would have been implanted as the result of similar population dynamic processes, though this hypothesis remains to be tested.

The chronology of the Hakka Migrations has been determined with considerable precision by Leong (1997). What, then, can be said about the proposed migrations of the ancestral Paleo-Hakka speakers? Firm evidence is scant, but what can be known is of some interest. As regards the Guǎngdōng dialects, basing themselves on an examination of clan registers, Gě et al. (1997: 189) point out that during the pre-Yuán period most migrants from Jiāngxī into northern Guǎngdōng immigrated piecemeal and in small numbers during the Northern and Southern Sòng Dynasties. However, the largest numbers of people made this move in the period spanning the late Sòng to the early Yuàn. And these same authorities earlier observed that this late and large migration pulse was in great part due the disorders in southern Jiāngxī that were triggered by the Mongol invasion of that area at the end of the Southern Sòng (1993: 317). In both the 1993 and 1997 books these migrants are called “Hakkas”. However, in the later work (1997: loc. cit.) the authors express doubts concerning whether these people could have been ethnically and linguistically “Hakka” in the conventional sense of this term. This point seems well taken,

for in our view the migrants in question were really “pre-Hakka” South Central Highlanders rather than members of the mainstream Hakka ethnos of later times.

To these migration studies Zhuāng (2004: 8) adds an interesting datum, i.e., that the speakers of northern Guǎngdōng tǔhuà (i.e., Paleo-Hakka) varieties preserve oral traditions that their ancestors migrated to their present locations from Jiāngxī and Húnán during the Northern and Southern Sòng periods. This accords well with the archival findings of Gě et al. In summary, then, it seems not unlikely that the breakup of Sagart’s proposed “ancestral language”, which we would now call Early South Central Highlands Chinese, occurred from Sòng to early Yuán times. It would have been occasioned by small-scale departures of individual groups of migrants, who left the core area over an extended period covering the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

Documentation on the migration history of the Jiāngxī Paleo-Hakka dialects is disappointingly scant. According to Zhāng (2014a: 233–234), surveys of clan registers indicate significant increases in the number of Kèjiā xiānmín 客家先民 (i.e., “Pre-Hakka” or “Ancestral Hakka”) in the late Táng to Five Dynasties period. During Sòng times southern Jiāngxī is said to have been peaceful and prosperous, and census records are reported to show further population increases. The migrants who joined these population movements are said to have come from the north and from western Fújiàn. In the period spanning the end of the Southern Sòng and the beginning of the Yuán, Zhāng (2014a: 233–234) remarks upon the disorders resulting from the war of resistance against the Mongols and the flight of Jiāngxī migrants southward into Guǎngdōng, as already mentioned above. None of this information throws direct light on the particular settlement history of the early South Central Highlanders who interest us, unless perhaps immigrants from western Fújiàn into Jiāngxī can be associated with this group. The increases in population in Sòng times would be congruent with parallel developments in northern Guǎngdong at that time, but whether and to what extent they resulted from movements out of the Highlands remains unclear. Perhaps future population and migration studies will elucidate the matter.

Map IV attempts to show possible migration routes of ancestral Paleo-Hakka immigrants who departed the South Central Highlands for lower areas of Guǎngdōng and Jiāngxī. Routes are indicated by yellow arrows. These have been drawn along riverine drainage basins which

link the modern Paleo-Hakka dialect points identified by Zhuāng (2004; 2008) and Zhāng (2014a). Provincial boundaries, which are indicated by thick pink lines, follow approximate summit crest lines of the South Central Highlands Massif. Red and dark brown un-arrowed lines are modern transportation arteries.



Map IV: Possible Ancestral Paleo-Hakka Migration Routes

In conclusion, the most likely time frame for the breakup of the Early South Central Chinese linguistic unity was the Sòng to early Yuán periods. As noted in §6.1 above, this was more or less the time when friction was developing between the Sinitic Highlanders and the

Shē. The piecemeal departure of the “ancestral Paleo-Hakka” emigrants would by definition have occurred sometime before Common Hakka-Shē underwent the further shared innovations that came to characterize this combined entity. Subsequently, Shē and Hakka, though basically quite similar, went their separate ways. This must have already happened by the roughly contemporaneous Shē Diaspora and Hakka Migrations of Míng and Qīng times.

6.4.4 The road ahead

Future research on Neo-Hakka, Paleo-Hakka, and Shē studies should have the ultimate goal of reconstructing the phonology, lexicon, and syntax of Early South Central Highland Chinese. Our primary concern at present should be the first of these areas, i.e., historical phonology. To this end, we need to improve our understanding of the Common Neo-Hakka and Common Shē phonological systems, by incorporating into the process of comparative reconstruction as much new modern dialect data as possible. Next, we must compare these two proto-systems to arrive at the Common Hakka-Shē stage, which would be what is often called a “second-order proto-language”.⁸³ Then, we will be able to move even further backward by comparing this entity with the various Paleo-Hakka dialects, which should be viewed as collateral branches parallel to Common Hakka-Shē. The result of this undertaking should bring us to the Early South Central Highlands stage, which would represent one of the oldest forms of Chinese spoken in South Central China after the advent of Sinitic settlement of this area in the early centuries of our era.

Related to this admittedly rather ambitious program is the task of comparing the various later strata of Common Neo-Hakka with parallel layers in Common Gànn, Common Central Xiāng, Common Wú, etc. For we need to solidify our understanding of why the striking parallelism between the lexical strata in these systems exists and what it means for Chinese linguistic and demographic history.

And, finally, we must use what we have learned from the reconstruction of mainstream

⁸³ A term coined by Mary Haas (1958: 259).

dialect groups such as Hakka as a foundation for the study of “aberrant” Sinitic and Sinitic-like languages and language families of South China, which may in turn represent traces of very early, perhaps even prehistoric, Sinitic penetration of the South. Only when all these steps have been taken will we comprehend the full tapestry of Chinese linguistic history of the last two millennia.

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Appendix: Data

In this appendix are given all 1368 cognate sets used in reconstructing the Common Neo-Hakka sound system. The sets are arranged alphabetically by Modern Standard Chinese pronunciation of the example syllables, as spelled in the pīnyīn 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) and Early Chinese (EC; Norman Ms. 1) forms are given for each set. These too are supplied merely for reference. The twenty-six dialect points in each set are discussed in §1.4 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 §1.4 of Chapter I, competing Common Neo-Hakka forms are posited for sets where parallel variant readings are present at two or more dialect points.

A

ǎi 矮 QYS ʔäi: CDC *ai3/EC —

BMH [ái]; MX [ai3]; HL [ai3]; SX [ai3]; LF [ai3]; LZ [ai3]; SHT [ai3]

HY [ai3]; XY [ɛi3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ei3]; XC [ai3]

CT [ai3]; WP [a3]; YD [ei3]; SH [ei3]; LC1 [e3]; LC2 [—]

NK [æ3]; AY [æ3]; SY [æ3]; XS [ai3]; QN [ai3]; ND1 [ŋai3]; ND2 [ŋai3]; ND3 [ŋai3]

[OPH *ai3] CNH *ai3/*ei3

In this set, final *-ei is reflected in the Xīnyí, Diànbái, and Yílǒng forms, and in the final vowel -i Yǒngdīng, Shàngháng, and Liánchéng of the Fújiàn line.

ài 艾 QYS ngâi- CDC *ngoi6/EC *'ngath

BMH [ngâi]; MX [ŋai5w ~ nɛ5b]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [nɛ5]; LZ [ʔgɔi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]

CT [ŋɛ5]; WP [ŋɛ5 ~ ɲi5]; YD [ŋei3]; SH [ŋei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ŋæ5]; AY [ŋæ5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋai5]; QN [ŋai5]; ND1 [ŋai5]; ND2 [ŋai5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *oi5 ~ *ŋioi5 (?) / L *ŋai5

The second reconstructed form is conjectural and is based on the Méixiàn, Lìzhīzhuāng, and Fújiàn line forms. Cf. Norman Proto-Mǐn *nhiai-c “artemisia” (p.c. and Ms. 2).

ài 愛 QYS ʔai- CDC *oi5/EC *’uyh

BMH [oi]; MX [ɔi5]; HL [oi5]; SX [oi5]; LF [oi5]; LZ [ɔi5]; SHT [ɔi5]

HY [uai5]; XY [uai5]; DB [ɔi5]; YL [ŋai5]; XC [ŋai5]

CT [ue5]; WP [ue5]; YD [oi3]; SH [ue3]; LC1 [ui5]; LC2 [oi5]

NK [æ5]; AY [ʔue5]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ɔi5]; QN [ɔi5]; ND1 [ŋoe5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋuai5]

[OPH *oi5] CNH *oi5/*ai5

The second reconstruction is a late layer reading reflected in the Shàngyóu, Yílǒng, and Xīchāng forms.

ài 礙 QYS ngai- CDC *ngoi6/EC *’ngih

BMH [ngoi]; MX [ŋɔi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [ʔgoi5]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋɔi3]; YL [—]; XC [ŋai5]

CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [—]; SH [ŋue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ŋæ5]; AY [ŋue6]; SY [ŋue5]; XS [ŋoi5]; QN [ŋoi6]; ND1 [ŋoe6]; ND2 [ŋuei6]; ND3 [ŋai6]

[OPH *ngoi6] CNH *ŋoi6/*ŋai6

The second reconstructed form is supported by the Xīchāng and Níngdū-3 forms.

ān 安 QYS ʔân CDC *on1/EC *’an

BMH [on]; MX [ɔn1]; HL [on1]; SX [on1]; LF [on1]; LZ [ɔn1]; SHT [ɔn1]

HY [uan1]; XY [uan1]; DB [ɔn1]; YL [ɔn1]; XC [ɔn1]

CT [uŋ1]; WP [ueŋ1]; YD [ɔn1]; SH [uẽ]; LC1 [uɔ1]; LC2 [uɐ1]

NK [ã1]; AY [õ1]; SY [uõ1]; XS [ɔn1]; QN [ɔn1]; ND1 [ŋoɛn1]; ND2 [uon1]; ND3 [ŋuan1]

OPH *on1 CNH *on1

The Nánkāng form probably reflects an earlier *an1, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set because it is not reflected elsewhere.

àn 岸 QYS ngân- CDC *ngon6/EC *'nganh
 BMH [ngân]; MX [ɲan5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ɲan5]; LZ [ʷgan5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲuan6]; XY [ɲuan3]; DB [ɲon5]; YL [ɲan5]; XC [ɔn5]
 CT [—]; WP [ɲaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɲa5]
 NK [ɲã5]; AY [ɲã6]; SY [ɲã5]; XS [ɲon5]; QN [ɲan6]; ND1 [ɲan6]; ND2 [ɲan6]; ND3 [ɲuan6]
 [OPH *ngan5] CNH *ɲon6/*ɲan6

àn 闇~暗 QYS ʔâm- CDC *om5/EC *'umh
 BMH [àm]; MX [am5]; HL [am5]; SX [am5]; LF [am5]; LZ [am5]; SHT [am5]
 HY [am5]; XY [am5]; DB [am5]; YL [an3]; XC [an5]
 CT [ɔŋ5]; WP [aŋ5]; YD [aŋ3]; SH [ã5]; LC1 [ɔŋ5]; LC2 [ɔŋ5]
 NK [oẽ5]; AY [ã5]; SY [uð2]; XS [an5]; QN [am5]; ND1 [ɲoem5]; ND2 [ɲuom5]; ND3 [ɲuam5]
 OPH *am5 CNH *om5/*am5

aó 熬 QYS ngâu CDC *ngou2/EC *'ngaw
 BMH [ngâu]; MX [ɲau2]; HL [ɲau2]; SX [ɲau2]; LF [ɲau2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲau2]; XY [ɲau2]; DB [ɲau2]; YL [ɲau2]; XC [ɲau2]
 CT [ɲɔ2]; WP [ɲɔ2]; YD [ɲau2]; SH [ɲu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɲɔ2]; AY [ɲɔ2]; SY [ɲɔ2]; XS [ɲau2]; QN [ɲau2]; ND1 [ɲau2]; ND2 [ɲau2]; ND3 [ɲau2]
 [OPH *ngau2] CNH *ɲau2

aò 傲 QYS ngâu- CDC *ngou6/EC *'ngawh
 BMH [ngâu]; MX [ɲau5]; HL [ɲau6]; SX [ɲau5]; LF [ɲau5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲau6]; XY [ɲau3]; DB [ɲou3]; YL [ɲau5]; XC [ɲau5]
 CT [ɲɔ5]; WP [ɲɔ3]; YD [ɲau5]; SH [ɲu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɲɔ5]; AY [ɲɔ6]; SY [ɲɔ2]; XS [ɲau5]; QN [ɲau6]; ND1 [ɲau6]; ND2 [ɲau6]; ND3 [ɲau6]
 [OPH *ngau6] CNH *ɲau6

B

bā 巴 QYS pa CDC *pa1/EC *pra
BMH [pa]; MX [pa1]; HL [pa1]; SX [pa1]; LF [pa1]; LZ [pa1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pa1]; XC [pa1]
CT [pa1]; WP [pa1]; YD [pa1]; SH [pa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pa1]; AY [pa1]; SY [pa1]; XS [pa1]; QN [pa1]; ND1 [pa1]; ND2 [pa1]; ND3 [pa1]
[OPH *pa1] CNH *pa1

bā 疤 QYS pa CDC *pa1/EC *pra
BMH [pa]; MX [pa1]; HL [pa1]; SX [pa1]; LF [—]; LZ [pa1]; SHT [—]
HY [pa1]; XY [pa1]; DB [pa1]; YL [pa1]; XC [pa1]
CT [pa1]; WP [pa1]; YD [pa1]; SH [pa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [po1]
NK [pa1]; AY [pa1]; SY [pa1]; XS [pa1]; QN [pa1]; ND1 [pa1]; ND2 [pa1]; ND3 [pa1]
[OPH *pa1] CNH *pa1

bā 八 QYS pwāt CDC *pat7/EC *pret
BMH [pát]; MX [pat7]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [pat7]
HY [pat7]; XY [pat7]; DB [pat7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]
CT [pe2]†; WP [pieʔ7]††; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe6]
NK [pa7]; AY [p36]; SY [pa5]; XS [pait7]; QN [pæʔ7]; ND1 [pait7]; ND2 [pat7]; ND3 [pat7]
OPH *pat7 CNH *pat7

†DCBG: var. pa2.

††DCBG: paʔ7.

The mid-vowel final readings in the Fújiàn line appear to be intrusive and are of possible Mǐn origin. They do not show a regular correspondence pattern.

bǎ 把 QYS pa: CDC *pa3/EC *prax
BMH [pá]; MX [pa3]; HL [pa3]; SX [pa3]; LF [pa3]; LZ [pa3]; SHT [pa3]
HY [pa3]; XY [pa3]; DB [pa3]; YL [pa3]; XC [pa3]
CT [pa3]; WP [pa3]; YD [pa3]; SH [pa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pɔ3 ~ pa3]

NK [pa3]; AY [pa3]; SY [pa2 ~ pa3]; XS [pa2 ~ pa3]; QN [pa3]; ND1 [pa3]; ND2 [pa3]; ND3 [pa3]

[OPH *pa3] CNH *pa3

bà 罷 QYS bǎi- CDC *ba6/EC *brayx

BMH [phà]; MX [p'a5]; HL [p'a5]; SX [p'a5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pa5]

CT [p'a5]; WP [—]; YD [p'a5]; SH [pha3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [pa3]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [p'a6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'a5] CNH *p'a5/*p'a6

bái 白 QYS bǎk CDC *bak8/EC *brak

BMH [phák]; MX [p'ak8]; HL [p'ak8]; SX [p'ak8]; LF [p'ak8]; LZ [phak8]; SHT [p'ak8]

HY [p'ak8]; XY [p'ak8]; DB [p'ak8]; YL [p'aʔ8]; XC [p'aʔ8]

CT [p'a6]; WP [phaʔ8]; YD [p'aʔ8]; SH [phaʔ8 ~ phɛʔ8]; LC1 [p'o5]; LC2 [—]†

NK [p'a1]; AY [p'a6]; SY [p'a5]; XS [p'ak8]; QN [p'aʔ8]; ND1 [p'ak8]; ND2 [p'ak8]; ND3 [p'ak8]

OPH *p'ak8 CNH *p'ak8

†FJFYZ: p'o5.

bǎi 百 QYS pǎk CDC *pak7/EC *prak

BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]

HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]

CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [—]

NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [paʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7 ~ pək7]; ND3 [pak7]

[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

bài 拜 QYS pwǎi- CDC *pai5/EC *prath
 BMH [pài]; MX [pai5]; HL [pai5]; SX [pai5]; LF [pai5]; LZ [pai5]; SHT [pai5]
 HY [pai5]; XY [pai5]; DB [pai5]; YL [pai3]; XC [pai5]
 CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pai3]; SH [pa5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pæ5]; AY [pæ5]; SY [pæ2]; XS [pai5]; QN [pai5]; ND1 [pai5]; ND2 [pai5]; ND3 [pai5]
 [OPH *pai5] CNH *pai5/*pei5

The Chángtǐng and Wúpíng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

bài 敗 QYS pǎi-, bǎi- CDC *bai6/EC *brath
 BMH [phài]; MX [p'ai5]; HL [p'ai6]; SX [p'ai5]; LF [p'ai6]; LZ [phai5]; SHT [—]
 HY [p'ai6]; XY [p'ai3]; DB [p'ai3]; YL [pai5w ~ p'ai3b]; XC [p'ai5]
 CT [p'ai6]; WP [pha3]; YD [pai5]; SH [pha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'æ5]; AY [p'æ6]; SY [p'æ5]; XS [p'ai5]; QN [p'ai6]; ND1 [p'ai6]; ND2 [p'ai6]; ND3
 [p'ai6]
 [OPH *p'ai6] CNH *pai5/*p'ai6

In literary usage, “to defeat”/“to be defeated, ruined”.

bān 班 QYS pwan CDC *pan1/EC *pran
 BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [—]; SHT [pan1]
 HY [pan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]
 CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [pan1]; SH [pā1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa1]
 NK [pā1]; AY [pā1]; SY [pā1]; XS [pan1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [pan1]; ND2 [pan1]; ND3 [pan1]
 [OPH *pan1] CNH *pan1

bān 搬 QYS puân CDC *pon1/EC *'pan
 BMH [pan]; MX [pan1]; HL [pan1]; SX [pan1]; LF [pan1]; LZ [pan1]; SHT [—]
 HY [puan1]; XY [pan1]; DB [pan1]; YL [pan1]; XC [pan1]
 CT [paŋ1]; WP [paŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [pā1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [poẽ1]; AY [pā1]; SY [põ1]; XS [pɔn1]; QN [pan1]; ND1 [poɛn1]; ND2 [puon1]; ND3
 [puan1]

[OPH *pan1] CNH *pon1

bǎn 板 QYS pwan: CDC *pan3/EC *pronx

BMH [pán]; MX [pan3]; HL [pan3]; SX [pan3]; LF [pan3]; LZ [—]; SHT [pan3]

HY [pan3]; XY [pan3]; DB [pan3]; YL [pan3]; XC [pan3]

CT [paŋ3]; WP [paŋ3]; YD [paŋ3 ~ pan3]; SH [pã3 ~ piẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa3]

NK [pã3]; AY [pã3]; SY [pã3]; XS [pan3]; QN [pan3]; ND1 [pan3]; ND2 [pan3]; ND3 [pan3]

[OPH *pan3] CNH *pan3

bàn 辦 QYS bǎn- CDC *ban6/EC *brenh

BMH [phàn]; MX [p'an5]; HL [p'an6]; SX [p'an5]; LF [p'an5]; LZ [phan5]; SHT [—]

HY [p'an6]; XY [p'an3]; DB [p'an3]; YL [p'an3]; XC [pan5 ~ p'an5b]

CT [p'aŋ6]; WP [phaŋ3]; YD [p'an5]; SH [phã3]; LC1 [p'a6]; LC2 [p'a6]

NK [pã5]; AY [p'ã6]; SY [p'ã5]; XS [p'an5]; QN [p'an6]; ND1 [p'oẽ5]; ND2 [p'an6]; ND3 [p'an6]

[OPH *p'an6] CNH *p'an6/*p'on6 (?)/

The tone of the Lùfēng form is irregular. The initial of the Nánkāng form irregularly lacks aspiration. The tone for the second reconstruction is uncertain but should probably be Tone 6.

bàn 半 QYS puân- CDC *pon5/EC *'panh

BMH [pàn]; MX [pan5]; HL [pan5]; SX [pan5]; LF [pan5]; LZ [pan5]; SHT [pan5]

HY [puan5]; XY [pan5]; DB [pan5]; YL [pan5]; XC [pan5]

CT [paŋ5]; WP [paŋ5]; YD [pan3]; SH [pã5]; LC1 [pa5]; LC2 [—]

NK [poẽ5]; AY [pã5]; SY [põ2]; XS [põn5]; QN [pan5]; ND1 [poẽn5]; ND2 [puon5]; ND3 [puan5]

[OPH *pan5] CNH *pon5

bāng 邦 QYS pāng CDC *pong1/EC *prong

BMH [pang]; MX [paŋ1]; HL [paŋ1]; SX [paŋ1]; LF [paŋ1]; LZ [pɔŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pɔŋ1]; XC [pɔŋ1]

CT [pɔŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [paŋ1]; SH [poŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ̃1]; AY [pɔŋ1]; SY [pɔ̃1]; XS [pɔŋ1]; QN [pɔŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [pɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pang1] CNH *poŋ1/*paŋ1

bāng 幫 QYS pāng CDC *pong1/EC *'pang
BMH [pong]; MX [pɔŋ1]; HL [poŋ1]; SX [poŋ1]; LF [poŋ1]; LZ [pɔŋ1]; SHT [pɔŋ1]
HY [pɔŋ1]; XY [pɔŋ1]; DB [pɔŋ1]; YL [pɔŋ1]; XC [pɔŋ1]
CT [pɔŋ1]; WP [pɔŋ1]; YD [pɔŋ1]; SH [poŋ1]; LC1 [pɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ̃1]; AY [pɔŋ1]; SY [pɔ̃1]; XS [pɔŋ1]; QN [pɔŋ1]; ND1 [pɔŋ1]; ND2 [pɔŋ1]; ND3 [pɔŋ1]
[OPH *pong1] CNH *poŋ1

bàng 蚌 QYS bǎng: CDC *bong4/EC *brongx
BMH [phong]; MX [p'ɔŋ1]; HL [p'ɔŋ1]; SX [p'ɔŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [phɔŋ1]; SHT [p'ɔŋ3]
HY [p'ɔŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [phueŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'ɔ̃1]; AY [—]; SY [p'ɔ̃5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [p'ɔŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p'ong1] CNH *p'ɔŋ1/*p'ɔŋ6 (?)

bāo 包 QYS pau CDC *pau1/EC *pru
BMH [pau]; MX [pau1]; HL [pau1]; SX [pau1]; LF [pau1]; LZ [pau1]; SHT [pau1]
HY [pau1]; XY [pau1]; DB [pau1]; YL [pau1]; XC [pau1]
CT [pɔ1]; WP [pɔ1]; YD [pau1]; SH [pɔ1]; LC1 [pɔ1]; LC2 [pɔ1]
NK [pɔ1]; AY [pɔ1]; SY [pɔ1]; XS [pau1]; QN [pau1]; ND1 [pau1]; ND2 [pau1]; ND3 [pau1]
OPH *pau1 CNH *pau1

báo 雹 QYS bǎk CDC *bok8/EC *brawk
BMH [phók]; MX [p'ɔk8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [p'ok8]; LZ [phək8]; SHT [—]
HY [p'au5]; XY [p'au5]; DB [p'au5 ~ p'ɔk8]; YL [pəuʔ8w]†; XC [pau1]
CT [—]; WP [phɔʔ8]; YD [p'ɔʔ8]; SH [pho5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'ɔ1]; AY [p'ɔ6]; SY [p'ɔ5]; XS [p'ɔk8]; QN [—]; ND1 [p'ok8]; ND2 [p'ɔk8]; ND3 [p'ɔk8]

[OPH *p'ok8] CNH *p'ok8//*p'au5

†The colloquial word for “hail” in this language is [lan1 tsɿ] (冷子).

bǎo 保 QYS pāu: CDC *pou3/EC *'pux

BMH [páu]; MX [pau3]; HL [po3]; SX [po3]; LF [po3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pəu3]; XC [pau3]

CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *pou3] CNH *pou3

bǎo 寶 QYS pāu: CDC *pou3/EC *'pux

BMH [páu]; MX [pau3]; HL [po3]; SX [po3]; LF [po3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [—]

HY [pau3]; XY [pɔ3]; DB [po3]; YL [pəu3]; XC [pau3]

CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pou3]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]

OPH *pou3 CNH *pou3

bǎo 飽 QYS pau: CDC *pau3/EC *'prux

BMH [páu]; MX [pau3]; HL [pau3]; SX [pau3]; LF [pau3]; LZ [pau3]; SHT [pau3]

HY [pau3]; XY [pau3]; DB [pau3]; YL [pau3]; XC [pau3]

CT [pɔ3]; WP [pɔ3]; YD [pau3]; SH [po3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [pɔ3]; AY [pɔ3]; SY [pɔ3]; XS [pau3]; QN [pau3]; ND1 [pau3]; ND2 [pau3]; ND3 [pau3]

OPH *pau3 CNH *pau3

bào 抱 QYS bāu: CDC *bou4/EC *'bux

BMH [phàu]; MX [p'au5]; HL [pau1]; SX [pau1]; LF [p'au1 ~ pau1]; LZ [phau3]; SHT [—]

HY [pau5]; XY [p'au2]; DB [p'au3]; YL [pau5]; XC [pau5]

CT [p'ɔ1]; WP [phɔ3]; YD [p'au5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p'ɔ1]

NK [p'ɔ5]; AY [p'ɔ1]; SY [—]; XS [p'au5]; QN [p'au1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [p'au6]; ND3 [p'au6]
[OPH?] CNH *p'au1/*p'au6/*pau1/*pau5

bào 豹 QYS pau- CDC *pau5/EC *prawkh
BMH [pàu]; MX [pau5]; HL [pau5]; SX [pau5]; LF [pau5]; LZ [phau5]; SHT [p'au5]
HY [pau5]; XY [pau5]; DB [pau5]; YL [pau5]; XC [pau5]
CT [pɔ5]; WP [pɔ5]; YD [pau3]; SH [po5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pɔ5]; AY [pɔ5]; SY [pɔ2]; XS [pau5]; QN [pau5]; ND1 [pau5]; ND2 [pau5]; ND3 [p'au6
~ pau5]
[OPH *pau5 ?] CNH *pau5/*p'au5

bēi 悲 QYS pji3 CDC *pi1/EC *puy, *piyh
BMH [pui ~ pi]; MX [pi1]; HL [pui1]; SX [pi1]; LF [pui1]; LZ [pi1]; SHT [—]
HY [pi1]; XY [pi1]; DB [pei1]; YL [—]; XC [pei1]
CT [pe1]; WP [pi1]; YD [—]; SH [pei1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pe1]; AY [pe1]; SY [pe1]; XS [pi1]; QN [pui1]; ND1 [pei1]; ND2 [pi1]; ND3 [pei1]
[OPH *pui1 ?] CNH *pui1/*pi1

bēi 杯 QYS puai CDC *puoi1/EC *poi1
BMH [pui ~ pi]; MX [pi1]; HL [pui1]; SX [pui1]; LF [pui1]; LZ [pui1]; SHT [pui1]
HY [puai1]; XY [pui1]; DB [pei1]; YL [pei1]; XC [pei1]
CT [pe1]; WP [pi1]; YD [pei1]; SH [pei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pe1]; AY [pe1]; SY [pe1]; XS [pi1]; QN [pɔi1 ~ pui1]; ND1 [pei1]; ND2 [pei1]; ND3
[pei1]
[OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/*pi1

The first Quánnán variant perhaps reflects a third form, *poi1, which is not reconstructable comparatively for this set.

bēi 碑 QYS pje3 CDC *pi1/EC *pe ?
BMH [pi]; MX [pi1]; HL [pi1]; SX [pi1]; LF [pi1]; LZ [pi]; SHT [—]

HY [pi1]; XY [pi1]; DB [pei5]; YL [pei1 ~ poi1]; XC [pei1]
 CT [pi1]; WP [pi1]; YD [pi1]; SH [pi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pi1]; AY [pi1]; SY [pi1]; XS [pi1]; QN [pi1]; ND1 [pi1]; ND2 [pi1]; ND3 [pi1]
 [OPH *pi1] CNH *pi1

The common Yílǒng and Xīchāng form seems to reflect an underlying *pei1, which may be a loan from some form of Southwest Mandarin. The Diànbái form may also be related to this loan. The second Yílǒng form is of uncertain provenance.

běi 北 QYS pək CDC *pek7/EC *'pik
 BMH [pet]; MX [pet7]; HL [pet7]; SX [pet7]; LF [pet7]; LZ [pet7]; SHT [pet7]
 HY [pat7]; XY [pet7]; DB [pet7]; YL [pɛʔ7]; XC [pɛʔ7]
 CT [pe2]; WP [pɛʔ7]; YD [pɛʔ7]; SH [pɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pə8]; AY [pe6]; SY [pe5]; XS [pet7]; QN [pɛʔ7]; ND1 [pək7]; ND2 [pək7]; ND3 [pək7]
 OPH *pet7 CNH *pek7

bèi 貝 QYS pwài- CDC *puoi5/EC *'path
 BMH [pui ~ pi]; MX [pi5]; HL [pui5]; SX [pi5]; LF [pui5]; LZ [pui5]; SHT [pɔi4]
 HY [puai5]; XY [puai5 ~ pui5]; DB [pei5]; YL [pei5]; XC [pei5]
 CT [pe5]; WP [pi5]; YD [pei5 ~ pei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pe5]; AY [pe5]; SY [pe2]; XS [—]; QN [pui5]; ND1 [pei5]; ND2 [pei5]; ND3 [pei5]
 OPH *pui5 CNH *pui5

The second Basel Mission variant may simply reflect the regular Méixiàn reflex of this etymon. The Sìxiàn reflects an earlier *pi5, for which we do not have unambiguous evidence elsewhere.

bèi 背 QYS puài- CDC *puoi5/EC *'pikh
 BMH [pɔi]; MX [pɔi5]; HL [pɔi5]; SX [pɔi5]; LF [pɔi5]; LZ [pɔi5]; SHT [pɔi5]
 HY [puai5]; XY [puai5]; DB [pɔi5]; YL [pɔi5]; XC [pɔi5]
 CT [pue5]; WP [pi5 ~ pue5]; YD [poi3 ~ p'oi3]; SH [pi5 ~ pei1 ~ pue5]; LC1 [pui5]; LC2 [poi5
 ~ p'oi6]

NK [pe5 ~ p'e5]; AY [pi5 ~ p'ue6]; SY [pe2]; XS [pɔi5]; QN [pui5 ~ pi5]; ND1 [pœ5]; ND2 [p'ei6 ~ puei5]; ND3 [puai5]

OPH *poi5 CNH *poi5/*pui5/*pi5/*p'oi6

“Back”/“to recite”. Three variant forms for the word “back” occur in the data, reflecting three different protoforms. Some points in the set also include a different etymon, meaning “to recite”.

bèi 備 QYS bi-3 CDC *bi6/EC *biyh

BMH [phi]; MX [p'i5]; HL [p'i6]; SX [p'i5]; LF [p'i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [—]

HY [p'i6]; XY [p'i3]; DB [p'i3]; YL [pi5]; XC [pei5]

CT [p'i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [—]; SH [pi3 ~ phi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'i5]; AY [p'i6]; SY [p'i5]; XS [p'i5]; QN [p'i6]; ND1 [p'i6]; ND2 [p'i6]; ND3 [p'i6]

OPH *p'i6 CNH *p'i6

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may be of Mandarin origin.

bèi 被 QYS bje:3 “blanket, coverlet” CDC *bi4/EC *bayh

BMH [phi]; MX [p'i1]; HL [p'i1]; SX [p'i1]; LF [p'i1]; LZ [phi1]; SHT [—]

HY [p'i1 ~ p'i5]; XY [p'i1]; DB [p'i1]; YL [pi5]†; XC [—]

CT [p'i1]; WP [phi1]; YD [p'i1]; SH [phi1]; LC1 [p'i1]; LC2 [p'i1]

NK [p'i1]; AY [p'i1]; SY [p'i1]; XS [p'i1]; QN [p'i1]; ND1 [p'i1]; ND2 [p'i1]; ND3 [p'i1]

[OPH *p'i1] CNH *p'i1

†Not used in ordinary speech in this dialect and of probable Mandarin origin.

běn 本 QYS puən: CDC *pun3/EC *'punx

BMH [pún]; MX [pun3]; HL [pun3]; SX [pun3]; LF [pun3]; LZ [pun3]; SHT [pun3]

HY [puan3]; XY [pun3]; DB [pən3]; YL [pen3]; XC [pən3]

CT [peŋ3]; WP [peŋ3]; YD [pun3]; SH [peiŋ3]; LC1 [pǎi3]; LC2 [pæŋ3]

NK [pě3]; AY [pəŋ3]; SY [pě3]; XS [pən3]; QN [pun3]; ND1 [pən3]; ND2 [pən3]; ND3 [pən3]

[OPH *pun3] CNH *pun3

bèn 笨 QYS (buən:) CDC *bun4/EC *'bunx
 BMH [pùn]; MX [pun5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [phun1b ~ pun5w]; SHT [pun5 ~ pin4]
 HY [p'un6]; XY [pun3]; DB [pən5]; YL [pɛn5]; XC [pən5]
 CT [peŋ5]; WP [peŋ5]; YD [pun5]; SH [peŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pẽ5]; AY [pəŋ5]; SY [pẽ3]; XS [pən5]; QN [pun5]; ND1 [pən5]; ND2 [pən5]; ND3 [pən5]
 [OPH *pun5] CNH *pun5

Most forms in this set reflect the reconstructed form. The Héyuán word presumably derives from an earlier *p'un6, which would be the etymologically “correct” form for this etymon. The Lìzhīzhuāng báí form reflects earlier *p'un1, and shows the prototypical Hakka tonal shift from CDC 4 to modern tone 1 in popular obstruent initial words.

bí 鼻 QYS bi-4 CDC *bi6 ~ *bit8/bith
 BMH [phi]; MX [p'i5]; HL [p'i6]; SX [p'i5]; LF [p'i6]; LZ [phi5]; SHT [p'i5]
 HY [p'i6]; XY [p'i3]; DB [p'i3]; YL [p'i3]; XC [p'i5]
 CT [p'i6]; WP [phi3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [phi3]; LC1 [p'i6]; LC2 [p'i5 ~ p'i6]
 NK [p'i5]; AY [p'i6]; SY [p'i5]; XS [p'i5]; QN [p'i6]; ND1 [p'i6]; ND2 [p'i6]; ND3 [p'i6]
 OPH *p'i6 CNH *p'i6

bǐ 筆 QYS pjet3 CDC *pit7/EC *put
 BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [pit7]
 HY [pit7]; XY [pit7]; DB [pət7]; YL [piʔ7]; XC [piɛʔ7]
 CT [pi2]; WP [piʔ7]; YD [piʔ7]; SH [piʔ7]; LC1 [pi3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pie7]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pit7]; QN [piʔ7]; ND1 [pit7]; ND2 [pit7]; ND3 [pit7]
 OPH *pit7 CNH *pit7

bǐ 比 QYS pi:4 CDC *pi3/EC *piyx
 BMH [pɪ]; MX [pi3]; HL [pi3]; SX [pi3]; LF [pi3]; LZ [pi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [bi3]; XY [pi3]; DB [pi3]; YL [pi3]; XC [pi3]
 CT [pi3]; WP [pi3]; YD [—]; SH [pi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pi3]; AY [pi3]; SY [pi3]; XS [pi3]; QN [pi3]; ND1 [pi3]; ND2 [pi3]; ND3 [pi3]

[OPH *pi3] CNH *pi3

bǐ 彼 QYS pje:3 CDC *pi3/EC *payx
BMH [pǐ]; MX [pi3]; HL [pi3]; SX [—]; LF [pi3]; LZ [pi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi3]; XC [pi3]
CT [pi3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [pi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [pi3]; SY [—]; XS [p'i3]; QN [—]; ND1 [pi3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pi3] CNH *pi3

The Xiūshuǐ initial is irregularly aspirated.

bì 壁 QYS piek CDC *piak7/EC *'pek
BMH [piak]; MX [pit7w ~ piak7b]; HL [piak7]; SX [piak7]; LF [piak7]; LZ [piak7]; SHT
[piak7]
HY [piak7]; XY [piak7]; DB [piak7]; YL [piaʔ7]; XC [piaʔ7]
CT [pia2]; WP [piaʔ7]; YD [piaʔ7]; SH [piaʔ7]; LC1 [pio6]; LC2 [pio6]
NK [pia8]; AY [pia6]; SY [pia5]; XS [piak7]; QN [piaʔ7 ~ piʔ7]; ND1 [piak7]; ND2 [piak7];
ND3 [piak7]
OPH *piak7 CNH *piak7/L *pik7 (?)

Reconstruction of the coda in the second form is uncertain, since we lack a Níngdū form with which to distinguish it from *-t. Etymology would suggest *-k as the coda.

bì 敝 QYS bjiäi-4 CDC *bi6/EC *beth
BMH [pǐ]; MX [pi5]; HL [pi5]; SX [pi5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi5]; XC [pi5]
CT [pi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pi5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [pi5]; QN [p'i3]; ND1 [pi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pi5] CNH *pi5

The Quánnán and Níngdū forms are anomalous.

bì 避 QYS bjiē-4 CDC *bi6/EC *pekh
 BMH [phit]; MX [p'it7]; HL [p'it7]; SX [p'it7]; LF [p'it7]; LZ [pi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [p'i6]; WP [phi?7]; YD [—]; SH [phi?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'i5]; AY [p'i33]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'i5]; QN [—]; ND1 [p'i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *p'it7] CNH *p'it7/*p'i6
 The Lìzhīzhuāng initial and the Shàngyóu final are anomalous.

bì 幣 QYS bjiäi-4 CDC *bi6/EC *beth
 BMH [pi]; MX [pi5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [pi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi5]; XC [pi5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [p'i5]; SH [pi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pi5]; AY [pi5]; SY [pi3]; XS [pi5]; QN [p'i6]; ND1 [pi6]; ND2 [p'i6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *pi5] CNH *p'i6/*pi5
 The Níngdū-1 initial is anomalous.

bì 畢 QYS pjiet3 CDC *pit7/EC *pit
 BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pi?7]; XC [pie?7]
 CT [pi2]; WP [pi?7]; YD [—]; SH [pi?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [pie8]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pit7]; QN [pi?7]; ND1 [pit7]; ND2 [pit7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *pit7] CNH *pit7

bì 必 QYS pjiet4 CDC *pit7/EC *pit
 BMH [pit]; MX [pit7]; HL [pit7]; SX [pit7]; LF [pit7]; LZ [pit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pie?7]
 CT [pi2]; WP [pi?7]; YD [pi?7]; SH [pi?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pi6]
 NK [pi5]; AY [pi33]; SY [pi5]; XS [pit7]; QN [pi?7]; ND1 [pit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *pit7] CNH *pit7

biān 邊 QYS pien CDC *pian1/EC 'pen
BMH [pien]; MX [pien1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [pen1]; SHT [pen1]
HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pien1]; YL [pien1]; XC [pien1]
CT [piŋ1]; WP [pieŋ1]; YD [pien1]; SH [piẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pe1]
NK [piẽ1]; AY [pi1]; SY [piẽ1]; XS [pien1]; QN [pien1]; ND1 [pien1]; ND2 [pian1]; ND3
[pian1]
OPH *pian1 CNH *pian1

biān 鞭 QYS pjiän4 CDC *pian1/EC *pen
BMH [pien]; MX [pien1]; HL [pian1]; SX [pian1]; LF [pian1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [pian1]; XY [pian1]; DB [pien1]; YL [pien1]; XC [pien1]
CT [piŋ1]; WP [pieŋ1]; YD [pien1]; SH [piẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piẽ1]; AY [pi1]; SY [piẽ1]; XS [pien1]; QN [pien1]; ND1 [pien1]; ND2 [pian1]; ND3
[pian1]
[OPH *pian1] CNH *pian1

biǎn 扁 QYS pien: CDC *pian3/EC *'pen
BMH [pién]; MX [pien3]; HL [pian3]; SX [pian3]; LF [pian3]; LZ [pen3]; SHT [—]
HY [pian3]; XY [pian3]; DB [pien3]; YL [pien3]; XC [pien3]
CT [piŋ3]; WP [pieŋ2]; YD [pien3]; SH [piẽ3]; LC1 [pe3]; LC2 [—]
NK [piẽ3]; AY [pi3]; SY [piẽ3]; XS [pien3]; QN [pien3]; ND1 [pien3]; ND2 [pian3]; ND3
[pian3]
[OPH *pian3] CNH *pian3

biàn 辯 QYS bjän:3 CDC *bian4/EC *banx
BMH [phièn]; MX [p'ien5]; HL [p'ian6]; SX [p'ian5]; LF [—]; LZ [phen5]; SHT [—]
HY [p'ian5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pien5]; XC [pien5]
CT [p'iy6]; WP [phiɛŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [phiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'ie5]; AY [p'i6]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'ien5]; QN [p'ien6]; ND1 [p'ien6]; ND2 [p'ian6];
ND3 [p'ian6]

[OPH *p'ian6] CNH *p'ian6

biàn 便 QYS bjiän-4 CDC *bian6/EC *benh

BMH [phièn]; MX [p'ien5]; HL [p'ian6]; SX [p'ian5]; LF [p'ian6]; LZ [phen5]; SHT [p'en5]

HY [—]; XY [p'ian3]; DB [p'ien3]; YL [p'ien5]; XC [p'ien5]

CT [p'ing6]; WP [phieng3]; YD [p'ien5]; SH [phiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p'e1]

NK [p'ie5]; AY [p'i6]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'ien5]; QN [p'ien6]; ND1 [p'ien6]; ND2 [p'ian6];

ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'ian6] CNH *p'ian6

biàn 變 QYS pjän-3 CDC *pian5/EC *ponh

BMH [pièn]; MX [pien5]; HL [pian5]; SX [pian5]; LF [pian5]; LZ [pen5]; SHT [pen5]

HY [pian5]; XY [pian5]; DB [pien5]; YL [pien5]; XC [pien5]

CT [p'ing5]; WP [pieng5]; YD [pien3]; SH [piẽ5]; LC1 [pe5]; LC2 [—]

NK [piẽ5]; AY [pi5]; SY [piẽ2]; XS [pien5]; QN [pien5]; ND1 [pien5]; ND2 [pian5]; ND3

[pian5]

[OPH *pian5] CNH *pian5

biǎo 表 QYS *pjäu:3 CDC *piau3/EC *pawx

BMH [piáu]; MX [piau3]; HL [piau3]; SX [peu3]; LF [piau3]; LZ [piau3]; SHT [piau3]

HY [piau3]; XY [piau3]; DB [piau3]; YL [piau3]; XC [piau3]

CT [pio3]; WP [pio3]; YD [pieu3]; SH [piə3]; LC1 [pio3]; LC2 [—]

NK [pio3]; AY [pio3]; SY [pio3]; XS [piau3]; QN [piau3]; ND1 [piau3]; ND2 [piau3]; ND3

[piau3]

[OPH *piau3] CNH *piau3

biē 鼈 QYS pjiät4 CDC *piat7/EC *pet

BMH [piet]; MX [piet7]; HL [piet7]; SX [piet7]; LF [piat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pieʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [pi1]; YD [pieʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [pieʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *piat7 CNH *piat7

bié 別 QYS pjät3, bjät3 CDC *biat8 ~ *piat7

BMH [phiét ~ phét]; MX [p'iet8w ~ p'et8b]; HL [p'iet8]; SX [p'iet8]; LF [p'iat8 ~ p'et8]; LZ [phet8]; SHT [—]

HY [p'iat8]; XY [p'iat8]; DB [p'iet8]; YL [p'iet7]; XC [pieʔ7 ~ p'ieʔ7]

CT [p'e6]; WP [phieʔ8 ~ pieʔ7]; YD [p'ieʔ8]; SH [phieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'ie5]; AY [p'iz1]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'iet8]; QN [p'ieʔ8]; ND1 [p'iet8]; ND2 [p'iat8]; ND3 [p'iat8]

[OPH *p'iat8] CNH *p'iat8/L *p'et8

bīn 賓 QYS pjien4 CDC *pin1/EC *pin

BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]

HY [pin1]; XY [pən1]; DB [pən1]; YL [—]; XC [pin1]

CT [peŋ1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [pin1]; ND3 [pin1]

[OPH *pin1] CNH *pin1

bīng 兵 QYS pjwŋg CDC *piang1/EC *pang

BMH [pin]; MX [pin1]; HL [pin1]; SX [pin1]; LF [pin1]; LZ [pin1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [pin1]; DB [pin1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]

CT [peŋ1]; WP [piŋ1]; YD [piŋ1]; SH [piŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]

OPH *pin1 CNH *piŋ1

bīng 冰 QYS pjəŋg CDC *ping1/EC *ping

BMH [pen]; MX [pen1]; HL [pen1]; SX [pen1]; LF [pen1]; LZ [pen1]; SHT [—]

HY [pin1]; XY [pin1]; DB [pən1]; YL [pin1]; XC [pin1]

CT [peŋ1]; WP [peŋ1]; YD [piŋ1 ~ pen1]; SH [piŋ1 ~ pɛ̃1]; LC1 [peŋ1]; LC2 [pəŋ1]

NK [piŋ1]; AY [piŋ1]; SY [piŋ1]; XS [pin1]; QN [pin1]; ND1 [pin1]; ND2 [piŋ1]; ND3 [piŋ1]
[OPH *pen1] CNH *piŋ1/*peŋ1 (?)

The coda in the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because determinative forms excluding final *-n are lacking in the set.

bǐng 稟 QYS pjəm: CDC *pim3/EC *pimx

BMH [pín]; MX [pin3]; HL [pin3]; SX [pin3]; LF [pin3]; LZ [pin3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pin3]

CT [peŋ3]; WP [piŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [piŋ3]; AY [piŋ3]; SY [piŋ3]; XS [pin3]; QN [pin3]; ND1 [pin3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *pin3] CNH *pin3 (?)

Determinative forms are lacking for the reconstructed coda. Final *-ŋ would also be possible.

bǐng 柄 QYS piwəŋg- CDC *piang5/EC *pengh

BMH [piàng]; MX [piaŋ5]; HL [piaŋ5]; SX [piaŋ5]; LF [piaŋ5]; LZ [piaŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [piaŋ5]; XY [piaŋ5]; DB [piaŋ5]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ5]

CT [—]; WP [piaŋ5]; YD [piaŋ3]; SH [piaŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [piŋ3]; AY [—]; SY [piŋ3]; XS [pin3]; QN [pin3]; ND1 [pin3]; ND2 [piaŋ3 ~ piŋ5]; ND3
[piaŋ5]

[OPH *piang5] CNH *piaŋ5/*piŋ3

bǐng 餅 QYS pjäng: CDC *piang3/EC *pengx

BMH [piáng]; MX [piaŋ3]; HL [piaŋ3]; SX [piaŋ3]; LF [piaŋ3]; LZ [piaŋ3]; SHT [piaŋ3]

HY [piaŋ3]; XY [piaŋ3]; DB [piaŋ3]; YL [piaŋ3]; XC [piaŋ3]

CT [piaŋ3]; WP [piaŋ3]; YD [piaŋ3]; SH [piaŋ3]; LC1 [piaŋ3]; LC2 [—]

NK [piã3]; AY [piã3]; SY [piã3]; XS [piaŋ3]; QN [piaŋ3]; ND1 [piaŋ3]; ND2 [piaŋ3]; ND3
[piaŋ3]

[OPH *piang3] CNH *piaŋ3

bìng 並、并 QYS bieng:/pjäng- CDC *biang4 ~ *piang5/EC *'bengx
BMH [pìn]; MX [pin5]; HL [pin5]; SX [pin5]; LF [pin5]; LZ [pin5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [pin5]
CT [p'ɛŋ6]; WP [piŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [p'ɪŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [piŋ5]; AY [piŋ5]; SY [piŋ2]; XS [pin5]; QN [pin5]; ND1 [pin5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pin5] CNH *piŋ5 (?)

The reconstructed coda is conjectural, since confirming evidence is lacking. The Chángtīng and Shàngháng forms are not congruent with the rest of the set. They appear to be related to the first of the two QYS forms given above.

bìng 病 QYS biwɔng- CDC *biang6/EC *bengh
BMH [phiàng]; MX [p'iaŋ5]; HL [p'iaŋ6]; SX [p'iaŋ5]; LF [p'iaŋ6]; LZ [phiang5]; SHT [p'iaŋ5]
HY [p'iaŋ6]; XY [p'iaŋ3]; DB [p'iaŋ3]; YL [p'iaŋ3]; XC [p'iaŋ5]
CT [p'iaŋ6]; WP [phiang3]; YD [p'iaŋ5]; SH [piang3]; LC1 [p'iaŋ6]; LC2 [p'iaŋ6]
NK [p'ia5 ~ p'ɪŋ5]; AY [p'ia6]; SY [p'ia5]; XS [p'iaŋ5]; QN [p'in6 ~ p'iaŋ6]; ND1 [p'iaŋ6];
ND2 [p'iaŋ6]; ND3 [p'iaŋ6]
OPH *p'iang6 CNH *p'iaŋ6/*p'ɪŋ6

bō 波 QYS puâ CDC *po1/EC *'pay
BMH [po]; MX [pɔ1]; HL [po1]; SX [po1]; LF [po1]; LZ [pɔ1]; SHT [—]
HY [puɔ1]; XY [pɔ1]; DB [po1]; YL [pəu1]; XC [po1]
CT [po1]; WP [po1]; YD [—]; SH [pu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [po1]; AY [po1]; SY [po1]; XS [pɔ1]; QN [po1]; ND1 [po1]; ND2 [po1]; ND3 [po1]
[OPH *po1] CNH *po1

bō 鉢 QYS puât CDC *pot7/EC *'pot
BMH [pat]; MX [—]; HL [pat7]; SX [pat7]; LF [pat7]; LZ [pat7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [pɔʔ7]; XC [poʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [pat7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pa6]

NK [poæ1 ~ po8]; AY [pɜ6]; SY [po5]; XS [pait7]; QN [—]; ND1 [poet7]; ND2 [puot7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *pat7] CNH *pot7/*pat7

bó 博 QYS pāk CDC *pok7/EC *'pak

BMH [pok]; MX [pɔk7]; HL [pok7]; SX [pok7]; LF [pok7]; LZ [pɔk7]; SHT [—]

HY [pɔk7]; XY [pɔk7]; DB [pɔk7]; YL [—]; XC [poʔ7]

CT [po2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [poʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [po8]; AY [po6]; SY [po5]; XS [pɔk7]; QN [poʔ7]; ND1 [pok7]; ND2 [pɔk7]; ND3 [pɔk7]

[OPH *pok7] CNH *pok7

bó 薄 QYS bāk CDC *bok8/EC *'bak

BMH [phók]; MX [p'ɔk8]; HL [p'ok8]; SX [p'ok8]; LF [p'ok8]; LZ [phɔk8]; SHT [p'ɔk8]

HY [p'ɔk8]; XY [p'ɔk8]; DB [p'ɔk8]; YL [p'uʔ8]; XC [p'oʔ7]

CT [p'o6]; WP [p'ɔʔ8]; YD [p'ɔʔ8]; SH [p'oʔ8]; LC1 [p'u5]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'o1]; AY [p'o6]; SY [p'o5]; XS [p'ɔk8]; QN [p'oʔ8]; ND1 [p'ok8]; ND2 [p'ɔk8]; ND3 [p'ɔk8]

OPH *p'ok8 CNH *p'ok8

bó 伯 QYS pɔk CDC *pak7/EC *prak

BMH [pak]; MX [pak7]; HL [pak7]; SX [pak7]; LF [pak7]; LZ [pak7]; SHT [pak7]

HY [pak7]; XY [pak7]; DB [pak7]; YL [paʔ7]; XC [paʔ7]

CT [pa2]; WP [paʔ7]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [paʔ7]; LC1 [po6]; LC2 [po1 ~ po6]

NK [pa8]; AY [pa6]; SY [pa5]; XS [pak7]; QN [peʔ7]; ND1 [pak7]; ND2 [pak7]; ND3 [pak7]

[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular. The Quánnán form is not directly cognate here and appears to reflect an earlier *pek7, which is not reconstructable for the set as a whole.

bò 擘 QYS pɛk CDC *pak7/EC *prek

BMH [pak]; MX [—]; HL [pak7]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [paʔ7]; SH [pʌʔ7 ~ phiɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [po6]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pak7] CNH *pak7

bǔ 補 QYS puo: CDC *pu3/EC *'pax
BMH [pù]; MX [pu3]; HL [pu3]; SX [pu3]; LF [pu3]; LZ [pu3]; SHT [—]
HY [pu3]; XY [pu3]; DB [pu3]; YL [pu3]; XC [pu3]
CT [pu3]; WP [pu3]; YD [pi3]; SH [pu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pu3]; AY [pu3]; SY [pu3]; XS [pu3]; QN [pu3]; ND1 [pu3]; ND2 [pu3]; ND3 [pu5]
OPH *pu5 CNH *pu5

bù 不 QYS pjəu, pjəu:, pjəu-, pjuət CDC *put7/EC *—
BMH [put]; MX [put7]; HL [put7]; SX [put7]; LF [put7]; LZ [put7]; SHT [put7]
HY [put7]; XY [put7]; DB [pət7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [put7]; SH [peiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [pə8]; AY [p33]; SY [po5]; XS [pət7]; QN [puiʔ7]; ND1 [pət7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [pət7]
[OPH *put7] CNH *put7

bù 布 QYS puo- CDC *pu5/EC *'pah
BMH [pù]; MX [pu5]; HL [pu5]; SX [pu5]; LF [pu5]; LZ [pu5]; SHT [pu5]
HY [pu5]; XY [pu5]; DB [pu5]; YL [pu5]; XC [pu5]
CT [pu5]; WP [pu5]; YD [pi3]; SH [pu5]; LC1 [piue5]; LC2 [—]
NK [pu5]; AY [pu5]; SY [pu2]; XS [pu5]; QN [pu5]; ND1 [pu5]; ND2 [pu5]; ND3 [pu5]
OPH *pu5 CNH *pu5

bù 步 QYS buo- CDC *bu6/EC *'bakh
BMH [phù]; MX [p'u5]; HL [p'u6]; SX [p'u5]; LF [p'u5]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]
HY [pu6]; XY [p'u3]; DB [p'u3]; YL [p'u3]; XC [p'u5]
CT [p'u6]; WP [p'u3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [phu3]; LC1 [p'ieue6]; LC2 [p'ye5]

NK [p'u5]; AY [p'u6]; SY [p'u5]; XS [pu5]; QN [p'u6]; ND1 [p'u6]; ND2 [p'u6]; ND3 [p'u6]
[OPH *p'u5] CNH *p'u6

bù 簿 QYS buo: CDC *bu4/EC *'bax
BMH [phu]; MX [p'u1]; HL [p'u1]; SX [p'u1]; LF [p'u1]; LZ [phu1]; SHT [—]
HY [p'u6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'u3]; XC [p'u5]
CT [p'u6]; WP [—]; YD [p'i1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'u5]; AY [p'u5]; SY [p'u1]; XS [p'u5]; QN [p'u6]; ND1 [p'u6]; ND2 [p'u1]; ND3 [p'u1]
[OPH *p'u1] CNH *p'u1/*p'u6

C

cái 財 QYS dzài CDC *dzo16/EC *'dzi
BMH [tshôi]; MX [ts'oi2]; HL [ts'oi2]; SX [ts'oi2]; LF [ts'oi2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts'oi2]
HY [—]; XY [ts'uai2]; DB [ts'oi2]; YL [ts'oi2]; XC [ts'oi2]
CT [ts'ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts'ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts'a2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'æ2]; AY [ts'ue2]; SY [ts'e2]; XS [ts'oi2]; QN [ts'oi2]; ND1 [ts'oε2]; ND2 [ts'uei2];
ND3 [ts'uai2]
[OPH *ts'oi2] CNH *ts'oi2/*ts'ai2

cái 才 QYS dzài CDC *dzo12 EC *'dzi
BMH [tshôi]; MX [ts'oi2]; HL [ts'oi2]; SX [ts'oi2]; LF [ts'oi2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts'oi2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'oi2]; XC [ts'oi2]
CT [ts'ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts'ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'æ2]; AY [ts'ue2 ~ ts'æ2]; SY [ts'e2]; XS [ts'oi2]; QN [ts'oi2]; ND1 [ts'oε2]; ND2
[ts'uei2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts'oi2] CNH *ts'oi2/*ts'ai2

cái 裁 QYS dzài CDC *dzo12 EC *'dzi
BMH [tshâi]; MX [ts'oi2]; HL [ts'ai2]; SX [ts'ai2]; LF [ts'ai2]; LZ [tʃhɔi2]; SHT [ts'oi2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'oi2]; XC [ts'ai2]
CT [ts'ue2]; WP [tshue2]; YD [ts'ai2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts'a2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'æ2]; AY [ts'ue2]; SY [ts'e2]; XS [ts'oi2]; QN [ts'oi2]; ND1 [ts'oε2]; ND2 [ts'uei2];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts'oi2 (~ *ts'ai2 ?)] CNH *ts'oi2/*ts'ai2

cài 菜 QYS tshài- CDC *tshoi5/EC *'tshih
BMH [tshòì]; MX [ts'oi5]; HL [ts'oi5]; SX [ts'oi5]; LF [ts'oi5]; LZ [tʃhòì5]; SHT [ts'oi5]
HY [ts'uai5]; XY [ts'uai5]; DB [ts'oi5]; YL [ts'oi5]; XC [ts'oi5]
CT [ts'ue5]; WP [tshue5]; YD [ts'oi3]; SH [tshue5]; LC1 [ts'ui5]; LC2 [ts'oi5]
NK [ts'æ5]; AY [ts'ue5]; SY [ts'e2]; XS [ts'oi5]; QN [ts'oi5]; ND1 [ts'oε5]; ND2 [ts'uei5];
ND3 [ts'uai5]
[OPH *ts'oi5] CNH *ts'oi5

cān 餐 QYS tshân CDC *tshan1/EC *'tshan
BMH [tshon]; MX [ts'on1]; HL [ts'on1]; SX [ts'on1]; LF [ts'on1]; LZ [tʃhɔn1]; SHT [ts'on1]
HY [ts'an1]; XY [ts'an1]; DB [ts'an1]; YL [ts'an1]; XC [—]
CT [ts'əŋ1]; WP [tshueŋ1]; YD [ts'on1]; SH [tshueŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'ua1]
NK [ts'ā1]; AY [ts'ā1]; SY [ts'ā1]; XS [ts'an1]; QN [ts'an1]; ND1 [ts'an1]; ND2 [ts'an1]; ND3
[ts'an1]
[OPH *ts'on1] CNH *ts'on1

cān 參 QYS tshâm CDC *tshom1/EC *'tshum
BMH [tsham]; MX [ts'am1]; HL [ts'am1]; SX [ts'am1]; LF [ts'am1]; LZ [tʃham1]; SHT
[ts'am1]
HY [ts'am1]; XY [ts'am1]; DB [ts'am1]; YL [ts'an1]; XC [ts'an1]
CT [ts'əŋ1]; WP [tshan1]; YD [ts'əŋ1]; SH [tshā1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'əŋ1]
NK [ts'ā1]; AY [ts'ā1]; SY [ts'ā1]; XS [ts'an1]; QN [ts'am1 ~ ts'an1]; ND1 [ts'am1]; ND2
[ts'am1]; ND3 [ts'am1]
[OPH *ts'am1] CNH *ts'am1

cán 蠶 QYS dzâm CDC *dzom2/EC *'dzum
 BMH [tshâm]; MX [ts'am2]; HL [ts'am2]; SX [ts'am2]; LF [ts'am2]; LZ [tʃham2]; SHT
 [ts'am2]
 HY [ts'am2]; XY [ts'am2]; DB [ts'am2]; YL [ts'an2]; XC [ts'an2]
 CT [ts'aŋ2]; WP [tshaŋ2]; YD [ts'aŋ2]; SH [tshã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'aŋ2]
 NK [ts'ã2]; AY [ts'ã2]; SY [ts'ã2]; XS [ts'an2]; QN [ts'an2]; ND1 [ts'am2]; ND2 [ts'am2];
 ND3 [ts'am2]
 [OPH *ts'am2] CNH *ts'am2

căn 慘 QYS tshâm: CDC *tshom3/EC *'tshumx
 BMH [tshám]; MX [ts'am3]; HL [ts'am3]; SX [ts'am3]; LF [ts'am3]; LZ [tʃham3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'an3]; XC [ts'an3]
 CT [ts'aŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshã3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'aŋ3]
 NK [ts'ã3]; AY [ts'ã3]; SY [ts'ã1]; XS [ts'an3]; QN [ts'an3]; ND1 [ts'am3]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *ts'am3] CNH *ts'am3

cāng 倉 QYS tshâng CDC *tshong1/EC *'tshang
 BMH [tshong]; MX [ts'ɔŋ1]; HL [ts'ɔŋ1]; SX [ts'ɔŋ1]; LF [ts'ɔŋ1]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ɔŋ1]; XY [ts'ɔŋ1]; DB [ts'ɔŋ1]; YL [ts'ɔŋ1]; XC [ts'ɔŋ1]
 CT [ts'ɔŋ1]; WP [tshɔŋ1]; YD [ts'ɔŋ1]; SH [tshoŋ1]; LC1 [ts'ɔŋ1]; LC2 [ts'ɔŋ1]
 NK [ts'ɔ1]; AY [ts'ɔŋ1]; SY [ts'ɔ1]; XS [ts'ɔŋ1]; QN [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND2 [ts'ɔŋ1];
 ND3 [ts'ɔŋ1]
 OPH *ts'ong1 CNH *ts'ong1

cáng 藏 QYS dzâng CDC *dzong2/EC *'dzang
 BMH [tshông]; MX [ts'ɔŋ2]; HL [ts'ɔŋ2]; SX [ts'ɔŋ2]; LF [ts'ɔŋ2]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ts'ɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [ts'ɔŋ2]; SH [tshoŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ʂ2]; AY [ts'ɔŋ2]; SY [ts'ʂ2]; XS [ts'ɔŋ2]; QN [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'ong2] CNH *ts'ɔŋ2

cáo 曹 QYS dzâu CDC *dzou2/EC *dzaw

BMH [tshâu]; MX [ts'au2]; HL [ts'o2]; SX [ts'o2]; LF [ts'o2]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'au2]; XY [ts'ɔ2]; DB [ts'o2]; YL [ts'əu2]; XC [ts'au2]

CT [ts'ɔ2]; WP [tshɔ2]; YD [ts'ou2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɔ2]; AY [ts'ɔ2]; SY [ts'ɔ2]; XS [ts'au2]; QN [ts'au2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2]; ND3 [ts'au2]

[OPH *ts'ou2] CNH *ts'ou2

cǎo 草 QYS tshâu: CDC *tshou3/EC *tshux

BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts'au3]; HL [ts'o3]; SX [ts'o3]; LF [ts'o3]; LZ [tʃhau3]; SHT [ts'au3]

HY [ts'au3]; XY [ts'ɔ3]; DB [ts'o3]; YL [ts'əu3]; XC [ts'au3]

CT [ts'ɔ3]; WP [tshɔ3]; YD [ts'ou3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [ts'ɔ3]; LC2 [ts'ɔ3]

NK [ts'ɔ3]; AY [ts'ɔ3]; SY [ts'ɔ3]; XS [ts'au3]; QN [ts'au3]; ND1 [ts'au3]; ND2 [ts'au3]; ND3 [ts'au3]

OPH *ts'ou3 CNH *ts'ou3

cè 冊 QYS tshək CDC *chak7/EC *tshrek

BMH [tshak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tʂ'ɛʔ]

CT [ts'a2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshAʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'a6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'et7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [ts'ak7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'ak7] CNH *ts'ak7/*ts'ek7

cè 測 QYS tshjək CDC *chek7/EC *tshrik

BMH [tshet]; MX [ts'aʔ7]; HL [ts'et8]; SX [ts'et8]; LF [tʃhak7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ɛʔ7]
 CT [ts'e2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'ɛʔ7]; SH [tshɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [—]; XS [ts'ɛt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ək7]; ND2 [ts'ək7]; ND3 [ts'ə6]
 [OPH *ts'et8] CNH *ts'ek7/*ts'ak7

cè 廁 QYS tshĩ- CDC *chek7/EC *tshrikh
 BMH [tshù ~ tshà]; MX [ts'et7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ɛ5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ək7]; ND2 [ts'ə5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ts'ek7

The reconstruction does not capture either of the Basil Mission forms. In fact, the syllable is lacking for many points, because most Hakka dialects do not use it in their ordinary words for “privy”.

céng 曾 QYS dzəng CDC *dzeng2/EC *'dzing
 BMH [tshên ~ tshiên]; MX [ts'en2w ~ t'ien2b]; HL [ts'en2]; SX [ts'en2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhen2];
 SHT [ts'en2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'an2]; XC [ts'an2]
 CT [ts'ɛŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshẽ2 ~ tchiẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'æŋ2]
 NK [ts'ẽ2]; AY [—]; SY [ts'ẽ2]; XS [ts'en2]; QN [ts'en2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'en2] CNH *ts'ɛŋ2

céng 層 QYS dzəng CDC *dzeng2/EC *'dzing
 BMH [tshên]; MX [ts'en2]; HL [ts'en2]; SX [ts'en2]; LF [ts'en2]; LZ [tʃhen2]; SHT [ts'en2]
 HY [ts'an2]; XY [ts'en2]; DB [ts'en2]; YL [ts'an2 ~ ts'en2]; XC [ts'an2]
 CT [ts'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshɛŋ2]; YD [ts'en2]; SH [tshẽ2]; LC1 [ts'äi2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ẽ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [ts'ẽ2]; XS [ts'en2]; QN [ts'en2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2]; ND2 [ts'əŋ2];
 ND3 [ts'əŋ2]
 OPH *ts'en2 CNH *ts'ɛŋ2

chā 差 QYS t̚sha CDC *cha1/EC *tshray
BMH [tsha]; MX [ts'a1]; HL [ts'a1]; SX [ts'a1]; LF [ts'a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [ts'a1]
HY [—]; XY [ts'a1]; DB [ts'a1]; YL [ts'a1]; XC [tɕ'a1]
CT [ts'a1]; WP [tsha1]; YD [ts'a1]; SH [tsha1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'a1]; AY [ts'a1]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [ts'a1]; QN [ts'a1]; ND1 [ts'a1]; ND2 [ts'a1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *—] CNH *ts'a1

Here, the Xīchāng introduces a “Mandarinized” retroflex reading, as is often the case for this dialect. Yǐlǒng less commonly also does this. We consider such retroflexes to be a contact induced and do not project them back to the common system.

chā 叉 QYS t̚sha CDC *cha1/EC *tshray
BMH [tsha]; MX [ts'a1]; HL [ts'a1]; SX [ts'a1]; LF [ts'a1]; LZ [tʃha1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'a1]; XY [ts'a1]; DB [ts'a1]; YL [ts'a1]; XC [tɕ'a1]
CT [ts'a1]; WP [tsha1]; YD [ts'a1]; SH [tsha1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'a1]; AY [ts'a1]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [ts'a1]; QN [ts'a1]; ND1 [ts'a1]; ND2 [ts'a1]; ND3
[ts'a1]
[OPH *ts'a1] CNH *ts'a1

chā 插 QYS t̚shǎp CDC *chap7/EC *tshrap
BMH [tshap]; MX [ts'ap7]; HL [ts'ap7]; SX [ts'ap7]; LF [ts'ap7]; LZ [tʃhap7]; SHT [ts'ap7]
HY [ts'ap7]; XY [ts'ap7]; DB [ts'ap7]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]
CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'iaʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'o6]
NK [ts'a7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ait7]; QN [ts'æʔ7]; ND1 [ts'aip7]; ND2 [ts'ap7];
ND3 [ts'ap7]
OPH *ts'ap7 CNH *ts'ap7

The presence of medial -i- in the Yǒngdìng form is unexplained.

chá 茶 QYS ɬa CDC *ja2/EC *dra (dray?)
BMH [tshâ]; MX [ts'a2]; HL [ts'a2]; SX [ts'a2]; LF [ts'a2]; LZ [tʃha2]; SHT [ts'a2]
HY [ts'a2]; XY [ts'a2]; DB [ts'a2]; YL [ts'a2]; XC [tɕ'a2]

CT [ts'a2]; WP [tsha2]; YD [ts'a2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [ts'o2]; LC2 [ts'o2]
 NK [ts'a2]; AY [ts'a2]; SY [ts'a2]; XS [ts'a2]; QN [ts'a2]; ND1 [ts'a2]; ND2 [ts'a2]; ND3
 [ts'a2]
 OPH *ts'a2 CNH *ts'a2

chá 查 QYS dza CDC *ja2/EC *—
 BMH [tshâ]; MX [ts'a2]; HL [ts'a2]; SX [ts'a2]; LF [ts'a2]; LZ [tʃha2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'a2]; XY [ts'a2]; DB [ts'a2]; YL [ts'a2]; XC [tɕ'a2]
 CT [ts'a2]; WP [tsha2]; YD [ts'a2]; SH [tsha2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'a2]; AY [ts'a2]; SY [ts'a2]; XS [ts'a2]; QN [ts'a2]; ND1 [ts'a2]; ND2 [ts'a2]; ND3
 [ts'a2]
 [OPH *ts'a2] CNH *ts'a2

chá 察 QYS tɕhăt CDC *chat7/EC *tshrat
 BMH [tshat]; MX [ts'at7]; HL [ts'at7]; SX [ts'at7]; LF [ts'at7]; LZ [tʃhat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'at7]; XY [ts'at7]; DB [ts'at7]; YL [ts'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]
 CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'a6]
 NK [ts'a7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ait7]; QN [ts'æʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ait7]; ND2 [ts'at7]; ND3
 [ts'at7]
 OPH *ts'at7 CNH *ts'at7

chà 岔 QYS (tɕha-) CDC *cha5/—
 BMH [tshà]; MX [ts'a5]; HL [ts'a5]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ts'a5]
 CT [ts'a5]; WP [tsha5]; YD [ts'a3]; SH [tsha5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'a5]; AY [ts'a5]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [ts'a5]; QN [ts'a5]; ND1 [ts'a5]; ND2 [ts'a1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'a5] CNH *ts'a5

In this set, Xīchāng uncharacteristically fails to adopt “Mandarinized” retroflexion.

chāi 拆 QYS tʰɔk CDC *chiak7/EC *thrak
BMH [tshak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [ts'ak8]; SX [ts'ak8]; LF [ts'ak7]; LZ [tʃhak7]; SHT [ts'ak7]
HY [ts'ak7]; XY [ts'ak7]; DB [ts'ak7]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]
CT [ts'a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'ia6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [ts'ak7]; QN [ts'aʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'ak7]
[OPH *ts'ak7] CNH *ts'ak7
Here, both Yílǒng and Xīchāng show “Mandarinized” retroflexion.

chái 柴 QYS dzai CDC *jai2/EC *dzre
BMH [tshai ~ tshiau]; MX [ts'ai2w ~ ts'iau2b]; HL [ts'iau2]; SX [ts'eu2]; LF [ts'iau2]; LZ
[tʃhai2]; SHT [ts'ai2]
HY [ts'ai2]; XY [ts'ai2]; DB [ts'ai2]; YL [ts'ai2]; XC [tɕ'ai2]
CT [ts'ai2]; WP [—]; YD [ts'ai2 ~ ts'ieu2]; SH [tsha2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'io2]
NK [ts'æ2]; AY [sæ2]; SY [ts'æ2]; XS [ts'ai2]; QN [ts'ai2]; ND1 [sai2]; ND2 [sai2]; ND3 [sai2]
[OPH *ts'ai2; ts'iau2] CNH *ts'ai2/*sai2//*ts'iau2
Two entirely different etyma are represented in this set. The form *ts'iau2 is the popular and colloquial word for “firewood” in many Hakka dialects and is etymologically unrelated to the graph 柴. CNH *tsai2 (~ *sai2) is of mainly literary register and serves as a reading pronunciation for the graph 柴 in dialects where it is not a spoken word for “firewood”.

chǎn 產 QYS ʃǎn: CDC *chan3 ~ *shan3/EC *sranx
BMH [sán]; MX [san3]; HL [san3]; SX [san3]; LF [san3]; LZ [tʃhan3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'an3]; XY [ts'an3]; DB [ts'an3]; YL [ts'an3]; XC [tɕ'an3]
CT [ts'aŋ3]; WP [saŋ3]; YD [san3]; SH [sã3 ~ tshã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sa3]
NK [ts'ã3]; AY [ts'ã3]; SY [ts'ã3]; XS [ts'an3]; QN [ts'an3]; ND1 [ts'an3]; ND2 [ts'an3]; ND3
[ts'an3]
[OPH *san3] CNH *san3/*ts'an3

cháng 常 QYS zjang CDC *jiong2 ~ zhiong2/EC *dang
 BMH [shông]; MX [sɔŋ2]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [sɔŋ2]; XY [sɔŋ2 ~ ts'ɔŋ2]; DB [sɔŋ2]; YL [sɔŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ2w ~ ɕɔŋ2b]
 CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [tshɔŋ2 ~ sɔŋ2]; LC1 [fɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̌2]; AY [sɔŋ2]; SY [sɔ̌2]; XS [sɔŋ2]; QN [sɔŋ2]; ND1 [sɔŋ2]; ND2 [sɔŋ2]; ND3 [sɔŋ2]
 [OPH *sɔŋ2] CNH *sion2/L *tɕ'ion2

Cf. Qīngliú: [fǐ2].

The medial of the second reconstruction is restored analogically.

cháng 嘗 QYS zjang CDC *zhiong2/EC *dang
 BMH [shông]; MX [sɔŋ2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [sɔŋ2]; XY [sɔŋ2]; DB [sɔŋ2]; YL [sɔŋ2]; XC [sɔŋ2]
 CT [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; WP [sɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̌2]; AY [sɔŋ2]; SY [sɔ̌2]; XS [sɔŋ2]; QN [sɔŋ2]; ND1 [sɔŋ2]; ND2 [sɔŋ2]; ND3 [sɔŋ2]
 [OPH *sɔŋ2] CNH *sion2

The Chángtīng form reflects and affricate initial reading that is not reconstructable comparatively.

Cf. Qīngliú: [fǐ2].

cháng 長 QYS djang CDC *jiong2/EC *drang
 BMH [chhông]; MX [ts'ɔŋ2]; HL [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; SX [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; LF [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; LZ [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; SHT [ts'ɔŋ2]
 HY [ts'ɔŋ2]; XY [ts'ɔŋ2]; DB [ts'ɔŋ2]; YL [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ2]
 CT [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; WP [tshɔŋ2]; YD [ts'ɔŋ2]; SH [tshɔŋ2]; LC1 [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ts'ɔ̌2]; AY [ts'ɔŋ2]; SY [ts'ɔ̌2]; XS [tɕ'ɔŋ2]; QN [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [ts'ɔŋ2];
 ND3 [ts'ɔŋ2]
 [OPH *tɕ'ong2] CNH *tɕ'ion2

Cf. Qīngliú: [tɕ'ǐ2].

†FJFYZ: tɕ'ion2.

cháng, shāng 裳 QYS zjang CDC *zhiong2/EC *dang
BMH [shòŋ]; MX [—]; HL [ʃoŋ2]; SX [ʃoŋ2]; LF [ʃoŋ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂoŋ2]; XC [ʂoŋ2]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔ̌2]; AY [soŋ2]; SY [sɔ̌2]; XS [ʂoŋ2]; QN [soŋ2]; ND1 [soŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [soŋ2]
[OPH *ʂoŋ2] CNH *ʂioŋ2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiɔ̌2].

chàng 唱 QYS tshjang- CDC *chiong5/EC *thangh
BMH [chhòŋ]; MX [ts'ɔŋ5]; HL [tʃ'ɔŋ5]; SX [tʃ'ɔŋ5]; LF [tʃ'ɔŋ5]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ5]; SHT [ts'ɔŋ5]
HY [ts'ɔŋ5]; XY [ts'ɔŋ5]; DB [ts'ɔŋ5]; YL [tɕ'ɔŋ5]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ5]
CT [tʃ'ɔŋ5]; WP [tshɔŋ5]; YD [ts'ɔŋ3]; SH [tshoŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ɔŋ5]
NK [ts'ɔ̌5]; AY [ts'ɔŋ5]; SY [ts'ɔ̌2]; XS [tɕ'ɔŋ5]; QN [ts'ɔŋ5]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ5]; ND2 [ts'ɔŋ5];
ND3 [ts'ɔŋ5]
[OPH *tɕ'ɔŋ5] CNH *tɕ'ioŋ5
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɔ̌5].

chāo 抄 QYS tshau CDC *chau1/EC *tshraw
BMH [tshau]; MX [ts'au1]; HL [ts'au1]; SX [ts'au1]; LF [ts'au1]; LZ [tʃhau1]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'au1]; XY [ts'au1]; DB [ts'au1]; YL [tɕ'au1]; XC [tɕ'au1]
CT [ts'ɔ1]; WP [tshɔ1]; YD [ts'au1]; SH [tsho1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɔ1]; AY [ts'ɔ1]; SY [ts'ɔ1]; XS [ts'au1]; QN [ts'au1]; ND1 [ts'au1]; ND2 [ts'au1]; ND3
[ts'au1]
[OPH *ts'au1] CNH *ts'au1

cháo 巢 QYS dzau CDC *jau2/EC *dzraw
BMH [tshâu]; MX [sau2]; HL [sau2]; SX [sau2]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhau2]; SHT [ts'au2]
HY [ts'au2]; XY [ts'au2]; DB [lau2]; YL [tɕ'au2]; XC [ts'au2]
CT [—]; WP [so2]; YD [sau2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [ts'ɔ2]; SY [ts'ɔ2]; XS [ts'au2]; QN [ts'au2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'au2 ~ sau2]

[OPH *sau2] CNH *sau2/*ts'au2

In this set, interestingly, it is Yǐlǒng rather than Xīchāng that shows a “Mandarinized” retroflex initial form. Xīchāng, on the other hand, retains a “native” Hakka dental sibilant reading.

cháo 朝 QYS djäu CDC *jiau2/EC *draw

BMH [chhâu]; MX [ts'au2]; HL [tj'au2]; SX [tj'eu2]; LF [tj'au2]; LZ [tj'hau2]; SHT [ts'au2]

HY [—]; XY [ts'au2]; DB [ts'au2]; YL [tɕ'au2]; XC [tɕ'au2]

CT [tj'ɔ2]; WP [tshɔ2w]; YD [ts'eu2]; SH [tshɔ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɔ2]; AY [ts'ɔ2]; SY [ts'ɔ2]; XS [tɕ'au2]; QN [ts'au2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tɕ'au2] CNH *tɕ'iau2

chǎo 炒 QYS tɕhau: CDC *chau3/EC —

BMH [tsháu]; MX [ts'au3]; HL [ts'au3]; SX [ts'au3]; LF [ts'au3]; LZ [tj'hau3]; SHT [ts'au3]

HY [ts'au3]; XY [ts'ɔ3]; DB [ts'au3]; YL [ts'au3]; XC [tɕ'au3]

CT [ts'ɔ3]; WP [tshɔ3]; YD [ts'au3]; SH [tsho3]; LC1 [ts'ɔ3]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɔ3]; AY [ts'ɔ3]; SY [ts'ɔ3]; XS [ts'au3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'au3]; ND2 [ts'au3]; ND3 [ts'au3]

[OPH *ts'au3] CNH *ts'au3

chē 車 QYS tɕhja CDC *chia1/EC *cha (khyā)

BMH [chha]; MX [ts'a1]; HL [tj'a1]; SX [tj'a1]; LF [tj'a1]; LZ [tj'ha1]; SHT [ts'a1]

HY [ts'a1]; XY [ts'a1]; DB [ts'a1]; YL [tɕ'a1]; XC [tɕ'a1]

CT [tj'a1]; WP [tsha1]; YD [ts'a1]; SH [tsha1]; LC1 [tj'o1]; LC2 [tj'o1]

NK [ts'a1]; AY [ts'a1]; SY [ts'a1]; XS [tɕ'a1]; QN [ts'a1]; ND1 [ts'a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'a1]

OPH *tɕ'a1 CNH *tɕ'ia1

Cf. Qīngliú: [tj'io1].

chén 沈 QYS djəm CDC *jim2/EC *drum
BMH [chhîm]; MX [ts'əm2]; HL [tʃ'em2]; SX [tʃ'em2]; LF [tʃ'im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'im2]; XY [ts'im2]; DB [ts'əm2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [tʃ'ej2]; WP [tshɛj2]; YD [tshij2]; SH [tsheij2]; LC1 [tʃ'ej2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ij2]; AY [ts'əj2]; SY [tɕ'ij2]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'əm2]; ND2 [ts'əm2];
ND3 [ts'əm2]
[OPH *tʃ'im2] CNH *tʃ'im2

chén 辰 QYS zjen CDC *zhin2/EC *dun
BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕen2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [ʃej2]; WP [sin2]; YD [—]; SH [seij2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fej2]
NK [ɕij2]; AY [səj2]; SY [ɕij2]; XS [ɕən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šin2] CNH *šin2

chén 臣 QYS zjen CDC *jin2/EC *din
BMH [shîn ~ chhîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃ'in2 ~ ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ts'əj2]; SY [tɕ'ij1]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ'in2 ~ šin2] CNH *tʃ'in2 ~ šin2

chén 陳 QYS djen CDC *jin2/EC *drin
BMH [chhîn]; MX [ts'ən2]; HL [tʃ'en2]; SX [tʃ'en2]; LF [tʃ'in2]; LZ [tʃhin2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'in2]; XY [ts'in2]; DB [ts'ən2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [tʃ'ej2]; WP [tshɛj2]; YD [ts'ij2]; SH [tsheij2]; LC1 [tʃ'ej2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ij2]; AY [ts'əj2]; SY [tɕ'ij2]; XS [tɕ'ən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [ts'ən2];
ND3 [ts'ən2]
[OPH *tʃ'in2] CNH *tʃ'in2

chēng 稱 QYS tshjəŋ CDC *ching1/EC *thing
 BMH [chhin]; MX [ts'ən1]; HL [tʃ'en1]; SX [tʃ'en1]; LF [tʃ'in1]; LZ [tʃhin1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'en1]; XC [tɕ'ən1]
 CT [tʃ'ən1]; WP [tshən1]; YD [—]; SH [tshein1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ən1]; AY [—]; SY [tɕ'ən1]; XS [tɕ'ən1]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ən1]; ND2 [ts'ən1]; ND3
 [ts'ən1]
 [OPH *tʃ'in1] CNH *tʃ'in1

chéng 成 QYS zjāŋ CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
 BMH [shîn ~ shâng]; MX [sən2w ~ saŋ2b]; HL [ʃen2w ~ ʃaŋ2b]; SX [ʃen2w ~ ʃaŋ2b]; LF [ʃin2];
 LZ [ʃaŋ2b ~ ʃin2w]; SHT [saŋ2]
 HY [sin2 ~ saŋ2]; XY [saŋ2]; DB [saŋ2 ~ səŋ2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
 CT [tʃ'ən2 ~ ʃaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2 ~ siŋ2]; SH [saŋ2 ~ seiŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ən2]; AY [ts'ā2 ~ sā2]; SY [tɕ'ən2 ~ sā2]; XS [tɕ'ən2 ~ ɕaŋ2]; QN [tɕ'in2 ~ ts'aŋ2 ~
 saŋ2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2 ~ səŋ2 ~ ts'aŋ2 ~ saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2 ~ saŋ2]
 [OPH *šang2] CNH *šiaŋ2/L *šin2; *tʃ'aŋ2/*tʃ'in2
 Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiā2].

chéng 城 QYS zjāŋ CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
 BMH [shâng]; MX [saŋ2]; HL [ʃaŋ2]; SX [ʃaŋ2]; LF [ʃaŋ2]; LZ [ʃaŋ2]; SHT [saŋ2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2w ~ ɕaŋ2b]
 CT [ʃaŋ2]; WP [saŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [saŋ2]; LC1 [ʃaŋ2]; LC2 [ʃaŋ2]
 NK [tɕ'ən2]; AY [sā2]; SY [tɕ'ən2 ~ sā2]; XS [tɕ'ən2 ~ ɕaŋ2]; QN [tɕ'in2 ~ saŋ2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2
 ~ saŋ2]; ND2 [saŋ2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *šang2] CNH *šiaŋ2/L *tʃ'in2
 Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiā2].

chéng 盛 QYS zjāŋ CDC *zhiang2 ~ *jiang2/EC *deng
 BMH [shîn]; MX [sən5]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts'əŋ5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šin5] CNH *šin5 (?)

The Basil Mission form shows etymologically expected tone 2. All other points have tone 5. Thus, their forms are identical with those for the word sheng 盛 “full, plenteous”, q.v. infra. The Yǒngding form is not derivable from tentative CNH *šin5. We may guess that it descends from an earlier *tš'əŋ5, but this form is not reconstructable comparatively.

chéng 程 QYS dǐäng CDC *jiang2/EC *thing
BMH [chhîn ~ chhâng]; MX [ts'ən2w ~ ts'əŋ2b]; HL [tʃ'əŋ2]; SX [tʃ'əŋ2]; LF [tʃ'in2]; LZ [tʃhaŋ2 ~ tʃhin2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'əŋ2]; XY [ts'in2]; DB [ts'əŋ2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [tʃ'əŋ2]; WP [tshaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [tsheŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tɕ'ieŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ieŋ2]; XS [tɕ'en]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [ts'əŋ2]; ND2 [ts'əŋ2]; ND3 [ts'əŋ2]
[OPH *tš'ang] CNH *tš'əŋ2/L *tš'ieŋ2
†FJFYZ: [tʃ'ieŋ2].

chéng 承 QYS zǐäng CDC *zhing2 ~ *jing2/EC *ding
BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [tɕ'en2]; XC [tɕ'ən2]
CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [seŋ2]; YD [siŋ2]; SH [sien2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕieŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [tɕ'ieŋ2]; XS [ɕən2]; QN [tɕ'in2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [ts'əŋ2 ~ səŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šin2] CNH *šin2/*tš'ieŋ2

chī 喫 QYS (khjət), khiek CDC *khiak7/EC *khek
BMH [—]; MX [ts'ət7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [tshiaʔ]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ia8]; AY [tɕ'ia1 ~ ts'ɿ6]; SY [tɕ'ia5]; XS [tɕ'ia7]; QN [tɕ'iaʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—];
ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k'ia7 (?)

This word is a literary form, known mainly in compounds such as *chīkuī* 吃虧 “lose out”. It is not possible to reconstruct a true common form for it, probably because it was borrowed disparately well after the common Hakka period. The speculative form given here is based exclusively on forms found in the Fújiàn and Jiāngxī lines.

chí 遲 QYS ɖi CDC *ji2/EC *driy

BMH [chhî]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [tʃ'ɿ2]; SX [tʃ'ɿ2]; LF [tʃ'ɿ2]; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ɿ2]; XY [ts'ɿ2]; DB [ts'ɿ2]; YL [tɕ'ɿ2]; XC [tɕ'ɿ2]

CT [tʃ'ɿ2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts'ɿ2]; SH [ts'ɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [tɕ'ɿ2]; QN [ts'ɿ2]; ND1 [tɕ'ɿ2]; ND2 [tɕ'ɿ2]; ND3 [tɕ'ɿ2
~ ts'ɿ2]

[OPH *tɕ'ɿ2] CNH *tɕ'ɿ2

chí 持 QYS ɖi CDC *ji2/EC *dri

BMH [chhî]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [tʃ'ɿ2]; SX [tʃ'ɿ2]; LF [tʃ'ɿ2]; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'ɿ2]; XC [tɕ'ɿ2]

CT [tʃ'ɿ2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [ts'ɿ2]; ND1 [ts'ə2 ~ tɕ'ɿ6]; ND2 [tɕ'ɿ2]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *tɕ'ɿ2] CNH *tɕ'ɿ2

The tone of the second Ningdū-1 form is irregular. It is, however, this form whose final is regular within the set as a whole. The first probably represents a borrowed apical vowel reading from some other dialect.

chǐ 齒 QYS tshī: CDC *chi3/EC *chix (khyix)

BMH [chhî]; MX [ts'ɿ3]; HL [tʃ'ɿ3]; SX [tʃ'ɿ3]; LF [tʃ'ɿ3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ɿ3]; XY [ts'ɿ3]; DB [ts'ɿ3]; YL [tɕ'ɿ3]; XC [tɕ'ɿ3]

CT [tʃ̌i3]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [ts'ɿ3]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [tʃ̌i3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɿ3 ~ ts'ɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tɕ'ɿ3]
OPH *tʃ̌i3 CNH *tʃ̌i3

The tone of the Níngdū-1 form is irregular.

chǐ 尺 QYS tshjāk CDC *chiak7/EC *thak
BMH [chhak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [tʃ̌ak7]; SX [tʃ̌ak7]; LF [tʃ̌ak7]; LZ [tʃ̌hak7]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'ak7]; XY [ts'ak7]; DB [ts'ak7]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'aʔ7]
CT [tʃ̌a2]; WP [tshaʔ7 ~ tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ̌o6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'a8]; AY [ts'a6]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [tɕ'ak7]; QN [ts'aʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [ts'ak7]; ND3
[ts'ak7]
[OPH *tʃ̌'ak7] CNH *tʃ̌'iak7
Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [tʃ̌ia7].

chì 赤 QYS tshjāk CDC *chiak7/EC *thak
BMH [chhak]; MX [ts'ak7]; HL [tʃ̌ak7]; SX [tʃ̌ak7]; LF [tʃ̌ak7]; LZ [tʃ̌hak7]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'ak7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ̌a2]; WP [tshaʔ7]; YD [ts'aʔ7]; SH [tshaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ̌o6]; LC2 [tʃ̌ɐu1 ~ tʃ̌o6]
NK [ts'a8]; AY [—]; SY [ts'a5]; XS [tɕ'ak7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ak7]; ND2 [ts'ak7]; ND3
[ts'ak7]
[OPH *tʃ̌'ak7] CNH *tʃ̌'iak7

The final of this form is reconstructed analogically on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set.

chì 翅 QYS śje- CDC *chi5/EC *θeh
BMH [chhi]; MX [ts'ɿ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts'ɿ5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕɿ5]; XC [tɕ'ɿ5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [ts'ɿ5]; SY [ts'ɿ5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ə5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *tʃ̌'ɿ5

The Lùfēng initial is irregular. The Yílǒng initial irregularly lacks aspiration. The Níngdū form indicates by its final that it is probably a borrowing of an apical vowel reading from some other dialects. This etymon is not the common word for “wing” in many Hakka dialects and may be of literary origin at those points that attest it.

chōng 春 QYS śjwong CDC *shiung1, chiung1/EC *θong
 BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [tʃʰuŋ1]; SX [tʃʰuŋ1]; LF [tʃuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [tsuŋ1]
 HY [tsɔŋ1]; XY [tsɔŋ1]; DB [tsuŋ1]; YL [tɕuŋ1]; XC [tɕuŋ1]
 CT [—]; WP [suŋ1]; YD [tsuŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1 ~ səŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [səŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [səŋ1]; XS [ɕəŋ1]; QN [tsʰuŋ1]; ND1 [suŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsʰuŋ1]
 [OPH *tʂʰuŋ1] CNH *tʂʰiung1/*tʂʰiung1/*tʂʰiung1

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsʰiung1. Correspondence patterns between initials and finals within sets of this type enable us to reconstruct medial *-i- here. For full discussion, see Chapter III, §3.1.2.

chōng 充 QYS tshjung CDC *chiung1/EC *thung
 BMH [chhung]; MX [tsʰuŋ1]; HL [tʃʰuŋ1]; SX [tʃʰuŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhuŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕʰuŋ1]; XC [tɕʰuŋ1]
 CT [tʃʰoŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsʰəŋ1]; AY [tsʰəŋ1]; SY [tsʰəŋ1]; XS [tɕʰəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsʰuŋ1]; ND2 [tsʰuŋ1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *tʂʰuŋ1] CNH *tʂʰiung1

chóng 重 QYS ɖjwong CDC *jiung2/EC *drong
 BMH [chhûŋ]; MX [tsʰuŋ2]; HL [tʃʰuŋ2]; SX [tʃʰuŋ2]; LF [tʃʰuŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsʰoŋ2]; XY [tsʰoŋ2]; DB [tsʰuŋ2]; YL [tɕʰuŋ2]; XC [tɕʰuŋ2]
 CT [tʃʰoŋ2]†; WP [tshuŋ2]; YD [tsʰuŋ2]; SH [tshəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsʰəŋ2]; AY [tsʰəŋ2]; SY [tsʰəŋ2 ~ tsʰəŋ1]; XS [tɕʰəŋ2]; QN [tsʰuŋ2]; ND1 [tsʰuŋ2]; ND2
 [tsʰuŋ2]; ND3 [tsʰuŋ2]
 [OPH *tʂʰuŋ2] CNH *tʂʰiung2

†Form after DCBG.

Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iuŋ2.

chóng 蟲 QYS dʒung CDC *jiung2/EC *drung

BMH [chhũng]; MX [ts'uŋ2]; HL [tʃ'uŋ2]; SX [tʃ'uŋ2]; LF [tʃ'uŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [ts'uŋ2]
HY [ts'oŋ2]†; XY [ts'oŋ2]; DB [ts'uŋ2]; YL [tɕ'uŋ2]; XC [tɕ'uŋ2]
CT [tʃ'oŋ2]; WP [tshuŋ2]; YD [ts'uŋ2]; SH [tshəŋ2]; LC1 [tʃ'oŋ2]; LC2 [tʃ'əŋ2]††
NK [ts'əŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [ts'əŋ2]; XS [tɕ'əŋ2]; QN [ts'uŋ2]; ND1 [ts'uŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'uŋ2]

OPH *tɕ'ung2 CNH *tɕ'iuŋ2

†The source writes initial tʃ-, which must be a typographical error, since no such initial exists in this dialect.

††FJFYZ: [tʃ'ioŋ2].

Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iuŋ2.

chóng 崇 QYS dʒjung CDC *jung2/EC *dzrung

BMH [tshũng]; MX [ts'uŋ2]; HL [ts'uŋ2]; SX [ts'uŋ2]; LF [tʃ'uŋ2]; LZ [tʃhuŋ2]; SHT [ts'uŋ2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'uŋ2]; XC [ts'uŋ2]
CT [ts'oŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'əŋ2]; AY [—]; SY [ts'əŋ2]; XS [ts'əŋ2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uŋ2]; ND2 [ts'uŋ2]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *ts'ung2] CNH *ts'uŋ2

chǒng 寵 QYS tʃjwong: CDC *chiung3/EC *throngx

BMH [chhũng]; MX [ts'uŋ3]; HL [tʃ'uŋ3]; SX [tʃ'uŋ3]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhuŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'oŋ3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'uŋ3]; XC [tɕ'uŋ3]
CT [tʃ'oŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [ts'uŋ3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [ts'əŋ3]; XS [tɕ'əŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tɕ'ung3] CNH *tɕ'iuŋ3

chōu 抽 QYS thjəu CDC *chieu1/EC *thriw
 BMH [chhiu]; MX [ts'u1]; HL [tʃ'u1]; SX [tʃ'u1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhiu1]; SHT [ts'iu1]
 HY [ts'iu1]; XY [ts'iu1]; DB [ts'iu1]; YL [tɕ'əu1]; XC [tɕ'əu1]
 CT [tʃ'eu1]; WP [tshɛ1]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu1]; AY [tɕ'u1]; SY [tɕ'iu1]; XS [tɕ'u1]; QN [tɕ'iu1]; ND1 [tɕ'ieu1]; ND2 [ts'əu1];
 ND3 [ts'əu1]
 [OPH *tɕ'iu1] CNH *tɕ'ieu1

chóu 綢 QYS djəu CDC *jieu2/EC *driw
 BMH [chhiû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃ'u2]; SX [tʃ'u2]; LF [tʃ'iu2]; LZ [tʃhiu2]; SHT [ts'iu2]
 HY [ts'iu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'əu2]; XC [tɕ'əu2]
 CT [tʃ'eu2]; WP [tshɛ2]; YD [ts'iu2]; SH [tɕhiu2]; LC1 [tʃ'eu2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu2]; AY [tɕ'u2]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [tɕ'iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'əu2]; ND3
 [ts'əu2]
 OPH *tɕ'iu2 CNH *tɕ'ieu2

chóu 愁 QYS dzjəu CDC *jeu2/EC *dzru ?dzriw
 BMH [sêu ~ tshâu]; MX [seu2]; HL [seu2]; SX [seu2]; LF [seu2]; LZ [ʃeu2]; SHT [siu2 ~ seu2]
 HY [suai2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'əu2]; XC [tɕ'əu2]
 CT [seu2]; WP [sɛ2]; YD [seu2]; SH [sə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu2]; AY [sɐ2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [ts'əu2]; QN [ts'eu2]; ND1 [ts'eu2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [səu2 ~ ts'əu2]
 [OPH *seu2] CNH *seu2/*ts'eu2

The final of the the second Basil Mission form is irregular and may be a loan from a Yuè dialect. The first Song Him Tong form is regular, while the second appears to be a loan form some other form of Hakka. The Nánkāng form is irregular and appears to derive from an earlier *ts'ieu2.

chóu 仇 QYS gjəu CDC *gieu2/EC *gu
 BMH [chhiû ~ shiû]; MX [su2]; HL [ʃu2]; SX [ʃu2]; LF [ʃu2]; LZ [ʃiu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [siu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'əu2]; XC [tɕ'əu2]

CT [tʃeu2]; WP [tshɛ2]; YD [ts'iu2]; SH [tɕhiu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiu2]; AY [tɕ'ɰ2]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [tɕ'iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'əu2]; ND3
[səu2]
[OPH *ɕiu2] CNH *ɕieu2/*tɕ'ieu2

chòu 臭 QYS tshjəu- CDC *chieu5/EC *thuh
BMH [chhiù]; MX [ts'u5]; HL [tʃ'u5]; SX [tʃ'u5]; LF [tʃ'iu5]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [ts'iu5]
HY [ts'iu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'əu5]; XC [tɕ'əu5]
CT [tʃeu5]; WP [tshɛ5]; YD [ts'iu3]; SH [tɕhiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'ɰu5 ~ tʃ'ɰu5]
NK [tɕ'iu5]; AY [tɕ'u5]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'u5]; QN [tɕ'iu5]; ND1 [ts'ɰu5]; ND2 [ts'əu5];
ND3 [ts'əu5]
[OPH *tɕ'iu5] CNH *tɕ'ieu5

chū 出 QYS tshjwet CDC *chiut7/EC *thut
BMH [chhut]; MX [ts'ut7]; HL [tʃ'ut7]; SX [tʃ'ut7]; LF [tʃ'ut7]; LZ [tʃhut7]; SHT [ts'ut7]
HY [ts'ut7]; XY [ts'ut7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'ueiʔ7]; XC [tɕ'uʔ7]
CT [tʃ'e2]; WP [tshɛʔ7]; YD [ts'ut7]; SH [tsheiʔ7]; LC1 [tʃ'eu6]; LC2 [tʃ'ɰu6 ~ tʃ'ɰu5]
NK [ts'oæ7]; AY [ts'ɜ3]; SY [ts'uo5]; XS [tɕ'uit7]; QN [ts'uiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uit7]; ND2 [ts'ut7];
ND3 [ts'ut7]
OPH *tɕ'ut7 CNH *tɕ'uit7
Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'uit7.

chū 初 QYS tshjwo CDC *chu1/EC *tshra
BMH [tshu]; MX [ts'ɿ1]; HL [ts'u1]; SX [ts'u1]; LF [ts'o1]; LZ [tʃhɔ1]; SHT [ts'ɔ1]
HY [ts'uɔ1]; XY [ts'ɔ1]; DB [ts'o1]; YL [ts'u1]; XC [tɕ'o1]
CT [ts'u1]; WP [tshɿ1]; YD [ts'ɿ1]; SH [tshɿ1 ~ tshu1w]; LC1 [ts'ɿ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'u1]; SY [ts'u1]; XS [ts'ɿ1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3 [ts'u1]
[OPH *ts'u1] CNH *ts'uo1

chú 鋤 QYS dzjwo CDC *je2 (~ *ju2)/EC *dzra
 BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'u6]; SX [ts'u5]; LF [ts'o2]; LZ [tʃhɔ2]; SHT [ts'ɔ2]
 HY [ts'uɔ2]; XY [ts'u2]; DB [ts'o2]; YL [ts'u2]; XC [ts'o2]
 CT [ts'u2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'u2]; SY [ts'u2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *ts'u2] CNH *ts'uo2

chú 除 QYS djwo CDC *jie2 (~ *jiu2)/EC *dra
 BMH [chhû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃ'u2]; SX [tʃ'u2]; LF [tʃ'u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [ts'u2]; XC [tɕ'u2]
 CT [tʃ'u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ye2]†
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [tɕ'y2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [ts'u2]; ND3
 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *tɕ'u2] CNH *tɕ'iu2
 † Cf. FJFYZ: [tʃ'ye2].

chú 廚 QYS dju CDC *jiu2/EC *dro
 BMH [chhû]; MX [ts'u2]; HL [tʃ'u2]; SX [tʃ'u2]; LF [tʃ'u2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [ts'u2]
 HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [tɕ'u2]; XC [tɕ'u2]
 CT [tʃ'u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [tshu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ue2]
 NK [ts'u2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [tɕ'y2]; XS [tɕ'u2]; QN [ts'u2]; ND1 [ts'u2]; ND2 [ts'u2]; ND3
 [ts'u2]
 [OPH *tɕ'u2] CNH *tɕ'iu2

chǔ 楚 QYS tshjwo: CDC *che3 (~ *chu3)/EC *tshrax
 BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ3]; HL [ts'u3]; SX [ts'u3]; LF [ts'e3]; LZ [tʃhɔ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'u3]; XC [tɕ'u3]
 CT [ts'u3]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u3]; AY [ts'u3]; SY [ts'u3]; XS [ts'ɿ3]; QN [ts'u3]; ND1 [ts'u3]; ND2 [ts'u3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'u3] CNH *ts'uo3

chù 處 QYS tshjwo- CDC *chie5 (~ *chiu5)/EC *chax (khyax)
BMH [chhù]; MX [ts'u5]; HL [tʃ'u5]; SX [tʃ'u5]; LF [ts'u3]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'u5]; XC [tɕ'u5]
CT [tʃ'u5]; WP [thu5]; YD [—]; SH [tshu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ye5]
NK [ts'u3]; AY [ts'ɿ5]; SY [tɕ'y3]; XS [tɕ'u5]; QN [ts'u5]; ND1 [ts'u5]; ND2 [ts'u5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tɕ'u5] CNH *tɕ'iu5

chù 畜 QYS thjuk “livestock, domestic animals” CDC *chiuk7/EC *thruk
BMH [hiuk]; MX [hiuk7]; HL [hiuk7]; SX [hiuk7]; LF [hiuk7]; LZ [tʃhuk7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'ueiʔ7 ~ ts'yʔ7]†; XC [ɕiuʔ7w ~ tɕ'uʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tshiuʔ7]; YD [siuʔ7]; SH [tɕhiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iu8 ~ ts'u8]; AY [ts'ɿ6]; SY [ts'u5]; XS [tɕ'uk7]; QN [tɕ'iuʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uk7]; ND2
[ts'uk7]; ND3 [ts'uk7]
[OPH *hiuk7] CNH *tɕ'iu7/*hiuk7

†Second form is from the glossary section of the source.

chuān 穿 QYS tshjwän CDC *chion1/EC *thon
BMH [chhon]; MX [ts'ɔn1]; HL [tʃ'on5]; SX [tʃ'on5]; LF [tʃ'on5]; LZ [tʃhɔn1]; SHT [ts'ɔn1]
HY [ts'uan1]; XY [ts'uan1]; DB [ts'ɔn1]; YL [tɕ'ɔn1]; XC [tɕ'uan1]
CT [tʃ'uj1]; WP [tshueŋ5]; YD [ts'en1]; SH [tshueŋ1]; LC1 [k'ue1]; LC2 [k'ue1]
NK [ts'oẽ1]; AY [ts'õ1]; SY [ts'uõ1]; XS [tɕ'ɔn1]; QN [ts'ɔn1]; ND1 [ts'oẽn1]; ND2 [ts'uon1];
ND3 [ts'uan1]
[OPH *tɕ'ɔn1~ tɕ'on5] CNH *tɕ'uon1/*tɕ'uon5

chuán 傳 QYS ɖjwän CDC *jion2/EC *dron
BMH [chhôn]; MX [ts'ɔn2]; HL [tʃ'on2]; SX [tʃ'on2]; LF [tʃ'on2]; LZ [tʃhɔn2]; SHT [ts'ɔn2]
HY [ts'uan2]; XY [ts'uan2]; DB [ts'ion2]; YL [tɕ'ɔn2]; XC [tɕ'uan2]
CT [tʃ'uj2]; WP [tshueŋ2]; YD [ts'en2]; SH [tshueŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'ue2]
NK [ts'oẽ2]; AY [ts'õ2]; SY [ts'uõ2]; XS [tɕ'ɔn2]; QN [ts'ɔn2]; ND1 [ts'oẽn2]; ND2 [ts'uon2];
ND3 [ts'uan3]

[OPH *tʂ'on2] CNH *tʂ'uon2

The final of the Diànbái form is irregular.

chuán 船 QYS dǎjwǎn CDC *jion2/EC *ðon

BMH [shôn]; MX [sɔn2]; HL [ʃon2]; SX [ʃon2]; LF [ʃon2]; LZ [ʃɔn2]; SHT [sɔn2]

HY [suan2]; XY [suan2]; DB [sɔn2]; YL [tɕ'ɔn2]; XC [tɕ'uan2]

CT [ʃuŋ2]; WP [suɛŋ2 ~ sɛŋ2]; YD [sɛn2]; SH [suẽ2]; LC1 [fe2]; LC2 [—]

NK [soẽ2]; AY [sõ2]; SY [suõ2]; XS [ɣɔn2]; QN [sɔn2]; ND1 [soɛn2]; ND2 [suon2]; ND3 [suan2]

[OPH *ʂon2] CNH *ʂuon2

Yílǒng and Xīchāng show an affricate initial form which does not occur at other points. It is perhaps a Mandarin loan.

chuāng 窗 QYS tshǎng CDC *chong1/EC *tshrong

BMH [tshung]; MX [ts'ɯŋ1]; HL [ts'ɯŋ1]; SX [ts'ɯŋ1]; LF [ts'ɯŋ1]; LZ [tʃhuŋ1]; SHT [ts'ɯŋ1]

HY [ts'ɔŋ1 ~ ts'ɒŋ1]; XY [ts'ɔŋ1]; DB [ts'ɔŋ1]; YL [ts'ɔŋ1]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ1]

CT [ts'ɔŋ1]; WP [tshuŋ1]; YD [ts'ɯŋ1]; SH [tshəŋ1]; LC1 [ts'ɔŋ1]; LC2 [ts'əŋ1]

NK [ts'ẽ1]; AY [ts'ɔŋ1]; SY [ts'ẽ1]; XS [ts'əŋ1]; QN [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'ɔŋ1 ~ ts'ɯŋ1]

[OPH *ts'ung1] CNH *ts'uon1

chuāng 瘡 QYS tshjang CDC *chong1/EC *tshrang

BMH [tshong]; MX [ts'ɔŋ1]; HL [ts'ɔŋ1]; SX [ts'ɔŋ1]; LF [ts'ɔŋ1]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ɒŋ1]; XY [ts'ɔŋ1]; DB [ts'ɔŋ1]; YL [ts'ɔŋ1]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ1]

CT [ts'ɔŋ1]; WP [tshəŋ1]; YD [ts'ɔŋ1]; SH [tshoŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɔ1]; AY [ts'ɔŋ1]; SY [ts'ɔ1]; XS [ts'ɔŋ1]; QN [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND2 [ts'ɔŋ1]; ND3 [ts'ɔŋ1]

[OPH *ts'ong1] CNH *ts'ɔŋ1

chuáng 牀 QYS dzjang CDC *jong2/EC *dzrang
BMH [tshông]; MX [ts'ɔŋ2]; HL [ts'ɔŋ2]; SX [ts'ɔŋ2]; LF [ts'ɔŋ2]; LZ [tʃhɔŋ2]; SHT [ts'ɔŋ2]
HY [ts'ɔŋ2]; XY [ts'ɔŋ2]; DB [ts'ɔŋ2]; YL [ts'ɔŋ2]; XC [tɕ'ɔŋ2]
CT [sɔŋ2]; WP [sɔŋ2]; YD [sɔŋ2]; SH [sɔŋ2]; LC1 [sɔŋ2]; LC2 [sɔŋ2]
NK [ts'ʂ2]; AY [ts'ɔŋ2]; SY [ts'ʂ2]; XS [ts'ɔŋ2]; QN [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [ts'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'ɔŋ2]
[OPH *ts'ong2] CNH *ts'ɔŋ2

chuī 吹 QYS tshjwe CDC *chui1/EC *thoy
BMH [chhoi ~ chhui]; MX [ts'ɔi1]; HL [tʃ'oi1w ~ tʃ'ui1b]; SX [tʃ'oi1]; LF [tʃ'oi1]; LZ [tʃhui1];
SHT [ts'ui2]
HY [ts'ui1]; XY [ts'ue1]; DB [ts'ei1]; YL [tɕ'uei1]; XC [tɕ'uei1]
CT [tʃ'ue1]; WP [tshe1]; YD [ts'ei1]; SH [tshe1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [k'vi1]
NK [tɕ'y1]; AY [ts'e1]; SY [tɕ'y1]; XS [tɕ'i1]; QN [ts'ui1]; ND1 [ts'ui1]; ND2 [ts'ui1]; ND3
[ts'ui1]
[OPH *tɕ'oi1] CNH *tɕ'ui1/L *tɕ'oi1
Cf. Wēngyuán [ts'ui1].

chuí 槌、錘 QYS djwi CDC *jui2/EC *druy
BMH [chhúi]; MX [ts'ui2]; HL [tʃ'ui2]; SX [tʃ'ui2]; LF [tʃ'ui2]; LZ [tʃhui2]; SHT [ts'ui2]
HY [ts'ui2]; XY [ts'ui2]; DB [ts'ei2]; YL [tɕ'uei2]; XC [tɕ'uei2]
CT [tʃ'ue2]; WP [tshe2 ~ tshi2]; YD [ts'ei2]; SH [tshe2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'ye2]
NK [tɕ'y2]; AY [ts'e2]; SY [tɕ'y2]; XS [tɕ'i2]; QN [ts'ui2]; ND1 [ts'ui2]; ND2 [ts'ui2]; ND3
[ts'ui2]
OPH *tɕ'ui2 CNH *tɕ'ui2
Cf. Wēngyuán [ts'ui2].

The Liánchéng-2 form is quite irregular. We would expect [k'vi2] here for this dialect. The form may be a loan of some sort.

chūn 春 QYS tshjuen CDC *chiun1/EC *thun
 BMH [chhun]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [tʃ'un1]; SX [tʃ'un1]; LF [tʃ'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
 HY [ts'un1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [tʂ'un1]; XC [tʂ'uən1]
 CT [tʃ'ən1]; WP [tshɛŋ1 ~ tshɿŋ1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tsheɪŋ1]; LC1 [k'ueŋ1]; LC2 [k'ueŋ1]
 NK [tɕ'yn1]; AY [ts'əŋ1]; SY [tɕ'yn1]; XS [tʂ'ən1]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ts'un1]; ND2 [ts'un1];
 ND3 [ts'un1]
 OPH *tʂ'un1 CNH *tʂ'iun1
 Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iun1.

chún 唇、脣 QYS džjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *ɖun
 BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [ʃun2]; SX [ʃun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [sun2]
 HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [sən2]; YL [sun2]†; XC [—]
 CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [fiŋ2]††; SH [seɪŋ2]; LC1 [feŋ2]; LC2 [feŋ2]
 NK [ɕeɪŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕeɪŋ2]; XS [ʂən2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [sun2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ʂun2] CNH *ʂiun2
 †Form occurs only in the glossary, whose informant is reported by the source as having had no retroflexes in his language.
 ††Used in the special sense “edge or bank (of a body of water)”.
 Cf. Wēngyuán: siun2.

chún 純 QYS zjuen CDC *zhiun2 ~ *jiun2/EC *ɖun
 BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [—]
 HY [sun2]; XY [sun2]; DB [lən2]; YL [ʂun2]; XC [ʂuən2]
 CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [sun2]; SH [seɪŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕeɪŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕyn2]; XS [ʂən2]; QN [sun2]; ND1 [ts'un2]; ND2 [sun2]; ND3
 [ts'un2]
 [OPH *ʂun2] CNH *ʂiun2
 Cf. Wēngyuán: siun2.

Níngdū-1 and 3 reflect an earlier *tʂ'iun2 which is not comparable to the forms found at other points. The Diànbái initial is irregular, since we would expect it to descend from CNH *s-.

chŭn 蠢、蠢 QYS tshjuen: CDC *chiun3/EC *thunx
BMH [chhún]; MX [ts'un3]; HL [tʃ'un3]; SX [—]; LF [tʃ'un3]; LZ [tʃhun3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'un3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'un3]; XC [tɕ'uən3]
CT [tʃ'eŋ3]; WP [tshɛŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tsheŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'ueŋ3]
NK [tɕ'eŋ3]; AY [ts'əŋ3]; SY [tɕ'eŋ3]; XS [tɕ'ən3]; QN [ts'un3]; ND1 [ts'un3]; ND2 [ts'un3];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃ'un3] CNH *tʃ'iun3

cí 辭 QYS zǐ CDC *zi2/EC *zi
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'ĩ2]; SX [ts'ĩ2]; LF [ts'ɛ2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɿ2]; XC [ts'ɿ2]
CT [ts'ĩ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ə2]; ND2 [sə2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts'ĩ2] CNH *ts'ĩ2

The Níngdū-2 initial in this and the following form is irregular.

cí 祠 QYS zǐ CDC *dzi2/EC *zi
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'ĩ2]; SX [ts'ĩ2]; LF [ts'ɛ2]; LZ [tʃhu2]; SHT [—]
HY [sɿ6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɿ2]; XC [ts'ɿ2]
CT [ts'ĩ2]; WP [tshɿ2]; YD [ts'ĩ2]; SH [tshɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [ts'ɿ2]; ND1 [ts'ə2]; ND2 [sə2]; ND3 [ts'ə2]
[OPH *ts'ĩ2] CNH *ts'ĩ2

cí 磁 QYS dzi CDC *dzi2/EC *dzi
BMH [tshû]; MX [ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'ĩ2]; SX [ts'ĩ2]; LF [ts'ɛ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɿ2]; XC [ts'ɿ2]
CT [ts'ĩ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ2]; AY [ts'ɿ2]; SY [ts'ɿ2]; XS [ts'ɿ2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ts'ĩ2 CNH *ts'ĩ2

cǐ 此 QYS tshje: CDC *tshi3/EC *tshex
 BMH [tshù]; MX [ts'ɿ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts'ɛ3]; LZ [tʃhu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ɿ3]; XY [ts'u3]; DB [t'ɛ3]; YL [ts'ɿ3]; XC [ts'ɿ3]
 CT [ts'ɿ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɿ3]; AY [ts'ɿ3]; SY [ts'ɿ3]; XS [ts'ɿ3]; QN [ts'ɿ3]; ND1 [ts'ə3]; ND2 [ts'ə3]; ND3 [ts'ə3]
 [OPH *ts'ɿ3] CNH *ts'ɿ3

The Héyuán form's final is irregular. It may be a Yuè dialect loan.

cì 次 QYS tshi- CDC *tshi5/EC *tsheh
 BMH [tshù]; MX [ts'ɿ5]; HL [ts'ɿ6]; SX [ts'ɿ5]; LF [ts'ɛ6]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ɿ5]; XY [ts'u5]; DB [t'ɛ5]; YL [ts'ɿ5]; XC [ts'ɿ5]
 CT [ts'ɿ5]; WP [—]; YD [ts'ɿ3]; SH [tshɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [ts'ɿ5]; SY [ts'ɿ3]; XS [ts'ɿ5]; QN [ts'ɿ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ə5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'ɿ5] CNH *ts'ɿ5

cì 刺 QYS tshje- CDC *tshi5/EC *tshekh
 BMH [tshù ~ tshiuk]; MX [ts'ɿ3w ~ ts'iuk7b ~ ts'iauk7b]; HL [ts'ɿ5]; SX [ts'iuk7]; LF [ts'iuk7];
 LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [ts'u5]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [ts'ɿ5]; YL [ts'ɿ5]; XC [ts'ɿ5]
 CT [ts'ɿ5]; WP [tshɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ5 ~ tɕhiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [ts'ɿ6]; SY [—]; XS [ts'ɿ5]; QN [ts'ɿ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ə5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'ɿ5] CNH *ts'ɿ5/*ts'iuk7

This set comprises two different etyma having the sense of “thorn; prick”. Where the second form is used in speech in this sense, the first is usually a literary word and serves as the canonical character reading for the graph 刺. The Lìzhīzhuāng form is clearly to be associated with this first reading, but its final is irregular. It is perhaps a Yuè dialect loan. The tone of the Méixiàn wén form is irregular. The provenance of the third Méixiàn form is obscure.

cì 賜 QYS sje- CDC *si5 ~ *tshi5/EC *sekh
 BMH [sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sɛ5 ~ su5]; LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɿ5]; XC [ts'ɿ5]
CT [—]; WP [tshɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *si5] CNH *si5/*ts'i5

The Lìzhīzhuāng form is a possible Yuè loan.

cōng 蔥 QYS tshung CDC *tshung1/EC *'tshong
BMH [tshung]; MX [ts'unɿ1]; HL [ts'unɿ1]; SX [ts'unɿ1]; LF [ts'unɿ1]; LZ [tʃhuɿ1]; SHT [ts'unɿ1]
HY [ts'onɿ1]; XY [ts'onɿ1]; DB [ts'unɿ1]; YL [ts'unɿ1]; XC [ts'unɿ1]
CT [ts'onɿ1]; WP [tshunɿ1]; YD [ts'unɿ1]; SH [tshənɿ1]; LC1 [ts'onɿ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'onɿ1]; AY [ts'onɿ1]; SY [ts'onɿ1]; XS [ts'onɿ1]; QN [ts'unɿ1]; ND1 [ts'unɿ1]; ND2 [ts'unɿ1]
[OPH *ts'ung1] CNH *ts'unɿ1

cóng 從 QYS dzjwong CDC *dziung2/EC *dzong
BMH [tshiung]; MX [ts'iuɿ2]; HL [ts'iuɿ2]; SX [ts'iuɿ2]; LF [ts'iuɿ2]; LZ [tʃhiuɿ2]; SHT
[ts'unɿ2 ~ ts'iuɿ2]
HY [ts'onɿ2]; XY [ts'onɿ2]; DB [ts'unɿ2]; YL [ts'unɿ2]; XC [ts'unɿ2]
CT [ts'onɿ2]; WP [—]; YD [ts'iuɿ2]; SH [tshənɿ2 ~ tɕhiənɿ2]; LC1 [ts'ionɿ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'onɿ2]; AY [ts'onɿ2]; SY [ts'onɿ2]; XS [ts'onɿ2]; QN [ts'unɿ2]; ND1 [ts'unɿ2]; ND2 [tɕ'iuɿ2];
ND3 [ts'unɿ2 ~ ts'iuɿ2]
OPH *ts'iuɿ2 CNH *ts'iuɿ2/*ts'unɿ2

cū 粗 QYS tshuo CDC *tshu1/EC *'tsha
BMH [tshu ~ tsho]; MX [ts'ɿ1]; HL [ts'u1]; SX [ts'u1]; LF [ts'ɛ1]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [ts'u1]
HY [ts'u1]; XY [ts'u1]; DB [ts'u1]; YL [ts'u1]; XC [ts'u1]
CT [ts'u1]; WP [tshɿ1]; YD [ts'ɿ1]; SH [tshɿ1b ~ tshu1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'u1]; SY [ts'u1]; XS [ts'ɿ1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [ts'u1]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3
[ts'u1]
[OPH *ts'u1] CNH *ts'u1

cù 醋 QYS tshuo- CDC *tshuo5/EC *'tshakh
 BMH [tshù]; MX [ts'ɿ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'u5]; XY [ts'u5]; DB [ts'u5]; YL [ts'u5]; XC [ts'u5]
 CT [ts'u5]; WP [tshɿ5]; YD [ts'ɿ3]; SH [tshu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u5]; AY [ts'u5]; SY [ts'u2]; XS [ts'ɿ5]; QN [ts'u5]; ND1 [ts'u5]; ND2 [ts'u5]; ND3
 [ts'u5]
 [OPH *ts'u5] CNH *ts'u5

cūn 村 QYS tshuən CDC *tshun1/EC *'tshun
 BMH [tshun]; MX [ts'un1]; HL [ts'un1]; SX [ts'un1]; LF [ts'un1]; LZ [tʃhun1]; SHT [ts'un1]
 HY [ts'uan1]; XY [ts'un1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [ts'an1]; XC [ts'ən1]
 CT [ts'ej1]; WP [tshɛj1]; YD [ts'un1]; SH [tsheɪj1]; LC1 [ts'äi1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ẽ1]; AY [ts'əj1]; SY [ts'ẽ1]; XS [ts'ən1]; QN [ts'un1]; ND1 [ts'un1]; ND2 [ts'un1];
 ND3 [ts'un1]
 OPH *ts'un1 CNH *ts'un1
 The vowel of the Yǐlǒng form is anomalous.

cùn 寸 QYS tshuən- CDC *tshun5/EC *'tshunh
 BMH [tshùn]; MX [ts'un5]; HL [ts'un5]; SX [ts'un5]; LF [ts'un5]; LZ [tʃhun5]; SHT [ts'un5]
 HY [ts'uan5]; XY [ts'un5]; DB [ts'ən5]; YL [ts'un5]; XC [ts'ən5]
 CT [ts'ej5]; WP [tshɛj5]; YD [ts'un3]; SH [tsheɪj5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ẽ5]; AY [ts'əj5]; SY [ts'ẽ2]; XS [—]; QN [ts'un5]; ND1 [ts'un5]; ND2 [ts'un5]; ND3
 [ts'un5]
 [OPH *ts'un5] CNH *ts'un5

cuō 撮 QYS tshuât CDC *tshot7/EC *'tshot
 BMH [tshot]; MX [ts'ot7 ~ tsot7]; HL [ts'ot7]; SX [ts'ot7]; LF [ts'ot7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'uat7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɔʔ7]; XC [tsoʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [tshueʔ7]; YD [ts'ɔʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsoæ7]; AY [—]; SY [tsuo1 ~ ts'o5]; XS [tsɔit7]; QN [tsɔiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'oet7]; ND2 [tsuot7];
ND3 [—]

OPH *ts'ot7 CNH *ts'(u)ot7 ~ *ts(u)ot7

cuò 錯 QYS tshâk CDC *tshok7, *tshuo5/EC *'tshak, *tshakh
BMH [tshò]; MX [ts'ɔ5]; HL [ts'o5]; SX [ts'o5]; LF [ts'o5]; LZ [tʃhɔ5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'uɔ5]; XY [ts'ɔ5]; DB [ts'o5]; YL [ts'əu5]; XC [ts'o5]
CT [—]; WP [tsho5w]; YD [ts'ou3 ~ ts'ɔʔ7]; SH [tshu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'o8]; AY [ts'o5]; SY [ts'o2]; XS [ts'ɔ5]; QN [ts'o5]; ND1 [ts'o5]; ND2 [ts'o5]; ND3
[ts'o5]
[OPH *ts'o5] CNH *ts'o5

D

dā 搭 QYS tậ CDC *top7, *tap7/EC *'tup
BMH [tap]; MX [tap7]; HL [tap7]; SX [tap7]; LF [tap7]; LZ [tap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tap7]; XY [tap7]; DB [tap7]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [taʔ7]; YD [taʔ7]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [to6]; LC2 [ta6 ~ to6]
NK [ta7]; AY [tɜ6]; SY [ta5]; XS [tɛit7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [taip7]; ND2 [tap7]; ND3 [tap7]
OPH *tap7 CNH *tap7

dá 答 QYS tậ CDC *top7/EC *'tup
BMH [tap]; MX [tap7]; HL [tap7]; SX [tap7]; LF [tap7]; LZ [tap7]; SHT [—]
HY [tap7]; XY [tap7]; DB [tap7]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ7]
CT [ta2]; WP [taʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [taʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [to6]
NK [ta7]; AY [tɜ6]; SY [ta5]; XS [tɛit7]; QN [tæʔ7]; ND1 [taip7]; ND2 [tap7]; ND3 [tap7]
[OPH *tap7] CNH *tap7

dá 達 QYS dât CDC *dat8/EC *'dat
BMH [thát]; MX [t'at8]; HL [t'at8]; SX [t'at8]; LF [t'at8]; LZ [that8]; SHT [—]

HY [t'at8]; XY [t'at8]; DB [t'at8]; YL [taʔ7]; XC [taʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [thaʔ8]; YD [t'at8]; SH [thaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'a5]
 NK [t'a8]; AY [t'ɜ1]; SY [t'a5]; XS [t'ait8]; QN [t'æʔ8]; ND1 [t'ait8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'at8]
 OPH *t'at8 CNH *t'at8

dǎ 打 QYS (tɒŋː) CDC *ta3 ~ tang3/EC —
 BMH [tá]; MX [ta3]; HL [ta3]; SX [ta3]; LF [ta3]; LZ [ta3]; SHT [ta3]
 HY [ta3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ta3]; XC [ta3]
 CT [ta3]; WP [ta3]; YD [ta3]; SH [ta3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [to3]
 NK [ta3]; AY [ta3]; SY [ta3]; XS [ta3]; QN [ta3]; ND1 [ta3]; ND2 [ta3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ta3] CNH *ta3

dà 大 QYS dâ-, dâi- CDC *do6 ~ *dai6/EC *'dayh
 BMH [thài]; MX [t'ai5]; HL [t'ai6]; SX [t'ai5]; LF [t'ai6]; LZ [thai5]; SHT [t'ai5]
 HY [t'ai6]; XY [t'ai5 ~ t'ai3]; DB [t'ai5 ~ t'ai3]; YL [t'ai3]; XC [t'ai5]
 CT [t'ai6]; WP [tha3]; YD [t'ai5]; SH [tha3]; LC1 [ta6]; LC2 [ta6 ~ t'a6]
 NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'æ6]; SY [t'æ5]; XS [t'ai5]; QN [t'ai6]; ND1 [t'ai6]; ND2 [t'ai6]; ND3 [t'ai6]
 OPH *t'ai6 CNH *t'ai6

dài 帶 QYS tâi- CDC *tai5/EC *'tath
 BMH [tài]; MX [tai5]; HL [tai5]; SX [tai5]; LF [tai5]; LZ [tai5]; SHT [tai5]
 HY [tai5]; XY [tai5]; DB [tai5]; YL [tai5]; XC [tai5]
 CT [tai5]; WP [tai5]; YD [tai3 ~ tai5]; SH [tai5]; LC1 [tai5]; LC2 [tai5]
 NK [tæ5]; AY [tæ5]; SY [tæ2]; XS [tai5]; QN [tai5]; ND1 [tai5]; ND2 [tai5]; ND3 [tai5]
 OPH *tai5 CNH *tai5

dài 待 QYS dài: CDC *doi4/EC *'dix
 BMH [thài]; MX [t'ai5]; HL [t'ai6]; SX [t'ai5]; LF [t'oi6]; LZ [thoi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'uai3]; DB [t'oi3]; YL [—]; XC [tai5]
 CT [t'ai6]; WP [tha3]; YD [t'ai5]; SH [tha3w ~ thue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'ue6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [t'uei6]; ND3 [t'uai6]

[OPH *t'ai6] CNH *t'oi6/L *t'ai6

The Xīchāng form appears to be a direct loan from some form of Mandarin. The same is true in the next three sets below.

dài 代 QYS dài- CDC *doi6/EC *'dih

BMH [thòi]; MX [t'oi5]; HL [t'oi6]; SX [t'oi5]; LF [t'oi6]; LZ [thoi5]; SHT [—]

HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'uai3]; DB [t'oi3]; YL [—]; XC [tai5]

CT [t'ue6]; WP [thuε3]; YD [t'oi3]; SH [thuε3]; LC1 [t'a6]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'ue6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [t'uei6]; ND3 [t'uai6]

[OPH *t'oi6] CNH *t'oi6

The Liánchéng-1 form is derived from earlier *t'ai6, which is not reflected at other points.

dài 袋 QYS dài- CDC *doi6/EC *'di

BMH [thòi]; MX [t'oi5]; HL [t'oi6]; SX [t'oi5]; LF [t'oi6]; LZ [thoi5]; SHT [—]

HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'uai3]; DB [t'oi3]; YL [t'oi3]; XC [tai5]

CT [t'ue6]; WP [thuε3]; YD [t'oi5]; SH [thuε3]; LC1 [t'ui6]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'æ5]; AY [t'ue6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [t'uei6]; ND3 [t'uai6]

OPH *t'oi6 CNH *t'oi6

dài 怠 QYS dài: CDC *doi4/EC *'dix

BMH [thài]; MX [t'ai5]; HL [t'ai3]; SX [t'ai5]; LF [t'ai6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tai5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [t'ai3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'æ5]; AY [—]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'oi5]; QN [t'oi6]; ND1 [t'oε6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *t'ai6] CNH *t'ai6/*t'oi6

dān 單 QYS tân CDC *tan1/EC *'tan
 BMH [tan]; MX [tan1]; HL [tan1]; SX [tan1]; LF [tan1]; LZ [tan1]; SHT [tan1]
 HY [tan1]; XY [tan1]; DB [tan1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tan1]
 CT [taŋ1]; WP [taŋ1]; YD [tan1]; SH [tã1]; LC1 [ta1]; LC2 [ta1]
 NK [tã1]; AY [tã1]; SY [tã1]; XS [tan1]; QN [tan1]; ND1 [tan1]; ND2 [tan1]; ND3 [tan1]
 [OPH *tan1] CNH *tan1

dān 擔 QYS tâm CDC *tam1/EC *'tam
 BMH [tam]; MX [tam1]; HL [tam1]; SX [tam1]; LF [tam1]; LZ [tam1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tam1]; XY [tam1]; DB [tam1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tan1]
 CT [taŋ1]; WP [taŋ1]; YD [taŋ1]; SH [tã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [taŋ1]
 NK [tã1]; AY [tã1]; SY [tã1]; XS [tan1]; QN [tam1]; ND1 [tam1]; ND2 [tam1]; ND3 [tam1]
 [OPH *tam1] CNH *tam1

dǎn 膽 QYS tâm: CDC *tam3/EC *'tamx
 BMH [tám]; MX [tam3]; HL [tam3]; SX [tam3]; LF [tam3]; LZ [tam3]; SHT [tam3]
 HY [tam3]; XY [tam3]; DB [tam3]; YL [tan3]; XC [tan3]
 CT [taŋ3]; WP [taŋ3]; YD [taŋ3]; SH [tã3]; LC1 [taŋ3]; LC2 [taŋ3]
 NK [tã3]; AY [tã3]; SY [tã3]; XS [tan3]; QN [tam3]; ND1 [tam3]; ND2 [tam3]; ND3 [tam3]
 OPH *tam3 CNH *tam3

dān 但 QYS dân:, dân- CDC *dan6/EC *'danh
 BMH [thàn]; MX [tan5]; HL [t'an6]; SX [tan5]; LF [tan5]; LZ [than3]; SHT [t'an1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tan5]; XC [tan5]
 CT [t'aŋ6]; WP [taŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [t'ã5]; SY [t'ã5]; XS [t'an5]; QN [t'an6]; ND1 [t'an5]; ND2 [t'an6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *t'an6] CNH *t'an6

The tones of the Lizhīzhuāng and Sung Him Tong form is irregular.

dàn 淡 QYS dâm:, dâm- CDC *dam4/EC *'damx

BMH [thəm ~ tham]; MX [t'am5w ~ t'am1b]; HL [t'am6 ~ t'am1]; SX [t'am5w ~ t'am1b]; LF [t'am1]; LZ [tham1]; SHT [—]

HY [t'am1]; XY [t'am1]; DB [t'am1]; YL [t'an1]; XC [t'an2]

CT [t'aŋ1]; WP [thaŋ3 ~ thaŋ1b]; YD [t'aŋ5 ~ t'aŋ1]; SH [thã1]; LC1 [t'aŋ1]; LC2 [t'aŋ1]

NK [t'ã1]; AY [t'ã3]; SY [t'ã1]; XS [t'an1]; QN [t'am1]; ND1 [t'am1]; ND2 [t'am6]; ND3 [t'am1]

[OPH *t'am1] CNH *t'am1/L *t'am6

The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

dāng 當 QYS tâng CDC *tong1/EC *'tang

BMH [tong]; MX [tɔŋ1]; HL [tɔŋ1]; SX [tɔŋ1]; LF [tɔŋ1]; LZ [tɔŋ1]; SHT [tɔŋ1]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɔŋ1]; XC [tɔŋ1]

CT [tɔŋ1]; WP [tɔŋ1]; YD [tɔŋ1]; SH [tɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔŋ1]

NK [tɕ1]; AY [tɔŋ1]; SY [tɕ1]; XS [tɔŋ1]; QN [tɔŋ1]; ND1 [tɔŋ1]; ND2 [tɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tɔŋ1] CNH *tɔŋ1

dàng 蕩 QYS dāng: CDC *dong4/EC *'dangx

BMH [thóng]; MX [t'ɔŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [t'ɔŋ6]; LZ [thɔŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [t'ɔŋ6]; XY [t'ɔŋ5]; DB [t'ɔŋ3]; YL [tɔŋ5]; XC [t'ɔŋ5]

CT [t'ɔŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [thɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'ɕ5]; AY [t'ɔŋ6]; SY [t'ɕ5]; XS [t'ɔŋ5]; QN [t'ɔŋ6]; ND1 [t'ɔŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'ɔŋ6]

[OPH ?] CNH *t'ɔŋ6/*t'ɔŋ1/*t'ɔŋ3

The basic sense of this word in spoken Hakka is “unsettled, irregular (of action or behavior)”. The character also has various other literary senses, and the disparate tonal readings that are reconstructable for it may in some cases reflect literary character readings.

dāo 刀 QYS tau CDC *tou1/EC *'taw

BMH [tau]; MX [tau1]; HL [to1]; SX [to1]; LF [to1]; LZ [tau1]; SHT [—]

HY [tau1]; XY [to1]; DB [to1]; YL [təu1]; XC [tau1]

CT [tɔ1]; WP [tɔ1]; YD [tɔu1]; SH [tu1]; LC1 [tɔ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɔ1]; AY [tɔ1]; SY [tɔ1]; XS [tau1]; QN [tau1]; ND1 [tau1]; ND2 [tau1]; ND3 [tau1]
 OPH *tɔu1 CNH *tɔu1

đảo 倒 QYS tâu: CDC *tɔu3/EC *'tawx
 BMH [táu]; MX [tau3]; HL [to3]; SX [to3]; LF [to3]; LZ [tau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [təu3]; XC [tau3]
 CT [tɔ3]; WP [tɔ3]; YD [tɔu3]; SH [tu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔ3]
 NK [tɔ3]; AY [tɔ3]; SY [tɔ3]; XS [tau3]; QN [tau3]; ND1 [tau3]; ND2 [tau3]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *tɔu3 CNH *tɔu3

dào 倒 QYS tâu- “to pour” CDC *tɔu5/EC *'tawh
 BMH [tàu]; MX [tau3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [to5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [tɔ3]; DB [—]; YL [təu5]; XC [tau5]
 CT [tɔ5]; WP [tɔ2]; YD [—]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɔ5]; AY [tɔ5]; SY [tɔ2]; XS [tau5]; QN [tau5]; ND1 [tau5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tɔu5] CNH *tɔu5

dào 到 QYS tâu- CDC *tɔu5/EC *'tawh
 BMH [tàu]; MX [tau5]; HL [to5]; SX [to5]; LF [to5]; LZ [tau5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tau5]; XY [tɔ5]; DB [to5]; YL [təu5]; XC [tau5]
 CT [tɔ5]; WP [tɔ5]; YD [tɔu3]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tɔ5]
 NK [tɔ5]; AY [tɔ5]; SY [tɔ2]; XS [tau5]; QN [tau5]; ND1 [tau5]; ND2 [tau5]; ND3 [tau5]
 [OPH *tɔu5] CNH *tɔu5

dào 道 QYS dâu: “road, principle” CDC *dou4/EC *'dux
 BMH [thàu ~ thò]; MX [t'au5 ~ tau5]; HL [t'o6]; SX [t'o5]; LF [t'o6]; LZ [thau5]; SHT [t'au5]
 HY [t'au6]; XY [t'ɔ3]; DB [t'o3]; YL [təu5w ~ t'əu3b]; XC [t'au5]
 CT [t'ɔ6]; WP [t'ɔ3]; YD [t'ou5]; SH [tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'ɔ5]; AY [t'ɔ6]; SY [t'ɔ5]; XS [t'au5]; QN [t'au6]; ND1 [t'au6]; ND2 [t'au6]; ND3 [t'au6]

[OPH *t'ou6] CNH *t'ou6

dé 得 QYS tək CDC *tek7/EC *'tik
BMH [tət]; MX [tət7]; HL [tət7]; SX [tət7]; LF [tət7]; LZ [tət7]; SHT [tət7]
HY [tat7]; XY [tət7]; DB [tət7]; YL [tɛʔ7]; XC [tɛʔ7]
CT [tə2]; WP [tɛʔ7]; YD [tɛʔ7]; SH [tɛʔ7]; LC1 [tuə6]; LC2 [tuə6]
NK [te8]; AY [te6]; SY [te5]; XS [tət7]; QN [tɛʔ7]; ND1 [tək7]; ND2 [tək7]; ND3 [tək7]
OPH *tet7 CNH *tek7

dēng 燈 QYS təng CDC *teng1/EC *'ting
BMH [ten]; MX [tən1]; HL [tən1]; SX [tən1]; LF [tən1]; LZ [tən1]; SHT [tən1]
HY [tan1]; XY [tən1]; DB [tən1]; YL [tan1]; XC [tən1]
CT [tɛŋ1]; WP [tɛŋ1]; YD [tən1]; SH [tɛ̃1]; LC1 [tāi1]; LC2 [tæŋ1]
NK [tɛ̃1]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tɛ̃1]; XS [tən1]; QN [tən1]; ND1 [təŋ1]; ND2 [tiŋ1]; ND3 [tiŋ1]
OPH *ten1 CNH *tɛŋ1

děng 等 QYS təng: CDC *teng3/EC *tingx
BMH [tén]; MX [tən3]; HL [tən3]; SX [tən3]; LF [tən3]; LZ [tən3]; SHT [tən3]
HY [tan3]; XY [tən3]; DB [tən3]; YL [tan3]; XC [tən3]
CT [tɛŋ3]; WP [tɛŋ3]; YD [tən3]; SH [tɛ̃3]; LC1 [tāi3]; LC2 [təŋ3]*
NK [tɛ̃3]; AY [tiŋ3 ~ təŋ3]; SY [tɛ̃3]; XS [tən3]; QN [tən3]; ND1 [təŋ3 ~ tin3]; ND2 [tiŋ3];
ND3 [təŋ3]
OPH *ten3 CNH *tɛŋ3

*The vowel in this form may be a typographical error for -æ-.

dèng 凳 QYS təng- CDC *teng5/EC *'tingh
BMH [tèn]; MX [tən5]; HL [tən5]; SX [tən5]; LF [tən5]; LZ [tən5]; SHT [—]
HY [tan5]; XY [tən5]; DB [tən5]; YL [tan5]; XC [tən5]
CT [tɛŋ5]; WP [tɛŋ5]; YD [tən3]; SH [tɛ̃5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ̃5]; AY [tiŋ5]; SY [tɛ̃2]; XS [tən5]; QN [tən5]; ND1 [tin5]; ND2 [tiŋ5]; ND3 [tiŋ5]

[OPH *ten5] CNH *teŋ5

dī 低 QYS tiei CDC *tiai1/EC *'te

BMH [tai]; MX [tai1]; HL [tai1]; SX [tai1]; LF [tai1]; LZ [tai1]; SHT [tai1]

HY [tiɛ1]; XY [tɕi1]; DB [tɕ1]; YL [tei1]; XC [—]

CT [te1]; WP [—]; YD [tei1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te1]

NK [ti1]; AY [te1]; SY [ti1]; XS [tɕ1]; QN [ti1 ~ tɕi1]; ND1 [tiɛ1]; ND2 [tiɛi1]; ND3 [tiai1]

[OPH *tai1] CNH *tiai1

dī 滴 QYS tiek CDC *tiak7/EC *'tek

BMH [tit]; MX [tit7]; HL [tit7]; SX [tit7]; LF [tit7]; LZ [tit7]; SHT [—]

HY [tit7]; XY [tɕk8 ~ tit8]; DB [tɕ7]; YL [—]; XC [tiʔ7]

CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [tiʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti6]

NK [tie8]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [tit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [tit8 ~ tik7]†; ND2 [tik7]; ND3 [tik8 ~ tit7]

[OPH * tit7] CNH *tik7

†Second form in BJYJ only.

dí 笛 QYS diek CDC *diak8/EC *'diwk

BMH [thák]; MX [t'ak8]; HL [tit7w ~ t'ak8b]; SX [tit7]; LF [t'ak8]; LZ [thak8]; SHT [—]

HY [t'iak8]; XY [t'iat8]; DB [t'ɛt8]; YL [ti2]; XC [tiʔ8]

CT [—]; WP [thɛʔ8]; YD [t'iʔ8]; SH [thɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'ie8 ~ t'ia1]; AY [t'ia6]; SY [t'ie5]; XS [t'it8]; QN [t'iʔ8]; ND1 [t'iak8]; ND2 [t'iak8]; ND3 [t'iak8]

[OPH *t'ak8] CNH *t'iak8/L *t'ik8

The Mandarinized Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms lack initial aspiration.

dǐ 底 QYS tiei: CDC *tiai3/EC *tiyx

BMH [tái]; MX [tai3]; HL [tai3]; SX [tai3]; LF [tai3]; LZ [tai3]; SHT [—]

HY [tiɛ3]; XY [tai3]; DB [tɕ3]; YL [tei3]; XC [ti3w ~ tai3b]

CT [te3]; WP [ti3]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [te3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti3]; AY [te3 ~ ti3]; SY [ti3]; XS [tɛ3]; QN [ti3 ~ tei3]; ND1 [ti3]; ND2 [tiei3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *tai3 CNH *tai3/L *ti3

dì 地 QYS di- CDC *di6/EC *'dayh?, 'deh?
BMH [thì]; MX [t'i5]; HL [t'i6]; SX [t'i5]; LF [t'i6]; LZ [thi5]; SHT [t'i5]
HY [t'i6]; XY [t'i3]; DB [t'i3]; YL [t'i3]; XC [t'i5]
CT [t'i6]; WP [thi3]; YD [t'i5]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t'i6]; LC2 [t'i6]
NK [t'i5]; AY [t'i6]; SY [t'i5]; XS [t'i5]; QN [t'i6]; ND1 [t'i6]; ND2 [t'i6]; ND3 [t'i6]
OPH *t'i6 CNH *t'i6

dì 弟 QYS diei: CDC *diai4/EC *'diyx
BMH [thì]; MX [t'i5w ~ t'ai1]; HL [t'i6]; SX [t'i5]; LF [t'i6]; LZ [thai1b ~ thi5w]; SHT [t'ai1
~ t'i5]
HY [t'ie6 ~ t'ie1]; XY [t'i3 ~ t'ei1]; DB [t'i3 ~ t'ei1 ~ t'i5]; YL [t'ei3]; XC [t'i5]
CT [t'e1]; WP [thi1]; YD [t'ei1]; SH [thi3]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
NK [t'i1]; AY [t'e1 ~ t'i6]; SY [t'i1]; XS [t'ɛ1]; QN [t'i1 ~ t'ei1]; ND1 [t'ie1]; ND2 [t'iei1];
ND3 [t'iai1]
OPH *t'ai1 CNH *t'iai1/L *t'i6

dì 帝 QYS tiei- CDC *tai5/EC *'tekh
BMH [tì]; MX [ti5]; HL [ti5]; SX [ti5]; LF [ti5]; LZ [ti5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ti5]; WP [ti5]; YD [ti3]; SH [ti5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti5]; AY [ti5]; SY [ti2]; XS [ti5]; QN [ti5]; ND1 [t'i6]; ND2 [ti5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ti5] CNH *ti5

The tones of the Yǒngdìng and Níngdū-1 forms point to an etymologically obscure reading, *ti6. The Shàngyóu form is also irregular.

diǎn 點 QYS tiem: CDC *tiam3/EC 'timx
 BMH [tiám]; MX [tiam3]; HL [tiam3]; SX [tiam3]; LF [tiam3]; LZ [tiam3]; SHT [tiam3]
 HY [tiam3]; XY [tiam3]; DB [tiam3]; YL [tién3]; XC [tién3]
 CT [tiŋ3]; WP [tiəŋ3]; YD [tiəŋ3]; SH [tiã3]; LC1 [te3]; LC2 [te3]
 NK [tiẽ3]; AY [tiã3]; SY [tiẽ3]; XS [tién3]; QN [tiam3]; ND1 [tiam3]; ND2 [tiam3]; ND3
 [tiam3]
 [OPH *tiam3] CNH *tiam3

diàn 店 QYS tiem- CDC *tiam5/EC —
 BMH [tiàm]; MX [tiam5]; HL [tiam5]; SX [tiam5]; LF [tiam5]; LZ [tiam5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tiam5]; XY [tiam5]; DB [tiam5]; YL [tién5]; XC [tién5]
 CT [tiŋ5]; WP [tiəŋ5]; YD [tiəŋ3]; SH [tiã5]; LC1 [te5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tiẽ5]; AY [tiã5]; SY [tiẽ2]; XS [tién5]; QN [tiam5]; ND1 [tiam5]; ND2 [tiam5]; ND3
 [tiam5]
 OPH *tiam5 CNH *tiam5

diào 掉 QYS dieu- CDC *diau6/EC **dewkh
 BMH [thiàu]; MX [t'iau5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tiau5]; XC [tiau5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'io5]; AY [t'io6 ~ tio5]; SY [t'io5 ~ tio1]; XS [t'iau5]; QN [t'iau6 ~ tiau5]; ND1 [t'iau6];
 ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'iau5]
 [OPH *t'iau5 ?] CNH *t'iau6/*tiau5

diào 鈞 QYS tieu- CDC *tiau5/EC **tewkh
 BMH [thiàu]; MX [tiau5]; HL [tiau5]; SX [tiau5]; LF [tiau5]; LZ [tiau5]; SHT [tiau5]
 HY [tiau5]; XY [tiau5]; DB [tiau5]; YL [tiau5]; XC [tiau5]
 CT [tio5]; WP [tio5]; YD [tieu3]; SH [tio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tio5]; AY [tio5]; SY [tio2]; XS [tiau5]; QN [tiau5]; ND1 [tiau5]; ND2 [tiau5]; ND3 [tiau5]
 [OPH *tiau5] CNH *tiau5

diē 跌 QYS tiet CDC *tiat/EC *'tet
BMH [tiet]; MX [tiet7]; HL [tiet7]; SX [tiet7]; LF [tiat7]; LZ [tɛt7]; SHT [—]
HY [tiet7 ~ tiat7]; XY [tiat7]; DB [tiet7]; YL [tiɛʔ7]; XC [tiɛʔ7]
CT [te2]; WP [tiɛʔ7]; YD [tiɛʔ7]; SH [tiɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [te6]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [tiet7]; QN [tieʔ7]; ND1 [tiet7]; ND2 [tiat7]; ND3 [tiat7]
OPH *tiat7 CNH *tiat7

dié 碟 QYS diep CDC *diap8/EC *'dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t'iap8]; HL [t'iap8]; SX [t'iap8]; LF [t'iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [t'iap8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tiɛʔ7]
CT [t'e6]; WP [thiɛʔ8]; YD [t'iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'ie8]; AY [t'iz3]; SY [—]; XS [t'iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t'iap8]; ND2 [t'iap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *t'iap8 CNH *t'iap8

dié 疊 QYS diep CDC *diap8/EC *'dep
BMH [thiáp]; MX [t'iap8]; HL [t'iap8]; SX [t'iap8]; LF [t'iap8]; LZ [thiap8]; SHT [—]
HY [t'iap8]; XY [t'iap8]; DB [t'iap8]; YL [t'ieʔ7]; XC [tiɛʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [thiɛʔ8]; YD [t'iaʔ8]; SH [thiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [t'iz3]; SY [—]; XS [t'iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [t'iap8]; ND2 [t'iap8]; ND3 [t'iap8]
[OPH *t'iap8] CNH *t'iap8

dīng 釘 QYS tieng- CDC *tiang1/EC *'teng
BMH [tang]; MX [taŋ1]; HL [taŋ1]; SX [taŋ1]; LF [taŋ1]; LZ [taŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [tiaŋ1]; XY [tɛn1]; DB [tɛn1]; YL [tan1]; XC [taŋ1]
CT [teŋ1]; WP [teŋ1]; YD [ten1]; SH [tɛ̃1]; LC1 [tāi1]; LC2 [te1]
NK [tiā1]; AY [tiā1]; SY [tiā1 ~ tiŋ1]; XS [tiaŋ1]; QN [tiaŋ1 ~ tin1]; ND1 [tiaŋ1]; ND2 [tiaŋ1];
ND3 [tiaŋ1]
[OPH *tang1] CNH *tiaŋ1/*tiŋ1

dǐng 鼎 QYS tieng: CDC *tiang3/EC *'tengx
 BMH [tín]; MX [tin3]; HL [tin3]; SX [tin3]; LF [tin3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tan3]; XC [taŋ3]
 CT [teŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tiŋ3]; AY [—]; SY [tiŋ3]; XS [tin3]; QN [tin3]; ND1 [tiaŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tin3] CNH *tiaŋ3/*tiŋ3

dìng 定 QYS dieng- CDC *diang6/EC *dengh
 BMH [thìn]; MX [t'in5]; HL [t'in6]; SX [t'in5]; LF [t'in6]; LZ [thiaŋ5b ~ thin5w]; SHT [t'in5]
 HY [t'in6 ~ t'iaŋ5]; XY [t'in3]; DB [t'en3]; YL [t'in3]; XC [t'in5]
 CT [t'eŋ6]; WP [thiŋ3]; YD [t'en5]; SH [thẽ3]; LC1 [t'ãi6]; LC2 [tæŋ6]
 NK [t'iŋ5]; AY [t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; SY [t'iŋ5]; XS [t'in5]; QN [t'in6]; ND1 [t'in6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; ND2
 [t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]; ND3 [t'iŋ6 ~ t'iaŋ6]
 [OPH *t'in6] CNH *t'iaŋ6/L *t'iŋ6

The LZ báí form is irregular, for we would expect final -aŋ for this dialect in this environment.
 The form may have been borrowed from some other Hakka variety.

dōng 東 QYS tung CDC *tung1/EC *'tong
 BMH [tung]; MX [tuŋ1]; HL [tuŋ1]; SX [tuŋ1]; LF [tuŋ1]; LZ [tuŋ1]; SHT [tuŋ1]
 HY [toŋ1]; XY [toŋ1]; DB [tuŋ1]; YL [tuŋ1]; XC [tuŋ1]
 CT [toŋ1]; WP [tuŋ1]; YD [tuŋ1]; SH [təŋ1]; LC1 [toŋ1]; LC2 [təŋ1]
 NK [təŋ1]; AY [təŋ1]; SY [təŋ1]; XS [təŋ1]; QN [tuŋ1]; ND1 [tuŋ1]; ND2 [tuŋ1]; ND3 [tuŋ1]
 OPH *tuŋ1 CNH *tuŋ1

dōng 冬 QYS tuong CDC *tung1/EC *'tung
 BMH [tung]; MX [tuŋ1]; HL [tuŋ1]; SX [tuŋ1]; LF [tuŋ1]; LZ [tuŋ1]; SHT [tuŋ1]
 HY [toŋ1]; XY [toŋ1]; DB [tuŋ1]; YL [tuŋ1]; XC [tuŋ1]
 CT [toŋ1]; WP [tuŋ1]; YD [tuŋ1]; SH [təŋ1]; LC1 [toŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [təŋ1]; AY [təŋ1]; SY [təŋ1]; XS [təŋ1]; QN [tuŋ1]; ND1 [tuŋ1]; ND2 [tuŋ1]; ND3 [tuŋ1]
 OPH *tuŋ1 CNH *tuŋ1

dòng 棟 QYS tung- CDC *tung5/EC *'tongh
BMH [tùŋ]; MX [tuŋ5]; HL [tuŋ5]; SX [tuŋ5]; LF [tuŋ5]; LZ [tuŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [toŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tuŋ5]; XC [tuŋ5]
CT [toŋ5]; WP [tuŋ5]; YD [tuŋ3]; SH [təŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [təŋ1]
NK [təŋ5]; AY [təŋ5]; SY [təŋ2]; XS [təŋ5]; QN [tuŋ5]; ND1 [tuŋ5]; ND2 [tuŋ5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tuŋ5] CNH *tuŋ5

dòng 動 QYS dung: CDC *dung4/EC *'dongx
BMH [thung ~ thùŋ]; MX [t'ũŋ5w ~ t'ũŋ1b]; HL [t'ũŋ6 ~ t'ũŋ1]; SX [t'ũŋ5 ~ t'ũŋ1]; LF
[t'ũŋ6]; LZ [thuŋ1b ~ thuŋ5w]; SHT [—]
HY [t'õŋ6]; XY [t'õŋ3]; DB [t'ũŋ3]; YL [t'ũŋ1]; XC [tuŋ5w ~ t'ũŋ2b]
CT [t'õŋ1]; WP [thuŋ1]; YD [t'ũŋ5 ~ t'ũŋ1]; SH [thəŋ3 ~ thəŋ1]; LC1 [t'õŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'əŋ1]; AY [t'əŋ3]; SY [t'əŋ1]; XS [t'əŋ1]; QN [t'ũŋ1]; ND1 [t'ũŋ1]; ND2 [t'ũŋ6]; ND3
[t'ũŋ6]
[OPH *t'ũŋ1] CNH *t'ũŋ1/L *t'ũŋ6

dòng 洞 QYS dung- CDC *dung6/EC *'dongh
BMH [thùŋ]; MX [t'ũŋ5]; HL [t'ũŋ6]; SX [t'ũŋ5]; LF [t'ũŋ6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [t'õŋ6]; XY [t'õŋ3]; DB [t'ũŋ3]; YL [tuŋ5]; XC [tuŋ5]
CT [t'õŋ6]; WP [thuŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [thəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'əŋ5]; AY [t'əŋ6]; SY [t'əŋ5]; XS [t'əŋ1]; QN [t'ũŋ6]; ND1 [t'ũŋ6]; ND2 [t'ũŋ6]; ND3
[t'ũŋ6]
[OPH *t'ũŋ6] CNH *t'ũŋ6

dǒu 斗 QYS təu: CDC *teu3/EC *'tox
BMH [téu]; MX [teu3]; HL [teu3]; SX [teu3]; LF [teu3]; LZ [teu3]; SHT [—]
HY [tuai3]; XY [təu3]; DB [təi3]; YL [tai3]; XC [təu3]
CT [teu3]; WP [tə3]; YD [teu3]; SH [tə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tə3]; AY [tu3]; SY [tío3]; XS [təu3]; QN [teu3]; ND1 [teu3]; ND2 [təu3]; ND3 [təu3]
[OPH *teu3] CNH *teu3

The final of the Níngdū-3 form is irregular.

dòu 豆 QYS dəu- CDC *deu6/EC *'doh
 BMH [thəu]; MX [t'eu5]; HL [t'eu6]; SX [t'eu5]; LF [t'eu6]; LZ [thəu5]; SHT [t'iu5]
 HY [t'uai6]; XY [t'eu3]; DB [t'ei3]; YL [t'ai3]; XC [t'əu5]
 CT [t'eu6]; WP [t'ɛ3]; YD [t'eu5]; SH [thə3]; LC1 [t'eu6]; LC2 [t'əu6]
 NK [t'ɜ5]; AY [t'ʊ6]; SY [t'io5]; XS [t'əu5]; QN [t'eu6]; ND1 [t'eu6]; ND2 [t'ieu6]; ND3
 [t'iu6]
 OPH *t'eu6 CNH *t'eu6

dū 都 QYS tuo CDC *tu1/EC *'ta
 BMH [tu]; MX [tu1]; HL [tu1]; SX [tu1]; LF [tu1]; LZ [tu1]; SHT [tu1]
 HY [tu1]; XY [tu1]; DB [tu1]; YL [tu1]; XC [tu1]
 CT [tu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [ti1]; SH [tə1 ~ tu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tu1]; AY [—]; SY [tu1]; XS [tu1]; QN [tu1]; ND1 [tu1]; ND2 [tu1]; ND3 [tu1]
 [OPH *tu1] CNH *tu1

dú 讀 QYS duk CDC *duk8/EC *'dok
 BMH [thúk]; MX [t'uk8]; HL [t'uk8]; SX [t'uk8]; LF [t'uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT [t'uk8]
 HY [t'ok8]; XY [t'ouʔ8]; DB [t'uk8]; YL [t'əuʔ8]; XC [t'uʔ8]
 CT [t'u6]; WP [thuʔ8]; YD [t'uʔ8]; SH [thəʔ8]; LC1 [t'ie5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'u1]; AY [t'u6]; SY [t'u5]; XS [t'uk8]; QN [t'uʔ8]; ND1 [t'uk8]; ND2 [t'uk8]; ND3 [t'uk8]
 [OPH *t'uk8] CNH *t'uk8

dú 毒 QYS duok CDC *duk8/EC *'duk
 BMH [thúk]; MX [t'uk8w ~ t'eu5b]; HL [t'uk8]; SX [t'uk8]; LF [t'uk8]; LZ [thuk8]; SHT
 [t'uk8]
 HY [t'ok8]; XY [t'ouʔ8]; DB [t'uk8]; YL [t'əuʔ8]; XC [t'uʔ8]
 CT [t'u6]; WP [thuʔ8]; YD [t'uʔ8]; SH [thəʔ8]; LC1 [t'ie5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'u1]; AY [t'u6]; SY [t'u5]; XS [t'uk8]; QN [t'uʔ8]; ND1 [t'uk8]; ND2 [t'uk8]; ND3 [t'uk8]

OPH *t'uk8 CNH *t'uk8

dǔ 篤 QYS tuok CDC *tuk7/EC *'tuk
BMH [tuk]; MX [—]; HL [tuk7]; SX [tuk7]; LF [tuk7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tuʔ7]; XC [tuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [tuʔ7]; YD [tuʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu8]; AY [tu5]; SY [tu5]; XS [tuk7]; QN [tuʔ7]; ND1 [tuk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tuk7] CNH *tuk7

dǔ 肚 QYS tuo: CDC *tu4/EC *'tax
BMH [tú]; MX [tu3]; HL [tu3]; SX [tu3]; LF [tu3]; LZ [tu3]; SHT [tu3]
HY [tu3]; XY [tu3]; DB [tu3]; YL [tu3]; XC [tu3]
CT [tu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [ti3]; SH [tʰ3]; LC1 [tie3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tu3]; AY [tu3]; SY [tu3]; XS [tu3]; QN [tu3]; ND1 [tu3]; ND2 [tu3]; ND3 [tu3]
[OPH *tu3] CNH *tu3

dù 杜 QYS duo: CDC *du4/EC *'dax
BMH [thù]; MX [t'u5]; HL [t'u2]; SX [t'u2]; LF [t'u6]; LZ [thu5]; SHT [—]
HY [t'u6]; XY [t'u3]; DB [t'u5]; YL [tu5]; XC [t'u5]
CT [t'u6]; WP [thu5]; YD [—]; SH [thu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'u5]; AY [t'u3]; SY [t'u2]; XS [t'u5]; QN [t'u5]; ND1 [t'u5]; ND2 [t'u6]; ND3 [t'u6]
[OPH *t'u6] CNH *t'u6

duān 端 QYS tuān CDC *ton1/EC *'ton
BMH [ton]; MX [tɒn1]; HL [ton1]; SX [ton1]; LF [ton1]; LZ [tɒn1]; SHT [—]
HY [tuan1]; XY [tuan1]; DB [tɒn1]; YL [tɒn1]; XC [tuan1]
CT [tuŋ1]; WP [tueŋ1]; YD [tɒn1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [toẽ1]; AY [tõ1]; SY [tuʃ1]; XS [tɒn1]; QN [tɒn1]; ND1 [toen1]; ND2 [tuon1]; ND3 [tuan1]
[OPH *ton1] CNH *tuon1

duẩn 短 QYS tuân: CDC *ton3/EC *'tonx
 BMH [tón]; MX [tón3]; HL [ton3]; SX [ton3]; LF [ton3]; LZ [tón3]; SHT [tón3]
 HY [tuan3]; XY [tuan3]; DB [tón3]; YL [tón3]; XC [tuan3]
 CT [tuŋ3]; WP [tuɛŋ3]; YD [tón3]; SH [tuẽ3]; LC1 [tuɔ3]; LC2 [tuẽ3]
 NK [toẽ3]; AY [tõ3]; SY [tuõ3]; XS [tón3]; QN [tón3]; ND1 [toen3]; ND2 [tuon3]; ND3 [tuan3]
 OPH *ton3 CNH *tuon3

duàn 斷 QYS tuân: ~ tuân- ~ duân: CDC *ton3 ~ *ton5 ~ *don4/EC *'tonh ~ *'donx
 BMH [thon ~ tòn]; MX [tón5]; HL [ton5 ~ t'on1]; SX [ton5 ~ t'on1]; LF [ton5]; LZ [thón1];
 SHT [tón5]
 HY [t'uan5]; XY [t'uan1]; DB [t'ón5]; YL [t'ón1]; XC [t'uan2]
 CT [t'uŋ6]; WP [tuɛŋ5w ~ thuɛŋ1b]; YD [t'ón1]; SH [tuẽ3 ~ thuẽ1]; LC1 [t'uɔ1]; LC2 [tuẽ3]
 NK [toẽ1]; AY [tõ5 ~ t'õ3]; SY [tuõ3 ~ t'uõ1]; XS [t'ón1 ~ tón3]; QN [t'ón1 ~ tón3]; ND1
 [t'oen1]; ND2 [t'uon1 ~ tuon5]; ND3 [t'uan6]
 [OPH *ton5 ~ *t'on1] CNH *t'uon1/*t'uon6/L *tuon5

duì 對 QYS tuài- CDC *tuoĩ5/EC *'tuyh
 BMH [tùi]; MX [tui5]; HL [tui5]; SX [tui5]; LF [tui5]; LZ [tui5]; SHT [tui5]
 HY [tuai5]; XY [tui5]; DB [tei5]; YL [tueĩ3]; XC [tueĩ5]
 CT [tue5]; WP [ti5 ~ tue5]; YD [tei3]; SH [tei5 ~ tu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tue5]; AY [te5]; SY [te2]; XS [ti5]; QN [tui5]; ND1 [tui5]; ND2 [tueĩ5 ~ tui5]; ND3 [tui5]
 OPH *tui5 CNH *tui5

dùn 頓 QYS tuən- CDC *tun5/EC *'tunh
 BMH [tùn ~ tún]; MX [tun3]; HL [tun3]; SX [tun3]; LF [tun3]; LZ [tun3]; SHT [—]
 HY [tun3 ~ tun5]; XY [tun1]; DB [tón3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [teŋ5]; WP [teŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [teĩŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tẽ5]; AY [təŋ5]; SY [tẽ3]; XS [tən5]; QN [tun5]; ND1 [tun5]; ND2 [tun5]; ND3 [tun5]
 [OPH *tun3] CNH *tun5/*tun3

duō 多 QYS tâ CDC *to1/EC *tay
BMH [to]; MX [tɔ1]; HL [to1]; SX [to1]; LF [to1]; LZ [tɔ1]; SHT [tɔ1]
HY [tuɔ1]; XY [tɔ1]; DB [to1]; YL [təu1]; XC [to1]
CT [to1]; WP [to1]; YD [tou1]; SH [tu1]; LC1 [tu1]; LC2 [tuw1]
NK [to1]; AY [to1]; SY [to1]; XS [tɔ1]; QN [to1]; ND1 [to1]; ND2 [to1]; ND3 [to1]
OPH *to1 CNH *to1

duó 奪 QYS duât CDC *dot8/EC *'dot
BMH [thót]; MX [t'ɔt8]; HL [t'ot8]; SX [t'ot8]; LF [t'ot7]; LZ [thɔt8]; SHT [—]
HY [t'uat8]; XY [t'uat8]; DB [t'ɔt8]; YL [t'ɔʔ8]; XC [toʔ8]
CT [t'ue6]; WP [thuɛʔ8]; YD [t'ɔʔ8]; SH [thuɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'o1]; AY [t'ue1]; SY [t'o5]; XS [t'ɔit8]; QN [t'ɔit8]; ND1 [t'oet8]; ND2 [t'uot8]; ND3
[t'uat8]
[OPH *t'ot8] CNH *t'(u)ot8

duǒ 朵 QYS tuâ: CDC *to5/EC *'toyx
BMH [tɔ]; MX [tɔ3]; HL [t'o2]; SX [t'o2]; LF [to3]; LZ [tɔ3]; SHT [—]
HY [tuɔ3 ~ tye3]; XY [tɔ3]; DB [to3]; YL [təu3]; XC [to3]
CT [to3]; WP [to3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [to3]; AY [to3]; SY [to3]; XS [tɔ3]; QN [to3]; ND1 [to3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [to3]
[OPH *to3] CNH *to3

duò 儻 QYS duâ:, duâ- CDC *do4/EC *'doyx
BMH [thò]; MX [t'ɔ5]; HL [t'o6]; SX [t'o5]; LF [t'o6]; LZ [thɔ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [to5]
CT [t'o6]; WP [tho3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'o3]; AY [t'o6]; SY [t'o3]; XS [t'ɔ5]; QN [t'o6]; ND1 [t'o3]; ND2 [t'o6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t'o6] CNH *t'o6

E

é 額 QYS ngɔk CDC *^hngak8/EC *ngrak
 BMH [nyak]; MX [ɲiak7]; HL [ɲiak7]; SX [ɲiak7]; LF [ɲiak7]; LZ [ɲgiak7]; SHT [ɲak7]
 HY [ɲiak7]; XY [ɲak7]; DB [ɲak7]; YL [ɲaʔ7 ~ ɲa5]; XC [ɲɛʔ7]
 CT [ɲe2]; WP [ɲiaʔ7]; YD [ɲiaʔ7]; SH [ɲiaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɲio6]
 NK [ɲa1]; AY [ɲe6]; SY [ɲe5 ~ ɲa5]; XS [—]; QN [ɲiaʔ7]; ND1 [nak7]; ND2 [nak7]; ND3
 [nak7]
 OPH *ⁿɲiak7 ~ *ⁿɲiaʔ7 CNH *ɲak7/*^hɲiak7/*^hɲek7
 The tone of the Nánkāng form is irregular.

é 鵝 QYS ngâ CDC *ngo2/EC *'ngay
 BMH [ngô]; MX [ɲo2]; HL [ɲo2]; SX [ɲo2]; LF [ɲo2]; LZ [ɲgo2]; SHT [ɲo2]
 HY [ɲo2]; XY [ɲo2]; DB [ɲo2]; YL [ɲəu2]; XC [ɲo2]
 CT [ɲo2]; WP [ɲo2]; YD [ɲou2]; SH [ɲu2]; LC1 [ɲu2]; LC2 [ɲu2]
 NK [ɲo2]; AY [ɲo2]; SY [ɲo2]; XS [ɲo2]; QN [ɲo2]; ND1 [ɲo2]; ND2 [ɲo2]; ND3 [ɲo2]
 OPH *ngo2 CNH *ɲo2

è 惡 QYS ʔâk CDC *ok7/EC *'akh
 BMH [ok]; MX [ɔk7]; HL [ok7]; SX [ok7]; LF [ok7]; LZ [ɔk7]; SHT [ɔk7]
 HY [ɔk7]; XY [ɔk7]; DB [ɔk7]; YL [—]; XC [oʔ7]
 CT [o2]; WP [ɔʔ7]; YD [ɔʔ7]; SH [oʔ7]; LC1 [u6]; LC2 [u22]
 NK [o8]; AY [o6]; SY [o5]; XS [ɔk7]; QN [oʔ7]; ND1 [vok7]; ND2 [vɔk7]; ND3 [vɔk7]
 [OPH *ok7] CNH *ok7

ēn 恩 QYS ʔən CDC *en1/EC *'un1
 BMH [en]; MX [ɛn1]; HL [en1]; SX [en1]; LF [en1]; LZ [ɛn1]; SHT [—]
 HY [an1]; XY [in1]; DB [ən1]; YL [ɲan1]; XC [ɲən1]
 CT [eɲ1]; WP [eɲ1]; YD [ɛn1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ẽ1]; AY [əɲ1]; SY [ẽ1]; XS [en1]; QN [en1]; ND1 [ɲən1]; ND2 [ɲən1]; ND3 [ən1]
 OPH *en1 CNH *en1

ér 而 QYS nízi CDC *nhi2/EC *ni

BMH [yî ~ lû]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋi2 ~ ji2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]

CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]

[OPH *i2] CNH *ñi2/*i2/*ə2

The second Basil Mission and the Níngdū forms appear to reflect an early Guānhuà loan form such as *iə2.

ér 兒 QYS níze CDC *nhi2/EC *ne

BMH [yî]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋi2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [zi2]; YL [—]; XC [ər2]

CT [—]; WP [ə2]; YD [—]; SH [ə2 ~ ni1]†; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə2]; AY [ə2]; SY [e2]; XS [ə2]; QN [ɜ2]; ND1 [lə2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lə2]

[OPH *i2] CNH *ñi2/*i2/*ə2

† Second form as in the word hɿ3 ni1[女兒] “daughter”, found in a children’s ditty (Qiū 2012: 327).

ěr 耳 QYS nízi: CDC *nhi4/EC *nix

BMH [nyî]; MX [ɲi3]; HL [ɲi3]; SX [ɲi3]; LF [ɲi3]; LZ [ʔgi3]; SHT [ɲi3]

HY [ɲi3]; XY [ɲi3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲi3]; XC [ni3]

CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3 ~ m3]; YD [hɿ3b ~ ɲi3w]; SH [ɱ3]; LC1 [ɲi3]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə3 ~ ni3]; AY [ɲ3]; SY [ə3 ~ ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ɜ3 ~ ni3]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni1 ~ ə3]

OPH *ɲi3 CNH *ɲ3/L *ñi3

The variant forms in ə3 and ɜ3, etc. are almost certainly very late borrowings of a northern ə3.

ěr 爾 QYS níze: CDC *nhi4/EC *nex

BMH [nyî] “you”; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ə3]; AY [ə3]; SY [e3]; XS [ə3]; QN [ɜ3]; ND1 [lə3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *ə3

The Basil Mission form is simply the second person pronoun. The Lìzhīzhuāng form seems to derive from an earlier *i2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

èr 二 QYS nízi- CDC *nhi6/EC *niyh

BMH [nyì]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ɲgi5]; SHT [ɲi5]

HY [ɲi6]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni5 ~ ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni5]

CT [ni6]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3 ~ ɲ3 ~ hɲ5]; SH [mɲ3 ~ hɲ3]; LC1 [ɲi6]; LC2 [—]

NK [ni5]; AY [ɲ6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [ɜ6 ~ ni6]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [ni6]

OPH *n_ii6 CNH *ɲ6/*ñi6

The first Quánnán form appears to be a borrowing of a northern form in [ə]. The reconstructed form is supported exclusively by dialects where Common Neo-Hakka Tone 6 became modern Tone 3. Our supposition is that Tone 6 was the origin of the modern tones in these cases.

F

fā 發 QYS pjwɔt CDC *fat7/EC *pot

BMH [fat ~ pot]; MX [fat7w ~ pɔt7b]; HL [pɔt7 ~ fat7]; SX [pɔt7 ~ fat7]; LF [pɔt7 ~ fat7]; LZ [pɔt7b ~ fat7w]; SHT [fat7]

HY [fat7 ~ p'at7]; XY [fat7]; DB [fat7]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; YD [pɔt7 ~ fat7]; SH [puɛʔ7 ~ faʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa6 ~ poi6]

NK [fa7]; AY [fɜ3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [fait7]; ND2 [fat7]; ND3 [fat7]

OPH *pot7 CNH *pot7/L *fat7

fǎ 法 QYS pjwɔp CDC *fap7/EC *pop

BMH [fap]; MX [fap7]; HL [fap7]; SX [fap7]; LF [fap7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [fap7 ~ fat7]

HY [fat7]; XY [fat8]; DB [fat8]; YL [fat7]; XC [faʔ7]

CT [fa2]; WP [faʔ7]; YD [faʔ7]; SH [faʔ7]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [fo6]

NK [fa7]; AY [fɜ3]; SY [fa5]; XS [fait7]; QN [fæʔ7]; ND1 [faip7]; ND2 [fap7]; ND3 [fat7]
OPH *fap7 CNH *fap7/*fat7

fán 凡 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom
BMH [fâm]; MX [fam2]; HL [fam2]; SX [fam2]; LF [fam2]; LZ [fan2]; SHT [—]
HY [fan2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fan2]; XC [fan2]
CT [faŋ2]; WP [faŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [fã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fã2]; AY [fã2]; SY [fã2]; XS [fan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fam2]
[OPH *fam2] CNH *fam2

fán 帆 QYS bjwɔm CDC *vam2/EC *bom
BMH [fâm]; MX [fam2]; HL [fam2]; SX [fam2]; LF [—]; LZ [fan2]; SHT [fan2]
HY [—]; XY [fan2]; DB [fan2]; YL [fan2]; XC [fan2]
CT [faŋ2]; WP [faŋ1]; YD [faŋ2]; SH [fã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fã2]; AY [fã2]; SY [fã2]; XS [fan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam2]; ND2 [fan2]; ND3 [—]
OPH *fam2 CNH *fam2

fǎn 反 QYS pjwɔn: CDC *fan3/EC *ponx
BMH [fán]; MX [fan3]; HL [fan3]; SX [fan3]; LF [fan3]; LZ [fan3]; SHT [—]
HY [fan3]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan3]
CT [faŋ3]; WP [faŋ3]; YD [fan3]; SH [fã3]; LC1 [fa3]; LC2 [—]
NK [fã3]; AY [fã3]; SY [fã3]; XS [fan3]; QN [fan3]; ND1 [fan3]; ND2 [fan3]; ND3 [fan3]
[OPH *fan3] CNH *fan3

fàn 犯 QYS bjwɔm: CDC *vam4/EC *bomx
BMH [fam ~ fàm]; MX [fam5w ~ fam1b]; HL [fam5]; SX [fam5]; LF [fam6]; LZ [fam5]; SHT
[—]
HY [fan6]; XY [fam3]; DB [fam3]; YL [fan5]; XC [fan5]
CT [faŋ6]; WP [faŋ3]; YD [faŋ5]; SH [fã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; XS [fan5]; QN [—]; ND1 [fam6]; ND2 [fam6 ~ fan2]; ND3 [fam6]

OPH *fam6 CNH *fam1/L *fam6

fàn 飯 QYS bjwɒn-, bjwɒn: CDC *van6/EC *bonh

BMH [fán ~ phón ~ fón]†; MX [fan5]; HL [fan6]; SX [fan5]; LF [fon6]; LZ [fan5]; SHT [fan5]

HY [fan6]; XY [fan3]; DB [fan3]; YL [fan3]; XC [fan5]

CT [fan6w ~ p'ueŋ6b ~ p'uŋ6b]; WP [phuɛŋ3]; YD [p'ɔn5]; SH [phuɛ3]; LC1 [p'a6]; LC2 [p'a6]

NK [fã5]; AY [fã6]; SY [fã5]; XS [fan5]; QN [fan6]; ND1 [fan6]; ND2 [p'an6]; ND3 [p'an6]

[OPH *fan6 ?] CNH *p'on6/L *fan6

†Cf. Chappell & Lamarre (2005): fàn.

The vowel of the Lùfēng form is unexpected and irregular. The Níngdū-2 and 3 forms may reflect an earlier *p'an6 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

fāng 方 QYS pjwang CDC *fong1/EC *pang

BMH [fong]; MX [fɔŋ1]; HL [fɔŋ1]; SX [fɔŋ1]; LF [fɔŋ1]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [fɔŋ1]

HY [fɔŋ1]; XY [fɔŋ1]; DB [fɔŋ1]; YL [fɔŋ1]; XC [fɔŋ1]

CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [fɔŋ1]; YD [fɔŋ1]; SH [fɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fɔŋ1]

NK [fɔ1]; AY [fɔŋ1]; SY [fɔ1]; XS [fɔŋ1]; QN [fɔŋ1]; ND1 [fɔŋ1]; ND2 [fɔŋ1]; ND3 [fɔŋ1]

[OPH *fong1] CNH *fɔŋ1

fáng 房 QYS bjwang CDC *vong2/EC *bang

BMH [fɔŋ]; MX [fɔŋ2w ~ p'ion2b]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [fɔŋ2]

HY [fɔŋ3]; XY [fɔŋ3]; DB [fɔŋ2]; YL [fɔŋ2]; XC [fɔŋ2]

CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; YD [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fɔ2]; AY [fɔŋ2]; SY [fɔ2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2]

[OPH *fong2] CNH *fɔŋ2

The Méixiàn bái form appears to derive from an earlier *p'ion2 for which we lack comparative evidence.

fǎng 紡 QYS phjwang: CDC *fong3/EC *phangx
BMH [fōng ~ phióng]; MX [fəŋ3]; HL [p'ion2]; SX [p'ion2]; LF [p'ion3]; LZ [fəŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [fəŋ3]; XY [fəŋ3]; DB [fəŋ3]; YL [fəŋ3]; XC [fəŋ3]
CT [—]; WP [fəŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fǝ3]; AY [fəŋ3]; SY [fǝ3]; XS [fəŋ3]; QN [fəŋ3]; ND1 [fəŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fəŋ3]
[OPH *p'iong3 ~ *p'iong2 ?] CNH *p'ion3/*p'ion2/*fəŋ3

fàng 放 QYS pjwang- CDC *fong5/EC *pangh
BMH [fōŋ]; MX [fəŋ5w ~ pion5b]; HL [fəŋ5w ~ pion5b]; SX [fəŋ5w ~ pion5b]; LF [fəŋ5 ~ pion5]; LZ [fəŋ5]; SHT [fəŋ5]
HY [fəŋ5]; XY [fəŋ5]; DB [fəŋ5]; YL [fəŋ5]; XC [fəŋ5]
CT [fəŋ5 ~ pion5]; WP [pion5]; YD [pion3 ~ pəŋ3]; SH [pion5]; LC1 [pion5]; LC2 [pion5]
NK [fǝ5]; AY [fəŋ5 ~ həŋ5]; SY [fǝ2]; XS [fəŋ5]; QN [fəŋ5]; ND1 [fəŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fəŋ5]
[OPH *pion5] CNH *pion5/L *fəŋ5

fēi 非 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
BMH [fui]; MX [fi1]; HL [fui1]; SX [fui1]; LF [fui1]; LZ [fui1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fei1]; XC [fei1]
CT [fi1]; WP [fi1]; YD [fei1]; SH [fi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fi1]; AY [fei1]; SY [fi1]; XS [fi1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fi1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fui1] CNH *fui1

fēi 飛 QYS pjwei CDC *fui1/EC *puy
BMH [fui ~ pui]; MX [fi1w ~ pi1b]; HL [fui1w ~ pui1b]; SX [fui1w ~ pui1b]; LF [fui1 ~ pui1];
LZ [pui1w ~ fui1b]†; SHT [fui1]
HY [fi1]; XY [fui1 ~ pe1]; DB [fei1]; YL [fei1]; XC [fei1]
CT [fi1]; WP [fi1w ~ pi1b]; YD [fei1 ~ pi1]; SH [fi1 ~ pe1]; LC1 [po1]; LC2 [—]
NK [fi1]; AY [fei1]; SY [fi1]; XS [fi1]; QN [fui1]; ND1 [fi1]; ND2 [fi1]; ND3 [fi1]
[OPH *pui1] CNH *pui1/*fui1

†Wén and bái forms appear to be reversed in this pair.

fēi 肥 QYS bjwei CDC *vui2/EC *buy
 BMH [phûi]; MX [p'î2]; HL [p'ui2]; SX [p'ui2]; LF [p'ui2]; LZ [phui2b ~ fui2w]; SHT [p'ui2]
 HY [fi2]; XY [fui2]; DB [p'ei2]; YL [p'ei2b]; XC [fei2w ~ p'ei2b]
 CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p'o2]; LC2 [p'ue2]
 NK [fi2]; AY [fe2 ~ p'e2]; SY [fi2]; XS [fi2]; QN [fui2]; ND1 [p'ei2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3 [fei2
 ~ p'ei2]
 OPH *p'ui2 CNH *p'ui2/L *fui2

fèi 費 QYS phjwei- CDC *fui5/EC *phuth
 BMH [fûi]; MX [fi5]; HL [fui5]; SX [fui5]; LF [fui6]; LZ [fui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [fiε5]; XY [fui5]; DB [fei5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5]
 CT [fe6]; WP [fi2]; YD [fei3]; SH [fi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fi5]; AY [fe5]; SY [fi2]; XS [fi5]; QN [fui5]; ND1 [fi5 ~ fei5]; ND2 [fi5]; ND3 [fei5]
 [OPH *fui5] CNH *fui5

fèi 吠 QYS bjwɔi- CDC *vui6/EC *both
 BMH [phûi]; MX [—]; HL [p'oi5]; SX [p'oi5]; LF [p'oi6]; LZ [phoi5]; SHT [p'oi5]
 HY [p'uai6]; XY [p'uai3]; DB [p'oi3]; YL [—]; XC [fei5]
 CT [p'e6]; WP [phuε3]; YD [p'ei5]; SH [phei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fi5]; AY [p'ue6]; SY [fi5]; XS [—]; QN [p'oi6]; ND1 [p'oe6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [p'uai6]
 [OPH *p'oi5] CNH p'oi6/*fui6 ?

The tone of the second reconstructed form is uncertain, because all dialects that would show Tone 6 take the first form. It could theoretically also be Tone 5.

fēn 分 QYS pjuən CDC *fun1/EC *pun
 BMH [fun ~ pun]; MX [fun1w ~ pun1b]; HL [pun1 ~ fun1]; SX [pun1 ~ fun1]; LF [fun1 ~
 pun1]; LZ [pin1b ~ fun1w]; SHT [fun1]
 HY [pun1 ~ hun1]; XY [fun1]; DB [fən1 ~ pən1]; YL [fən1w ~ pən1b]; XC [fən1]

CT [peŋ1]; WP [feŋ1w ~ peŋ1b]; YD [pun1 ~ fun1]; SH [feŋ1 ~ peŋ1]; LC1 [peŋ1]; LC2 [pæŋ1]

NK [fẽ1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fẽ1]; XS [fən1 ~ pən1]; QN [fun1]; ND1 [fən1]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3 [fən1]

[OPH *pun1] CNH *pun1/L *fun1

Forms in initial p- are often used specifically in the sense “to give” in the vernaculars that have it.

fén 墳 QYS bjuən CDC *vun2/EC *bun

BMH [fûn ~ phûn]; MX [fun2]; HL [fun2]; SX [fun2]; LF [fun2]; LZ [fun2]; SHT [fun2]

HY [hun2]; XY [fun2]; DB [fən2]; YL [fən2]; XC [fən2]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [fun2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fẽ2]; AY [fəŋ2]; SY [fẽ2]; XS [fən2]; QN [fun2]; ND1 [fən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fən2]

[OPH *fun2—] CNH *fun2

The second Basil Mission form derives from an earlier *p'un2 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

fén 焚 QYS bjuən CDC *vun2/EC *bun

BMH [fûn]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [fun2]; LZ [fun2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fən2]; XC [fən2]

CT [feŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [fẽ2]; AY [fəŋ2]; SY [fẽ2]; XS [fən2]; QN [fun2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fun2] CNH *fun2

fěn 粉 QYS pjuən: CDC *fun3/EC *punx

BMH [fún]; MX [fun3w ~ p'un3b]; HL [fun3]; SX [fun3]; LF [fun3]; LZ [fun3]; SHT [fun3]

HY [—]; XY [fun3]; DB [fən3]; YL [fən3]; XC [fən3]

CT [feŋ3]; WP [feŋ3]; YD [fun3]; SH [feŋ3]; LC1 [fäi3]; LC2 [—]

NK [fẽ3]; AY [fəŋ3]; SY [fẽ3]; XS [fən3]; QN [fun3]; ND1 [fun3]; ND2 [fən3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fun3] CNH *fun3

The second Méixiàn form derives from an earlier *p'un3 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

fèn 冀 QYS pjuən- CDC *fun5/EC *punh
 BMH [pùn]; MX [pun5]; HL [pun5]; SX [pun5]; LF [pun5]; LZ [pun5b ~ fun5w]; SHT [—]
 HY [hun5]; XY [pun5]; DB [pən5]; YL [pen5]; XC [pən5]
 CT [peŋ5]; WP [peŋ5]; YD [pun3]; SH [peŋ5]; LC1 [pǎi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fě5]; AY [fəŋ5]; SY [fě2]; XS [fən5]; QN [fun5]; ND1 [pən5]; ND2 [pən5]; ND3 [pən5 ~
 fən5]
 [OPH *pun5] CNH *pun5/L *fun5

fèn 憤 QYS bjuən: CDC *vun4/EC *bunx
 BMH [fún]; MX [fun5]; HL [fun5]; SX [fun5]; LF [—]; LZ [fun5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fən5]; XC [fən5]
 CT [fəŋ6 ~ fəŋ5]; WP [fəŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fě5]; AY [fəŋ6]; SY [fě3]; XS [fən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [fən6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *fun5] CNH *fun6

The Shàngyóu and Xiūshǔi tones are irregular.

fēng 風 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
 BMH [fung]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [fuŋ1]; SX [fuŋ1]; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
 HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]
 CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1]; YD [fuŋ1]; SH [fəŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [fəŋ1]
 NK [fəŋ1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fəŋ1]; XS [fəŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
 OPH *fung1 CNH *fuŋ1

fēng 楓 QYS pjung CDC *fung1/EC *pum
 BMH [fung ~ pung ~ phung]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [fuŋ1]†; SX [fuŋ1]†; LF [fuŋ1]; LZ [fuŋ1]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fuŋ1]; XC [fuŋ1]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [puŋ1]; SH [pəŋ1 ~ fəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ1]; AY [fəŋ2]; SY [fəŋ1]; XS [fəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *pung ~ *phung ?] CNH *puŋ1/*fuŋ1
‡Forms supplied by Dr. and Mrs. Wen Pi-ch'ien.

fēng 蜂 QYS phjwong CDC *fung1/EC *phong
BMH [fung ~ phung ~ phong]; MX [fuŋ1]; HL [p'ɔŋ1 ~ p'uŋ1]; SX [p'ɔŋ1]; LF [p'uŋ1]; LZ
[fuŋ1]; SHT [fuŋ1]
HY [hoŋ1]; XY [foŋ1 ~ p'ɔŋ1]; DB [fuŋ1]; YL [fuŋ1w ~ p'uŋ1b]; XC [fuŋ1]
CT [foŋ1]; WP [xuŋ1 ~ phuŋ1]; YD [p'uŋ1]; SH [peŋ1 ~ phəŋ1]; LC1 [foŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ1]; AY [fəŋ1]; SY [fəŋ1]; XS [fəŋ1]; QN [fuŋ1]; ND1 [fuŋ1]; ND2 [fuŋ1]; ND3 [fuŋ1]
[OPH *p'ong ~ *p'ung1] CNH *p'ɔŋ1/*p'uŋ1/*fuŋ1

féng 縫 QYS bjwong CDC *vung2/EC *bong
BMH [fūŋ ~ phūŋ]; MX [fuŋ2]; HL [p'uŋ2]; SX [fuŋ2]; LF [fuŋ2]; LZ [fuŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'ɔŋ2]; XY [foŋ2]; DB [fuŋ2]; YL [fuŋ2 ~ p'uŋ3]; XC [fuŋ2]
CT [foŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ2]; AY [fəŋ2]; SY [fəŋ2]; XS [fəŋ2]; QN [fuŋ2]; ND1 [fuŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p'ung2] CNH *p'uŋ2/*fuŋ2
The tone of the second Yílǒng form is irregular.

fèng 奉 QYS bjwong: CDC *vung4/EC *bongx
BMH [fūŋ]; MX [fuŋ5]; HL [fuŋ5]; SX [fuŋ5]; LF [fuŋ6]; LZ [fuŋ5]; SHT [fuŋ5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fuŋ5 ~ puŋ3]; XC [fuŋ5]
CT [foŋ6]; WP [fuŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [fəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fəŋ5]; AY [fəŋ6]; SY [fəŋ3]; XS [fəŋ5]; QN [fuŋ6]; ND1 [fuŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fuŋ6] CNH *fuŋ6

fèng 鳳 QYS bjung- CDC *vung6/EC *bumh
BMH [fūŋ]; MX [fuŋ5]; HL [fuŋ5]; SX [fuŋ5]; LF [fuŋ6]; LZ [fuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [hɔŋ6]; XY [fuŋ3]; DB [fuŋ3]; YL [fuŋ5]; XC [fuŋ2]
 CT [—]; WP [fuŋ3]; YD [fuŋ5]; SH [fəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fəŋ5]; AY [fəŋ6]; SY [fəŋ5]; XS [fəŋ5]; QN [fuŋ5]; ND1 [fuŋ6]; ND2 [fuŋ6]; ND3 [fuŋ6]
 [OPH *fuŋ6] CNH *fuŋ6

fó 佛 QYS bjuət CDC *vut8/EC *but
 BMH [fut]†; MX [fut8]; HL [fut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [fut8]; LZ [fut8]; SHT [—]
 HY [hut8]; XY [fut8]; DB [fət8]; YL [fu2]; XC [fuʔ8]
 CT [fue6]; WP [fɛʔ8]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu8]; AY [fɜ1]; SY [fo5]; XS [fət8]; QN [fuiʔ8]; ND1 [foet8]; ND2 [fət8]; ND3 [fuet8]
 [OPH *fut8] CNH *fut8

†Tone confirmed in Chappell & Lamarre (2005).

The upper register tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

fǒu 否 QYS pjəu: CDC *feu3/EC *pix
 BMH [féu]; MX [féu3]; HL [feu2]; SX [feu2]; LF [feu3]; LZ [féu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [feu3]; WP [—]; YD [feu3]; SH [fə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [fa3]; SY [fio3]; XS [fəu3]; QN [—]; ND1 [féu3]; ND2 [fəu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *feu3] CNH *feu3

fū 夫 QYS pju CDC *fu1/EC *pa
 BMH [fu]; MX [fu1]; HL [fu1]; SX [fu1]; LF [fu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [fu1]
 HY [hu1]; XY [fu1]; DB [fu1]; YL [fu1]; XC [fu1]
 CT [fu1]; WP [fu1w]; YD [fi1]; SH [fa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu1]; AY [fu1]; SY [fu1]; XS [fu1]; QN [fu1]; ND1 [fu1]; ND2 [fu1]; ND3 [fu1]
 [OPH *fu1] CNH *fu1

fū 孵 QYS phju CDC *fu1/EC *pho
 BMH [fu ~ phù]; MX [—]; HL [p'u6]; SX [p'u5]; LF [—]; LZ [phu5]; SHT [—]

HY [p'u5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [p'u1]; WP [phu3]; YD [p'i5]; SH [phu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p'yε6]

NK [p'u5]; AY [p'u6]; SY [—]; XS [p'u5]; QN [p'u6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'u6] CNH *p'u6

The tone of the Chángtīng form is irregular.

fú 浮 QYS bjəu CDC *veu2/EC *bo

BMH [féu]; MX [fəu2w ~ p'au2b]; HL [fəu2]; SX [fəu2]; LF [fəu2]; LZ [fəu2]; SHT [fəu2]

HY [fuai2]; XY [—]; DB [fəi2]; YL [fu2 ~ fəu2]; XC [—]

CT [fəu2 ~ p'u2]; WP [fə2w ~ phə2b]; YD [fəu2w ~ p'ou2]; SH [fə2 ~ phu2]; LC1 [fəu2]; LC2 [—]

NK [fə2]; AY [fu2]; SY [fio2]; XS [fəu2]; QN [fəu2]; ND1 [fəu2]; ND2 [fəu2]; ND3 [fəu2]

[OPH *fəu2] CNH *p'ou2/L *fəu2

fú 扶 QYS bju CDC *vu2/EC *ba

BMH [fū ~ phū]; MX [fu2w ~ p'u2b]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [phu2b ~ fu2]; SHT [—]

HY [fu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [fu2]; XC [fu2w ~ p'u2b]

CT [fu2 ~ p'u2]; WP [phu2b]; YD [—]; SH [fu1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'u2]; AY [p'u2]; SY [p'u2]; XS [p'u2]; QN [p'u2 ~ fu2]; ND1 [p'u2]; ND2 [p'u2]; ND3 [p'u2 ~ fu2]

OPH *p'u2 CNH *p'u2/L *fu2

fú 縛 QYS bjwak CDC *vok/EC *bak

BMH [phiók]; MX [p'io̯k7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [p'io̯k8]; LZ [phək7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [p'io̯ʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [fu5]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'io̯k8] CNH *p'io̯k8

The Lìzhīzhuāng and Ānyuǎn forms are irregular.

fú 伏 QYS bjuK CDC *vuk8/EC *—
 BMH [fúk ~ phúk]; MX [fuk8w ~ p'uk8b]; HL [fuk8]; SX [fuk8]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [phuk8b ~
 fuk8w]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [p'ouʔ8]; DB [p'uk8]; YL [fəuʔ7 ~ fuʔ7]; XC [fuʔ8]
 CT [p'u6]; WP [fuʔ8]; YD [fuʔ8]; SH [fəʔ8 ~ phəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'u1 ~ fu8]; AY [p'u6 ~ fu6]; SY [p'u5 ~ fu5]; XS [p'uk8 ~ fuk8]; QN [fuʔ8 ~ p'uʔ8];
 ND1 [fuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *p'uk8] CNH *p'uk8/L *fuk8

fú 服 QYS bjuK CDC *vuk8/EC *—
 BMH [fúk]; MX [fuk8]; HL [fuk8]; SX [fuk8]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [hok8]; XY [fouʔ8]; DB [fuk8]; YL [—]; XC [fuʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [fuʔ8]; YD [fuʔ8]; SH [fəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk8]; QN [fuʔ8]; ND1 [fuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fuk8]
 [OPH *fuk8] CNH *fuk8
 †FJFYZ: [fye5].

fú 福 QYS pjuK CDC *fuk7/EC *pik
 BMH [fuk]; MX [fuk7]; HL [fuk7]; SX [fuk7]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk7]; SHT [fuk7]
 HY [hok7]; XY [fouʔ7]; DB [fuk7]; YL [fəuʔ7]; XC [fuʔ7]
 CT [fu2]; WP [fuʔ7]; YD [fuʔ7]; SH [fəʔ7]; LC1 [fiue6]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk7]; QN [fuʔ7]; ND1 [fuk7]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [fuk7]
 [OPH *fuk7] CNH *fuk7
 †FJFYZ: [fye6].

fū 斧 QYS pju: CDC *fu3/EC *pax
 BMH [pú]; MX [pu3]; HL [pu3]; SX [pu3]; LF [pu3]; LZ [pu3]; SHT [fu3]
 HY [p'u3]; XY [pu3]; DB [pu3]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
 CT [pu3]; WP [phu3]; YD [pi3]; SH [pə3]; LC1 [piue3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [p'u3]; QN [—]; ND1 [pu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [pu1]

OPH *pu3 CNH *pu3/*p'u3/*fu3

fǔ 府 QYS pju: CDC *fu3/EC *pox
BMH [fú]; MX [fu3]; HL [fu3]; SX [fu3]; LF [fu3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [fu3]; WP [fu3]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [—]; QN [fu3]; ND1 [fu3]; ND2 [fu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fu3] CNH *fu3

fǔ 輔 QYS bju: CDC *vu3/EC *bax
BMH [phú]; MX [p'u3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [p'u3]; XY [fu3]; DB [fu5]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'u3]; AY [p'u3]; SY [p'u3]; XS [p'u3]; QN [p'u3]; ND1 [p'u3]; ND2 [fu3]; ND3 [p'u]
[OPH *p'u3] CNH *p'u3/*fu3

fù 父 QYS bju: CDC *vu4/EC *bax
BMH [fù]; MX [fu5]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fu5]; XC [—]
CT [fu6]; WP [—]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [fu5]; AY [fu5]; SY [—]; XS [fu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fu6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *fu6

fù 婦 QYS bjəu: CDC *vu4/EC *bix
BMH [fù ~ khiu]; MX [fu5w ~ k'iu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu1]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6 ~ pu5]; XY [p'u1]; DB [p'u1]; YL [fu5w ~ pu1b]; XC [fu5w ~ pu5b]
CT [fu1]; WP [pu1]; YD [fi5]; SH [pə1 ~ phei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [pyɛ1]
NK [fu5 ~ fu1]; AY [fu5]; SY [fu1]; XS [fu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [pu1 ~ pu3 ~ fu1 ~ fu5]; ND2
[fu6 ~ p'u1 ~ p'u6]; ND3 [fu6 ~ p'u1 ~ p'u6]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *pu1/*p'u1/*pu5/L *fu5

Níngdū-2 and 3 have variant forms that must derive from earlier *p'u6.

Basil Mission and Méixiàn show for 婦 a second form, reconstructable as CNH *k'ieu1, which occurs exclusively in the bisyllabic compound [sim1 k'iu1] “daughter-in-law” (i.e., general southern Chinese xīnfù 新婦 “the new woman”). This compound is given in a number of our sources; and, following popular native tradition, the second syllable is sometimes written as jiù 舅 (CNH *k'ieu1/*k'ieu6) “maternal uncle”. However, it is now fairly widely thought to be some sort of nonce deformation of the word fù 婦, as in xīnfù 新婦. Níngdū-2 and -3 have what appears to be a reading in *p'u6, which is not attested elsewhere.

fù 復 QYS bjuK CDC *vuk8/EC *bukh
 BMH [fúk]; MX [fuk7w ~ puk7b]; HL [fuk7 ~ puk8]; SX [fuk7 ~ puk8]; LF [fuk8]; LZ [fuk8];
 SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [fu?7 ~ fu5]
 CT [fu2]; WP [fu?7]; YD [fu?7]; SH [fə?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu8]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fuk8]; QN [fu?7]; ND1 [fuk8]; ND2 [fuk7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *puk8] CNH *puk8/L *fuk8/*fuk7

G

gāi 該 QYS kâi CDC *koi1/EC *'ki
 BMH [koi]; MX [koi1]; HL [koi1]; SX [koi1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [koi1]; SHT [koi1]
 HY [kuai1]; XY [kuai1]; DB [koi1]; YL [koi1]; XC [koi1]
 CT [kue1]; WP [kuɛ1]; YD [—]; SH [kuɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kæ1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kæ1 ~ kue1]; XS [koi1]; QN [koi1]; ND1 [koɛ1]; ND2 [kuɛi]; ND3
 [kuai1]
 [OPH *koi1] CNH *koi1

gǎi 改 QYS kâi: CDC *koi3/EC *'kix
 BMH [kói]; MX [koi3]; HL [koi3]; SX [koi3]; LF [koi3]; LZ [koi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [kuai3]; XY [kuai3]; DB [koi3]; YL [kai3]; XC [kai3]

CT [kue3]; WP [kue3]; YD [koi3]; SH [kue3]; LC1 [kui3]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ3]; AY [kue3]; SY [kue3]; XS [koi3]; QN [koi3]; ND1 [koε3]; ND2 [kuei3]; ND3 [kuai3]
[OPH *koi3] CNH *koi3

gài 蓋 QYS kâi- CDC *koi5/EC *'kath
BMH [kòì]; MX [koi5]; HL [koi5]; SX [koi5]; LF [koi5]; LZ [koi5]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai5]; XY [kuai5]; DB [koi5]; YL [koi5]; XC [koi5]
CT [kue5]; WP [kue5]; YD [koi3]; SH [kue5]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kue2]; XS [koi5]; QN [koi5]; ND1 [koε5]; ND2 [kuei5]; ND3 [kuai5]
[OPH *koi5] CNH *koi5

gān 甘 QYS kām CDC *kam1/EC *'kam
BMH [kam]; MX [kam1]; HL [kam1]; SX [kam1]; LF [kam1]; LZ [kam1]; SHT [kam1]
HY [kam1]; XY [kam1]; DB [kam1]; YL [kən1]; XC [kən1]
CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kaŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1 ~ kuɿ1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [koem1]; ND2 [kuom1];
ND3 [kuam1]
OPH *kam1 CNH *kom1

gān 柑 QYS kām CDC *'kam1/EC —
BMH [kam]; MX [kam1]; HL [kam1]; SX [kam1]; LF [kam1]; LZ [kam1]; SHT [—]
HY [kam1]; XY [kam1]; DB [kam1]; YL [kən1]; XC [kən1]
CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kaŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kã1]; LC1 [kəŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [koẽ1]; AY [kã1]; SY [—]; XS [kan1]; QN [—]; ND1 [koem1]; ND2 [kuom1]; ND3
[kuam1]
[OPH *kam1] CNH *kom1

gān 肝 QYS kân CDC *kon1/EC *'kan
BMH [kon]; MX [kən1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kən1]; SHT [kən1]
HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kən1]; YL [kən1]; XC [kən1]

CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kuɛŋ1]; YD [kɔn1]; SH [kuẽ1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuõ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3
 [kuan1]
 OPH *kon1 CNH *kon1

gān 竿 QYS kân CDC *kon1/EC *'kan
 BMH [kon]; MX [kɔn1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kon1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [kuan1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kɔn1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kɔn1]; SH [kuẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kuɐ1]
 NK [koẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kon1] CNH *kon1

gān 乾 QYS kân CDC *kon1/EC *'kan
 BMH [kon]; MX [kɔn1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]
 HY [—]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kɔn1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kɔn1]
 CT [—]; WP [kuɛŋ1]; YD [kɔn1]; SH [kuẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kɔŋ1]
 NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuõ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *kon1] CNH *kon1

gǎn 感 QYS kâṃ: CDC *kom3/EC *'kumx
 BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [kam3]
 HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [—]; XC [kan3]
 CT [kaŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [kã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [koẽ3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kã3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [koɛm3]; ND2 [kuom3]; ND3
 [kuam3]
 [OPH *kam3] CNH *kom3

gǎn 敢 QYS kâṃ: CDC *kom3/EC *'kamx
 BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [kam3]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [—]

HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [kan3]; XC [kan3]
CT [kəŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [kaŋ3]; SH [kã3]; LC1 [kəŋ]; LC2 [—]
NK [koẽ3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kã3 ~ kuõ3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [koẽm3]; ND2 [kuom3];
ND3 [kuam3]
[OPH *kam3] CNH *kom3

gàn 幹 QYS kân- CDC *kon5/EC *'kanx
BMH [kòn]; MX [kən5]; HL [kon5]; SX [kon5]; LF [kon5]; SHT [kən1]
HY [kuan5]; XY [kuan5]; DB [kən5]; YL [kan5]; XC [kan5]
CT [kaŋ5]; WP [kuɛŋ5]; YD [kaŋ3]; SH [kã5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [koẽ5]; AY [kã5 ~ kõ5]; SY [kuõ2]; XS [kən5]; QN [kən5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kuan5]
[OPH *kon5] CNH *kon5

gāng 缸 QYS (kâng) CDC *kong1/EC *'kang
BMH [kong]; MX [kəŋ1]; HL [koŋ1]; SX [koŋ1]; LF [—]; LZ [kəŋ1]; SHT [kəŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kəŋ1]; XC [kəŋ1]
CT [kəŋ1]; WP [kəŋ1]; YD [kəŋ1]; SH [koŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kõ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kõ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kəŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [kəŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kong1] CNH *koŋ1

gāng 綱 QYS kâng CDC *kong1/EC *'kang
BMH [kong]; MX [kəŋ1]; HL [koŋ1]; SX [koŋ1]; LF [koŋ1]; LZ [kəŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kəŋ1]; XC [kəŋ1]
CT [kəŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kəŋ1]; SH [koŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kõ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kõ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kəŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kong1] CNH *koŋ1

gāng 鋼 QYS kâng CDC *kong1/EC *'kang
BMH [kong]; MX [kəŋ5]; HL [koŋ5]; SX [koŋ5]; LF [koŋ5]; LZ [kəŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [kəŋ1]; XY [kəŋ5]; DB [kəŋ5]; YL [kəŋ1]; XC [kəŋ1]

CT [kəŋ1]; WP [kəŋ5 ~ kəŋ1]; YD [kəŋ3]; SH [kəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kə5]; AY [kəŋ5]; SY [kə5]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kəŋ5]; ND1 [kəŋ5]; ND2 [kəŋ5]; ND3 [kəŋ5]
 [OPH *kəŋ1] CNH *kəŋ1

gǎng 港 QYS kǎng: CDC *kəŋ3/EC *kəŋx
 BMH [kəŋ]; MX [kəŋ3]; HL [kəŋ3]; SX [kəŋ3]; LF [kəŋ3]; LZ [—]; SHT [kəŋ3]
 HY [kəŋ3]; XY [kəŋ3]; DB [kəŋ3]; YL [kəŋ3]; XC [kəŋ3]
 CT [kəŋ3]; WP [kəŋ3]; YD [kəŋ3]; SH [kəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kə3]; AY [kəŋ3]; SY [kə3]; XS [kəŋ3]; QN [kəŋ3]; ND1 [kəŋ3]; ND2 [kəŋ3]; ND3 [kəŋ3]
 [OPH kəŋ3] CNH *kəŋ3

gāo 高 QYS kâu CDC *kəu1/EC *kəu
 BMH [kəu]; MX [kəu1]; HL [kə1]; SX [kə1]; LF [kə1]; LZ [kəu1]; SHT [kəu1]
 HY [kəu1]; XY [kə1]; DB [kə1]; YL [kəu1]; XC [kəu1]
 CT [kə1]; WP [kə1]; YD [kəu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kə1]
 NK [kə1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kə1]; XS [kəu1]; QN [kəu1]; ND1 [kəu1]; ND2 [kəu1]; ND3 [kəu1]
 OPH *kəu1 CNH *kəu1

gē 哥 QYS kâ CDC *kə1/EC *kəy
 BMH [kə]; MX [kə1]; HL [kə1]; SX [kə1]; LF [kə1]; LZ [kə1]; SHT [kə1]
 HY [kə1]; XY [kə1]; DB [kə1]; YL [kəu1]; XC [kə1]
 CT [kə1]; WP [kə1]; YD [kəu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kə1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kə1]; XS [kə1]; QN [kə1]; ND1 [kə1]; ND2 [kə1]; ND3 [kə1]
 OPH *kə1 CNH *kə1

gē 歌 QYS kâ CDC *kə1/EC *kəy
 BMH [kə]; MX [kə1]; HL [kə1]; SX [kə1]; LF [kə1]; LZ [kə1]; SHT [kə1]
 HY [kəu1]; XY [kə1]; DB [kə1]; YL [kəu1]; XC [kə1]
 CT [kə1]; WP [kə1]; YD [kəu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [kə1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kə1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kə1]; XS [kə1]; QN [kə1]; ND1 [kə1]; ND2 [kə1]; ND3 [kə1]

[OPH *ko1] CNH *ko1

gē 割 QYS kât CDC *kot7/EC *'kat

BMH [kot]; MX [kət7]; HL [kot7]; SX [kot7]; LF [kot7]; LZ [kət7]; SHT [kət7]

HY [kuat7]; XY [kuat7]; DB [kət7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]

CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kət7]; SH [kueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]

NK [koæ7]; AY [kuɜ1]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kɔit7]; QN [kɔiʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3
[kuat7]

OPH *kot7 CNH *kot7

gē 鵠 QYS kâp CDC *kop7/EC *'kup

BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]

HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kɔʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]

CT [ko2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [—]

NK [koæ7]; AY [kɜ3]; SY [kuo5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [koep7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kuap7]

[OPH *kap7] CNH *kop7

gé 格 QYS kək CDC *kak7/EC *'kak

BMH [ket ~ kiet ~ kak]; MX [ket7w ~ kak7b]; HL [ket7]; SX [ket7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak2];
SHT [kak7]

HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]

CT [ka2]; WP [keʔ5w ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5 ~ ke5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7 ~ keʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7b
~ kək7w]; ND3 [kək7 ~ kak7]

[OPH *kak7] CNH *kak7/L *kek7

gé 隔 QYS kek CDC *kak7/EC *'kek

BMH [ket ~ kak]; MX [kak7]; HL [kak7]; SX [kak7]; LF [kak7]; LZ [kak7]; SHT [—]

HY [kak7]; XY [kak7]; DB [kak7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]

CT [ka2 ~ ke2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ka8]; AY [ka6]; SY [ka5]; XS [kak7]; QN [kaʔ7]; ND1 [kak7]; ND2 [kak7]; ND3 [kak7]
 OPH *kak7 CNH *kak7/*kek7 ?

The coda of the second form is uncertain because it is not attested in the determinative Níngdū dialects.

gè 箇、個 QYS kâ- CDC *ko5/EC *'kayh

BMH [kè ~ kài]; MX [ke5]; HL [kai5]; SX [kai5]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5b ~ ko5w]; SHT [kai5]

HY [kɛi]†; XY [kɛ]††; DB [kai5]; YL [kai5 ~ kɛ1 kɛ1]; XC [ki5]

CT [ko5 ~ ke5]; WP [ke5]; YD [kai3]; SH [ɛ5 ~ ne5]; LC1 [kuo6]; LC2 [—]

NK [kæ5 ~ ke5]; AY [kæ5 ~ ke5]; SY [kæ5 ~ ko1 ~ ke2]; XS [kai5 ~ kɛ5]; QN [kai5 ~ ko5 ~ ki5]; ND1 [kai5 ~ kɛi5]; ND2 [kai5 ~ kai]‡; ND3 [ke5]

OPH *kiai5 CNH kai5/L *ko5//*kai5 ~ *ke5

Classifier/subordinative particle. Two entirely different lexical items are combined within this set because the sources write them with the same character. For discussion of the subordinative particle, see specifically Chapter V, §5.2.80.

†Subordinative particle only. Tone neutral.

††Non-canonical mid-level tone, structurally perhaps actually neutral.

‡Second form is the subordinative particle.

gè 各 QYS kâk CDC *kok7/EC *'kak

BMH [kok]; MX [kək7]; HL [kok7]; SX [kok7]; LF [kok7]; LZ [kək7]; SHT [—]

HY [kək7]; XY [kək7]; DB [kək7]; YL [kəʔ7]; XC [koʔ7]

CT [ko2]; WP [kəʔ7]; YD [kəʔ7]; SH [kəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ko8]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko5]; XS [kək7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [kok7]; ND2 [kək7]; ND3 [kək7]
 [OPH *kok7] CNH *kok7

gēn 根 QYS kən CDC *ken1/EC *'kun

BMH [ken ~ kin]; MX [ken1 ~ kin1s]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [kin1]

HY [kan1]; XY [kən1]; DB [kien1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]

CT [ken1]; WP [kən1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kɛ̃1]; LC1 [kən1]; LC2 [—]

NK [kẽ1]; AY [kəŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; SY [kẽ1]; XS [ken1]; QN [ken1]; ND1 [kən1]; ND2 [kən1];
ND3 [kən1]

[OPH *kin1] CNH *ken1/Vulgo *kin1

gēn 跟 QYS kən CDC *ken1/EC *'kun

BMH [ken]; MX [ken1]; HL [ken1]; SX [ken1]; LF [ken1 ~ kin1]; LZ [ken1]; SHT [ken1]

HY [—]; XY [k'in1]; DB [kən1 ~ kiən1]; YL [kan1]; XC [kən1]

CT [keŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [ken1]; SH [kẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kẽ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [kẽ1]; XS [ken1]; QN [—]; ND1 [kən1]; ND2 [kən1]; ND3 [kən1]

OPH *ken1 CNH *ken1

The Xīnyí form probably represents a different lexical layer. Cf. the set for gēn 根 immediately above.

gēng 更 QYS kəŋg “to change” CDC *kang1/EC *krang

BMH [kang]; MX [ken1]; HL [kaŋ1]; SX [kaŋ1]; LF [kaŋ1]; LZ [kaŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kaŋ1 ~ ken1w]†; XC [kən1]

CT [kaŋ1]; WP [kaŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kẽ1]; LC1 [kaŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [kã1]; SY [—]; XS [kaŋ1]; QN [kaŋ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kaŋ1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kang1] CNH *kaŋ1/L *keŋ1 ?

†Second form is literary and also has the specific sense “watch (of the night)”

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

gēng 耕 QYS kəŋg CDC *kang1/EC *kreng

BMH [kang]; MX [kaŋ1]; HL [kaŋ1]; SX [kaŋ1]; LF [kaŋ1]; LZ [kaŋ1]; SHT [kaŋ1]

HY [kaŋ1]; XY [kaŋ1]; DB [kaŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [kən1]

CT [kaŋ1]; WP [keŋ1]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kẽ1]; LC1 [kãi1]; LC2 [—]

NK [kẽ1]; AY [kã1 ~ kəŋ1]; SY [kẽ1]; XS [ken1]; QN [kaŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kang1] CNH *kaŋ1/L *keŋ1

gěng 哽 QYS kəŋg: CDC *kang3/EC *krangx
 BMH [káng]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kaŋ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kaŋ3]; XC [kaŋ3]
 CT [keŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [kaŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kẽ3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kẽ3]; XS [kɛn3]; QN [—]; ND1 [kaŋ3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *kaŋ3/L *keŋ3 ?

The coda of the second form is conjectural because no determinative form is present in the set.

gōng 工 QYS kung CDC *kung1/EC *'kong
 BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
 HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
 CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3
 [kuŋ1]
 OPH *kung1 CNH *kuŋ1

gōng 功 QYS kung CDC *kung1/EC *'kong
 BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
 CT [koŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kung1] CNH *kuŋ1

gōng 公 QYS kung CDC *kung1/EC *'kong
 BMH [kung]; MX [kuŋ1]; HL [kuŋ1]; SX [kuŋ1]; LF [kuŋ1]; LZ [kuŋ1]; SHT [kuŋ1]
 HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]
 CT [koŋ1]; WP [kuŋ1]; YD [kuŋ1]; SH [kəŋ1]; LC1 [koŋ1]; LC2 [kəŋ1]
 NK [kəŋ1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kəŋ1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kuŋ1]; ND1 [kuŋ1]; ND2 [kuŋ1]; ND3
 [kuŋ1]
 [OPH *kung1] CNH *kuŋ1

gōng 供 QYS kjwong CDC *kiung1

BMH [kiung]; MX [kiuŋ1]; HL [kiuŋ1]; SX [kiuŋ1]; LF [kiuŋ1]; LZ [kiuŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [koŋ1]; XY [koŋ1]; DB [kuŋ1]; YL [kuŋ1]; XC [kuŋ1]

CT [tʃ'ioŋ5]; WP [tsiuŋ1]; YD [kiuŋ3]; SH [tɕiəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiəŋ1]

NK [tɕiəŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiəŋ1]; XS [tɕiəŋ1]; QN [tɕiəŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3
[kuŋ1 ~ tsuŋ1]

[OPH *kiung1] CNH *kiuŋ1

gòng 共 QYS gjwongh CDC *giung6/EC *gongh

BMH [khiuŋg]; MX [k'iuŋ5]; HL [k'iuŋ6]; SX [k'iuŋ5]; LF [k'iuŋ6]; LZ [khiuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [k'oŋ6]; XY [k'oŋ3]; DB [k'uŋ3]; YL [kuŋ5w ~ k'uŋ3b]; XC [kuŋ5]

CT [tʃ'ioŋ6]; WP [ts'iuŋ3]; YD [k'iuŋ5]; SH [tɕhiəŋ3]; LC1 [k'ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'əŋ5 ~ tɕ'ioŋ5]; AY [k'əŋ6 ~ tɕ'ioŋ6]; SY [k'əŋ5 ~ tɕ'ioŋ5]; XS [tɕ'ioŋ5]; QN [tɕ'ioŋ6];
ND1 [k'uŋ6 ~ ts'uŋ6]; ND2 [ts'uŋ6]; ND3 [k'uŋ6]

[OPH *k'iuŋ6] CNH *k'iuŋ6/L *k'uŋ6

gōu 溝 QYS kəu CDC *keu1/EC *'ko

BMH [keu]; MX [keu1]; HL [keu1]; SX [keu1]; LF [keu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [kuai1]; XY [kəu1]; DB [kiɛi1]; YL [kɛ1]; XC [kəu1]

CT [keu1]; WP [kɛ1]; YD [keu1]; SH [kə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kɜ1]; AY [kə1]; SY [kio1]; XS [kəu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [keu1]; ND2 [kəu1]; ND3 [kəu1]

[OPH *keu1] CNH *keu1

gǒu 狗 QYS kəu: CDC *keu3/EC *'kox

BMH [kéu]; MX [keu3]; HL [keu3]; SX [keu3]; LF [keu3]; LZ [keu3]; SHT [kiu3]

HY [kuai3]; XY [kəu3]; DB [kiɛi3]; YL [kɛ3]; XC [kəu3]

CT [keu3]; WP [kɛ3]; YD [keu3]; SH [kə3]; LC1 [keu3]; LC2 [—]

NK [kɜ3]; AY [ku3]; SY [kio3]; XS [kəu3]; QN [keu3]; ND1 [keu3]; ND2 [kəu3]; ND3 [kəu3]

OPH *keu3 CNH *keu3

gū 姑 QYS kuo CDC *ku/EC *'ka
 BMH [ku]; MX [ku1]; HL [ku1]; SX [ku1]; LF [ku1]; LZ [ku1]; SHT [ku1]
 HY [ku1]; XY [ku1]; DB [ku1]; YL [ku1]; XC [ku1]
 CT [ku1]; WP [ku1]; YD [ki1]; SH [ku1]; LC1 [kiue1]; LC2 [kyɛ1]
 NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [ku1]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]
 [OPH *ku1] CNH *ku1

gū 籀 QYS (kuo) CDC *ku1/EC *—
 BMH [khu]; MX [k'u1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [khu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ku1]; XY [k'u1]; DB [k'u1]; YL [k'u1]; XC [k'u1]
 CT [—]; WP [khu1]; YD [—]; SH [khu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ku1]; AY [ku1]; SY [ku1]; XS [ku1]; QN [—]; ND1 [ku1]; ND2 [ku1]; ND3 [ku1]
 [OPH *k'u1] CNH *k'u1/*ku1

gǔ 古 QYS kuo: CDC *ku3/EC *'kax
 BMH [kú]; MX [ku3]; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku3]; XC [ku3]
 CT [ku3]; WP [ku3]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kyɛ3]
 NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; XS [ku3]; QN [ku3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *ku3 CNH *ku3

gǔ 𠂔 QYS kuo: CDC *ku3/EC *'kax
 BMH [kú]; MX [—]; HL [ku3]; SX [ku3]; LF [ku3]; LZ [ku3]; SHT [—]
 HY [ku3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku3]; XC [ku3]
 CT [ku3]; WP [ku3]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kyɛ3]
 NK [ku3]; AY [ku3]; SY [ku3]; XS [ku3]; QN [ku3]; ND1 [ku3]; ND2 [ku3]; ND3 [ku3]
 [OPH *ku3] CNH *ku3

gǔ 𠂔 QYS kuət CDC *kut7/EC *'kut
 BMH [kwut]; MX [kut7]; HL [kut7]; SX [kut7]; LF [kut7]; LZ [kut7]; SHT [kut7]

HY [kut7]; XY [kut7]; DB [kuət7 ~ kut7]; YL [kueiʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
CT [kue2]; WP [kuɛʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [kuɔ6]; LC2 [kuɐ6]
NK [koæ7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kuit7]; QN [kuiʔ7]; ND1 [kuit7]; ND2 [kut7]; ND3
[kut7]
OPH *kut7 CNH *kut7

gǔ 穀 QYS kuk CDC *kuk7/EC *'kok
BMH [kwuk]; MX [kuk7]; HL [kuk7]; SX [kuk7]; LF [kuk7]; LZ [kuk7]; SHT [kuk7]
HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [kuk7]; YL [kəuʔ7 ~ kuʔ7]; XC [kuʔ7]
CT [ku2]; WP [kuʔ7]; YD [kuʔ7]; SH [kuʔ7]; LC1 [keu6]; LC2 [kyɛ6]
NK [ku8]; AY [ku6]; SY [ku5]; XS [kuk7]; QN [kuʔ7]; ND1 [kuk7]; ND2 [kuk7]; ND3 [kuk7]
OPH *kuk7 CNH *kuk7

gù 固 QYS kuo- CDC *ku5/EC *'kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [ku5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5] CNH *ku5

gù 故 QYS kuo- CDC *ku5/EC *'kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ku5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ku5] CNH *ku5

gù 雇 QYS kuo- CDC *ku5/EC *'kah
BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ku5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]

CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ku5] CNH *ku5

gù 顧 QYS kuo- CDC *ku5/EC *'kah
 BMH [kù]; MX [ku5]; HL [ku5]; SX [ku5]; LF [ku5]; LZ [ku5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ku5]; XC [ku5]
 CT [ku5]; WP [ku5]; YD [ki3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ku5]; AY [ku5]; SY [ku2]; XS [ku5]; QN [ku5]; ND1 [ku5]; ND2 [ku5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ku5] CNH *ku5

guā 瓜 QYS kwa CDC *kua1/EC *kwra
 BMH [kwa]; MX [kua1]; HL [kua1]; SX [kua1]; LF [kua1]; LZ [ka1]; SHT [kua1]
 HY [ka1]; XY [ka1]; DB [kua1]; YL [kua1]; XC [kua1]
 CT [kua1]; WP [kua1]; YD [kua1]; SH [kua1]; LC1 [ko1]; LC2 [ko1]
 NK [kua1]; AY [kua1]; SY [kua1]; XS [kua1]; QN [ka1]; ND1 [ka1]; ND2 [ka1]; ND3 [ka1]
 OPH *kua1 CNH *kua1

guā 刮 QYS kwat CDC *kuat7/EC *krot
 BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [kuat7]; SX [kuat7]; LF [kuat7]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [kat7]; XY [kat7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [kua?7]; XC [kua?7]
 CT [kue2]; WP [kua?7]; YD [kua?7]; SH [kua?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue6]
 NK [kua7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kua1]; XS [kuait7]; QN [kæ?7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3
 [kuat7]
 OPH *kuat7 CNH *kuot7

guāi 乖 QYS kwāi CDC *kuai1/EC *kruiy
 BMH [kwai]; MX [kuai1]; HL [kuai1]; SX [kuai1]; LF [kuai1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kuai1]; YL [kuai1]; XC [kuai1]
 CT [—]; WP [kua1]; YD [kuai1]; SH [kua1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kuə1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kuə1]; XS [kuai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]

OPH *kuai1 CNH *kuai1

guài 怪 QYS kwǎi- CDC *kuai5/EC *kwrih

BMH [kwái]; MX [kuai5]; HL [kuai5]; SX [kuai5]; LF [kuai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]

HY [kai5]; XY [kai5]; DB [kuai5]; YL [kuai5]; XC [kuai5]

CT [—]; WP [kua5]; YD [—]; SH [kua5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kuə5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kuə2]; XS [kuai5]; QN [kai5]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [kai5]

OPH *kuai5 CNH *kuai5

guān 官 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *’kwan

BMH [kwon]; MX [kuon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [kɔn1]

HY [kuan1]; XY [kuan1]; DB [kuon1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kuan1]

CT [kuŋ1]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [kuɔ1]; LC2 [kuɐ1]

NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuõ1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koen1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [kuan1]

OPH *kuon1 CNH *kuon1

guān 棺 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *’kwan

BMH [kwon]; MX [—]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [—]

HY [kuan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kuon1]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kuan1]

CT [—]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [—]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [—]; ND1 [koen1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kuon1] CNH *kuon1

guān 觀 QYS kuân CDC *kuon1/EC *’kon

BMH [kwon]; MX [kuon1]; HL [kon1]; SX [kon1]; LF [kon1]; LZ [kɔn1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kɔn1]; XC [kuan1]

CT [kɯŋ1]; WP [kueŋ1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [koẽ1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kuɔ̃1]; XS [kɔn1]; QN [kɔn1]; ND1 [koɛn1]; ND2 [kuon1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *kuon1] CNH *kuon1

guān 關 QYS kwan CDC *kuan1/EC *kron
 BMH [kwan]; MX [kuan1]; HL [kuan1]; SX [kuan1]; LF [kon]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kuan1]; YL [kuan1]; XC [kuan1]
 CT [kuan1]; WP [kuan1]; YD [kuan1]; SH [kuã1]; LC1 [kua1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kuã1]; AY [kuã1 ~ k'ã1]; SY [kuã1 ~ k'uã1]; XS [kuan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2
 [—]; ND3 [kuan1]
 OPH *kuan1 CNH *kuan1

guāng 光 QYS kuāng CDC *kuong1/EC *'kwang
 BMH [kwong]; MX [kuoŋ1]; HL [koŋ1]; SX [koŋ1]; LF [koŋ1]; LZ [kəŋ1]; SHT [kəŋ1]
 HY [kəŋ1]; XY [kəŋ1]; DB [kuoŋ1]; YL [kəŋ1]; XC [kəŋ1]
 CT [kəŋ1]; WP [kəŋ1]; YD [kəŋ1]; SH [koŋ1]; LC1 [kəŋ1]; LC2 [kəŋ1]
 NK [kɔ̃1]; AY [kəŋ1]; SY [kɔ̃1]; XS [kəŋ1]; QN [kəŋ1]; ND1 [kəŋ1]; ND2 [kəŋ1]; ND3 [kəŋ1]
 OPH *kuong1 CNH *kuoŋ1

guǎng 廣 QYS kuāng: CDC *kuong3/EC *'kwangx
 BMH [kwóng]; MX [kuoŋ3]; HL [koŋ3]; SX [koŋ3]; LF [koŋ3]; LZ [kəŋ3]; SHT [kəŋ3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kəŋ3]; XC [kəŋ3]
 CT [—]; WP [kəŋ3]; YD [kəŋ3]; SH [koŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [kɔ̃3]; AY [kəŋ3]; SY [kɔ̃3]; XS [kəŋ3]; QN [kəŋ3]; ND1 [kəŋ3]; ND2 [kəŋ3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kuong3] CNH *kuoŋ3

guī 規 QYS kjwie4 CDC *kui1/EC *kwe
 BMH [kwui]; MX [kui1]; HL [kui1]; SX [kui1]; LF [kui1]; LZ [kui1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kui1]; XY [k'ui1]; DB [k'uei1]; YL [kuei1]; XC [kuei1]

CT [kue1]; WP [kui1w]; YD [kuei1]; SH [kuei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kue1]; XS [kui1]; QN [kui1]; ND1 [kui1]; ND2 [kui1]; ND3 [kui1]
[OPH *kui1] CNH *kui1

guī 龜 QYS kjwi3 CDC *kui1/EC *kwi
BMH [kwui]; MX [kui1]; HL [kui1]; SX [kui1]; LF [kui1]; LZ [kui1]; SHT [kui1]
HY [kui1]; XY [kui1]; DB [kuei1]; YL [kuei1]; XC [kuei1]
CT [kue1]; WP [kui1]; YD [kuei1]; SH [kuei1]; LC1 [kui1]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue1]; AY [kue1]; SY [kue1]; XS [kui1]; QN [kui1]; ND1 [kui1]; ND2 [kui1]; ND3 [kui1]
OPH *kui1 CNH *kui1

guǐ 鬼 QYS kjwei: CDC *kui3/EC *kuyx
BMH [kwúi]; MX [kui3]; HL [kui3]; SX [kui3]; LF [kui3]; LZ [kui3]; SHT [kui3]
HY [kui3]; XY [kui3]; DB [kuei3]; YL [kuei3]; XC [kuei3]
CT [kue3]; WP [kui3]; YD [kuei3]; SH [kuei3]; LC1 [kui3]; LC2 [kvi3]
NK [kue3]; AY [kue3]; SY [kue3]; XS [kui3]; QN [kui3]; ND1 [kui3]; ND2 [kui3]; ND3 [kui3]
[OPH *kui3] CNH *kui3

guì 貴 QYS kjwei- CDC *kui5/EC *kuth
BMH [kwùi]; MX [kui5]; HL [kui5]; SX [kui5]; LF [kui5]; LZ [kui5]; SHT [—]
HY [kui5]; XY [kui5]; DB [kuei5]; YL [kuei5]; XC [kuei5]
CT [kue5]; WP [kui15]; YD [kuei5]; SH [kuei5]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kue5]; AY [kue5]; SY [kue2]; XS [kui5]; QN [kui5]; ND1 [kui5]; ND2 [kui5]; ND3 [kui5]
OPH *kui5 CNH *kui5

guì 櫃 QYS gjwi-3 CDC *gui6/EC *guth
BMH [khwùi]; MX [k'ui5]; HL [k'ui5]; SX [k'ui5]; LF [k'ui6]; LZ [khui5]; SHT [k'ui5]
HY [k'ui6]; XY [k'ui3]; DB [k'uei3]; YL [k'uei3]; XC [kuei5]
CT [k'ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k'uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'y5]; AY [k'ue6]; SY [tɛ'y5]; XS [k'ui5]; QN [k'ui6]; ND1 [k'ui6]; ND2 [k'ui6]; ND3 [k'ui6]

[OPH *k'ui6] CNH *k'ui6/*k'ui6

The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms derive from the second reconstruction.

guì 跪 QYS gjwe: CDC *gui4/EC *guyx

BMH [khwúi]; MX [k'ui3]; HL [k'ui5]; SX [k'ui3]; LF [k'ui6]; LZ [khui3]; SHT [—]

HY [k'ui6]; XY [k'ui3]; DB [k'uei3]; YL [k'uei3]; XC [kuei3]

CT [k'ue6]; WP [khui3]; YD [k'uei5]; SH [khuei3]; LC1 [k'ui6]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'uæ3]; AY [k'ue3]; SY [k'ue3]; XS [k'ui3]; QN [k'ui3]; ND1 [k'ui3]; ND2 [k'ui3]; ND3 [k'ui3]

[OPH *k'ui6] CNH *k'ui6

gǔn 滾 QYS — CDC *kun3/EC *—

BMH [kwún]; MX [kun3]; HL [kun3]; SX [kun3]; LF [kun3]; LZ [kun3]; SHT [kun3]

HY [kuan3 ~ kun3]; XY [kun3]; DB [kən3]; YL [kun3]; XC [kuən3]

CT [kueŋ3]; WP [kuɛŋ3]; YD [kun3]; SH [kueiŋ3]; LC1 [kuäi3]; LC2 [kuæiŋ3]

NK [kuẽ3]; AY [kuəŋ3]; SY [kuẽ3]; XS [kun3]; QN [kun3]; ND1 [kun3]; ND2 [kun3]; ND3 [kun3]

[OPH *kun3] CNH *kun3

guó 國 QYS kwək CDC *kuek7/EC *EC *kwik

BMH [kwet]; MX [kueɾ7]; HL [kueɾ7]; SX [kueɾ7]; LF [kueɾ7]; LZ [ket7b ~ kək7w]; SHT [ket7]

HY [kat7]; XY [kək7]; DB [kuək7]; YL [kueʔ7]; XC [kueʔ7]

CT [kue2]; WP [kueʔ7]; YD [kut7]; SH [kueiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [koæ8]; AY [ku33]; SY [kuo5]; XS [kueɾ7]; QN [kuiʔ7]; ND1 [kək7]; ND2 [kək7]; ND3 [kək7]

OPH *kueɾ7 CNH *kuek7

guǒ 果 QYS kuâ: CDC *kuo3/EC *'koyx
BMH [kwó]; MX [kuǝ3]; HL [ko3]; SX [ko3]; LF [ko3]; LZ [kǝ3]; SHT [kǝ3]
HY [kuǝ3]; XY [kǝ3]; DB [ko3]; YL [kəu3]; XC [ko3]
CT [ko3]; WP [ko3]; YD [kou3]; SH [ku3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku3]
NK [ko3]; AY [ko3]; SY [ko3]; XS [kǝ3]; QN [ko3]; ND1 [ko3]; ND2 [ko3]; ND3 [ko3]
OPH *kuo3 CNH *kuo3

guò 過 QYS kuâ- CDC *kuo5/EC *koyh
BMH [kwò]; MX [kuǝ5]; HL [ko5]; SX [ko5]; LF [ko5]; LZ [kǝ5]; SHT [kǝ5]
HY [kuǝ5]; XY [kǝ5]; DB [ko5]; YL [kəu5]; XC [ko5]
CT [ko5]; WP [ko5]; YD [kou3]; SH [ku5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ku5]
NK [ko5]; AY [ko5]; SY [ko2]; XS [kǝ5]; QN [ko5]; ND1 [ko5 ~ kǝ5]; ND2 [ko5]; ND3 [ko5]
OPH *kuo5 CNH *kuo5

H

hǎi 海 QYS xâi: CDC *xoi3/EC *'hix
BMH [hói]; MX [hoi3]; HL [hoi3]; SX [hoi3]; LF [hoi3]; LZ [hoi3]; SHT [hoi3]
HY [huai3]; XY [huai3]; DB [hoi3]; YL [hai3w ~ hoi3b]; XC [hoi3]
CT [hue3]; WP [xuɛ3]; YD [hoi3]; SH [hue3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hæ3]; AY [hue3]; SY [hue3]; XS [hoi3]; QN [hoi3]; ND1 [hoɛ3]; ND2 [huei3]; ND3 [huai3]
OPH *hoi3 CNH *hoi3

hán 寒 QYS yân CDC *hon2/EC *'gan
BMH [hôn]; MX [hɔn2]; HL [hon2]; SX [hon2]; LF [hon2]; LZ [hɔn2]; SHT [—]
HY [huan2]; XY [huan2]; DB [hɔn2]; YL [han2]; XC [hɔn2]
CT [huŋ2]; WP [xuɛŋ2 ~ xaŋ2]; YD [hɔn2]; SH [huẽ2]; LC1 [huo2]; LC2 [hue2]
NK [hoẽ2]; AY [hõ2]; SY [huõ2]; XS [hɔn2]; QN [hɔn2]; ND1 [hoɛn2]; ND2 [huon2]; ND3
[huan2]
[OPH *hon2] CNH *hon2

hàn 旱 QYS yân: CDC *hon4/EC *'ganx
 BMH [hon ~ hón]; MX [hɔn1]; HL [hon1]; SX [hon1]; LF [hon3]; LZ [hɔn1]; SHT [hɔn1]
 HY [huan5]; XY [huan1]; DB [hɔn1]; YL [hɔn5]; XC [hɔn5]
 CT [huŋ6]; WP [xuɛŋ1]; YD [hɔn1]; SH [huẽ1]; LC1 [huɔ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoẽ1]; AY [hõ3]; SY [huõ1]; XS [hɔn5]; QN [hɔn1]; ND1 [hoɛn6]; ND2 [huon1]; ND3
 [huan6]
 [OPH *hon1] CNH *hon1/*hon6

hàn 漢 QYS xân- CDC *xon5/EC *'hanh
 BMH [hòn]; MX [hɔn5]; HL [hon5]; SX [hon5]; LF [hon5]; LZ [hɔn5]; SHT [—]
 HY [huan5]; XY [huan5]; DB [hon5]; YL [hɔn5]; XC [hɔn5]
 CT [huŋ5]; WP [xuɛŋ5]; YD [hɔn3]; SH [huẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoẽ5]; AY [hõ5]; SY [huõ5]; XS [hɔn5]; QN [hɔn5]; ND1 [hoɛn5]; ND2 [huon5]; ND3
 [huan5]
 [OPH *hon5] CNH *hon5

hàn 汗 QYS yân- CDC *hon6/EC *'ganh
 BMH [hòn]; MX [hɔn5]; HL [hon6]; SX [hon5]; LF [hon6]; LZ [hɔn5]; SHT [hɔn5]
 HY [huan6]; XY [huan3]; DB [hɔn3]; YL [hɔn5]; XC [hɔn5]
 CT [huŋ6]; WP [xuɛŋ3 ~ xuɛŋ2]; YD [hɔn5]; SH [huẽ3]; LC1 [huɔ6]; LC2 [huɛ6]
 NK [hoẽ5]; AY [hõ6]; SY [huõ5]; XS [hɔn5]; QN [hɔn6]; ND1 [hoɛn6]; ND2 [huon6]; ND3
 [huan6]
 OPH *hon6 CNH *hon6

hǎo 好 QYS xâu: CDC *xou3/EC *'hux
 BMH [háu]; MX [hau3]; HL [ho3]; SX [ho3]; LF [ho3]; LZ [hau3]; SHT [hau3]
 HY [hau3]; XY [ho3]; DB [ho3]; YL [həu3]; XC [hau3]
 CT [ho3]; WP [xɔ3]; YD [hou3]; SH [ho3]; LC1 [ho3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [hau3]; QN [hau3]; ND1 [hau3]; ND2 [hau3]; ND3 [hau3]
 OPH *hou3 CNH *hou3

hào 號 QYS yâu- CDC *hou6/EC *'gawh
BMH [hàu]; MX [hau5]; HL [ho6]; SX [ho5]; LF [ho6]; LZ [hau5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [hɔ3]; DB [ho3]; YL [hau3]; XC [hau5]
CT [ho6]; WP [xɔ3]; YD [hou5]; SH [hu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔ5]; AY [ho6]; SY [hɔ5]; XS [hau5]; QN [hau6]; ND1 [hau6 ~ hau3]; ND2 [hau6]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *hou6] CNH *hou6

hé 何 QYS yâ CDC *ho2/EC *'gay
BMH [hô]; MX [hɔ2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [hɔ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xɔ2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [hɔ2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ho2] CNH *ho2

hé 河 QYS yâ CDC *ho2/EC *'gay
BMH [hô]; MX [hɔ2]; HL [ho2]; SX [ho2]; LF [ho2]; LZ [hɔ2]; SHT [hɔ2]
HY [hɔ2]; XY [hɔ2]; DB [ho2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [ho2]; WP [xɔ2]; YD [hou2]; SH [hu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [huw6]
NK [ho2]; AY [ho2]; SY [ho2]; XS [hɔ2]; QN [ho2]; ND1 [ho2]; ND2 [ho2]; ND3 [ho2]
OPH *ho2 CNH *ho2

hé 禾 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
BMH [vô]; MX [vɔ2]; HL [vo2]; SX [vo2]; LF [vo2]; LZ [vɔ2]; SHT [vɔ2]
HY [vuɔ2]; XY [vɔ2]; DB [vo2]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
CT [vo2]; WP [o2 ~ vo2]; YD [vou2]; SH [vu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vu2]
NK [vo2]; AY [vo2]; SY [vo2]; XS [vɔ2]; QN [vo2]; ND1 [vo2]; ND2 [vo2]; ND3 [vo2]
[OPH *vo2] CNH *vuɔ2

In this set and the following one, Yílǒng and Xīchāng use a Mandarin-like loan form, reconstructable as earlier *ho2.

hé 和 QYS yuâ CDC *huo2, ho2/EC *'goy
 BMH [fô ~ vô]; MX [fɔ2w ~ vɔ2b]; HL [fo2 ~ vo2]; SX [fo2 ~ vo2]; LF [fo2 ~ wo2]; LZ [fɔ2];
 SHT [vɔ2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [həu2]; XC [ho2]
 CT [—]; WP [fo2 ~ o2]†; YD [fou2 ~ vou2]; SH [hu2 ~ vu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vu2]
 NK [ho2 ~ vo2]; AY [ho2 ~ vo2]; SY [ho2 ~ vo2]; XS [fɔ2]; QN [fo2]; ND1 [fo2]; ND2 [fo2];
 ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vo2] CNH *vuo2/L *huo2

†This is the probable identification for the third syllable in this dialect's colloquial compound
 kɔŋ1 the2 o2 (prob. =*kuɔŋ1 t'eu2 vuo2 光頭和), lit. “bald-pate monk”, whence, “baldy, bald
 fellow”.

In this set, the first reconstruction is supported by forms in initial v-, w-, initial zero, etc., which
 are ordinarily limited to the words for héshàng 和尚 “Buddhist monk” in these dialects.

hé 合 QYS yâp CDC *hop8 (~ kop7)†/EC *'gup
 BMH [háp]; MX [hap8 ~ kap7]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [hap8]; SHT [hap8]
 HY [hap8]; XY [hap8]; DB [hap8]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
 CT [ho6]; WP [kaʔ7 ~ khaʔ8]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ5]; AY [hɜ1]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8 ~ kait7]; QN [hæʔ8]; ND1 [hoɛp8 ~ koɛp7]; ND2
 [huop8 ~ kuop8]; ND3 [huap8 ~ hap8]
 [OPH *hap8] CNH *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
 retained here for convenience, though the words are different etyma.

“Join together; shut, close up”//unit of measure.

hé 盒 QYS yâp CDC *hop8/EC *—
 BMH [háp]; MX [hap8]; HL [hap8]; SX [hap8]; LF [hap8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
 CT [ho6]; WP [—]; YD [haʔ8]; SH [haʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [—]

NK [hoæ5]; AY [hɜ1]; SY [huo5]; XS [hait8]; QN [—]; ND1 [hoɛp8]; ND2 [huop8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hap8] CNH *hop8

hè 鶴 QYS yâk CDC *hok8/EC *'gawk
BMH [hók]; MX [hək8]; HL [hok8]; SX [hok8]; LF [hok8]; LZ [hək8]; SHT [hək8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]
CT [ho6]; WP [—]; YD [hɔʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ho1]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [hək8]; QN [hoʔ8]; ND1 [hok8]; ND2 [hək8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hok8] CNH *hok8

hēi 黑 QYS xək CDC *xek7/EC *'hik
BMH [het]; MX [hɛt7]; HL [het7]; SX [het7]; LF [het7]; LZ [hɛt7]; SHT [—]
HY [hat7]; XY [hɛt7]; DB [het7]; YL [—]; XC [hɛʔ7]
CT [he2]; WP [xɛʔ7]; YD [hɛʔ7]; SH [hɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hə8]; AY [he6]; SY [he5]; XS [hɛt7]; QN [hɛʔ7]; ND1 [hək7]; ND2 [hək7]; ND3 [hək7]
[OPH *het7] CNH *hek7

hěn 很 QYS yən: CDC *xen4/EC *'hunx
BMH [hén]; MX [hɛn1]; HL [hen2]; SX [hen5]; LF [hen3 ~ hen6]; LZ [hɛn5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [han3 ~ hɛn3]; XC [hən3]
CT [heŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hě3]; AY [hě3]; SY [he3]; XS [hɛn3]; QN [hen3]; ND1 [hən3]; ND2 [hən3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *hen3

hèn 恨 QYS yən- CDC *xen6/EC *'gunh
BMH [hèn]; MX [hɛn5]; HL [hen5]; SX [hen5]; LF [hen6]; LZ [hɛn5]; SHT [—]
HY [han6]; XY [hɛn3]; DB [han3]; YL [—]; XC [hən5]
CT [heŋ6]; WP [xɛŋ3]; YD [hɛn3]; SH [hě3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hě5]; AY [hě6]; SY [hě5]; XS [hɛn5]; QN [hen6]; ND1 [hən6]; ND2 [hən6]; ND3 [hən6]
[OPH *hen6] CNH *hen6

hēng 亨 QYS xōng CDC *xang1/EC *—

BMH [khen]; MX [—]; HL [k'en1]; SX [—]; LF [k'en1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [hən1]

CT [heŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [hən1]; SH [hẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [hẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [həŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'en1] CNH *heŋ1/*k'əŋ1 ?

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

héng 恆 QYS yəng CDC *heng2/EC *'ging

BMH [hên]; MX [hən2]; HL [hən2]; SX [hən2]; LF [—]; LZ [hən2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [hən2]

CT [heŋ2]; WP [xəŋ2]; YD [hən2]; SH [hẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [hẽ2]; AY [həŋ2]; SY [hẽ2]; XS [hən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [həŋ2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *hen2] CNH *heŋ2

héng 衡 QYS ywōng, (ywwōng) CDC *hang2/EC *grang

BMH [fên]; MX [fən2]; HL [fən2]; SX [fən2]; LF [—]; LZ [haŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hən2]; XC [hən2]

CT [—]; WP [xəŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [hẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [hẽ2]; AY [həŋ2]; SY [hẽ2]; XS [hən2]; QN [—]; ND1 [həŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fən2] CNH hueŋ2

héng 橫 QYS ywōng “orizontal” CDC *huang2/EC *gwreng

BMH [vāŋ]; MX [vaŋ2]; HL [vaŋ2]; SX [vaŋ2]; LF [vang2]; LZ [vaŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [vaŋ2]; XY [vaŋ2]; DB [vuaŋ2]; YL [uaŋ2]; XC [vaŋ2]

CT [vaŋ2]; WP [vaŋ2]; YD [vaŋ2]; SH [vaŋ2]; LC1 [vaŋ2]; LC2 [vaŋ2]

NK [vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [vã2]; XS [vaŋ2]; QN [vaŋ2]; ND1 [vaŋ2]; ND2 [vaŋ2]; ND3 [vaŋ2]

OPH *vang2 CNH *vuaŋ2

hóng 紅 QYS yung CDC *hung2/EC *'gong
BMH [fũŋ]; MX [fuŋ2]; HL [fuŋ2]; SX [fuŋ2]; LF [fuŋ2]; LZ [fuŋ2]; SHT [fuŋ2]
HY [hoŋ2]; XY [hoŋ2 ~ foŋ2]; DB [huŋ2]; YL [fuŋ2]; XC [fuŋ2]
CT [foŋ2]; WP [xuŋ2]; YD [fuŋ2]; SH [fəŋ2]; LC1 [foŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [həŋ2]; AY [həŋ2]; SY [həŋ2]; XS [fəŋ2]; QN [fuŋ2]; ND1 [fuŋ2]; ND2 [fuŋ2]; ND3 [fuŋ2]
[OPH *fuŋ2] CNH *huŋ2

hóu 猴 QYS yəu CDC *heu2/EC *'go
BMH [hêu]; MX [heu2]; HL [heu2]; SX [heu2]; LF [heu2]; LZ [heu2]; SHT [hiu2]
HY [huai2]; XY [heu2]; DB [hei2]; YL [hai2]; XC [həu2]
CT [heu2]; WP [xɛ2]; YD [həu2]; SH [hə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hɛu2]
NK [hɜ2]; AY [ɕɛ2]; SY [hio2]; XS [həu2]; QN [heu2]; ND1 [heu2]; ND2 [həu2]; ND3 [həu2]
OPH *heu2 CNH *heu2

hòu 後 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5w ~ heu1b]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu6]; LZ [heu1 ~ heu5]; SHT
[hiu5]
HY [huai6]; XY [heu3]; DB [hei3]; YL [hai3]; XC [həu5]
CT [heu6]; WP [xɛ3]; YD [heu1 ~ heu5]; SH [hə1 ~ hə5]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [hɛu6]
NK [hɜ5]; AY [ɕɛ5]; SY [hio5]; XS [həu5]; QN [heu6]; ND1 [heu6]; ND2 [həu6]; ND3 [həu6
~ hau6]
[OPH *heu6] CNH *heu1/L *heu6

hòu 厚 QYS yəu: CDC *heu4/EC *'gox
BMH [hèu]; MX [heu5]; HL [heu5]; SX [heu5]; LF [heu2]; LZ [heu5]; SHT [—]
HY [huai6]; XY [heu1]; DB [hei5]; YL [hai3]; XC [həu5]
CT [heu1]; WP [khɛ1]; YD [k'eu1 ~ heu5]; SH [khə1]; LC1 [heu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɜ1]; AY [ɕɛ5]; SY [hio1]; XS [həu5]; QN [heu1]; ND1 [heu1]; ND2 [həu1]; ND3 [həu1]
[OPH *heu5] CNH *heu1/*heu6

hū 忽 QYS xuət CDC *xut7/EC *'hut
 BMH [fut]; MX [fut7]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT [—]
 HY [hut7]; XY [fut7]; DB [fət7]; YL [—]; XC [fuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [fut8]; SH [feiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ5]; AY [hu33]; SY [ho5]; XS [fət8]; QN [fɛʔ8]; ND1 [fət7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [fət7]
 [OPH *fut7] CNH *hut7

hú 鬚 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
 BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
 CT [fu2]; WP [fu2]; YD [fi2]; SH [fu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu2]; AY [fu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2]; ND3 [fu2]
 [OPH *fu2] CNH *fu2

The Yílǒng initial in this and the following set may be due to Mandarin influence. Compare hǔ 虎 and hù 戶 below, where Yílǒng has initial f- as expected.

hú 湖 QYS yuo CDC *hu2/EC *'ga
 BMH [fû]; MX [fu2]; HL [fu2]; SX [fu2]; LF [fu2]; LZ [fu2]; SHT [fu2]
 HY [hu2]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu2]; YL [hu2]; XC [fu2]
 CT [fu2]; WP [—]; YD [fi2]; SH [fu2]; LC1 [fiue2]; LC2 [fyɛ]
 NK [fu2 ~ vu2]; AY [fu2 ~ vu2]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu2]; QN [fu2 ~ vu2]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2];
 ND3 [fu2]
 OPH *fu2 CNH *fu2/*vu2

hǔ 虎 QYS xuo: CDC *xu3/EC *'hax
 BMH [fú]; MX [fu3]; HL [fu3]; SX [fu3]; LF [fu3]; LZ [fu3]; SHT [fu3]
 HY [hu3]; XY [fu3]; DB [fu3]; YL [fu3]; XC [fu3]
 CT [fu3]; WP [fu3]; YD [fi3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fiue3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [fu3]; AY [fu3]; SY [fu3]; XS [fu3]; QN [fu3]; ND1 [fu2]; ND2 [fu2]; ND3 [fu3]
 [OPH *fu3] CNH fu3

hù 戶 QYS yuo: CDC *hu4/EC *'gax
BMH [fù]; MX [fu5w ~ fu1b]; HL [fu5]; SX [fu5]; LF [fu5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
HY [hu6]; XY [fu2]; DB [fu3]; YL [fu5]; XC [fu5]
CT [fu6]; WP [fu3]; YD [—]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fyɛ6]
NK [fu5]; AY [fu6]; SY [fu5]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu6]; ND1 [fu6]; ND2 [fu6]; ND3 [fu6]
[OPH *fu5] CNH *fu6

The pair of Méixiàn forms suggests that there was an early Tone 1 popular form in the protolanguage, and that our reconstructed Tone 6 form is ultimately literary in origin.

huā 花 QYS xwa CDC *xua1/EC —
BMH [fa]; MX [fa1]; HL [fa1]; SX [fa1]; LF [fa1]; LZ [fa1]; SHT [fa1]
HY [fa1]; XY [fa1]; DB [fa1]; YL [fa1]; XC [fa1]
CT [fa1]; WP [fa1]; YD [fa1]; SH [fa1]; LC1 [fo1]; LC2 [fo1]
NK [hua1]; AY [hua1]; SY [hua1]; XS [fa1]; QN [fa1]; ND1 [fa1]; ND2 [fa1]; ND3 [fa1]
[OPH *fa1] CNH *hua1

huá 滑 QYS ywāt CDC *huat8/EC *grot ? ~ *grut ?
BMH [vát]; MX [vat8]; HL [vat8]; SX [vat8]; LF [vat8]; LZ [vat8]; SHT [vat8]
HY [—]; XY [vat8]; DB [vat8]; YL [fa2]; XC [vaʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [vaʔ8]; YD [vat8]; SH [vaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [va5]
NK [va5]; AY [vɜ2]; SY [va5]; XS [vait8]; QN [væʔ8]; ND1 [vait8]; ND2 [vat8]; ND3 [vat8]
OPH *vat8 CNH *vat8

huà 化 QYS xwa- CDC *xua5/EC *hwayh
BMH [fà]; MX [fa5]; HL [fa5]; SX [fa5]; LF [fa5]; LZ [fa5]; SHT [—]
HY [fa5]; XY [fa5]; DB [fa5]; YL [fa5]; XC [fa5]
CT [fa5]; WP [fa5]; YD [fa3]; SH [fa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hua5]; AY [hua5]; SY [hua2]; XS [fa5]; QN [fa5]; ND1 [fa5]; ND2 [fa5]; ND3 [fa5]
[OPH *fa5] CNH *hua5

huà 話 QYS ywai- CDC *hua6 ~ *huai6/EC *gwrath
 BMH [fà ~ vâ ~ voi] 話; MX [fa5w ~ va5b ~ vɔi1]; HL [fa5; va5; voi1]; SX [fa5; voi1]; LF
 [fa6]; LZ [va5]; SHT [va5]
 HY [va6]; XY [va3]; DB [va3]; YL [ua3]; XC [va5]
 CT [va6 ~ fa6]; WP [va3 ~ fa3]; YD [va5 ~ fa3]; SH [va3 ~ fa3]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [vo6]
 NK [va5 ~ hua5]; AY [va6 ~ hua6]; SY [va5 ~ hua5]; XS [va5]; QN [va6 ~ fa6]; ND1 [va6 ~
 fa6]; ND2 [va6 ~ fa6]; ND3 [fa6 ~ va6]
 [OPH *fa6 ~ *va5 ?] CNH *va6 ~ *voi1/L *hua6

In dialects that use both forms colloquially, reflexes of *va6 tend to mean “to speak”, while those of *hua6 usually mean “speech, language”. This is, however, not an absolute rule. CNH *voi1 is exclusively nominal in our sources. Compare, the cognate form [vɔi5] in Jiéxī 揭西 Hakka (Lǐ & Zhāng 1992), which takes Tone 5 rather than Tone 1.

huà 畫 QYS ywai- CDC *hua6/EC *gwrekh
 BMH [fà]; MX [fa5]; HL [fa6]; SX [fa5]; LF [fa6]; LZ [fa5]; SHT [—]
 HY [fa6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fa3]; XC [fa5]
 CT [fa6]; WP [fa3]; YD [fa5]; SH [fa3]; LC1 [fo6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hua5]; AY [hua6]; SY [hua5]; XS [fa5]; QN [fa6]; ND1 [fa6]; ND2 [fa6]; ND3 [fa6]
 [OPH *fa6] CNH *hua6

huái 淮 QYS ywǎi CDC *huai2/EC *gruy
 BMH [fâi]; MX [fai2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [fai2]; LZ [fai2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [huai2]; XC [huai2]
 CT [fai2]; WP [—]; YD [fai2]; SH [fa2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [huæ2]; AY [hue2]; SY [huæ2]; XS [fai2]; QN [fæ2]; ND1 [fai2]; ND2 [fai2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *fai2] CNH *huai2

huān 歡 QYS xuān CDC *xuon1/EC *’hon
 BMH [fon]; MX [fɔn1]; HL [fon1]; SX [fon1]; LF [fon1]; LZ [fɔn1]; SHT [—]
 HY [fuan1]; XY [fan1]; DB [fɔn1]; YL [huan1]; XC [fan1 ~ huan1]

CT [huŋ1]; WP [xuɛŋ1]; YD [fan1]; SH [fã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fa1]
NK [hoẽ1]; AY [hõ1]; SY [hu5]; XS [fɔn1]; QN [fɔn1]; ND1 [foɛn1]; ND2 [fuon1]; ND3
[fuan1]
OPH *fon1 CNH *huon1

huán 還 QYS ywan CDC *huan2/EH *gwren
BMH [fon ~ fan]; MX [fan2w ~ fɔn2b]; HL [fan2w ~ van2b ~ han2b]; SX [van2b ~ han2b]; LF
[fan2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [han2 ~ van2]
HY [van2]; XY [van2]; DB [van2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]
CT [vaŋ2]; WP [vaŋ2]; YD [van2]; SH [vã2]; LC1 [va2]; LC2 [va2]
NK [huã2 ~ vã2]; AY [vã2]; SY [huã2 ~ vã2]; XS [fan2 ~ van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [fan2 ~
van2]; ND2 [van2]; ND3 [van2]
[OPH *van2] CNH *van2/L *huan2
Basil Mission and Méixiàn have variant forms that appear to descend from earlier *huon2,
though no such form can be reconstructed comparatively.

huàn 換 QYS yuân- CDC *huon6/EC *'gwanh
BMH [fòn/fàn ~ vòn/vàn]; MX [fɔn5w ~ vɔn5b]; HL [von6]; SX [von5]; LF [von6]; LZ [vɔn5];
SHT [—]
HY [vuan6]; XY [van3]; DB [vɔn3]; YL [—]; XC [vɔn5]
CT [vuŋ6]; WP [xuɛŋ3]; YD [fan5]; SH [fã3 ~ vã3]; LC1 [va6]; LC2 [—]
NK [hoẽ5]; AY [hõ6]; SY [hu55]; XS [vɔn5]; QN [vɔn6]; ND1 [voɛn6]; ND2 [uon6]; ND3
[vuan6]
[OPH *von6] CNH *vuon6/L *huon6

huāng 荒 QYS xwâŋ CDC *xuong1/EC *'hwang
BMH [fong]; MX [fɔŋ1]; HL [—]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ1 ~ fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [fɔŋ1]; XY [fɔŋ1]; DB [fɔŋ1]; YL [fɔŋ1]; XC [fɔŋ1]
CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [fɔŋ1]; YD [fɔŋ1]; SH [fɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔ1]; AY [hɔŋ1]; SY [hɔ1]; XS [fɔŋ1]; QN [fɔŋ1]; ND1 [fɔŋ1]; ND2 [fɔŋ1]; ND3 [fɔŋ1]

[OPH *fong1] CNH *huoŋ1

huáng 黃 QYS ywâŋ CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang

BMH [vôŋ]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]

HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]

CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [vɔŋ2]

NK [hɔ̌2 ~ vɔ̌2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [hɔ̌2 ~ vɔ̌2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]; ND1 [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2];

ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [fɔŋ2 ~ vɔŋ2]

OPH *vong2 CNH *voŋ2/*huoŋ2

huáng 皇 QYS ywâŋ CDC *huong2/EC *'gwang

BMH [fôŋ]; MX [fɔŋ2]; HL [fɔŋ2]; SX [fɔŋ2]; LF [fɔŋ2]; LZ [fɔŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]

CT [fɔŋ2]; WP [fɔŋ2]; YD [fɔŋ2]; SH [fɔŋ2]; LC1 [fɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]

NK [hɔ̌2]; AY [hɔŋ2]; SY [hɔ̌2]; XS [fɔŋ2]; QN [fɔŋ2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fɔŋ2]; ND3 [vɔŋ2]

OPH *fong2 CNH *voŋ2/*huoŋ2

huī 灰 QYS xuâi CDC *xuoɪ1/EC *'hwi

BMH [foi]; MX [foi1]; HL [foi1]; SX [foi1]; LF [foi1]; LZ [foi1]; SHT [foi1]

HY [fuai1 ~ foi1]; XY [fuai1]; DB [foi1]; YL [foi1]; XC [—]

CT [fue1]; WP [xuɛ1]; YD [foi1]; SH [hue1]; LC1 [fui1]; LC2 [foi1 ~ fue1]

NK [huæ1]; AY [hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [foi1]; QN [foi1]; ND1 [foɛ1]; ND2 [fuɛi1]; ND3 [fuai1]

OPH *foi1 CNH *huoi1

The Liánchéng-1 one form probably derives from a fairly late form in *hui1 or *fui1.

huì 會 QYS yuâi- CDC *huoi6/EC *'gwath

BMH [fui ~ fòi ~ vôi]; MX [fi4 ~ voi5]; HL [fui6w ~ voi6b]; SX [fui5w ~ voi5b]; LF [fui6 ~ voi6]; LZ [fui5 ~ foi5]; SHT [fui5]

HY [fuai6 ~ vuai6]; XY [fui3 ~ vuai5]; DB [fei3 ~ voi5]; YL [fei3]; XC [fei5 ~ voi5]

CT [vue6]; WP [fi3w ~ fe3 ~ ue5]; YD [voi5 ~ fei5]; SH [fei3 ~ vue3b]; LC1 [vui6]; LC2 [fuə6 ~ voi6]

NK [huə5 ~ və5]; AY [hue6 ~ vue6]; SY [hue5 ~ ve5]; XS [voi5 ~ fi5]; QN [fəi6]; ND1 [fei6 ~ vei6]; ND2 [fei6 ~ vi6]; ND3 [fei6 ~ vei6]

[OPH *voi6] CNH *vuoi6/L *huoi6 ~ *hui6

“To be able; to be imminent”/“a meeting”. In Lìzhīzhuāng the second form, derived from CNH *huoi6, is used in the sense “to be able, etc.”

hūn 婚 QYS xuən CDC *xun1/EC *’hun

BMH [fun]; MX [fun1]; HL [fun1]; SX [fun1]; LF [fun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [fun1]

HY [—]; XY [fun1]; DB [fən1]; YL [fən1]; XC [fən1]

CT [fəŋ1]; WP [fəŋ1]; YD [fun1]; SH [feiŋ1]; LC1 [fäi2]; LC2 [—]

NK [huẽ1]; AY [huəŋ1]; SY [huẽ1]; XS [fun1]; QN [—]; ND1 [fən1]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fun1] CNH *hun1

hún 魂 QYS yuən CDC *hun2/EC *’gun

BMH [fûn]; MX [fun2w ~ vun2b]; HL [fun2]; SX [fun2]; LF [fun2]; LZ [fun2]; SHT [fun2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [fən2]; XC [vən2]

CT [fəŋ2]; WP [fəŋ2]; YD [fun2]; SH [feiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [huẽ2]; AY [huəŋ2]; SY [huẽ2]; XS [fun2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fən2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *fun2 (~ vun2 ?)] CNH *vun2/L *hun2

huó 活 QYS yuât CDC *huot8/EC *’got

BMH [fát]; MX [fat8]; HL [fat8]; SX [fat8]; LF [fat8]; LZ [fat8]; SHT [fat8]

HY [vuat8]; XY [vat8]; DB [vat3]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]

CT [hue2]; WP [faʔ8]; YD [fat8]; SH [faʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [hoə5]; AY [huɔ2]; SY [huo5]; XS [vɔit8]; QN [fæʔ8]; ND1 [foet8]; ND2 [fuot8]; ND3 [fuat8 ~ vat8]

[OPH *fat8] CNH *vot8/*huot8

huǒ 火 QYS xuâ: CDC *xuo3/EC *'xoyx
 BMH [fó]; MX [fǒ3]; HL [fo3]; SX [fo3]; LF [fo3]; LZ [fǒ3]; SHT [fǒ3]
 HY [fuǒ3]; XY [fǒ3]; DB [fo3]; YL [fəu3]; XC [fo3]
 CT [fo3]; WP [xo3]; YD [fou3]; SH [fu3]; LC1 [fu3]; LC2 [hu3]
 NK [ho3]; AY [ho3]; SY [ho3]; XS [fǒ3]; QN [fo3]; ND1 [fo3]; ND2 [fo3]; ND3 [fo3]
 OPH *fo3 CNH *huo3

huò 禍 QYS yuâ: CDC *huo4/EC *'goyx
 BMH [fò]; MX [fǒ5]; HL [fo5]; SX [fo5]; LF [fo5]; LZ [vǒ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [fuǒ6]; XY [vǒ2]; DB [vo3]; YL [həu5]; XC [fo5]
 CT [fo6]; WP [ho3]; YD [fou5]; SH [fu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ho5]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [fǒ5]; QN [ho6]; ND1 [fo6]; ND2 [fo6]; ND3 [fo6]
 [OPH *fo5] CNH *huo6/*vo6 ?

The tone of the second reconstruction is conjectural, since the determinative forms for Tone 6 are missing. Instead, we find such forms only for the first reconstruction.

huò 或 QYS ywək CDC *huek8/EC *'gwik
 BMH [fét]; MX [fet8]; HL [fet8]; SX [fet8]; LF [fet8]; LZ [fét]; SHT [fet8]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [hue2]; XC [hueʔ7]
 CT [fe2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hoæ8 ~ vu2]; AY [—]; SY [huo5]; XS [fet8]; QN [feʔ8]; ND1 [fək8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *fet8] CNH *huek8

Interestingly, the Nánkāng reading appears to derive from an earlier form in *v-, for which we unfortunately have no comparative evidence from other points.

huò 鑊 QYS ywāk CDC *huok8/EC *'gwak
 BMH [vók]; MX [vək8]; HL [vok8]; SX [vok8]; LF [vok8]; LZ [vək8]; SHT [vək8]
 HY [vək8]; XY [vək8]; DB [vok8]; YL [uoʔ8 ~ ɔʔ8]; XC [vəʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [ueʔ8]; YD [vəʔ8]; SH [voʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vo1]; AY [vo6]; SY [vo5]; XS [vək8]; QN [voʔ8]; ND1 [vok8]; ND2 [vək8]; ND3 [vək8]

OPH *vok8 CNH *vok8

J

jī 雞 QYS kiei CDC *kiai1/*ke
BMH [kai ~ ke]; MX [kɛ1]; HL [kai1]; SX [ke2]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT [kai1]
HY [kɛ1]; XY [kɛi1]; DB [kɛ1]; YL [kei1]; XC [kai1]
CT [tʃe1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kei1]; SH [kei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [ki1]
NK [tei1]; AY [ke1]; SY [tei1]; XS [kɛ1]; QN [ki1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [tsai1]
OPH *kiai1 CNH *kiai1/*ki1

jī 基 QYS kjī CDC *ki1/EC *ki
BMH [ki]; MX [ki1]; HL [ki1]; SX [—]; LF [ki1]; LZ [ki1]; SHT [—]
HY [ki1]; XY [ki1]; DB [ki1]; YL [tei1]; XC [tei1]
CT [tʃi1]; WP [—]; YD [ki1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei1]; XS [tei1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsi1]
[OPH *ki1] CNH *ki1

jī 饑 QYS kjei CDC *ki1/EC *kuy ~ *kiy
BMH [ki]; MX [ki1]; HL [ki1]; SX [ki1]; LF [ki1]; LZ [ki1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei1]; XC [tei1]
CT [tʃi1]; WP [tsi1]; YD [ki1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tei1]; XS [tei1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [tei1]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki1] CNH *ki1

jí 疾 QYS dzjet CDC *dzit8/EC *dzit
BMH [tshít]; MX [ts'it8]; HL [ts'it8]; SX [ts'it8]; LF [ts'it7]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [teɪʔ7]
CT [ts'i6]; WP [tshiʔ8]; YD [ts'iʔ8]; SH [tehiʔ8 ~ teɪʔ8 ~ teiAʔ7]; LC1 [ts'i5]; LC2 [ts'ɿ5]

NK [tɛ'ie5]; AY [ts'iz1]; SY [tɛ'ie5]; XS [ts'it8]; QN [tɛ'iʔ8]; ND1 [tɛiɛt8]; ND2 [tɛ'iat7];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'it8] CNH *ts'it8

jí 極 QYS gjək CDC *gik8/EC *gik

BMH [khít]; MX [k'it8]; HL [k'it8]; SX [k'it8]; LF [k'it8]; LZ [khit8]; SHT [—]

HY [k'it8]; XY [k'it8]; DB [k'ət8]; YL [tɛiʔ7]; XC [tɛiɛʔ7]

CT [tʃi6]; WP [tshiʔ8 ~ xeʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'ie5]; AY [tɛ'iz1]; SY [tɛ'ie5]; XS [ts'it8]; QN [tɛ'iʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
[ts'ək8]

[OPH *k'it8] CNH *k'ik8

jí 急 QYS kjəp CDC *kip7/EC *kip

BMH [kip]; MX [kip7]; HL [kip7]; SX [kip7]; LF [kip7]; LZ [kip7]; SHT [kip7]

HY [kip7]; XY [kip7]; DB [kip7]; YL [tɛiʔ7]; XC [tɛiɛʔ7]

CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7]; YD [kiʔ7]; SH [tɛiʔ7]; LC1 [ki6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛie7]; AY [tɛiz3]; SY [tɛie5]; XS [tɛit7]; QN [tɛiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3
[tsəp7]

OPH *kip7 CNH *kip7

jí 及 QYS gjəp CDC *gip8/EC *—

BMH [khíp]; MX [k'ip8]; HL [k'ip8]; SX [k'ip8]; LF [k'ip8]; LZ [khip8]; SHT [—]

HY [k'ip8]; XY [k'ip8]; DB [k'ip8]; YL [tɛiʔ7]; XC [tɛiɛʔ7]

CT [tʃi6]; WP [—]; YD [k'iʔ8]; SH [tɛhiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'ie5]; AY [tɛ'iz1]; SY [tɛie5]; XS [tɛ'it8]; QN [tɛ'iʔ8]; ND1 [ts'aip8]; ND2 [ts'ap8];
ND3 [ts'əp8]

[OPH *k'ip8] CNH *k'ip8

jí 即 QYS tsjək CDC *tsik7/EC *tsik

BMH [tsit]; MX [tsit7]; HL [tsit7]; SX [tsit7]; LF [tsit7]; LZ [tʃit7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teiʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsiʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsi33]; SY [teie5]; XS [tsit7]; QN [teiʔ7]; ND1 [teit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsit7] CNH *tsit7

jǐ 幾 QYS kjei: CDC *ki3/EC *kuyx ~ *kiyx
BMH [kɿ]; MX [ki3]; HL [ki3]; SX [ki3]; LF [ki3]; LZ [ki3]; SHT [ki3]
HY [ki3]; XY [ki3]; DB [ki3]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [ki3 ~ kiʔ7]; SH [tei3 ~ teiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ki3]
NK [tei3]; AY [tei3]; SY [tei3]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tsi3]
[OPH *ki3] CNH *ki3

jǐ 己 QYS kjǐ: CDC *ki3/EC *kix
BMH [kɿ]; MX [ki3]; HL [ki3]; SX [ki3]; LF [ki3]; LZ [ki3]; SHT [—]
HY [ki3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei3]; AY [—]; SY [tei3]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki3] CNH *ki3

jì 祭 QYS tsjǎi- CDC *tsiai5/EC *tsath
BMH [tsì]; MX [tsi5]; HL [tsi5]; SX [tsi5]; LF [tsi5]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [tsi5]
HY [ts'ie5]; XY [tsi5]; DB [tsi5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tsi5]; WP [—]; YD [tsi3]; SH [—]; LC1 [tsi5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [teiɛi5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *tsi5] CNH *tsi5/*tsiai5

jì 際 QYS tsjǎi- CDC *tsiai5/EC *tsath
BMH [tsì]; MX [tsi5]; HL [tsi5]; SX [tsi5]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tsi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tei5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsi5] CNH *tsi5

jì 既 QYS kjei- CDC *ki5/EC *kuyh, *kiyh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

jì 紀 QYS kjì: CDC *ki3 ~ ki5/EC *kix
BMH [kí]; MX [ki3 ~ ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tei3]; XC [tei3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsi3 ~ tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei3]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei3 ~ tei2]; XS [tei3]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5/*ki3

jì 記 QYS kjì- CDC *ki5/EC *kih
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [ki5]
HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [—]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

jì 寄 QYS kje-3 CDC *ki5/EC *kayh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ki5]; XY [ki5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tei5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [ki5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tei5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tei2]; XS [tei5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *ki5

jì 倚 QYS — “to stand” CDC *gi4/EC *gay4
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [k’i1]; SX [k’i1]; LF [k’i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
HY [k’i5]; XY [k’i1]; DB [k’i1]; YL [tɛ’i5]; XC [tɛ’i2]
CT [tʃ’i5?]; WP [tshi1]; YD [k’i1]; SH [tɛhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k’i1]
NK [tɛ’i1]; AY [tɛ’i3]; SY [tɛ’i1]; XS [tɛ’i1]; QN [tɛ’i1]; ND1 [tɛ’i1]; ND2 [tɛ’i1]; ND3 [ts’i1]
OPH *k’i1 CNH *k’i1

jì 技 QYS gje:3 CDC *gi4/EC *gex
BMH [khi]; MX [k’i1]; HL [ki1]; SX [ki1]; LF [ki3]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛi5]; XC [tɛi5]
CT [tʃ’i6]; WP [tshi3]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ’i5]; AY [—]; SY [tɛi1]; XS [tɛ’i5]; QN [tɛ’i1]; ND1 [tɛ’i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *k’i1/*ki1/*k’i6

jiā 家 QYS ka CDC *ka1/EC *kra
BMH [ka]; MX [ka1]; HL [ka1]; SX [ka1]; LF [ka1]; LZ [ka1]; SHT [ka1]
HY [ka1]; XY [ka1]; DB [ka1]; YL [ka1]; XC [ka1]
CT [ka1]; WP [ka1]; YD [ka1]; SH [ka1]; LC1 [ko1]; LC2 [ko1]
NK [ka1]; AY [ka1]; SY [ka1]; XS [ka1]; QN [ka1]; ND1 [ka1]; ND2 [ka1]; ND3 [ka1]
OPH *ka1 CNH *ka1

(jiá) (夾/挟)† QYS (kiep) CDC (*kiap7)/EC —
BMH [kap ~ kiap] (夾); MX [kap7 ~ kiap8]; HL [kiap8]; SX [kiap8]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7];
SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [tɛiaʔ7w ~ kaʔ7b] (夾)
CT [ka2]; WP [tsiaʔ8 ~ kaʔ7]; YD [kiaʔ8 ~ kiaʔ7]; SH [tɛhiaʔ8 ~ kaʔ8]; LC1 [kia6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka7]; AY [tɛi33]; SY [ka5]; XS [kait7]; QN [—]; ND1 [kaip7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
[OPH *kap7 ~ *kiap8 ?] CNH *kap7/*kap8/L *kiap8

†Graphic forms representing the same Hakka etymon tend to vary from source to source.
Sources that prefer 夾 to 挟 are so indicated in parentheses.

jiǎ 甲 QYS kap CDC *kap7/*krap
 BMH [kap]; MX [kap7]; HL [kap7]; SX [kap7]; LF [kap7]; LZ [kap7]; SHT [kap7]
 HY [kap7]; XY [kap7]; DB [kap7]; YL [kaʔ7]; XC [kaʔ7]
 CT [ka2]; WP [kaʔ7]; YD [kaʔ7]; SH [kaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko6]
 NK [ka7]; AY [k33]; SY [ka1]; XS [kait7]; QN [kæʔ7]; ND1 [kaip7]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [kap7]
 OPH *kap7 CNH *kap7

jiǎ 假 QYS ka: CDC *ka3/EC *krax
 BMH [ká]; MX [ka3]; HL [ka3]; SX [ka3]; LF [ka3]; LZ [ka3]; SHT [ka3]
 HY [ka3]; XY [ka3]; DB [ka3]; YL [ka3]; XC [ka3]
 CT [ka3]; WP [ka3]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ka3]; AY [ka3]; SY [ka3]; XS [ka3]; QN [ka3]; ND1 [ka3]; ND2 [ka3]; ND3 [ka3]
 [OPH *ka3] CNH *ka3

jià 價 QYS ka- CDC *ka5/EC *krah
 BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ka5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
 CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ka5]; AY [—]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ka5] CNH *ka5

jià 架 QYS ka- CDC *ka5/EC *krah
 BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
 CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ko5]
 NK [ka5]; AY [ka5]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ka5] CNH *ka5

jià 嫁 QYS ka- CDC *kra5/EC *krah
 BMH [kà]; MX [ka5]; HL [ka5]; SX [ka5]; LF [ka5]; LZ [ka5]; SHT [ka5]

HY [ka5]; XY [ka5]; DB [ka5]; YL [ka5]; XC [ka5]
CT [ka5]; WP [ka5]; YD [ka3]; SH [ka5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ka5]; AY [ka5]; SY [ka2]; XS [ka5]; QN [ka5]; ND1 [ka5]; ND2 [ka5]; ND3 [ka5]
[OPH *ka5] CNH *ka5

jiān 尖 QYS tsjäm CDC *tsiam/EC —
BMH [tsiam]; MX [tsiam1]; HL [tsiam1]; SX [tsiam1]; LF [tsiam1]; LZ [tʃiam1]; SHT [tsiam1]
HY [tsiam1]; XY [tsiam1]; DB [tsiam1]; YL [tɕien1]; XC [tɕien1]
CT [tsiŋ1]; WP [tsiaŋ1]; YD [tsiaŋ1]; SH [tɕiã1]; LC1 [tse1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiẽ1]; AY [tsiã1]; SY [tɕiẽ1]; XS [tsien1]; QN [tɕiam1]; ND1 [tɕiam1]; ND2 [tɕiam1];
ND3 [tsiam1]
OPH *tsiam1 CNH *tsiam1

jiān 間 QYS kǎn CDC *kan1/EC *kren
BMH [kan ~ kien]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kan1]; SHT [kan1]
HY [kan1]; XY [kan1]; DB [kan1]; YL [kan1]; XC [tɕien1w ~ kan1b]
CT [kaŋ1 ~ tʃiŋ1]; WP [tsieŋ1 ~ kaŋ1]; YD [kien1]; SH [tɕiẽ1 ~ kã1]; LC1 [ka1]; LC2 [ke1]
NK [kã1]; AY [kã1]; SY [kã1]; XS [kan1]; QN [kan1]; ND1 [kan1]; ND2 kan1; ND3 [kan1]
[OPH *kan1] CNH *kan1/L *kian1

jiān 堅 QYS kien CDC *kian1/EC *—
BMH [kien ~ ken]; MX [kian1]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kɛn1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕien1]; XC [tɕien1]
CT [tʃiŋ1]; WP [tsieŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiẽ1]; AY [tɕei1]; SY [tɕiẽ1]; XS [tɕien1]; QN [tɕien1 ~ cien1]; ND1 [tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1];
ND3 [—]
[OPH *kian1] CNH *kian1

jiān 肩 QYS kien CDC *kian1/EC **ken
 BMH [ken ~ kien]; MX [kian1w ~ kin1b]; HL [kian1]; SX [kian1]; LF [kian1]; LZ [kɛn1]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [kan1]; XY [kian1]; DB [kien1]; YL [tɛien1]; XC [tɛien1]
 CT [tʃɿŋ1]; WP [kɛŋ1]; YD [kien1]; SH [tɛiẽ1]; LC1 [ke1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛiẽ1]; AY [tɛi1]; SY [tɛiẽ1]; XS [tɛien1]; QN [tɛien1]; ND1 [tsan1]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3
 [tsan1]
 OPH *kian1 CNH *kian1

jiān 煎 QYS tsjān CDC *tsian1/EC *tsen
 BMH [tsien]; MX [tsien1]; HL [tsian1]; SX [tsian1]; LF [tsian1]; LZ [tʃɛn1]; SHT [tsen1]
 HY [tsian1]; XY [tsian1]; DB [tsien1]; YL [tɛien1]; XC [tɛien1]
 CT [tsiŋ1]; WP [tsien1]; YD [tsien1]; SH [tɛiẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛiẽ1]; AY [tsi]; SY [tɛiẽ1]; XS [tsien1]; QN [tɛien1]; ND1 [tɛien1]; ND2 [tɛian1]; ND3
 [tsian1]
 [OPH *tsian1] CNH *tsian1

jiǎn 剪 QYS tsjǎn: CDC *tsian3/EC *tsenx
 BMH [tsiɛn]; MX [tsien3]; HL [tsian3]; SX [tsian3]; LF [tsian3]; LZ [tʃɛn3]; SHT [tsen3 ~
 tsjen3]
 HY [tsian3]; XY [tsian3]; DB [tsien3]; YL [tɛien3]; XC [tɛien3]
 CT [tsiŋ3]; WP [tsien3]; YD [tsien3]; SH [tɛiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛiẽ3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tɛiẽ3]; XS [tsien3]; QN [tɛien3]; ND1 [tɛien3]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [tsian3]
 [OPH *tsian3] CNH *tsian3

jiǎn 揀 QYS kǎn: CDC *kan3/EC *krenx
 BMH [kán]; MX [kian3]; HL [kian3]; SX [kian3]; LF [kian3]; LZ [kan3]; SHT [kan3]
 HY [kan3]; XY [kan3]; DB [kan3]; YL [tɛien3]; XC [tɛien3]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kan3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kã3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kã3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kan3]; ND1 [kan3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kan3]
[OPH *kan3] CNH *kan3/*kian3

jiǎn 減 QYS kǎm: CDC *kam3/EC *krumx
BMH [kám]; MX [kam3]; HL [kam3]; SX [kam3]; LF [—]; LZ [kam3]; SHT [—]
HY [kam3]; XY [kam3]; DB [kam3]; YL [teien3]; XC [teien3]
CT [kaŋ3]; WP [kaŋ3]; YD [kaŋ3]; SH [kã3]; LC1 [kaŋ3]; LC2 [kaŋ3]
NK [kã3]; AY [kã3]; SY [kã3]; XS [kan3]; QN [kam3]; ND1 [kam3]; ND2 [kam3]; ND3 [kam3]
[OPH *kam3] CNH *kam3
The Yílong and Xīchāng forms may represent Mandarinized pronunciations.

jiǎn 檢 QYS kjäm:3 CDC *kiam3/EC *kam3
BMH [kiám]; MX [kiam3]; HL [kiam3]; SX [kiam3]; LF [kiam3]; LZ [kiam3]; SHT [—]
HY [kiam3]; XY [kiam3]; DB [kiam3]; YL [teien3]; XC [teien3]
CT [tjĩŋ3]; WP [tsiaŋ3]; YD [kiaŋ3]; SH [teiã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [teiã3]; SY [teiẽ3]; XS [—]; QN [teiam3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsam3]; ND3 [tsam3]
[OPH *kiam3] CNH *kiam3

jiàn 監 QYS kam-, (kam) CDC *kam5/EC *kramh
BMH [kàm]; MX [—]; HL [kam5]; SX [kam5]; LF [kam5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [kaŋ5]; WP [kaŋ5]; YD [kaŋ1]; SH [kã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kaŋ1]
NK [kã5]; AY [kã5]; SY [kã2]; XS [kan5]; QN [kam5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kam5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kam5] CNH *kam5

jiàn 劍 QYS kjəm- CDC *kiam5/EC *komh
BMH [kiàm]; MX [kiam5]; HL [kiam5]; SX [kiam5]; LF [kiam5]; LZ [kiam5]; SHT [kiam5]
HY [kiam5]; XY [kiam5]; DB [kiam5]; YL [teien5]; XC [teien5]
CT [tjĩŋ5]; WP [tsien5]; YD [kiaŋ3]; SH [teiẽ5]; LC1 [ke5]; LC2 [—]

NK [teiẽ5]; AY [teiã5]; SY [teiẽ2]; XS [teien5]; QN [teiam5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [tsam5]; ND3 [tsam5]

[OPH *kiam5] CNH *kiam5

jiàn 鑑 QYS kam- CDC *kam5/EC *kramh

BMH [kàm]; MX [kam5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kam5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teien5]; XC [teien5]

CT [kaŋ5]; WP [kaŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [kã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kaŋ5]

NK [kã5]; AY [kã5]; SY [kã2]; XS [kan5]; QN [kam5]; ND1 [kam5]; ND2 [kam5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kam5] CNH *kam5

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may represent Mandarinized pronunciations.

jiàn 建 QYS kɿɒn- CDC *kian5/EC *konh

BMH [kèn]; MX [kian5]; HL [kian5]; SX [kian5]; LF [kian5]; LZ [ken5]; SHT [ken5]

HY [kian5]; XY [kian5]; DB [kien5]; YL [teien5]; XC [teien5]

CT [—]; WP [tsien5]; YD [kien3]; SH [teiẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [teiẽ5]; AY [tei5]; SY [teiẽ2]; XS [teien5]; QN [teien5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]

[OPH *kian5] CNH *kian5

jiàn 見 QYS kien- CDC *kian5/EC *kenh

BMH [kèn ~ kièn]; MX [kian5]; HL [kian5]; SX [kian5]; LF [kian5]; LZ [ken5]; SHT [—]

HY [kian5]; XY [kian5]; DB [kien5]; YL [teien5]; XC [teien5]

CT [tʃiŋ5]; WP [tsien5]; YD [kien3]; SH [teiẽ5]; LC1 [ke5]; LC2 [—]

NK [teiẽ5]; AY [tei5]; SY [teiẽ2]; XS [teien5]; QN [teien5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]

OPH *kian5 CNH *kian5

jiàn 件 QYS gjän: CD *gian4/EC *ganx
BMH [khèn ~ khièn]; MX [k'ian5]; HL [k'ian6]; SX [k'ian5]; LF [k'ian6]; LZ [khen5]; SHT
[—]
HY [k'ian6]; XY [k'ian3]; DB [k'ien3]; YL [tɕ'ien3]; XC [tɕien5]
CT [tʃ'ɪŋ6]; WP [tshien3]; YD [k'ien5]; SH [tɕhiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ie5]; AY [tɕ'ie6]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [tɕ'ien5]; QN [tɕ'ien6]; ND1 [ts'an6]; ND2 [ts'an6];
ND3 [ts'an6]
[OPH *k'ian6] CNH *k'ian6

jiàn 漸 QYS dzjäm: CDC *dziam6/EC *dzamx
BMH [tshiäm]; MX [ts'iam5]; HL [ts'iam6]; SX [ts'iam5]; LF [tʃhiam5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕien5]
CT [—]; WP [tshian3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [tɕ'ie3]; XS [ts'ien5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɕ'iam6]; ND2 [tɕ'iam6]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *ts'iam6] CNH *ts'iam6

jiāng 將 QYS tsjang CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsioŋ1]; HL [tsioŋ1]; SX [tsioŋ1]; LF [tsioŋ1]; LZ [tʃioŋ1]; SHT [tsioŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕioŋ1]; XC [tɕioŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [tsioŋ1]; YD [tsioŋ1]; SH [tɕioŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiɔ̃1]; AY [tsioŋ1]; SY [tɕiɔ̃1]; XS [tsioŋ1]; QN [tɕioŋ1]; ND1 [tɕioŋ1]; ND2 [tɕioŋ1];
ND3 [—]
OPH *tsiong1 CNH *tsioŋ1

jiāng 漿 QYS tsjang CDC *tsiong1/EC *tsang
BMH [tsiong]; MX [tsioŋ1]; HL [tsioŋ1]; SX [tsioŋ1]; LF [tsioŋ1]; LZ [tʃioŋ1]; SHT [tsioŋ1]
HY [tsyɔŋ1]; XY [tsioŋ1]; DB [tsioŋ1]; YL [tɕioŋ1]; XC [tɕioŋ1]
CT [tsioŋ1]; WP [tsioŋ5]; YD [tsioŋ1]; SH [tɕioŋ1]; LC1 [tsioŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕiɔ̃1]; AY [tsiɔ̃1]; SY [tɕiɔ̃1]; XS [tsiɔ̃1]; QN [tɕiɔ̃1]; ND1 [tɕiɔ̃1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsiɔ̃1]

[OPH *tsiɔ̃1] CNH *tsiɔ̃1

jiāng 薑 QYS kjang CDC *kiong1/EC *kang

BMH [kiong]; MX [kiɔ̃1]; HL [kiɔ̃1]; SX [kiɔ̃1]; LF [kiɔ̃1]; LZ [kiɔ̃1]; SHT [kiɔ̃1]

HY [kɿɔ̃1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕiɔ̃1]; XC [tɕiɔ̃1]

CT [tɕiɔ̃1]; WP [tsiɔ̃1]; YD [kiɔ̃1]; SH [tɕiɔ̃1]; LC1 [kiɔ̃1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕiɔ̃1]; AY [tɕiɔ̃1]; SY [tɕiɔ̃1]; XS [tɕiɔ̃1]; QN [tɕiɔ̃1]; ND1 [tsɔ̃1]; ND2 [tsɔ̃1]; ND3 [tsɔ̃1]

[OPH *kiong1] CNH *kiong1

jiāng 江 QYS kǎng CDC *k(i)ong/EC *krong

BMH [kong]; MX [kiɔ̃1]; HL [kõ1]; SX [kõ1]; LF [kõ1]; LZ [kõ1]; SHT [—]

HY [kɿɔ̃1]; XY [kɿɔ̃1]; DB [kɿɔ̃1]; YL [tɕiɔ̃1]; XC [tɕiɔ̃1]

CT [kõ1]; WP [kõ1]; YD [—]; SH [kõ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kɔ̃1]; AY [kõ1]; SY [kɔ̃1]; XS [kõ1]; QN [kõ1]; ND1 [kõ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [kõ1]

[OPH *kong1] CNH *kõ1

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms may reflect Mandarinization in these dialects.

jiǎng 講 QYS kǎng: CDC *k(i)ong3/EC *krongx

BMH [kóng]; MX [kɿɔ̃3]; HL [kõ3]; SX [kõ3]; LF [kõ3]; LZ [kɿɔ̃3]; SHT [kɿɔ̃3]

HY [kɿɔ̃3]; XY [kɿɔ̃3]; DB [kɿɔ̃3]; YL [kɿɔ̃3]; XC [kɿɔ̃3]

CT [kɿɔ̃3]; WP [kɿɔ̃3]; YD [kɿɔ̃3]; SH [kõ3]; LC1 [kɿɔ̃3]; LC2 [kɿɔ̃3]

NK [kɔ̃3]; AY [kɿɔ̃3]; SY [kɔ̃3]; XS [kɿɔ̃3]; QN [kɿɔ̃3]; ND1 [kɿɔ̃3]; ND2 [kɿɔ̃3]; ND3 [—]

OPH *kong3 CNH *kõ3

jiàng 降 QYS kǎng- CDC *k(i)ong5/EC *krongh

BMH [kòng]; MX [kɿɔ̃5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kõ5]; LZ [kɿɔ̃5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕiɔ̃5 ~ kɿɔ̃5]; XC [tɕiɔ̃5]

CT [—]; WP [kəŋ5 ~ kəŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [kəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kəŋ5]; AY [kəŋ5]; SY [kəŋ5]; XS [kəŋ5]; QN [kəŋ5]; ND1 [kəŋ5]; ND2 [kəŋ5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *kong5] CNH *kəŋ5

The palatalized Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms are Mandarinized loans. At the former point, the borrowed form is still in competition with its original Common Hakka counterpart.

jiàng 匠 QYS dzjang- CDC *dziong6/EC *dzangh

BMH [siəŋ6]; MX [siəŋ5]; HL [siəŋ6]; SX [siəŋ5]; LF [siəŋ6]; LZ [ʃiəŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [ts'ioŋ3]; DB [—]; YL [eiəŋ3]; XC [eiəŋ5]

CT [ts'ioŋ6]; WP [siəŋ3]; YD [ts'ioŋ5]; SH [tehioŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [eiəŋ5]; AY [siəŋ6]; SY [eiəŋ5]; XS [ts'ioŋ5]; QN [eiəŋ6]; ND1 [eiəŋ6]; ND2 [eiəŋ6]; ND3 [siəŋ6]

OPH *siong6 CNH *sion6/*ts'ioŋ6

jiāo 焦 QYS tsjäu CDC *tsiau1/EC *tsaw

BMH [tsiau]; MX [tsiau1]; HL [tsiau1]; SX [tseu1]; LF [tsiau1]; LZ [tʃiau1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teiau1]; XC [teiau1]

CT [tsio1]; WP [tsio1]; YD [—]; SH [teio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [teio1]; AY [tsio1]; SY [teio1]; XS [tsiau1]; QN [teiau1]; ND1 [teiau1]; ND2 [teiau1]; ND3 [—]

OPH *tsiau1 CNH *tsiau1

jiāo 蕉 QYS tsjäu CDC *tsiau1/EC *tsaw

BMH [tsiau]; MX [tsiau1]; HL [tsiau1]; SX [tseu1]; LF [tsiau1]; LZ [tʃiau1]; SHT [tsiau1]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teiau1]; XC [teiau1]

CT [—]; WP [tshio2w ~ tsio1]; YD [tsieu1]; SH [teio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsio1]

NK [teio1]; AY [tsio1]; SY [—]; XS [tsiau1]; QN [teiau1]; ND1 [teiau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tsiau1] CNH *tsiau1

jiǎo 腳 QYS kjak CDC *kiok7/EC *kak
 BMH [kiok]; MX [kiøk7]; HL [kiok7]; SX [kiok7]; LF [kiok7]; LZ [kiøk7]; SHT [kiət7 ~ kiøk7]
 HY [kypk7]; XY [kiøk7]; DB [kiøk7]; YL [tɕioʔ7]; XC [tɕioʔ7]
 CT [tʃio2]; WP [tsioʔ7]; YD [kiøʔ7]; SH [tɕioʔ7]; LC1 [kieu6]; LC2 [kieu3]
 NK [tɕio8]; AY [tɕio6]; SY [tɕio5]; XS [tɕiøk7]; QN [tɕioʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsøk7]; ND3
 [tsøk7]†
 OPH *kiok7 CNH *kiok7
 †Also transcribed tsok7 in the source.

jiǎo 角 QYS kāk CDC *k(i)ok7/EC *krok
 BMH [kok]; MX [køk7]; HL [kok7]; SX [kok7]; LF [kok7]; LZ [køk7]; SHT [køk7]
 HY [køk7]; XY [køk7]; DB [køk7]; YL [tɕioʔ7 ~ kəʔ7]; XC [tɕioʔ7w ~ kəʔ7b]
 CT [ko2]; WP [kəʔ7]; YD [kəʔ7]; SH [koʔ7]; LC1 [ku6]; LC2 [ku6 ~ ko6 ~ kia6]
 NK [ko8]; AY [ko6]; SY [ko5]; XS [køk7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [kok7]; ND2 [køk7]; ND3 [køk7]
 OPH *kok7 CNH *kok7
 The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng wén forms are perhaps loans from some form of Mandarin or Guānhuà
 koine.

jiào 叫 QYS kieu- CDC *kiau5/EC *kiwh
 BMH [kiàu]; MX [kiau5]; HL [kiau5]; SX [keu5]; LF [kiau5]; LZ [kiau5]; SHT [kiau5]
 HY [kiau5]; XY [kiau5]; DB [kiau5]; YL [tɕiau5]; XC [tɕiau5]
 CT [tʃiə5]; WP [tsiə5]; YD [kieu3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕiə5]; AY [tɕiə5]; SY [tɕiə2]; XS [tɕiau5]; QN [tɕiau5]; ND1 [tɕiau5]; ND2 [tsau5 ~
 tɕiau1]; ND3 [tsau5]
 OPH *kiau5 CNH *kiau5

jiào 教 QYS kau- CDC *kau5/EC *krewh
 BMH [kàu]; MX [kau5]; HL [kau5]; SX [kau5]; LF [kau5]; LZ [kau5]; SHT [kau5]
 HY [kau5]; XY [kau5]; DB [kau5]; YL [tɕiau1]; XC [tɕiau5]
 CT [kə5]; WP [kə5]; YD [kau3]; SH [ko5]; LC1 [kə1]; LC2 [—]

NK [kɔ5]; AY [kɔ5]; SY [kɔ2]; XS [kau5]; QN [kau5]; ND1 [kau5]; ND2 [kau5]; ND3 [kau5]
[OPH *kau5] CNH *kau5

The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms may be Mandarinized loans.

jiào 轎 QYS gǎu- CDC *giau6/EC *gawh
BMH [khiàu]; MX [k'iau5]; HL [k'iau6]; SX [k'iau5]; LF [k'iau6]; LZ [khiau5]; SHT [—]
HY [k'iau6]; XY [k'iau3]; DB [k'iau3]; YL [tɕ'iau3 ~ tɕ'iau5]; XC [tɕ'iau5]
CT [—]; WP [tshio3]; YD [k'ieu5]; SH [tɕhiɔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'io5]; AY [tɕ'io6]; SY [tɕ'io5]; XS [tɕ'iau5]; QN [tɕ'iau6]; ND1 [ts'au6]; ND2 [ts'au6];
ND3 [ts'au6]
[OPH *k'iau6] CNH *k'iau6

jiē 接 QYS tsjǎp CDC *tsiap7/EC *tsap
BMH [tsiap]; MX [tsiap7]; HL [tsiap7]; SX [tsiap7]; LF [tsiap7]; LZ [tʃiap7]; SHT [tsiap7]
HY [tsiap7]; XY [tsiap7]; DB [tsiap7]; YL [tɕieʔ7]; XC [tɕieʔ7]
CT [tse2]; WP [tsiaʔ7 ~ tsiaʔ7]; YD [tsieʔ7]; SH [tɕiaʔ7]; LC1 [tsi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕie7]; AY [tsi33]; SY [tɕie5]; XS [tsiet7]; QN [tɕieʔ7]; ND1 [tɕiap7]; ND2 [tɕiap7]; ND3
[tsiap7]
[OPH *tsiap7] CNH *tsiap7

jiē 街 QYS kai CDC *kai1/EC *kre
BMH [kai ~ kiai ~ ke]; MX [kɛ1]; HL [kiai1w ~ kai1b]; SX [kiai1]; LF [kai1]; LZ [kai1]; SHT
[—]
HY [kai1]; XY [kai1]; DB [kai1]; YL [kai1]; XC [kai1]
CT [tʃe1]; WP [ke1]; YD [kai1]; SH [kei1]; LC1 [ki1]; LC2 [ki1]
NK [kæ1]; AY [kæ1]; SY [kæ1]; XS [kai1]; QN [kai1]; ND1 [kai1]; ND2 [kai1]; ND3 [kai1]
OPH *kiai1 CNH *kai1/L *kiai1

jié 節 QYS tsiet CDC *tsiat7/EC *tsit
BMH [tsiet]; MX [tsiet7]; HL [tsiet7]; SX [tsiet7]; LF [tsiat7]; LZ [tʃɛt7]; SHT [tɕet7]

HY [tsiat7]; XY [tsiat7]; DB [tsiet7]; YL [tɕiɛʔ7]; XC [tɕiɛʔ7]
 CT [tse2]; WP [tsiɛʔ7]; YD [tsiɛʔ7]; SH [tsiɛʔ7]; LC1 [tsi6]; LC2 [tsi6]
 NK [tɕiɛ7]; AY [tsi33]; SY [tɕiɛ5]; XS [tsiet7]; QN [tɕiɛʔ7]; ND1 [tɕiɛt7]; ND2 [tɕiat7]; ND3
 [tsiat7]
 OPH *tsiat7 CNH *tsiat7

jié 結 QYS kiet CDC *kiat5/EC *'kit
 BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7w ~ ket7b]; HL [kiat7w ~ ket7b]; SX [kiat7w ~ ket7b]; LF [kiat7];
 LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
 HY [kiat7]; XY [kiat7]; DB [kiat7]; YL [tɕiɛʔ7]; XC [tɕiɛʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [kɛʔ7 ~ tɕiɛʔ7]; YD [kiɛʔ7]; SH [tɕiɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kia6 ~ ki6]
 NK [tɕiɛ7]; AY [tɕi33]; SY [tɕiɛ5]; XS [tɕiɛt7]; QN [tɕiɛʔ7]; ND1 [tsət7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3
 [tsat7]
 [OPH *ket7] CNH *ket7/L *kiat7

jié 潔 QYS kiet CDC *kiat7/EC *'ket
 BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [ket7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕiɛʔ7]; XC [tɕiɛʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [tɕi33]; SY [—]; XS [tɕiɛt7]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsət7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kiat7] CNH *ket7/*kiat7

jié 竭 QYS gjɔt, gjät3 CDC *giat7/EC *—
 BMH [khét ~ khiét]; MX [k'iat8]; HL [k'iet8]; SX [k'iet8]; LF [k'iat8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'yat8]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕiɛʔ7]
 CT [tʃe6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [tɕiɛ5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *k'iat8] CNH *k'iat8

The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. It appears to reflect an earlier *kiot8, for which we do not have corroborating evidence from other points.

jiě 解 QYS kai: CDC *kai3/EC *krex
BMH [kài ~ kiái]; MX [kiai3w ~ kɛ3b]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai3]; LZ [kai3];
SHT [kai3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kei3]; XC [kai3]
CT [tʃe3]; WP [ke3 ~ tsia3]; YD [kai3]; SH [kei3]; LC1 [ka1 ~ ke3]; LC2 [ka3]
NK [kæ3]; AY [kæ3]; SY [kæ3]; XS [kai3]; QN [kai3]; ND1 [kai3]; ND2 [kai3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kiai3 CNH *kai3/L *kiai3

jiè 芥 QYS kǎi- CDC *kai5/krath
BMH [kài]; MX [kiai5]; HL [kiai5 ~ kai5]; SX [—]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kai5]; XC [kai5]
CT [tʃe5]; WP [—]; YD [kai1]; SH [tɕia5]; LC1 [ka5]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kæ5]; SY [kæ2]; XS [kai5]; QN [kai5]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [—]
OPH *kiai5 CNH *kai5/*kiai5

jiè 戒 QYS kǎi- CDC *kai5/EC *krikh
BMH [kài]; MX [kiai5]; HL [kiai3w ~ kai3b]; SX [kiai3]; LF [kai5]; LZ [kai5]; SHT [kai1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [kai5]; XC [kai5]
CT [kai5]; WP [—]; YD [kai3]; SH [tɕia5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [kæ5]; AY [kæ5]; SY [kæ2]; XS [kai5]; QN [—]; ND1 [kai5]; ND2 [kai5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiai5] CNH *kai5/*kiai5

jīn 今 QYS kjəm CDC *kim1/EC *kim
BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kin1b]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1 ~ kin1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT
[kim1]
HY [kin1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [tsiŋ1]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [keŋ1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
[—]
OPH *kim1 CNH *kim1

jīn 金 QYS kjəm CDC *kim1/EC *kum
 BMH [kim]; MX [kim1]; HL [kim1w ~ kinb]; SX [kim1]; LF [kim1]; LZ [kim1]; SHT [kim1]
 HY [kim1]; XY [kim1]; DB [kim1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
 CT [tʃɛŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [kɛŋ1]; LC2 [kɛŋ1]
 NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
 [tsəm1]
 [OPH *kim1] CNH *kim1

jīn 巾 QYS kjen3 CDC *kin1/EC *kun
 BMH [kin ~ kiun]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kin1]; XY [kin1]; DB [kən1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
 CT [kɛŋ1]; WP [kɛŋ1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kɛ̃1]; LC1 [kɛŋ1]; LC2 [kæŋ1]
 NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
 [tsən1]
 [OPH *kin1] CNH *kin1/*kiun1/*ken1.

The second Basil Mission variant implies the earlier existence of a form *kiun1 for which modern evidence is not found in our data. However, it is confirmed by Xiùzhuàn kyn1. Reflexes of the third form are found only in Yílǒng and in the Jiāngxī line dialects.

jīn 斤 QYS kjən CDC *kin1/EC *kun
 BMH [kin]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [—]
 HY [kin1]; XY [kin1]; DB [kən1]; YL [tɕin1]; XC [tɕin1]
 CT [kɛŋ1]; WP [kɛŋ1]; YD [kən1]; SH [kɛ̃1]; LC1 [kɛŋ1]; LC2 [kæŋ1]
 NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
 [tsən1]
 [OPH *kin1] CNH *kin1/*ken1

For this syllable Xiùzhuàn again has kyn1, pointing to an earlier *kiun1 for which we have no other evidence in our data. A form comparable to CNH *ken1 is also reconstructable in Common She (see Coblin Ms. 1).

jǐn 緊 QYS kjiēn:4 CDC *kin3/EC *kinx
BMH [kín]; MX [kin3]; HL [kin3]; SX [kin3]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [—]
HY [kin3]; XY [kin3]; DB [kən3]; YL [tɛin3]; XC [tɛin3]
CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [kiŋ3]; SH [tɛiŋ3]; LC1 [kieŋ3]; LC2 [keŋ3 ~ kæŋ3]
NK [tɛiŋ3]; AY [tɛiəŋ3]; SY [tɛiŋ3]; XS [tɛin3]; QN [tɛin3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [tsən3]; ND3
[tsən3]
OPH *kin3 CNH *kin3

jǐn 謹 QYS kjən: CDC *kin3/EC *kunx
BMH [kiún]; MX [kiun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kiun3]; LZ [kiun3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛin3]; XC [tɛin3]
CT [—]; WP [tsiŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tɛiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛiŋ3]; AY [tɛiəŋ1]; SY [tɛiŋ3]; XS [tɛin3]; QN [tɛin3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiun3] CNH *kiun3/*kin3

jǐn 僅 QYS gjēn-3 CDC *gin6/EC *gunh
BMH [kiùn]; MX [kiun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kiun3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛin3]; XC [tɛin3]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɛiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛiŋ3]; AY [—]; SY [tɛiŋ3]; XS [tɛin5]; QN [tɛin3]; ND1 [tsən3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiun3] CNH *kiun3/*kin3

jìn 近 QYS gjən:, gjən- CDC *gin4/EC *gunx
BMH [khiun ~ khiùn]; MX [k'iun5w ~ k'iun1b]; HL [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; SX [k'iun5 ~ k'iun1];
LF [k'iun6 ~ k'iun1]; LZ [k'iun1b ~ k'iun5w]; SHT [k'iun1]
HY [k'in5]; XY [k'ən1]; DB [k'ən1]; YL [tɛyn1]; XC [tɛin5w ~ tɛ'in5b]
CT [k'eŋ1]; WP [kheŋ1]; YD [k'un5 ~ k'un1]; SH [khɛ1 ~ tɛhiŋ3]; LC1 [k'ieŋ1 ~ k'iaŋ1]; LC2
[—]
NK [tɛ'in1]; AY [tɛ'iəŋ3]; SY [tɛ'in1]; XS [tɛ'in1]; QN [tɛ'iun1]; ND1 [ts'ən1]; ND2 [ts'ən1];
ND3 [ts'ən6]

[OPH *k'iun1] CNH *k'iun1/L *k'iun6/*k'in1

jìn 進 QYS tsjen- CDC *tsin5/EC *tsinh

BMH [tsin]; MX [tsin5]; HL [tsin5]; SX [tsin5]; LF [tsin5]; LZ [tʃin5]; SHT [—]

HY [tsin5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tsən5]; YL [tein5]; XC [tein5]

CT [tseŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [tsiŋ3]; SH [teŋ5]; LC1 [tseŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [teŋ5]; AY [tsiŋ5]; SY [teŋ2]; XS [tsin5]; QN [tein5]; ND1 [tein5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsin5]

[OPH *tsin5] CNH *tsin5

jìn 盡 QYS dzjien: CDC *dzin4/EC *dzinx

BMH [tshin]; MX [ts'in5]; HL [ts'in5]; SX [ts'in5]; LF [ts'in6]; LZ [tʃhin5]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'in6]; XY [ts'in3]; DB [ts'ən3]; YL [—]; XC [tein5w ~ tɛ'in5b]

CT [ts'eq6]; WP [tshiŋ3]; YD [ts'iŋ5]; SH [tɕhiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'eq6]

NK [tɕ'iŋ5]; AY [ts'iŋ6]; SY [tɕ'iŋ5]; XS [ts'in5]; QN [tɕ'in6]; ND1 [tɕ'in6]; ND2 [tɕ'in6];

ND3 [ts'in6]

[OPH *ts'in6] CNH *ts'in6

jīng 精 QYS tsjäng CDC *tsiang1/EC *tseng

BMH [tsin]; MX [tsin1w ~ tsiaŋ1b]; HL [tsin1]; SX [tsin1]; LF [tsin1]; LZ [tʃiaŋ1b ~ tʃin1w];
SHT [—]

HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tein1]; XC [tein1]

CT [tseŋ1 ~ tsiaŋ1]; WP [tsiŋ1 ~ tsiaŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [teŋ1 ~ teiaŋ1]; LC1 [tsiaŋ1]; LC2
[tsiaŋ1 ~ tseŋ1]

NK [teŋ1 ~ teiã1]; AY [tsiŋ1 ~ tsiã1]; SY [teŋ1 ~ teiã1]; XS [tsin1 ~ tsiaŋ1]; QN [teiaŋ1];

ND1 [teŋ1 ~ teiaŋ1]; ND2 [teŋ1 ~ teiaŋ1]; ND3 [tsiŋ1 ~ tsiaŋ1]

[OPH *tsin1] CNH *tsiaŋ1/L *tsiŋ1

jīng 京 QYS kjɔŋg CDC *kiang1/EC *kang

BMH [kin]; MX [kin1]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kin1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tein1]; XC [tein1]

CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [keŋ1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕeiŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kin1] CNH *kiŋ1

jīng 經 QYS kieng CDC *kiang1/EC *keng
BMH [kin ~ kang]†; MX [kin1w ~ kaŋ1b]; HL [kin1]; SX [kin1]; LF [kin1]; LZ [kaŋ1b ~
kin1w]; SHT [kin1]
HY [kin1]; XY [kin1 ~ kaŋ1]; DB [kən1]; YL [tɕeiŋ1]; XC [tɕeiŋ1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [kiŋ1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕeiŋ1]; QN [tɕeiŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsaŋ1b ~
tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsəŋ1]
[OPH *kin1] CNH *kaŋ1//L *kiŋ1

†Second form said in the source to be used in the sense “to weave”.

jīng 驚 QYS kjɔŋg CDC *kiang1/EC *kang
BMH [kiang]; MX [kiaŋ1]; HL [kiaŋ1]; SX [kiaŋ1]; LF [kiaŋ1]; LZ [kiaŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [kiaŋ1]; XY [kiaŋ1]; DB [kiaŋ1]; YL [tɕeiŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; XC [tɕeiŋ1]
CT [tʃiəŋ1]; WP [tsiaŋ1]; YD [kiaŋ1]; SH [tɕiəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕeiŋ1 ~ tɕiā1]; AY [tɕiā1]; SY [tɕeiŋ1 ~ tɕiā1]; XS [tɕeiŋ1 ~ tɕiəŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsaŋ1];
ND2 [tsaŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *kiang1] CNH *kiaŋ1/*kiŋ1

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

jǐng 井 QYS tsjäng: CDC *tsiang3/EC *tsengx
BMH [tsiáng]; MX [tsiaŋ3]; HL [tsiaŋ3]; SX [tsiaŋ3]; LF [tsiaŋ3]; LZ [tʃiəŋ3]; SHT [tsiaŋ3]
HY [tsiaŋ3]; XY [tsiaŋ3]; DB [tsaŋ3 ~ tsiaŋ3]; YL [tɕiəŋ3]; XC [tɕiəŋ3]
CT [tsiaŋ3]; WP [tsiaŋ3]; YD [tsiaŋ3]; SH [tɕiəŋ3]; LC1 [tsiaŋ3]; LC2 [tsiaŋ3]
NK [tɕiā3]; AY [tsiā3]; SY [tɕeiŋ3 ~ tɕiā3]; XS [tsiaŋ3]; QN [tɕiəŋ3]; ND1 [tɕiəŋ3]; ND2
[tɕiəŋ3]; ND3 [tsiŋ3 ~ tsiaŋ3]
OPH *tsiang3 CNH *tsiaŋ3/*tsiŋ3

jìng 淨 QYS dzjäng- CDC *dziang6/EC *dzengh
 BMH [tshiàng]; MX [ts'in5w ~ ts'iaŋ5b]; HL [ts'iaŋ6]; SX [ts'iaŋ5]; LF [ts'iaŋ6]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ5];
 SHT [ts'iaŋ5]
 HY [ts'iaŋ6]; XY [ts'iaŋ3]; DB [ts'iaŋ3]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ5]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ5]
 CT [ts'iaŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [ts'iaŋ5]; SH [tɕhiŋ3 ~ tɕhiAŋ3]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ6]; LC2 [ts'iaŋ6]
 NK [tɕ'iã5]; AY [ts'iã6]; SY [tɕ'iaŋ3 ~ tɕ'iã5]; XS [ts'in5 ~ ts'iaŋ5]; QN [tɕ'iaŋ6]; ND1 [tɕ'iaŋ6];
 ND2 [tɕ'iaŋ6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'iang6] CNH *ts'iaŋ6/L *ts'iaŋ6

jìng 竟 QYS kjpŋg- CDC *kiang5/EC *kangh
 BMH [kín]; MX [kin5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [kin3]; LZ [kin3]; SHT [kin3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕin3]; XC [tɕin5]
 CT [—]; WP [tsiŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕiŋ5]; AY [tɕiŋ5]; SY [—]; XS [tɕin5]; QN [tɕin5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *kin5] CNH *kiŋ5

jìng 鏡 QYS kjpŋg- CDC *kiang5/EC *kangh
 BMH [kiàng]; MX [kiaŋ5]; HL [kiaŋ5]; SX [kiaŋ5]; LF [kiaŋ5]; LZ [kiaŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [kiaŋ5]; XY [kiaŋ5]; DB [kiaŋ5]; YL [tɕiaŋ5]; XC [tɕiaŋ5]
 CT [tʃiaŋ5]; WP [tsiaŋ5]; YD [kiaŋ3]; SH [tɕiaŋ5]; LC1 [kiaŋ5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕiã5]; AY [tɕiã5]; SY [tɕiŋ2 ~ tɕiã2]; XS [tɕin5 ~ tɕiaŋ5]; QN [tɕiaŋ5]; ND1 [tsaŋ5]; ND2
 [tsaŋ5]; ND3 [tsaŋ5]
 [OPH *kiang5] CNH *kiaŋ5/*kiŋ5

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

jiǔ 久 QYS kjəu: CDC *kieu3/EC *kwix
 BMH [kiú]; MX [kiu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kiu3]; LF [kiu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kiu3]
 HY [kiu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕiəu3]; XC [tɕiəu3]
 CT [tʃiəu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiəu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kiəu3]

NK [tɛiu3]; AY [tɛu3]; SY [tɛiu3]; XS [tɛiu3]; QN [tɛiu3]; ND1 [tsɛu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
[tsəu3]

OPH *kiu3 CNH *kieu3

jiũ 九 QYS kjəu: CDC *kieu3/EC *kux

BMH [kiú]; MX [kiu3]; HL [kiu3]; SX [kiu3]; LF [kiu3]; LZ [kiu3]; SHT [kiu3]

HY [kiu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛiəu3]; XC [tɛiəu3]

CT [tʃieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [kiu3]; SH [tɛiəu3]; LC1 [kieu3]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛiu3]; AY [tɛu3]; SY [tɛiu3]; XS [tɛiu3]; QN [tɛiu3]; ND1 [tsɛu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
[tsəu3]

[OPH *kiu3] CNH *kieu3

jiũ 酒 QYS tsjəu: CDC *tsieu3/EC *tsux

BMH [tsiú]; MX [tsiu3]; HL [tsiu3]; SX [tsiu3]; LF [tsiu3]; LZ [tʃiu3]; SHT [tsiu3]

HY [tsiu3]; XY [tsiu3]; DB [tsiu3]; YL [tɛiəu3]; XC [tɛiəu3]

CT [tsieu3]; WP [tsiu3]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tɛiəu3]; LC1 [tsɛu3]; LC2 [tsəu3]

NK [tɛiu3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tɛiu3]; XS [tsiu3]; QN [tɛiu3]; ND1 [tɛiəu3]; ND2 [tɛiəu3]; ND3
[tsiu3]

OPH *tsiu3 CNH *tsieu3

jiù 救 QYS kjəu- CDC *kieu5/EC *kuh

BMH [kiù]; MX [kiu5]; HL [kiu5]; SX [kiu5]; LF [kiu5]; LZ [kiu5]; SHT [kiu5]

HY [kiu5]; XY [kiu1]; DB [kiu1]; YL [tɛiəu5]; XC [tɛiəu5]

CT [tʃieu5]; WP [tsiu5]; YD [—]; SH [tɛiəu5]; LC1 [kieu5]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [tɛu5]; SY [tɛiu2]; XS [tɛiu5]; QN [tɛiu5]; ND1 [tsɛu5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsəu5]

[OPH *kiu5] CNH *kieu5

jiù 舅 QYS gjəu: CDC *gieu4/EC *gux

BMH [khiu]; MX [k'iu1]; HL [k'iu1]; SX [k'iu1]; LF [k'iu1]; LZ [khiu1]; SHT [k'iu1]

HY [k'iu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'iau5]; XC [tɛ'iau5]

CT [tʃ'ieu1]; WP [tshiu1]; YD [k'iu1]; SH [tɕhiu1]; LC1 [k'iu1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu1 ~ tɕ'iu5]; AY [tɕ'ɰ3]; SY [tɕ'iu1 ~ tɕ'iu3]; XS [tɕ'iu1]; QN [tɕ'iu1 ~ ts'u3]; ND1
 [ts'eu1]; ND2 [ts'əu1]; ND3 [ts'əu1 ~ ts'əu6]
 OPH *k'iu1 CNH *k'ieu1/*k'ieu6

jiù 舊 QYS gjəu- CDC *gieu6/EC *gwih
 BMH [khiù]; MX [k'iu5]; HL [k'iu6]; SX [k'iu5]; LF [k'iu6]; LZ [khiu5]; SHT [k'iu5]
 HY [k'iu6]; XY [k'iu3]; DB [k'iu3]; YL [tɕ'ieu3]; XC [tɕ'ieu5]
 CT [tʃ'ieu6]; WP [tshiu5]; YD [k'iu5]; SH [tɕhiu3]; LC1 [k'iu6]; LC2 [k'ieu6]
 NK [tɕ'iu5]; AY [tɕ'ɰ6]; SY [tɕ'iu5]; XS [tɕ'iu5]; QN [tɕ'iu6]; ND1 [ts'eu6]; ND2 [ts'əu5];
 ND3 [ts'əu6]
 [OPH *k'iu6] CNH *k'ieu6

jiù 就 QYS dzjəu- CDC *dzieu6/EC *dzukh
 BMH [tshiù]; MX [ts'iu5]; HL [ts'iu5]; SX [ts'iu5]; LF [ts'iu6]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [ts'iu5]
 HY [ts'iu6]; XY [ts'iu3]; DB [ts'iu3]; YL [tɕ'ieu3]; XC [tɕ'ieu5]
 CT [ts'ieu6]; WP [tshiu5 ~ tshiu3]; YD [ts'iu3]; SH [tɕhiu?7 ~ tɕhiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu5]; AY [tsɰ6]; SY [tɕ'iu5]; XS [ts'iu5]; QN [tɕ'iu6]; ND1 [tɕ'ieu6]; ND2 [tɕ'ieu6];
 ND3 [ts'iu6]
 OPH *ts'iu6 CNH *ts'ieu6

jū 居 QYS kjwo CDC *kie1 (~ *kiu1)/EC *ka
 BMH [ki]; MX [ki1]; HL [ki1]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki1]; LZ [ki1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tey1]; XC [tei1]
 CT [tʃi1]; WP [tsi1w]; YD [ki1]; SH [tei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tey1]; AY [tei1]; SY [tey1]; XS [kui1]; QN [tei1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu1

jú 菊 QYS kjuk CDC *kiuk7/EC *kuk
 BMH [khiuk]; MX [k'iu7]; HL [k'iu7]; SX [k'iu7]; LF [k'iu7]; LZ [khiuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [kok7]; XY [kouʔ7]; DB [k'uk7]; YL [teyʔ7]; XC [teiʔ7]
CT [tʃ'ieu2]; WP [—]; YD [k'iuʔ7]; SH [təhiəʔ7]; LC1 [k'ieu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tə'iu8 ~ tə'io8]; AY [tə'io5]; SY [tə'io5]; XS [—]; QN [teiuiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uk7]; ND2
[ts'uk7]; ND3 [ts'uk7]
[OPH *k'iuk7] CNH *k'iuk7/*kiuk7

jǔ 矩 QYS kju: CDC *kiu3/EC *kwax
BMH [kɿ]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [ki3]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tey3]; XC [tei3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tey3]; AY [tei5]; SY [tey3]; XS [kui3]; QN [tei3]; ND1 [tsu3]; ND2 [tsu3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ki3] CNH *kiu3

jù 具 QYS gju- CDC *giu6/EC *goh
BMH [khɿ]; MX [k'i5]; HL [k'i1]; SX [—]; LF [ki5]; LZ [khi5]; SHT [—]
HY [k'y6]; XY [k'y3]; DB [k'i3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃi6]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k'i5]; SH [təhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tə'y5]; AY [tə'i5]; SY [tə'y3]; XS [k'ui5]; QN [tə'i6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'u6]; ND3 [ts'u6]
[OPH k'i5 ?] CNH *k'iu6

The tone of the Basil Mission form is irregular.

jù 句 QYS kju- CDC *kiu5/EC *koh
BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]
NK [tey5]; AY [tei5]; SY [tey2]; XS [kui5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [tsu5]
[OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5

jù 懼 QYS gju- CDC *giu6/EC *gwah
BMH [khɿ]; MX [k'i3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [khi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'y5]; AY [tɛ'i6]; SY [tɛ'y1]; XS [k'ui5]; QN [tɛ'i6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *k'i3 ?] CNH *k'iu6/*k'iu3

jù 據 QYS kjwo- CDC *kie (~ *kiu)/EC *kah
 BMH [kí ~ kî]; MX [ki3]; HL [ki3]; SX [ki3]; LF [ki3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
 CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [ki3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tey5]; AY [tei5]; SY [—]; XS [kui5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ki3] CNH *kiu3/*kiu5

jù 鋸 QYS kjwo- CDC *kie5 (~ *kiu5)/EC *kah
 BMH [ki]; MX [ki5]; HL [ki5]; SX [ki5]; LF [ki5]; LZ [ki5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ky5]; XY [ky5]; DB [ki5]; YL [tey5]; XC [tei5]
 CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsi5]; YD [ki3]; SH [tei3]; LC1 [kui5]; LC2 [koi5]
 NK [ke5]; AY [tei5w ~ ke5]; SY [tey2]; XS [kɛ5]; QN [tei5]; ND1 [kie5]; ND2 [kie5]; ND3
 [kie5 ~ kɛi5]
 [OPH *ki5] CNH *kiu5/*kie5

jù 聚 QYS dzju:, dzju- CDC *dziu6/EC *dzox
 BMH [tshì]; MX [ts'i5]; HL [ts'i5]; SX [ts'i5]; LF [ts'i6]; LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ts'i6]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'iu1]; AY [ts'i6]; SY [tɛ'i3]; XS [ts'i5]; QN [tɛ'i6]; ND1 [tɛ'iu6]; ND2 [tɛ'iu6]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *ts'i5] CNH *ts'iu6

juǎn 捲 QYS kjwän:3 CDC *kion3/EC *konx
 BMH [kén ~ kién]; MX [kian3]; HL [kian3]; SX [kian3]; LF [—]; LZ [ken3]; SHT [kin3]

HY [kyan3]; XY [kian3]; DB [kiɔn3]; YL [teyen3]; XC [teien3]
CT [tʃiŋ3]; WP [tsien3]; YD [kien3]; SH [teiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teyẽ3]; AY [teiõ3]; SY [teyẽ3]; XS [teien3]; QN [teiuɔn3]; ND1 [tsan3]; ND2 [tsan3];
ND3 [tsan3]
[OPH *kian3] CNH *kion3

juàn 倦 QYS gjwän- CDC *gion6/EC *gonh
BMH [khén ~ khièn]; MX [k'ian3]; HL [kian3]; SX [kian3]; LF [k'ian6]; LZ [ken5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [teyen5]; XC [teien5]
CT [tʃiŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [te'yẽ5]; AY [teiõ5]; SY [—]; XS [te'ien5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'an6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k'ian6] CNH *k'ion6

jué 絕 QYS dzjwät CDC *dziot8/EC *dzot
BMH [tshiét]; MX [ts'iet8]; HL [ts'iet8]; SX [ts'iet8]; LF [ts'iat8]; LZ [tʃhet8]; SHT [ts'et8]
HY [ts'yat8]; XY [ts'iat8]; DB [ts'iet8]; YL [teyẽʔ7]; XC [teieʔ8]
CT [ts'e8]; WP [tshieʔ8]; YD [ts'ieʔ8]; SH [tchieʔ8]; LC1 [ts'i5]; LC2 [ts'io6]
NK [te'yæ5]; AY [ts'iz1]; SY [te'ie5]; XS [ts'iet8]; QN [te'iuoiʔ8]; ND1 [te'iet7]; ND2 [te'iat7];
ND3 [ts'iat8]
[OPH *ts'iat8 ?] CNH *ts'iot8

jué 決 QYS kiwet CDC *kiot7/EC *kwet
BMH [ket ~ kiet]; MX [kiat7]; HL [kiet7]; SX [kiet7]; LF [kiat7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [kyat7]; XY [k'iat7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [teyẽʔ7]; XC [teieʔ7]
CT [tʃe2]; WP [tsieʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [teieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [teyæ7]; AY [teiɔ3]; SY [teye5]; XS [teiet7]; QN [teiuoiʔ7]; ND1 [tsait7]; ND2 [tsat7];
ND3 [tsat7]
OPH *kyat7 CNH *kiot7

O'Connor (1976: 47) expresses doubt regarding the final of his Proto-Hakka form. Cf. xuě 雪 below.

jué 掘 QYS gjuət CDC *giut8/EC *gut
 BMH [khiut]; MX [k'iu7]; HL [k'ut8]; SX [k'ut8]; LF [—]; LZ [khut5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [khueʔ8]; YD [k'ut8]; SH [khueiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'yæ5]; AY [tɕ'iz3]; SY [tɕ'ye5]; XS [tɕ'iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uit8]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *k'iu7

The Xiūshuǐ final is irregular. We would expect final -it rather than -iet here.

jūn 君 QYS kjuən CDC *kiun1/EC *kun
 BMH [kiun]; MX [kiun1]; HL [kiun1]; SX [kiun1]; LF [kiun1]; LZ [kiun1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕyn1]; XC [tɕin1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [kun1]; SH [tɕiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕyŋ1]; AY [tɕiəŋ1]; SY [tɕyŋ1]; XS [tɕin1]; QN [tɕiun1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *kiun1] CNH *kiun1

jùn 菌 QYS giwen:3 CDC *giun4/EC *gunx
 BMH [khiùn]; MX [k'iu1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [khun3]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'un5]; XY [k'un3 ~ k'un1]; DB [k'un3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [tʃ'əŋ1]; WP [tshiŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iy1]; AY [tɕ'iyəŋ3]; SY [tɕ'yŋ1]; XS [tɕ'in1]; QN [tɕ'iu1 ~ tɕ'iu6]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2
 [ts'ən3]; ND3 [ts'ən1]
 [OPH ?] CNH *k'iu1/*k'iu6/k'iu2/*k'un3

jùn 郡 QYS gjuən- CDC *giun6/EC *gunh
 BMH [khiùn]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'iu2]; LZ [khiun6]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [tshiŋ3]; YD [k'un3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [teŋ1]; AY [tɛ'ɪŋ1]; SY [tɛŋ3]; XS [teɪ5]; QN [tɛ'iun6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ən6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k'iun6 ?

The reconstruction is based on the Basil Mission, Lùfēng, Wǔpíng, Quánnán, and Níngdū forms.
The remaining forms in the set are irregular in various ways.

jùn 俊 QYS tsjwen- CDC *tsiun5/EC *—

BMH [tsùn]; MX [tsun5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃun5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛyn5]; XC [teɪ5]

CT [tsəŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [tsun3]; SH [teɪŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [tɛŋ3]; XS [tsən5]; QN [tsun5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tsun5] CNH *tsiun5

The tone of the Shàngyóu form is irregular.

K

kāi 開 QYS khài CDC *khai1/EC *'khuy

BMH [khai ~ hoi]; MX [k'oi1]; HL [k'oi1]; SX [k'oi1]; LF [k'oi1]; LZ [hɔi1]; SHT [hɔi1]

HY [huai1]; XY [huai1]; DB [hɔi1]; YL [k'oi1]; XC [k'oi1]

CT [k'ue1]; WP [xuɛ1]; YD [k'oi1]; SH [khue1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [hui3]

NK [k'æ1 ~ hæ1]; AY [k'ue1 ~ hue1]; SY [hue1]; XS [k'oi1]; QN [hɔi1 ~ k'oi1]; ND1 [k'oɛ1];

ND2 [k'uei1]; ND3 [k'uai1 ~ k'ai1]

[OPH *k'oi1] CNH *hɔi1/*k'oi1

kān 刊 QYS khân CDC *khon1/EC *'khan

BMH [khan]; MX [k'an1]; HL [k'an1]; SX [k'an1]; LF [k'an1]; LZ [hɔn1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [k'ən1]; WP [—]; YD [k'an1]; SH [khā1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [k'ən1]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'oɛn1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'an1] CNH *k'an1/*k'on1

The Lìzhīzhuāng form appears to derive from an earlier *hon1 for which we lack comparative corroboration.

kān 堪 QYS khâm CDC *khom1/EC *'khum
 BMH [kham]; MX [k'am1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'am1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [k'an1]; XC [k'an1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k'aŋ1]; SH [khã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'ã1]; AY [k'ã1]; SY [k'ã1]; XS [k'an1]; QN [k'am1]; ND1 [k'oem1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'am1] CNH *k'am1

The Níngdū-1 form in this and the following set point to an earlier rounded vowel form, *kom1, which has been replaced elsewhere.

kǎn 砍 QYS khâm: CDC *khom3/EC *—
 BMH [khám]; MX [k'am3]; HL [k'am3]; SX [—]; LF [k'am3]; LZ [—]; SHT [k'am3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [k'an3]; XC [k'an3]
 CT [k'aŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [k'aŋ3]; SH [khã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'ã3]; AY [k'ã3]; SY [k'ã3]; XS [k'an3]; QN [k'am3]; ND1 [k'oem3]; ND2 [k'an3]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'am3] CNH *k'am3

The Níngdū-1 form must derive from earlier *k'om3, a form that has been replaced by *k'am3 at other points.

kàn 看 QYS khân- CDC *khon5/EC *'khanh
 BMH [khòn]; MX [k'on5]; HL [k'on5]; SX [k'on5]; LF [k'on5]; LZ [khon5]; SHT [k'on5]
 HY [k'uan5]; XY [huan5]; DB [høn5]; YL [k'on5]; XC [k'on5]
 CT [—]; WP [khuen5]; YD [k'on3]; SH [khuẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'ua1]
 NK [k'oẽ5]; AY [k'õ5]; SY [k'uõ2]; XS [k'on5]; QN [k'on5]; ND1 [k'oen5]; ND2 [k'uon5];
 ND3 [k'uan5]
 [OPH *k'on5] CNH *k'on5/*hon5

kāng 糠 QYS khâng CDC *khong1/EC *'khang
BMH [khong ~ hong]; MX [hɔŋ1]; HL [hɔŋ1]; SX [hɔŋ1]; LF [k'ɔŋ1 ~ hɔŋ1]; LZ [hɔŋ1]; SHT
[—]
HY [—]; XY [hɔŋ1]; DB [hɔŋ1]; YL [k'ɔŋ1]; XC [k'ɔŋ1]
CT [k'ɔŋ1]; WP [xɔŋ1]; YD [k'ɔŋ1]; SH [khɔŋ1]; LC1 [k'ɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [hɔ1]; AY [hɔŋ1]; SY [k'ɔ1 ~ hɔ1]; XS [k'ɔŋ1]; QN [k'ɔŋ1w ~ hɔŋ1b]; ND1 [k'ɔŋ1]; ND2
[k'ɔŋ1]; ND3 [hɔŋ1]
[OPH *hɔŋ1] CNH *hɔŋ1/L *k'ɔŋ1

kàng 𨵿 QYS khâng “hide, conceal” CDC *khong5/EC —
BMH [khòng]; MX [—]; HL [k'ɔŋ5]; SX [k'ɔŋ5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k'ɔŋ3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *k'ɔŋ5] CNH *k'ɔŋ5

kǎo 考 QYS khâu: CDC *khou3/EC *'khux
BMH [kháu]; MX [k'au3]; HL [k'au3]; SX [k'au3]; LF [k'au3]; LZ [khau3]; SHT [k'au3]
HY [k'au3]; XY [hau3]; DB [hau3]; YL [k'au3]; XC [k'au3]
CT [k'ɔ3]; WP [khɔ3]; YD [k'au3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ɔ3]; AY [k'ɔ3]; SY [k'ɔ3]; XS [k'au3]; QN [k'au3]; ND1 [k'au3]; ND2 [k'au3]; ND3
[k'au3]
[OPH *k'au3] CNH *k'au3/*hau3

The Shàngháng form must derive from earlier *k'ou3 rather than *k'au3.

kào 靠 QYS khâu- CDC *khou5/EC *'khuh
BMH [khàu]; MX [k'au5]; HL [k'au5]; SX [k'au5]; LF [—]; LZ [khau5]; SHT [—]
HY [k'au5]; XY [k'au5]; DB [k'o5]; YL [k'au5]; XC [k'au5]
CT [k'ɔ5]; WP [—]; YD [k'au3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'ɔ5]; AY [k'ɔ5]; SY [k'ɔ2]; XS [k'au5]; QN [k'au5]; ND1 [k'au5]; ND2 [k'au5]; ND3 [k'au5]

[OPH *k'au5] CNH *k'au5

The Shàngháng form reflects earlier *k'ou5.

kē 棵 QYS (khuâ) CDC *khuo1/EC *'khoy

BMH [—]; MX [k'ɔ1 ~ k'ɔ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [k'əu3]; XC [k'o1]

CT [k'o1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'o1]; AY [k'o1]; SY [k'o1]; XS [k'ɔ1]; QN [k'o1]; ND1 [k'o1]; ND2 [k'o1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH k'o1

ké 殼 QYS khâk CDC *kh(i)ok7/EC *khrok

BMH [khok ~ hok]; MX [hɔk7]; HL [hok7]; SX [hok7]; LF [k'ok7]; LZ [hɔk7]; SHT [hɔk7]

HY [k'ɔk7]; XY [k'ɔk7]; DB [hɔk7]; YL [k'ɔʔ8]; XC [k'oʔ8]

CT [k'o2]; WP [khɔʔ7]; YD [k'ɔʔ7]; SH [khɔʔ7]; LC1 [k'u6]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'o8]; AY [k'o6]; SY [k'o5]; XS [k'ɔk7]; QN [k'oʔ7]; ND1 [k'ok7]; ND2 [k'ɔk7]; ND3 [k'ɔk7]

[OPH *hok7] CNH *hok7/*k'ok7

kě 可 QYS khâ: CDC *kho3/EC *'khayx

BMH [khó]; MX [k'ɔ3]; HL [k'o3]; SX [k'o3]; LF [k'o3]; LZ [hɔ3 ~ khɔ3]; SHT [k'ɔ3]

HY [k'uɔ3]; XY [hɔ3]; DB [ho3]; YL [k'əu3]; XC [k'o3]

CT [k'o3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'o3]; AY [k'o3]; SY [k'o3]; XS [k'ɔ3]; QN [k'o3]; ND1 [k'o3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k'o3]

[OPH *k'o3] CNH *k'o3/*ho3

kè 刻 QYS khək CDC *khek7/EC *'khik

BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k'et7]; HL [k'et7]; SX [k'et7]; LF [k'et7]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]

HY [k'at7]; XY [k'et7]; DB [kiet7]; YL [k'et7]; XC [k'et7]

CT [k'e2]; WP [khɛʔ7]; YD [k'ɛʔ7]; SH [khɛʔ7 ~ khɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ə8]; AY [k'e6]; SY [k'e5]; XS [k'ɛʔ7]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'ək7]; ND2 [k'ək7]; ND3 [k'ək7]
[OPH *k'et7] CNH *k'ek7

kè 客 QYS khək CDC *khak7/EC *khrak
BMH [hak ~ khak]; MX [k'et7w ~ hak7b]; HL [k'et7 ~ hak8]; SX [k'et7 ~ hak7]; LF [hak7];
LZ [hak7]; SHT [hak7]
HY [hak7]; XY [k'ak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [k'aʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]
CT [k'a2]; WP [khaʔ7]; YD [k'aʔ7]; SH [khaʔ7]; LC1 [k'o6]; LC2 [k'o6]
NK [k'a8]; AY [k'a6]; SY [k'a5]; XS [k'ak7]; QN [c'aʔ7 ~ k'aʔ7]; ND1 [k'ak7]; ND2 [k'ak7];
ND3 [k'ak7]
[OPH *hak7] CNH *hak7/L *k'ak7/*k'ek7 ?

The tone of the second Hǎilù form is irregular. The coda of the third reconstruction is conjectural, since determinative forms are not available in the Níngdū varieties.

kè 課 QYS khuâ- CDC *khuo5/EC *'khoyh
BMH [khò]; MX [k'ɔ5]; HL [k'o5]; SX [k'o5]; LF [k'o5]; LZ [khɔ5]; SHT [—]
HY [k'uɔ5]; XY [fɔ5]; DB [fo5]; YL [k'əu5]; XC [k'o5]
CT [k'o5]; WP [kho5]; YD [k'ou3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'o5]; AY [—]; SY [k'o3]; XS [k'ɔ5]; QN [k'o5]; ND1 [k'o5]; ND2 [k'o5]; ND3 [k'o5]
[OPH *k'o5] CNH *k'o5/*fo5

kěn 肯 QYS khəŋ: CDC *kheng3/EC *'kHINGx
BMH [khén ~ hén]; MX [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; HL [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; SX [k'en3w ~ hən3b]; LF
[k'en3 ~ hən3]; LZ [hən3]; SHT [—]
HY [han3]; XY [hən3]; DB [hən3]; YL [k'an3]; XC [k'en3w ~ hən3b]
CT [k'ən3]; WP [xən3]; YD [k'en3]; SH [khẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; LC1 [hǎi3]; LC2 [—]
NK [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; AY [k'əŋ3w ~ ɕiəŋ3b]; SY [k'ẽ3 ~ hẽ3]; XS [k'en3]; QN [hən3]; ND1 [k'əŋ3];
ND2 [k'əŋ3]; ND3 [k'əŋ3]
OPH *hən3 CNH *hən3/L *k'ən3

The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, because determinative forms for it are absent from the set.

kēng 坑 QYS khong CDC *khang1/EC *khrang
 BMH [hang ~ khang]; MX [haŋ1]; HL [haŋ1b]; SX [haŋ1b]; LF [haŋ1]; LZ [haŋ1]; SHT [haŋ1]
 HY [haŋ1]; XY [haŋ1]; DB [haŋ1]; YL [k'əŋ1]; XC [k'ən1]
 CT [haŋ1]; WP [khaŋ1 ~ xaŋ1]; YD [k'əŋ1]; SH [khaŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'əŋ1]
 NK [hã1]; AY [hã1]; SY [hã1]; XS [haŋ1]; QN [haŋ1]; ND1 [k'əŋ1]; ND2 [k'əŋ1]; ND3 [haŋ1]
 [OPH *haŋ1] CNH *haŋ1/L *k'əŋ1

kōng 空 QYS khung CDC *khung1/EC *'khong
 BMH [khung]; MX [k'uŋ1]; HL [k'uŋ1]; SX [k'uŋ1]; LF [k'uŋ1]; LZ [khuŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'oŋ1]; XY [hoŋ1]; DB [huŋ1]; YL [k'uŋ1]; XC [k'uŋ1]
 CT [k'oŋ1]; WP [khuŋ1]; YD [k'uŋ1]; SH [khaŋ1]; LC1 [k'oŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'əŋ1]; AY [k'əŋ1]; SY [k'əŋ1]; XS [k'əŋ1]; QN [k'uŋ1]; ND1 [k'uŋ1]; ND2 [k'uŋ1];
 ND3 [k'uŋ1]
 [OPH *k'uŋ1] CNH *k'uŋ1/*huŋ1

kǒng 恐 QYS khjwong: CDC *khung3/EC *khongx
 BMH [khiúŋ]; MX [k'uŋ3]; HL [k'iuŋ6]; SX [k'iuŋ3]; LF [k'iuŋ3]; LZ [khuŋ3]; SHT [huŋ3]
 HY [k'oŋ3]; XY [hoŋ3]; DB [k'uŋ3]; YL [k'uŋ3]; XC [k'uŋ3]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khaŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'əŋ3]; AY [k'əŋ3]; SY [k'əŋ3]; XS [k'əŋ3]; QN [k'uŋ3]; ND1 [k'uŋ3]; ND2 [k'uŋ3];
 ND3 [k'uŋ3]
 [OPH *k'iuŋ3] CNH *k'iuŋ3/*k'uŋ3/*huŋ3

The tone of the Hǎilù form is anomalous.

kǒu 口 QYS khəu: CDC *kheu3/EC *'khox
 BMH [khéu ~ héu]; MX [k'eu3w ~ heu3b]; HL [k'eu3w ~ heu3b]; SX [k'eu3w ~ heu3b]; LF
 [k'eu3 ~ heu3]; LZ [heu3]; SHT [hiu3]

HY [huai3]; XY [hɛu3]; DB [hɛi3]; YL [k'ɛ3]; XC [k'əu3w ~ həu3b]
CT [k'eu3 ~ heu3]; WP [khɛ3w ~ xɛ3b]; YD [k'eu3]; SH [khə3]; LC1 [k'eu3]; LC2 [hɛu3]
NK [k'ɜ3 ~ hɜ3]; AY [tɛ'ɯ3 ~ ɛu3]; SY [k'io3 ~ hio3]; XS [k'əu3 ~ həu3]; QN [k'eu3 ~ heu3];
ND1 [k'eu3]; ND2 [k'əu3]; ND3 [k'əu3 ~ həu3]
OPH *k'eu3 CNH *heu3/L *k'eu3

kòu 扣 QYS khəu:, khəu- CDC *kheu5/EC *'khoh
BMH [khəu]; MX [k'eu5]; HL [k'eu5]; SX [k'eu5]; LF [k'eu5]; LZ [khəu5]; SHT [—]
HY [kuai5]; XY [k'ɛu5]; DB [k'iei5]; YL [k'ɛ5]; XC [k'əu5]
CT [k'eu5]; WP [khɛ5]; YD [k'eu3]; SH [khə5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'ɛu5]
NK [k'ɜ5]; AY [tɛ'ɯ5]; SY [k'io5]; XS [k'əu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'eu5]; ND2 [k'əu5]; ND3
[k'əu5]
[OPH *k'eu5] CNH *k'eu5

kū 窟 QYS khuət CDC *khut7/EC *'khut
BMH [fut ~ khwut]; MX [k'iut7w ~ fut7b]; HL [fut7]; SX [fut7]; LF [fut7]; LZ [fut7]; SHT
[fut7]
HY [—]; XY [fut7]; DB [fut7]; YL [k'uei?7]; XC [k'u?7]
CT [k'ue2]; WP [fɛ?7]; YD [k'ut7]; SH [khuei?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [k'u3 ~ f33]†; SY [—]; XS [k'uit7]; QN [fɛ?7]†; ND1 [—]; ND2 [k'ut7]; ND3
[fut7]
[OPH *fut7] CNH *fut7/L *k'ut7

The forms f33 and fɛ?7 at these two points are actually colloquial readings of kū 窟, as found in the compound shǐkūyǎn 屎窟眼 “anus”. The source has failed to identify them as such. Níngdū-1 has a similar form, read [fait7] in its parallel compounds for “buttocks” (shǐkū 屎窟) and “anus”, but the final is irregular, for we would expect a [fət7] here. Cf. hū 忽 above. The pronunciation of the syllable has perhaps been deformed through taboo avoidance. The final of the Méixiàn wén form is anomalous. It may reflect a contamination derived from qū 屈 (Méixiàn k'iut7), which is phonetic in the graph 窟.

kǔ 苦 QYS khuo: CDC *khu3/EC *khax
 BMH [fú ~ khú]; MX [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; HL [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; SX [k'u3w ~ fu3b]; LF [k'u3]; LZ
 [khu3w ~ fu3b]; SHT [fu3]
 HY [k'u3 ~ hu3]; XY [k'u3]; DB [k'u3]; YL [k'u3]; XC [k'u3w ~ fu3b]
 CT [k'u3]; WP [fu3]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khu3]; LC1 [k'ie3]; LC2 [k'ye3]
 NK [k'u3 ~ fu3]; AY [k'u3 ~ fu3]; SY [k'u3 ~ fu3]; XS [k'u3 ~ fu3]; QN [k'u3 ~ fu3]; ND1
 [k'u3]; ND2 [k'u3]; ND3 [k'u3]
 [OPH *fu3] CNH *fu3/L *k'u3

kù 褲 QYS khuo- CDC *khu5/EC *'khah
 BMH [fù ~ khù]; MX [fu5]; HL [fu5]; SX [k'u5w ~ fu5b]; LF [k'u5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [hu5]; XY [k'u5]; DB [k'u5]; YL [k'u5]; XC [fu5]
 CT [k'u5]; WP [khu5 ~ fu5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khu5]; LC1 [k'ie5]; LC2 [fyε5]
 NK [fu5]; AY [fu5]; SY [fu2]; XS [fu5]; QN [fu5]; ND1 [k'u5]; ND2 [fu5]; ND3 [k'u5 ~ fu5]
 [OPH *fu5] CNH *fu5/L *k'u5

kuài 快 QYS khwai- CDC *khuai5/EC *khwrath
 BMH [khwài ~ fài]; MX [k'uai5]; HL [k'uai5]; SX [k'uai5]; LF [k'uai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT
 [k'uai5 ~ k'ai5]
 HY [fai5]; XY [k'ai5]; DB [k'uai5]; YL [k'uai5]; XC [k'uai5]
 CT [k'ue5]; WP [khua5]; YD [k'uai3]; SH [khuei5]; LC1 [k'ua5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [k'uae5]; AY [k'ue5]; SY [k'uae2]; XS [k'uai5]; QN [k'ai5]; ND1 [k'ai5]; ND2 [k'ai5];
 ND3 [k'ai5]
 [OPH *k'uai5] CNH *k'uai5/*fai5

kuài 塊 QYS khuai- CDC *khuoi5/EC *'khuyh
 BMH [khwài]; MX [k'uai5]; HL [k'uai5]; SX [k'uai5]; LF [k'uai5]; LZ [khai5]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'ai5 ~ fai5⁺]; XY [k'ai5]; DB [k'uai5]; YL [k'uai5]; XC [k'uai5]
 CT [k'ue5]; WP [khui5]; YD [k'uei3 ~ k'uai3]; SH [khua5]; LC1 [k'ua5]; LC2 [k'ua5]

NK [k'uæ5]; AY [k'ue5]; SY [k'uæ3]; XS [k'uai5]; QN [k'ai5]; ND1 [k'uai5]; ND2 [k'ui5];
ND3 [k'ui5]

OPH *k'uai5 CNH *k'uai5/*fai5 (< *huai5 ?)

†Measure for land.

The second Héyuán form reflects the second reconstruction. It is supported by similar forms in western Guǎngdōng Hakka dialects that are not included in our database. See Lǐ Rúlóng et al. (1999: 36).

kuān 寬 QYS khuân CDC *khuon1/EC *—

BMH [khwon ~ khwan]; MX [k'on1]; HL [k'on1]; SX [k'on1]; LF [k'on1]; LZ [khon1]; SHT
[—]

HY [k'uan1]; XY [k'an1]; DB [k'uon1]; YL [k'uan1]; XC [k'uan1]

CT [k'un1]; WP [khuɛŋ1]; YD [k'uan1]; SH [khuã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'oẽ1]; AY [k'õ1]; SY [k'uõ1]; XS [k'on1]; QN [k'on1]; ND1 [k'oẽ1]; ND2 [k'uon1];
ND3 [k'uan1]

[OPH *k'on1] CNH *k'uon1

kuàng 曠 QYS khwâng- CDC *khuong5/EC *'khwangh

BMH [khwóng ~ khwóng]; MX [k'ɔŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'ɔŋ3]; LZ [khɔŋ5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [k'ɔŋ5]

CT [k'ɔŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [k'ɔŋ3]; SH [khɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'õ5]; AY [—]; SY [k'õ5]; XS [k'ɔŋ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [k'ɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'ong3] CNH *k'uon3/*k'ɔŋ3/*k'ɔŋ5

kuàng 況 QYS xjwang- CDC *khuong5 ~ *xuong5/EC *hwangh

BMH [khwóng ~ khwóng ~ khòŋ]; MX [k'ɔŋ3]; HL [k'ɔŋ3]; SX [k'ɔŋ3]; LF [k'ɔŋ5]; LZ
[khɔŋ3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [k'ɔŋ5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'õ5]; AY [—]; SY [k'õ3]; XS [k'ɔŋ5]; QN [k'ɔŋ5]; ND1 [k'ɔŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'ong3] CNH *k'uoŋ5/*k'uoŋ3/*k'ŋ5

kuī 虧 QYS khjwe3 CDC *khui1/EC *khoy

BMH [khui]; MX [k'ui1]; HL [k'ui1]; SX [k'ui1]; LF [k'ui1]; LZ [khui1]; SHT [—]

HY [k'ui1]; XY [k'ui1]; DB [k'uei1]; YL [k'uei1]; XC [k'uei1]

CT [k'ue1]; WP [khui1]; YD [k'uei1]; SH [khuei1]; LC1 [k'ui1]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'ue1]; AY [k'ue1]; SY [k'ue1]; XS [k'ui1]; QN [k'ui1]; ND1 [k'ui1]; ND2 [k'ui1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'ui1] CNH *k'ui1

kùn 困 QYS khuən- CDC *khun5/EC *'khunh

BMH [khwùn]; MX [k'un5]; HL [k'un5]; SX [k'un5]; LF [k'un5]; LZ [khun5]; SHT [—]

HY [k'un5]; XY [k'un5]; DB [k'un5]; YL [k'un5]; XC [k'uən5]

CT [k'uən5]; WP [khueŋ5]; YD [k'un3]; SH [khueiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'uē5]; AY [k'uən5]; SY [k'uē2]; XS [k'un5]; QN [k'un5]; ND1 [k'un5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k'un5]

[OPH *k'un5] CNH *k'un5

kuò 括 QYS kuât CDC *kuot7/EC *'kot

BMH [kwat]; MX [kuat7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [kat7]; SHT [—]

HY [kat7]; XY [k'at7]; DB [kuat7]; YL [k'ueʔ7]; XC [k'uaʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [kuaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [kuaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [kua7]; AY [ku33]; SY [kua5]; XS [kuait7]; QN [koiʔ7]; ND1 [koet7]; ND2 [kuot7]; ND3 [k'uat7]

[OPH *kuat7] CNH *kuot7/*k'uat7

kuò 闊 QYS khuât CDC *khuot7/EC *'khot

BMH [fat ~ khwat]; MX [fat7]; HL [fat7]; SX [fat7]; LF [fat7]; LZ [fat7]; SHT [—]

HY [fuat7]; XY [k'at7]; DB [k'uat7]; YL [k'ueʔ7]; XC [k'ueʔ7]

CT [k'ue2]; WP [khuaʔ7]; YD [k'uat7]; SH [khuaʔ7]; LC1 [k'ua6]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'ua7]; AY [k'u33]; SY [k'ua5]; XS [k'uaɪ7]; QN [k'æʔ7]; ND1 [k'oet7]; ND2 [k'uot5];
ND3 [k'uat7]

[OPH *fat7] CNH *k'uot5 ~ *fuat7 (or *fuot7 ?)

Initial f- forms in this set, strictly reconstructable as *fuat7, probably actually derive from CNH *fuot7, though the requisite forms for this are lacking from the determinative dialects. Cf. huó 活 above.

kuò 廓 QYS khwâk CDC *khuok5/EC *'khwak

BMH [khwok]; MX [kuɔk7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [koʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [khoʔ7w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ko8]; AY [ko6]; SY [—]; XS [kɔk7]; QN [koʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *k'uok7/*kuok7

L

lā 拉 QYS — CDC *la1 (?) / EC *—

BMH [la ~ lo ~ lai]; MX [la1 ~ lai1]; HL [la1]; SX [la1 ~ lai1]; LF [—]; LZ [lai1]; SHT [—]

HY [lai1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ləuʔ8]; XC [lai2]

CT [la1]; WP [—]; YD [la1]; SH [laʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [la1]; AY [la1 ~ læ1]; SY [la1]; XS [—]; QN [lai1]; ND1 [la1]; ND2 [la1]; ND3 [—]

OPH *la1 CNH *la1/*lai1

It is possible that several different etyma are represented in this set. Two are reconstructable comparatively.

là 蠟 QYS lâp CDC *lap8/EC *'lap

BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]

HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]

CT [la6]; WP [laʔ7]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [laʔ7]; LC1 [lo6]; LC2 [lo6]

NK [la5 ~ la7]; AY [lɜ33]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]

[OPH *lap8] CNH *lap8/*lap7

là 臘 QYS lâp CDC *lap8/EC *'lap

BMH [láp]; MX [lap8]; HL [lap8]; SX [lap8]; LF [lap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [lap8]

HY [lap8]; XY [lap8]; DB [lap8]; YL [laʔ8]; XC [laʔ8]

CT [—]; WP [laʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [laʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [la5]; AY [lɜ1]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [læʔ8]; ND1 [laip7]; ND2 [lap7]; ND3 [lap7]

[OPH *lap8] CNH *lap8/*lap7

là 辣 QYS lât CDC *lat8/EC *'lat

BMH [lát]; MX [lat8]; HL [lat8]; SX [lat8]; LF [lat8]; LZ [lat8]; SHT [lat8]

HY [lat8]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lat7]; XC [lat8]

CT [lai6]; WP [laʔ8]; YD [lat7]; SH [laʔ8]; LC1 [laʔ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [la5]; AY [lɜ3]; SY [la5]; XS [lait8]; QN [laiʔ8]; ND1 [lait8]; ND2 [lat7]; ND3 [lat8]

[OPH *lat8] CNH *lat8/*lat7

lái 來 QYS lái CDC *loi2/EC *'li

BMH [lôi]; MX [loi2]; HL [loi2]; SX [loi2]; LF [loi2]; LZ [loi2]; SHT [loi2]

HY [luai2]; XY [luai2]; DB [loi2]; YL [loi2]; XC [loi2]

CT [lai2]; WP [li2]; YD [loi2]; SH [lue2 ~ la2]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [li2]

NK [læ2]; AY [lue2]; SY [læ2]; XS [loi2]; QN [loi2]; ND1 [lai2]; ND2 [lei2]; ND3 [luai2 ~ lei2]

[OPH *loi2] CNH *loi2/*lai2

The Níngdū-2 form and the second Níngdū-3 form probably derive from an earlier *lei2, which is not attested at other points. It is probably a loan from Southern Gà, where this form of the word “to come” is common.

lài 賴 QYS lâi- CDC *lai6/EC *'lath

BMH [lài]; MX [lai5]; HL [lai6]; SX [lai5]; LF [lai6]; LZ [lai5]; SHT [—]

HY [lai6]; XY [lai3]; DB [lai3]; YL [lai5]; XC [nai5]

CT [lai6]; WP [la3]; YD [lai5]; SH [la3]; LC1 [la6]; LC2 [la6]
NK [læ5]; AY [læ6]; SY [læ5]; XS [lai5]; QN [lai6]; ND1 [lai6]; ND2 [lai5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lai6] CNH *lai6
The Níngdū-2 tone is irregular. We would expect Tone 6.

lán 攔 QYS lân CDC *lan2/EC *'lan
BMH [lán]; MX [lan2]; HL [lan2]; SX [lan2]; LF [lan2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lan2]; XC [lan2]
CT [—]; WP [lan2]; YD [lan2]; SH [lã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [la2]
NK [lã2]; AY [lã2]; SY [lã2]; XS [lan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [lan2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lan2] CNH *lan2

lán 籃 QYS lâm CDC *^hlam2/EC *'lam
BMH [lam, lâm]; MX [lam2]; HL [lam1 ~ lam2]; SX [lam1 ~ lam2]; LF [lam2]; LZ [lam2];
SHT [—]
HY [lam2]; XY [lam2]; DB [lam2]; YL [lan2]; XC [lan2]
CT [lan2]; WP [lan2]; YD [lan2]; SH [lã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lan2]
NK [lã2]; AY [lã2]; SY [lã2]; XS [lan2]; QN [lam2]; ND1 [lam2 ~ lan2]; ND2 [lam2]; ND3
[lam2]
[OPH *lam2] CNH *lam2/*lam1

Where yīnpíng and yángpíng forms of this etymon are distinguished in the same dialect, the two words generally refer to slightly different types of baskets.

lǎn 懶 QYS lân: CDC *lan4/EC *'lanx
BMH [lan]; MX [lan1]; HL [nan1]; SX [nan1]; LF [lan1]; LZ [lan1]; SHT [lan1]
HY [lan5]; XY [lan1]; DB [lan1 ~ lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan3]
CT [lan1]; WP [lan1]; YD [lan1]; SH [nã1]; LC1 [la1]; LC2 [la1]
NK [lã1]; AY [lã3]; SY [lã1]; XS [lan1]; QN [lan1]; ND1 [lan1]; ND2 [lan1]; ND3 [lan1]
[OPH *lan1] CNH *lan1/*lan3

làn 爛 QYS lân- CDC *lan6/EC *'lanh
 BMH [làn]; MX [lan5]; HL [lan6]; SX [lan5]; LF [lan6]; LZ [lan5]; SHT [lan5]
 HY [lan6]; XY [lan3]; DB [lan3]; YL [lan3]; XC [lan5]
 CT [lan5]; WP [lan3]; YD [lan5]; SH [lã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [la6]
 NK [lã5]; AY [lã6]; SY [lã5]; XS [lan5]; QN [lan6]; ND1 [lan6]; ND2 [lan6]; ND3 [lan6]
 [OPH *lan6] CNH *lan6

láng 郎 QYS lâng CDC *long2/EC *'lang
 BMH [lông]; MX [lơ2]; HL [lơ2]; SX [lơ2]; LF [lơ2]; LZ [lơ2]; SHT [lơ2]
 HY [lơ2]; XY [lơ2]; DB [lơ2]; YL [lơ2]; XC [lơ2]
 CT [lơ2]; WP [lơ2]; YD [lơ2]; SH [lơ2]; LC1 [lơ2]; LC2 [lơ2]
 NK [lõ2]; AY [lơ2]; SY [lõ2]; XS [lơ2]; QN [lơ2]; ND1 [lơ2]; ND2 [lơ2]; ND3 [lơ2]
 [OPH *lơ2] CNH *lơ2

làng 浪 QYS lâng- CDC *long6/EC *'langh
 BMH [lông]; MX [lơ5]; HL [lơ6]; SX [lơ5]; LF [lơ6]; LZ [lơ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [lơ6]; XY [lơ3]; DB [lơ3]; YL [lơ5]; XC [lơ5]
 CT [lơ5]; WP [lơ5]; YD [lơ5]; SH [lơ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [lõ5]; AY [lơ6]; SY [lõ5]; XS [lơ5]; QN [lơ6]; ND1 [lơ6]; ND2 [lơ6]; ND3 [lơ6]
 [OPH *lơ6] CNH *lơ6

lāo 撈 QYS lāu CDC *lou1 ~ *lou2/EC *—
 BMH [lāu]; MX [lau2 ~ lau1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lo1]; LZ [lau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [lau1]; XY [lau2]; DB [—]; YL [lau2]; XC [lau2]
 CT [—]; WP [lɛ2]; YD [—]; SH [lo2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [lɔ2]; AY [lɔ2]; SY [lɔ2]; XS [lau1 ~ lau2]; QN [lau1 ~ lau2]; ND1 [lau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [lau1]
 [OPH *lou1] CNH *lou1/*lou2

láo 勞 QYS lâu CDC *lou2/EC *'law

BMH [lâu]; MX [lau2]; HL [lo2]; SX [lo2]; LF [lo2]; LZ [lau2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [lo3]; DB [lo3]; YL [lau2]; XC [lau2]

CT [lo2]; WP [lo2]; YD [lou2]; SH [lu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lo2]; AY [lo2]; SY [lo2]; XS [lau2]; QN [lau2]; ND1 [lau2]; ND2 [lau2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *lou2] CNH *lou2

The two western Guǎngdōng points, Xīnyí and diànbái, inexplicably have Tone 3 for this word.

lǎo 老 QYS lâu: CDC *lou4/EC *'lux

BMH [láu]; MX [lau3 ~ lau5]; HL [lo3]; SX [lo3]; LF [lo3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [lau3]

HY [lau3]; XY [lo3]; DB [lo3]; YL [lou3]; XC [lau3]

CT [lo3]; WP [lo3]; YD [lou3]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [lo3]; LC2 [lo3]

NK [lo3]; AY [lo3]; SY [lo3]; XS [lau3]; QN [lau3]; ND1 [lau3]; ND2 [lau3]; ND3 [lau3]

OPH *lou3 CNH *lou3

lǎo 老 QYS lâu: CDC *lou4/EC *'lux

FA [lou3]; FD [lou3]; LY [lou3]; SM [lou3]; SC [lou3]; HA [luou3];

GX [lou3]; CN1 [lou3]; CN2 [lou3]; JN1 [lou3]; JN2 [lou3]; LS [lou3]; LngY [lou3]; TS [lao3];

CZ [lou3]; FS [lou3]; TY [lau3] CS *lou3

lè 肋 QYS lək CDC *lek8/EC *'lik

BMH [—]; MX [lit8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [lak8]; SHT [—]

HY [lat8]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [leʔ7]; XC [leʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [leʔ8]; YD [leʔ8]; SH [leʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lə8]; AY [le6]; SY [le5]; XS [let8]; QN [leʔ8]; ND1 [lək7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *lek8

The Lìzhīzhuāng final is irregular.

lè 樂 QYS lək CDC *lok8/EC *'lawk

BMH [lók]; MX [lək8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lək8]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lɔʔ8]; XC [lɔʔ8]
 CT [lɔ6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8]; SH [lɔʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [lɔ8]; AY [lɔ6]; SY [lɔ5]; XS [lɔk8]; QN [lɔʔ8]; ND1 [lɔk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *lɔk8] CNH *lɔk8

léi 雷 QYS lui CDC *luoi1/EC *'luy
 BMH [lúi]; MX [lui2]; HL [lui2]; SX [lui2]; LF [lui2]; LZ [lui2]; SHT [lui2]
 HY [lui2]; XY [—]; DB [lei2]; YL [luei2]; XC [luei2]
 CT [lue2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei3]; SH [lei5]; LC1 [lui2]; LC2 [loi2 ~ lue2]
 NK [le2]; AY [le2]; SY [le2]; XS [li2]; QN [lui2]; ND1 [lui2]; ND2 [lui2]; ND3 [lui2]
 OPH *lui2 CNH *lui2

lèi 淚 QYS ljiw- CDC *lui6/EC *loth
 BMH [lùi]; MX [lui5]; HL [lui6]; SX [lui6]; LF [lui6]; LZ [lui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [lui6]; XY [lui3]; DB [lui3]; YL [luei3]; XC [nuei5]
 CT [lue6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lue6]
 NK [ti1]; AY [li6]; SY [—]; XS [li5]; QN [li6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lui6]
 [OPH *lui6] CNH *lui6/*liui6

The Nankāng, Ānyuǎn, Xīshuǐ, and Quánnán forms reflect the second reconstruction.

lěng 冷 QYS lɔng: CDC *lang4/EC —
 BMH [lɔng ~ lɔng ~ len]; MX [lɔŋ3w ~ lɔŋ1b]; HL [lɔŋ1]; SX [lɔŋ1]; LF [lɔŋ1]; LZ [lɔŋ1];
 SHT [lɔŋ1]
 HY [lɔŋ5]; XY [lɔŋ1]; DB [lɔŋ1]; YL [lan1]; XC [lɔŋ3]
 CT [lɔŋ1]; WP [lɔŋ1]; YD [len1]; SH [lɛ1]; LC1 [lǎi1]; LC2 [lɛŋ2]
 NK [lǎi1]; AY [liã3]; SY [lǎi1]; XS [lɔŋ1]; QN [lɔŋ1 ~ len1]; ND1 [liãŋ1]; ND2 [liãŋ1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *lang1] CNH *lang1/L *lɔŋ3/*lɔŋ1

The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural. The Níngdū forms appear to reflect a proto-form in *liɑŋ¹. This is a different etymon from that reflected elsewhere in the set. The Ānyuǎn form may be related to this form but disagrees with it in tone.

lí 梨 QYS lji CDC *li2/EC *liy
BMH [lí]; MX [li2]; HL [li2]; SX [li2]; LF [li2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [li2]
HY [li2]; XY [li2]; DB [li2]; YL [li2]; XC [li2]
CT [li2 ~ ti2]; WP [ti2]; YD [li2]; SH [ti2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [li2]; QN [li2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [li2]
[OPH *li2] CNH *li2

lí 犁 QYS liei CDC *liai2/EC *'liy
BMH [lâi ~ lê]; MX [li2w ~ lai2b]; HL [lai2]; SX [lai2]; LF [lai2]; LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [liɛ2]; XY [lɛi2]; DB [lɛ2]; YL [lei2]; XC [li2w ~ nai2b]
CT [lɛ2]; WP [li2]; YD [lei2]; SH [lei2]; LC1 [lɛ2]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ti2 ~ li2]; AY [ti2]; SY [ti2]; XS [lɛ2]; QN [li2 ~ lei2]; ND1 [li2]; ND2 [liei2]; ND3 [liai2]
[OPH *lai2] CNH *liai2/L *li2
†FJFYZ: [lɛ2].

lǐ 裡 QYS lji: CDC *li4/EC *lix
BMH [li ~ lí]; MX [li2w ~ ti1b]; HL [li1w ~ li3b]; SX [li2]; LF [li1]; LZ [li3]; SHT [—]
HY [li3]; XY [ti1]; DB [li3]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]
CT [li3 ~ ti3]; WP [li3]; YD [li3 ~ ti1]; SH [ti1 ~ ti3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ti1]
NK [ti1]; AY [li3]; SY [ti1 ~ ti3]; XS [li3]; QN [li3]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li3]; ND3 [li1]
[OPH ?] CNH *li3/L *li1/*li2

lǐ 鯉 QYS lji: CDC *li4/EC *lix
BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [li3]; XC [li3]
CT [li3]; WP [ti1]; YD [li1]; SH [ti1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ti1]; AY [ti3]; SY [ti1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [li1]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *li1] CNH *li1/*li3

lì 利 QYS lji- CDC *li6/EC *lith
BMH [lí]; MX [li5]; HL [li6]; SX [li5]; LF [li6]; LZ [li5]; SHT [li5]
HY [li6]; XY [li3]; DB [li3]; YL [li3]; XC [li5]
CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [li3]; YD [li5]; SH [ti5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ti5]; AY [li6 ~ ti6]; SY [ti5]; XS [li5]; QN [li6]; ND1 [li6]; ND2 [li6]; ND3 [li6]
[OPH *li6] CNH *li6

lì 力 QYS ljək CDC *lik8/EC *lik
BMH [lít]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lit8]; LZ [lit8]; SHT [lit8]
HY [lit8]; XY [lit8]; DB [læt8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ8]
CT [li6w ~ ti6b]; WP [tiʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [tiʔ8]; LC1 [ti5]; LC2 [ti5 ~ ti6]
NK [ti1]; AY [ti1]; SY [ti5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [lit8]; ND2 [lik8]; ND3 [lik8]
OPH *lit8 CNH *lik8

lì 曆 QYS liek CDC *liak8/EC *'lek
BMH [lák ~ lít ~ lét]; MX [lak8]; HL [lak8]; SX [lak8]; LF [lak8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liʔ8]
CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [liʔ8]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lie8]; AY [lia6]; SY [lie5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liak8]; ND3 [lik8]
[OPH *lak8] CNH *liak8/*lik8

lì 立 QYS ljəp CDC *lip8/EC *lip
BMH [líp]; MX [lip8]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip8]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tie5]; AY [tiɜ1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [liʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liap8]; ND3 [—]
OPH *lip8 CNH *lip8

†FJFYZ: [li5].

The Níngdū-2 form appears to derive from an earlier *liap8.

lì 粒 QYS ljəp CDC *^hlip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lɛp7]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [—]
HY [lip7]; XY [nap8]; DB [nəp7]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [li6 ~ ti6]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liaʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [lit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [lip7]; ND3 [lit8]
[OPH ?] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7/*liap8

It seems likely that CNH *lep7 in this rather complex set is a Yuè dialect loan form. The Xīnyí and Diànbái forms are relatable to this *lep7 but irregularly have nasal initials. This peculiarity is particularly suggestive of Yuè dialect influence. Compare the following set, where this irregularity is not present. The fourth reconstruction, CNH *liap8, is probably a southern Mǐn loan form.

lì 笠 QYS ljəp CDC *^hlip8/EC *lip
BMH [lip]; MX [lɛp7]; HL [lip8]; SX [lip8]; LF [lip7]; LZ [lip8]; SHT [liʔ7]
HY [lip7]; XY [lap7]; DB [ləp8]; YL [liʔ8]; XC [liɛʔ7]
CT [ti2]; WP [tiʔ7]; YD [liʔ7]; SH [tiʔ7]; LC1 [ti6]; LC2 [ti5]
NK [tie7]; AY [ti33]; SY [tie5]; XS [lit7]; QN [tiʔ7]; ND1 [lip7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [lit8]
[OPH *lip7] CNH *lip7/*lip8/*lep7

The Diànbái form is clearly to be derived from the third reconstruction but inexplicably has Tone 8 rather than Tone 7.

lián 鑣 QYS ljäm CDC *liam2/EC *lem
BMH [liàm]; MX [liam2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liam2]; LZ [liam2]; SHT [liam2]
HY [liam2]; XY [liam2]; DB [liam2]; YL [liɛn2]; XC [liɛn2]
CT [liŋ2]; WP [tiaŋ2]; YD [lian2]; SH [tiã2b ~ liã2w]; LC1 [le2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiẽ2]; AY [tiã2]; SY [tiẽ2]; XS [liɛn2]; QN [lian2]; ND1 [liam2]; ND2 [liam2]; ND3 [liam2]
[OPH *liam2] CNH *liam2

The BMH tone appears to be a typographical error.

lián 連 QYS ljän CDC *lian2/EC *len
 BMH [liên]; MX [lien2]; HL [lian2]; SX [lian2]; LF [lian2]; LZ [len2]; SHT [len2]
 HY [lian2]; XY [lian2]; DB [lien2]; YL [lien2]; XC [lien2]
 CT [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; WP [liɛŋ2]; YD [lien2]; SH [liẽ2 ~ tiẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [liẽ2]; AY [li2]; SY [liẽ2]; XS [lien2]; QN [lien2]; ND1 [lien2]; ND2 [lian2]; ND3 [lian2]
 [OPH *lian2] CNH *lian2

lián 蓮 QYS lien CDC *lian2/EC *'len
 BMH [liên]; MX [lien2]; HL [lian2]; SX [lian2]; LF [lian2]; LZ [len2]; SHT [len2]
 HY [lian2]; XY [lian2]; DB [lien2]; YL [lien2]; XC [lien2]
 CT [liŋ2]; WP [liɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [liẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [liẽ2]; AY [li2]; SY [liẽ2]; XS [lien2]; QN [lien2]; ND1 [lien2]; ND2 [lian2]; ND3 [lian2]
 OPH *lian2 CNH *lian2

liàn 戀 QYS ljwän- CDC *lion6 (~ *lian6)/EC *lonh
 BMH [liên]; MX [lien5]; HL [lian6]; SX [lian5]; LF [lian6]; LZ [len5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lien5]; XC [lien5]
 CT [liŋ6]; WP [liɛŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [liẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [liẽ5]; AY [li6]; SY [liẽ5]; XS [lien5]; QN [—]; ND1 [lien6]; ND2 [lian6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *lian6] CNH *lian6

liáng 量 QYS ljang “to measure” CDC *liong2/EC *lang
 BMH [liông]; MX [liɔŋ2]; HL [liɔŋ2]; SX [liɔŋ2]; LF [liɔŋ2]; LZ [liɔŋ2]; SHT [liɔŋ2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [liɔŋ2 ~ tiɔŋ2]; WP [tiɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [liɔŋ2 ~ tiɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [liɔ̃2 ~ tiɔ̃2]; AY [tiɔŋ2]; SY [liɔ̃2 ~ tiɔ̃2]; XS [liɔŋ2]; QN [liɔŋ2]; ND1 [liɔŋ2]; ND2 [liɔŋ2];
 ND3 [—]
 [OPH *liong2] CNH *liɔŋ2

liǎng 兩 QYS ljang: “two” CDC *^hliong4/EC *langx
BMH [lióng]; MX [liɔŋ3]; HL [liɔŋ3]; SX [liɔŋ3]; LF [liɔŋ3]; LZ [liɔŋ3]; SHT [liɔŋ3]
HY [lyɔŋ3]; XY [liɔŋ3]; DB [liɔŋ3]; YL [liɔŋ3]; XC [liɔŋ3]
CT [liɔŋ3w ~ tiɔŋ3b]; WP [tiɔŋ3]; YD [liɔŋ3]; SH [liɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiɔŋ3]†
NK [lið3 ~ tið3]; AY [tiɔŋ3]; SY [tið3]; XS [—]; QN [liɔŋ3]; ND1 [liɔŋ3]; ND2 [liɔŋ1]††; ND3
[liɔŋ3]
[OPH *liong3] CNH *liɔŋ3
†FJSHFYZ: [tiɔŋ3b ~ liɔŋ3w].
††In Níngdū-2 the words for “two” and “ounce” are homophonous, both being read in Tone 1.
In most dialects, only “ounce” is read in Tone 1.

liàng 諒 QYS ljang- CDC *liong4/EC *langh
BMH [liòng]; MX [liɔŋ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liɔŋ6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liɔŋ5]; XC [liɔŋ5]
CT [liɔŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [liɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lið5]; AY [liɔŋ6]; SY [lið5]; XS [liɔŋ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [liɔŋ6]; ND2 [liɔŋ6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liong5] CNH *liɔŋ6

liáo 燎 QYS ljäu CDC *liau2/EC *lew
BMH [liàu]; MX [liau2]; HL [liau2]; SX [liau2]; LF [liau2]; LZ [liau2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liau3]; XC [liau2]
CT [—]; WP [liɔ2]; YD [—]; SH [liɔ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liɔ2]; AY [liɔ2]; SY [liɔ2]; XS [liau2]; QN [—]; ND1 [liau2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liau2] CNH *liau2

liǎo 了 QYS lieu: CDC *liau4/EC *’lewx
BMH [liáu]; MX [liau3]; HL [liau3]; SX [liau3]; LF [liau3]; LZ [liau3]; SHT [—]
HY [liau3]; XY [liau3]; DB [liau3]; YL [liau3]; XC [liau3]
CT [liɔ3]; WP [—]; YD [lieu3]; SH [liɔ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liɔ3]; AY [liɔ3]; SY [liɔ3]; XS [liau3]; QN [liau3]; ND1 [liau3]; ND2 [liau3]; ND3 [liau3]

[OPH *liau3] CNH *liau3

liè 裂 QYS ljät CDC *liat8/EC *lat

BMH [liét]; MX [liet8]; HL [liet8]; SX [liet8]; LF [liat8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [liat8]; XY [liat8]; DB [liet8]; YL [—]; XC [liɛʔ7]

CT [le6]; WP [—]; YD [liɛʔ8]; SH [tiɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lie8]; AY [li31]; SY [lie5]; XS [liet8]; QN [lieʔ7]; ND1 [liet8]; ND2 [liat8]; ND3 [liat8]

[OPH *liat8] CNH *liat8

liè 獵 QYS ljäp CDC *liap/EC *lap

BMH [liáp]; MX [liap8]; HL [liap8]; SX [liap8]; LF [liap8]; LZ [liap8]; SHT [liap8]

HY [liap8]; XY [liap8]; DB [liap8]; YL [—]; XC [liɛʔ7]

CT [le6]; WP [liaʔ8]; YD [liaʔ8]; SH [tiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [lɜ1w ~ li31]; SY [—]; XS [liet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [liap8]; ND2 [liap8]; ND3 [lap8]

[OPH *liap8] CNH *liap8/L *lap8

lín 林 QYS ljəm CDC *lim2/EC *lim

BMH [lîm]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [lim2]; SHT [lim2]

HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [ləm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]

CT [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [liŋ2]; SH [tiŋ2 ~ liŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2]; ND3 [lin2]

OPH *lim2 CNH *lim2

†FJFYZ: [leŋ2w ~ teŋ2b].

lín 淋 QYS ljəm CDC *lim2/EC *lim

BMH [lîm]; MX [lim2]; HL [lim2]; SX [lim2]; LF [lim2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [lim2]; XY [lim2]; DB [ləm2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]

CT [teŋ2]; WP [tiŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; AY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lim2]; ND2 [lim2];
ND3 [lim2]

[OPH *lim2] CNH *lim2

lín 鱗 QYS ljen CDC *^blin2/EC *lin

BMH [lîn]; MX [lin1]; HL [lin1]; SX [lin1]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin1b ~ lin2w]; SHT [lin1]

HY [lin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]

CT [teŋ1]; WP [tiŋ1]; YD [liŋ1]; SH [liŋ2w ~ tiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [leŋ1]†

NK [tiŋ2]; AY [tiŋ1]; SY [tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin1]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lin2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *lin1] CNH *lin1/L *lin2

†FJFYZ: [leŋ1w ~ teŋ2b].

líng 靈 QYS lieng CDC *liang2/EC *^ʹleng

BMH [lîn]; MX [lin2]; HL [lin2]; SX [lin2]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [lin2]

HY [lin2]; XY [lin2]; DB [lən2]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2]

CT [leŋ2]; WP [liŋ2]; YD [lən2]; SH [liŋ2 ~ lē2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2 ~ tiŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [lian2]; ND3
[liŋ2 ~ lian2]

[OPH *lin2] CNH *liŋ2/*lian2

Níngdū-2 and 3 show forms derived from an earlier *lian2, which is not found at other points.

líng 凌 QYS ljəŋg CDC *ling2/EC *ling

BMH [lîn]; MX [lin2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [lin2]; LZ [lin2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lin2]; XC [lin2w ~ lin5b]

CT [leŋ2]; WP [leŋ2]; YD [lən2]; SH [liŋ2 ~ lē2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lən2]

NK [liŋ2]; AY [liŋ2]; SY [liŋ2]; XS [lin2]; QN [lin2]; ND1 [lin2]; ND2 [liŋ2]; ND3 [liŋ2]

[OPH *lin2] CNH *liŋ2

lǐng 嶺 QYS ljäng: CDC *liang4/EC *lengx
 BMH [liang ~ liáng]; MX [liang3w ~ lian1b]; HL [lian1]; SX [lian1]; LF [liang3]; LZ [lian1];
 SHT [liang3 ~ lian1]
 HY [liang5]; XY [lian1]; DB [lian1]; YL [liang3]; XC [lian2]
 CT [tian1]; WP [tian1 ~ liang5]; YD [lian1]; SH [tiaŋ1 ~ lian1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tian1]
 NK [tiã1]; AY [tiã3]; SY [tiã1]; XS [liang3]; QN [lin3 ~ lian1]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2 [lian1]; ND3
 [lian1]
 [OPH *liang1] CNH *lian1/L *liang3/*liang5

lǐng 領 QYS ljäng: CDC *liang4/EC *lengx
 BMH [liang]; MX [liang3w ~ lian1b]; HL [lian1]; SX [lian1]; LF [lian1]; LZ [lian1]; SHT [—]
 HY [liang5]; XY [lian1]; DB [lian1]; YL [liang3]; XC [lian2]
 CT [tian1]; WP [liŋ1w ~ tian1 ~ lian1]; YD [lian1]; SH [tiaŋ1 ~ lian1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tian1]
 NK [tiã3 ~ tiã1]; AY [tiã3 ~ tiã1]; SY [tiã1 ~ tiã3 ~ liŋ3]; XS [liang3]; QN [lin3 ~ liang3 ~ lian1
 lian1]; ND1 [lian1]; ND2 [lian1]; ND3 [lian1]
 OPH *liang1 CNH *lian1/L *liang3/*liŋ1

lǐng 令 QYS ljäng, ljäng- CDC *liang6/EC *lengh
 BMH [lin]; MX [lin5w ~ lian5b]; HL [lin6]; SX [lin5]; LF [lin6]; LZ [lin5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [lin5]
 CT [leŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [liŋ5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [liŋ5]; AY [liŋ6]; SY [liŋ5]; XS [lin5]; QN [lin6]; ND1 [lin6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [liŋ6]
 [OPH *lin6] CNH *liŋ6

The Méixiàn bá form points to an earlier *liang6 for which we have no comparative evidence from other points.

liú 流 QYS ljəu CDC *lieu2/EC *lu
 BMH [liu]; MX [liu2]; HL [liu2]; SX [liu2]; LF [liu2]; LZ [liu2]; SHT [liu2]
 HY [liu2]; XY [liu2]; DB [liu2]; YL [liəu2]; XC [liəu2]
 CT [lieu2]; WP [liu2]; YD [liu2]; SH [liu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [liu2]; AY [lɿ2]; SY [liu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liəu2]; ND2 [liəu2]; ND3 [liu2]
[OPH *liu2] CNH *lieu2

liú 硫 QYS ljəu CDC *lieu2/EC *—
BMH [liû]; MX [liu2]; HL [liu2]; SX [liu2]; LF [liu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liəu2]; XC [liəu2]
CT [lieu2]; WP [liu2]; YD [—]; SH [liɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [liu2]; AY [lɿ2]; SY [liu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liəu2]; ND2 [liəu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *liu2] CNH *lieu2

liú 鑿 QYS ljəu CDC *lieu2/EC *liw
BMH [liû]; MX [liu2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [liu2]; LZ [liu2]; SHT [—]
HY [liu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liəu2]; XC [liəu2]
CT [lieu2w ~ teu2b]; WP [tiu2]; YD [—]; SH [tiɿ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tiu2 ~ liu2]; AY [tɿ2]; SY [tiu2]; XS [liu2]; QN [liu2]; ND1 [liəu2]; ND2 [liəu2]; ND3
[liu2]
[OPH *liu2] CNH *lieu2
†FJFYZ: [ləu2].

liǔ 柳 QYS ljəu: CDC *lieu3/EC *liwx
BMH [liú]; MX [liu3]; HL [liu1]; SX [liu1]; LF [liu1]; LZ [liu3]; SHT [—]
HY [liu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [liəu3]; XC [liəu3]
CT [lieu3]; WP [liu3]; YD [liu3]; SH [liɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tiu3]; AY [lɿ3]; SY [liu3]; XS [liu3]; QN [liu3]; ND1 [liəu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [liu3]
[OPH *liu3] CNH *lieu3/*lieu1

liù 六 QYS ljuk CDC *^hliuk8 ~ luk8/EC *luk
BMH [liuk]; MX [liuk7]; HL [liuk7]; SX [liuk7]; LF [liuk7]; LZ [luk7]; SHT [liuk7]
HY [lok8]; XY [louʔ]; DB [luk7]; YL [ləuʔ7]; XC [liuʔ7]
CT [teu2]; WP [tuʔ7]; YD [liuʔ7]; SH [təʔ7]; LC1 [teu6]; LC2 [təu5]†

NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [liuk8]; QN [luʔ7]; ND1 [liuk7]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk7]
 OPH *liuk7 CNH *liuk7/*luk7/*luk8
 †FJFYZ: [lɛu5].

The Xiūshuǐ tone is irregularly of lower register.

lóng 龍 QYS lung CDC *^hlung2/EC *'long
 BMH [lung]; MX [luŋ1]; HL [luŋ1]; SX [luŋ1]; LF [luŋ1]; LZ [luŋ1]; SHT [luŋ2]
 HY [loŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luŋ1]; XC [luŋ1]
 CT [loŋ1]; WP [luŋ1]; YD [luŋ1]; SH [ləŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ləŋ1]
 NK [ləŋ1]; AY [ləŋ1]; SY [ləŋ1]; XS [ləŋ1]; QN [luŋ1]; ND1 [luŋ1]; ND2 [luŋ1]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *lung1 CNH *luŋ1/*luŋ2

lóng 龍 QYS ljwong CDC *liung2/EC *long
 BMH [liuŋ]; MX [liuŋ2]; HL [luŋ1 ~ liuŋ2]; SX [liuŋ2]; LF [liuŋ2]; LZ [luŋ2]; SHT [luŋ2]
 HY [—]; XY [loŋ2]; DB [luŋ2]; YL [luŋ2]; XC [luŋ2]
 CT [loŋ2]; WP [tuŋ2]; YD [liuŋ2]; SH [ləŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ləŋ2]; AY [ləŋ2]; SY [ləŋ2]; XS [liəŋ2]; QN [luŋ2]; ND1 [luŋ1]; ND2 [liuŋ2]; ND3 [luŋ2]
 OPH *liung2 CNH *liuŋ2/*luŋ2/*luŋ1

lóu 樓 QYS ləu CDC *leu2/EC *'lo
 BMH [lɛu]; MX [leu2]; HL [leu2]; SX [leu2]; LF [leu2]; LZ [leu2]; SHT [liu2]
 HY [luai2]; XY [lɛu2]; DB [lɛi2]; YL [lai2]; XC [ləu2]
 CT [leu2]; WP [lɛ2]; YD [leu2]; SH [lə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [lɛu2]
 NK [lɛ2]; AY [lɛ2]; SY [lio2]; XS [ləu2]; QN [leu2]; ND1 [leu2]; ND2 [ləu2]; ND3 [ləu2]
 [OPH *leu2] CNH *leu2

lòu 漏 QYS ləu- CDC *leu6/EC *'loh
 BMH [lɛu]; MX [leu5]; HL [leu6]; SX [leu5]; LF [leu6]; LZ [leu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [luai6]; XY [lɛu3 ~ lɛu5]; DB [lɛi3 ~ lɛi5]; YL [nai3]; XC [ləu5]
 CT [leu6]; WP [lɛ3]; YD [leu5]; SH [lə3]; LC1 [leu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [le5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lio5]; XS [ləu5]; QN [ləu6]; ND1 [ləu6]; ND2 [liəu6]; ND3 [liu6]
OPH *leu6 CNH *leu6

lù 路 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *'lakh
BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu6]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5w ~ lu6b]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [lu5]
HY [lu6]; XY [lu3]; DB [lu3]; YL [lu3]; XC [lu5]
CT [lu6]; WP [lu3]; YD [li5]; SH [lu3]; LC1 [iue6]; LC2 [ye6]†
NK [lu5]; AY [lu6]; SY [lu5]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu6]; ND1 [lu6]; ND2 [lu6]; ND3 [lu6]
OPH *lu6 CNH *lu6/L *lu5
†FJFYZ: [lye6].

lù 露 QYS luo- CDC *lu6/EC *'lakh
BMH [lù]; MX [lu5]; HL [lu5]; SX [lu5]; LF [lu5]; LZ [lu5]; SHT [—]
HY [lu6]; XY [lu5]; DB [lu5]; YL [lu5]; XC [lu5]
CT [lu5]; WP [lu5]; YD [li3]; SH [lu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lu5]; AY [lu5]; SY [lu2]; XS [lu5]; QN [lu5]; ND1 [lu5]; ND2 [lu5]; ND3 [lu5]
OPH *lu5 CNH *lu5

lù 鹿 QYS luk CDC *luk8/EC *'lok
BMH [lúk]; MX [luk8]; HL [luk8]; SX [luk8]; LF [luk8]; LZ [luk8]; SHT [luk8]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [luʔ8]
CT [lu6]; WP [luʔ8]; YD [luʔ8]; SH [ləʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lu8]; AY [lu6]; SY [lu5]; XS [luk8]; QN [luʔ8]; ND1 [luk8]; ND2 [luk8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *luk8] CNH *luk8

lú 驢 QYS ljwo CDC *lie2 (~ *liu2)/EC *la
BMH [lû]; MX [lu2]; HL [lu2]; SX [li2]; LF [lu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ly2]; XC [li2]
CT [—]; WP [ti2]; YD [li2]; SH [ti2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [lu2]; SY [li2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [lie2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *lu2] CNH *lu2/*liu2

The Níngdū-2 form points to an earlier *lie, for which we lack comparative evidence at other points.

lǚ 呂 QYS ljwo: CDC *lie4 (~ *liu4)/EC *lax

BMH [li]; MX [li1]; HL [li1]; SX [li1]; LF [li1]; LZ [li1]; SHT [—]

HY [ly5]; XY [ly1]; DB [li1]; YL [ly3]; XC [li2 ~ luei2]

CT [li3]; WP [li1]; YD [li1]; SH [li1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [li3]; AY [li3]; SY [li1]; XS [li3]; QN [li1]; ND1 [liu3]; ND2 [liəu1]; ND3 [liu3]

[OPH *li1] CNH *liu3

The final of the Níngdū-2 form is anomalous.

lù 慮 QYS ljwo- CDC *lie6 (~ *liu6)/EC *lah

BMH [li]; MX [li5]; HL [li6]; SX [li5]; LF [li6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ly5]; XC [li5]

CT [li6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [li3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [li5]; AY [—]; SY [li1]; XS [li5]; QN [—]; ND1 [liu6]; ND2 [lu6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *li6] CNH *liu6

lù 律 QYS ljwet CDC *liut8/EC *—

BMH [lút]; MX [lit8]; HL [lit8]; SX [lit8]; LF [lut8]; LZ [lut8]; SHT [lut8]

HY [lut8]; XY [lut8]; DB [læt8]; YL [—]; XC [luʔ7]

CT [li6]; WP [liʔ8]; YD [lut8]; SH [liʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lio1]; AY [li31]; SY [lio5]; XS [lit8]; QN [liuiʔ8]; ND1 [liet8]; ND2 [liat8]; ND3 [liat8]

[OPH ?] CNH *liut8 ?

lù 綠 QYS ljwok CDC *liuk8/EC *lok

BMH [liúk]; MX [liuk8]; HL [liuk8]; SX [liuk8]; LF [liuk8]; LZ [luk8]; SHT [luk8]

HY [lok8]; XY [louʔ]; DB [luk8]; YL [ləuʔ8]; XC [niuʔ8]

CT [teu6]; WP [tuʔ8]; YD [liuʔ8]; SH [tiəʔ8]; LC1 [teu5]; LC2 [təu6]

NK [tiu8]; AY [ti6]; SY [tiu5]; XS [—]; QN [luʔ8]; ND1 [liuk8]; ND2 [liuk7]; ND3 [liuk8]
[OPH *liuk8] CNH *liuk8

luǎn 𪔵 QYS luân: CDC *^hlon4/EC *^ʔlonx
BMH [lón]; MX [lón3]; HL [lon3]; SX [lon3]; LF [lon3]; LZ [lón3]; SHT [lón3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lón3]; XC [luan5]
CT [luŋ3]; WP [luɛŋ3]; YD [lón3]; SH [luẽ3]; LC1 [luɔ3]; LC2 [luɐ3]
NK [loẽ3]; AY [lõ3]; SY [luʔ3]; XS [lón3]; QN [lón3]; ND1 [loɛn3]; ND2 [luon3]; ND3 [luan3
~ lón3]
OPH *lon3 CNH *luon3

luàn 𪔶 QYS luân- CDC *lon6/EC *^ʔlonh
BMH [lòn]; MX [lón5]; HL [lon6]; SX [lon5]; LF [lon6]; LZ [lón5]; SHT [lón5]
HY [luan6]; XY [luan3]; DB [lón3]; YL [lón5]; XC [luan5]
CT [luŋ6]; WP [luɛŋ3]; YD [lón5]; SH [luẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [luɐ6]
NK [loẽ5]; AY [lõ6]; SY [luʔ5]; XS [lón5]; QN [lón6]; ND1 [loɛn6]; ND2 [luon6]; ND3 [luan6]
[OPH *lon5] CNH *luon6

lüè 略 QYS ljak CDC *liok8/EC *lawk
BMH [liók]; MX [liøk8]; HL [liok8]; SX [liok8]; LF [liok8]; LZ [liøk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [lioʔ7]
CT [lio6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [lioʔ8 ~ ɲioʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lio1]; AY [lio6]; SY [lio5]; XS [liøk8]; QN [lioʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [liøk7]; ND3 [—]
OPH *liok8 CNH *liok8

The Níngdū-2 tone is irregular.

lùn 論 QYS ljuen, luən, luən- CDC *lun6 (~ *liun6)/EC *^ʔlun
BMH [lùn]; MX [lun5]; HL [lun6]; SX [lun5]; LF [lun6]; LZ [lun5]; SHT [—]
HY [lun6]; XY [lun3]; DB [lən3]; YL [lun3]; XC [lən5]
CT [leŋ6]; WP [leŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [leɪŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [lẽ5]; AY [ləŋ6]; SY [lẽ5]; XS [lun5]; QN [lun6]; ND1 [lun6]; ND2 [lun6]; ND3 [lun6]
[OPH *lun6] CNH *lun6

luó 騾 QYS luâ CDC *lo2/EC *'loy
BMH [lô]; MX [lɔ2]; HL [lo2]; SX [lo2]; LF [lo2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [lyɛ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ləu2]; XC [lo2]
CT [lo2]; WP [lo2]; YD [—]; SH [lu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lo2]; AY [lo2]; SY [lo2]; XS [lɔ2]; QN [lo2]; ND1 [lo2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *lo2] CNH *lo2

luó 螺 QYS luâ CDC *lo2/EC *'loy
BMH [lô]; MX [lɔ2]; HL [lo2]; SX [lo2]; LF [lo2]; LZ [lɔ2]; SHT [—]
HY [luɔ2 ~ lyɛ2]; XY [lɔ2]; DB [lɔ2]; YL [ləu2]; XC [lo2]
CT [lo2]; WP [lo2]; YD [lou2]; SH [lu2]; LC1 [lu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [lo2]; AY [lo2]; SY [lo2]; XS [lɔ2]; QN [lo2]; ND1 [lo2]; ND2 [lo2]; ND3 [lo2]
[OPH *lo2] CNH *lo2

The final of the Diànbái form is irregular. We would expect final -o in this word.

luò 落 QYS lâk CDC *lok8/EC *'lak
BMH [lók]; MX [lɔk8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [lok8]; LZ [lɔk8]; SHT [lɔk8]
HY [lɔk8]; XY [lɔk8]; DB [lɔk8]; YL [lɔk8]; XC [lɔʔ8]
CT [lo6]; WP [lɔʔ8]; YD [lɔʔ8 ~ laʔ8]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [lu5]; LC2 [lu6 ~ lu5]
NK [lo1]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lɔk8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lo2 ~ lɔk8]; ND3 [lɔk8]
OPH *lok8 CNH *lok8

luò 洛 QYS lâk CDC *lok8/EC *lak
BMH [lók]; MX [lɔk8]; HL [lok8]; SX [lok8]; LF [—]; LZ [lɔk7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [lɔk8]; XC [lɔʔ8]
CT [lo6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [loʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lo8]; AY [lo6]; SY [lo5]; XS [lɔk8]; QN [loʔ8]; ND1 [lok8]; ND2 [lɔk8]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *lok8] CNH *lok8

M

má 麻 QYS ma CDC *ma2/EC *mray

BMH [mâ]; MX [ma2]; HL [ma2]; SX [ma2]; LF [ma2]; LZ [ᵐba2]; SHT [—]

HY [ma2]; XY [ma2]; DB [ma2]; YL [ma2]; XC [ma2]

CT [ma2]; WP [ma2]; YD [ma2]; SH [ma2]; LC1 [mo2]; LC2 [mo2]

NK [ma2]; AY [ma2]; SY [ma2]; XS [ma2]; QN [ma2]; ND1 [ma2]; ND2 [ma2]; ND3 [ma2]

OPH *ma2 CNH *ma2

mǎ 馬 QYS ma: CDC *ma4/EC *mrax

BMH [ma]; MX [ma1]; HL [ma1]; SX [ma1]; LF [ma1]; LZ [ᵐba3]; SHT [ma1]

HY [ma1 ~ ma5]; XY [ma1]; DB [ma1]; YL [ma3]; XC [ma3]

CT [ma1]; WP [ma1]; YD [ma1]; SH [ma1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mo1]

NK [ma1]; AY [ma3]; SY [ma3]; XS [ma1]; QN [ma3]; ND1 [ma1]; ND2 [ma1]; ND3 [ma1]

OPH *ma1 CNH *ma1/*ma3

mà 罵 QYS ma- CDC *ᵐma6/EC *mrah

BMH [mà]; MX [ma5]; HL [ma5]; SX [ma5]; LF [ma5]; LZ [ᵐba5]; SHT [—]

HY [ma6]; XY [ma5]; DB [ma5]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [ma5]; WP [ma5]; YD [ma3]; SH [ma5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ma5]; AY [ma5w ~ mǎ5]; SY [ma1]; XS [ma5]; QN [ma5]; ND1 [ma5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ma5]

OPH *ma5 CNH *ma5

mǎi 買 QYS mai: CDC *mai4/EC *mrex

BMH [mai]; MX [mai1]; HL [mai1]; SX [mai1]; LF [mai1]; LZ [ᵐbai1]; SHT [mai1]

HY [mai5]; XY [mai1]; DB [mai1]; YL [mai1]; XC [mai2]

CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [me3]; LC2 [—]

NK [mæ1]; AY [mæ3]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai1]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai3]; ND2 [mai1]; ND3 [mai1]

OPH *mai1 CNH *mei1/*mei3

mài 賣 QYS mǎi- CDC *mai6/EC *mreh

BMH [mài]; MX [mai5]; HL [mai6]; SX [mai5]; LF [mai6]; LZ [ᵐbai5]; SHT [—]

HY [mai6]; XY [mai3]; DB [mai3]; YL [mai3]; XC [mai5]

CT [me6]; WP [mi3]; YD [mei5]; SH [mei3]; LC1 [me6]; LC2 [—]

NK [mæ5]; AY [mæ6]; SY [mæ3]; XS [mai3]; QN [mai3]; ND1 [mai6]; ND2 [mai6]; ND3 [mai6]

OPH *mai6 CNH *mei6/*mei3

mài 麥 QYS mwek CDC *ᵐmak8/EC *mrik

BMH [mák]; MX [mak8]; HL [mak8]; SX [mak8]; LF [mak8]; LZ [ᵐbak8]; SHT [—]

HY [mak8]; XY [mak8]; DB [mak8]; YL [maʔ8]; XC [maʔ8]

CT [ma6]; WP [maʔ8]; YD [maʔ8]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [mo5]; LC2 [—]

NK [ma7]; AY [ma6]; SY [ma5]; XS [mak8]; QN [maʔ7]; ND1 [pʰak8]; ND2 [mak8]; ND3 [mak8]

OPH *mak8 CNH *mak8/*mak7

Norman (1988b: 331) gives Tone 7 readings for Méixiàn and Yǒngdìng. We find Tone 8 for both dialects. O'Connor finds Tone 8 in all his data, including Méixiàn. Our reconstruction of a Tone 7 variant is based on the Nánkāng and Quánnán forms, of which Norman and O'Connor were probably unaware.

mán 蠻 QYS mwan CDC *man2/EC *mron

BMH [mân]; MX [man2]; HL [man2]; SX [man2]; LF [man2]; LZ [ᵐban2]; SHT [—]

HY [man2]; XY [man2]; DB [man2]; YL [man2]; XC [man2]

CT [maŋ2]; WP [maŋ2]; YD [man2]; SH [mã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma2]

NK [mã2]; AY [mã2]; SY [mã2]; XS [man2]; QN [man2]; ND1 [man2]; ND2 [man2]; ND3 [man2]

[OPH *man2] CNH *man2

mǎn 滿 QYS muân: CDC *^hmon4 ~ *mon4/EC *'monx
BMH [man]; MX [man3]; HL [man1]; SX [man1]; LF [man1]; LZ [^mban1]; SHT [man3]
HY [muân5]; XY [man1]; DB [man1]; YL [man1]; XC [man2]
CT [maŋ1]; WP [maŋ1]; YD [man1 ~ man3 ~ men1]; SH [mã1]; LC1 [ma1]; LC2 [maŋ3* ~
ma1]
NK [mã1]; AY [mã3]; SY [mã1 ~ mǝ3]; XS [man1]; QN [man1 ~ man2]; ND1 [moɛn1 ~
moɛn3]; ND2 [muon3]; ND3 [muân3]
OPH *man1 CNH *man1/*mon1/*man3/*mon3

màn 慢 QYS man- CDC *man6/EC *mranh
BMH [màn]; MX [man5]; HL [man6]; SX [man5]; LF [man6]; LZ [^mban5]; SHT [man5]
HY [man6]; XY [man3]; DB [man3]; YL [man3]; XC [man5]
CT [maŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [man5]; SH [mã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mã5]; AY [mã6]; SY [mã5]; XS [man5]; QN [man6]; ND1 [man6]; ND2 [man6]; ND3
[man6]
[OPH *man6] CNH *man6

màn 漫 QYS muân- CDC *mon4/EC *'manh
BMH [màn]; MX [man5]; HL [man6]; SX [man5]; LF [—]; LZ [^mban5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [man3]; XC [man5]
CT [maŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [mã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mã5]; AY [mã6]; SY [—]; XS [man5]; QN [—]; ND1 [man6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *man6] CNH *man6

māo 貓 QYS mau, mjäu3 CDC *mau1/2 ~ *miao2/EC *maw
BMH [miäu]; MX [miao5]; HL [miao5]; SX [meu5]; LF [miao5]; LZ [^mbiau5]; SHT [miao5]
HY [miao2]; XY [miao1]; DB [miao1]; YL [miao5]; XC [mau1w ~ miao5b]
CT [mio5]; WP [mio5]; YD [mieu3]; SH [mio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mɔ̌1]; AY [mɔ̌5]; SY [mɔ̌1]; XS [miau5]; QN [miau1 ~ miau5]; ND1 [miau5]; ND2 [miau5]; ND3 [miau5]

OPH *miau5 CNH *miau5/L *miau1

máo 毛 QYS mâu CDC *^hmou2/EC *'maw

BMH [mau]; MX [mau1]; HL [mo1]; SX [mo1]; LF [mo1]; LZ [^mbau1]; SHT [mau1]

HY [mau2]; XY [mɔ̌1]; DB [mo1]; YL [məu1]; XC [mau2]

CT [mɔ̌1]; WP [mɔ̌1]; YD [mou1]; SH [mu1 ~ mo1]†; LC1 [mɔ̌2]; LC2 [mɔ̌1]

NK [mɔ̌1]; AY [mɔ̌1]; SY [mɔ̌1]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau1]; ND1 [mau1]; ND2 [mau1]; ND3 [mau1]

OPH *mou1 CNH *mou1/mou2

†Second form specifically and exclusively in the sense of “surname Máo”.

mǎo 卯 QYS mau: CDC *mau4/EC *mruX

BMH [mau]; MX [mau1]; HL [mau1]; SX [mau1]; LF [mau1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [mau3 ~ məu3]; XC [mau3]

CT [mɔ̌3]; WP [—]; YD [mau1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mɔ̌3]; AY [mɔ̌3]; SY [mɔ̌3]; XS [mau1]; QN [mau3]; ND1 [mau3]; ND2 [mau3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *mau1] CNH *mau1/*mau3

mào 帽 QYS mâu- CDC *mou6/EC *'muh

BMH [màu]; MX [mau5]; HL [mo6]; SX [mo5]; LF [mo6]; LZ [^mbau5]; SHT [mau5]

HY [mau6]; XY [mɔ̌3]; DB [mo3]; YL [məu3]; XC [mau5]

CT [mɔ̌6]; WP [mɔ̌3]; YD [mou5]; SH [mu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mɔ̌5]; AY [mɔ̌6]; SY [mɔ̌5]; XS [mau5]; QN [mau5]; ND1 [mau6]; ND2 [mau6]; ND3 [mau6]

OPH *mou6 CNH *mou6

méi 媒 QYS muài CDC *muoi2/EC *'mi
BMH [môi]; MX [mɔi2]; HL [moi2]; SX [moi2]; LF [moi2]; LZ [ˈbɔi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [muai2]; DB [mɔi2]; YL [moi2]; XC [moi2]
CT [mue2]; WP [muɛ2]; YD [mei2]; SH [muɛ2]; LC1 [mui2]; LC2 [—]
NK [me2]; AY [mue2]; SY [me2]; XS [mɔi2]; QN [mui2]; ND1 [moɛ2]; ND2 [muɛi2]; ND3
[muai2]
[OPH *moi2] CNH *muoi2/*mui2

měi 每 QYS muài: CDC *muoi4/EC *'mix
BMH [mui ~ mi]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [—]; SHT [mui1]
HY [—]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
CT [me3]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mei3]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei3]
[OPH *mui1] CNH *mui1/*mui3

měi 美 QYS mji:3 CDC *mi4/EC *miyx
BMH [mui]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [ˈbui1]; SHT [—]
HY [mi6]; XY [mi1]; DB [mei1]; YL [—]; XC [mei3]
CT [me3]; WP [—]; YD [mi1]; SH [mi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [me3]; AY [me3]; SY [me3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mui3]; ND1 [mi3]; ND2 [mi1]; ND3 [mi1]
[OPH *mui1] CNH *mui1/*mui3/*mi1/*mi3

mèi 妹 QYS muài- CDC *^hmuoi6/EC *—
BMH [mòi]; MX [mɔi5]; HL [moi5]; SX [moi5]; LF [moi5]; LZ [ˈbɔi5]; SHT [mɔi5]
HY [muai6]; XY [muai5]; DB [mɔi5]; YL [moi5]; XC [moi5]
CT [mue5]; WP [muɛ3]; YD [moi3]; SH [mue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [moi5]
NK [mæ5]; AY [mue5]; SY [me2]; XS [mɔi5]; QN [mɔi5 ~ mui5]; ND1 [moɛ5]; ND2 [muɛi5];
ND3 [muai5]
OPH *moi5 CNH *muoi5

The Héyuán tone is etymologically expected but not in agreement with the remaining forms in the set.

mén 門 QYS muən CDC *mun2/EC *'mun
 BMH [mûn]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun2]; SX [mun2]; LF [mun2]; LZ [ᵐbun2]; SHT [mun2]
 HY [muən2 ~ mun2]; XY [mun2]; DB [mən2]; YL [mən2]; XC [mən2]
 CT [meŋ2]; WP [meŋ2]; YD [mun2]; SH [meiŋ2]; LC1 [mãi2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mẽ2]; AY [məŋ2]; SY [mẽ2]; XS [mən2]; QN [mun2]; ND1 [mən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [mən2]
 [OPH *mun2] CNH *mun2

měng 猛 QYS mǒng: CDC *mang4/EC *mrangx
 BMH [mang]; MX [maŋ1]; HL [men3]; SX [men2]; LF [ᵐbaŋ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [maŋ5]; XY [maŋ1]; DB [maŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ3]
 CT [meŋ3]; WP [meŋ3]; YD [maŋ3]; SH [məŋ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [məŋ3]; AY [məŋ3]; SY [məŋ3]; XS [—]; QN [men3]; ND1 [məŋ3]; ND2 [maŋ1]; ND3
 [məŋ3]
 [OPH ?] CNH *maŋ1/L *meŋ3

The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms are probably Mandarin loans. They are not reflected in the reconstructions.

mèng 夢 QYS mjung- CDC *mung6/EC *mingh
 BMH [mùŋ]; MX [muŋ5 ~ mu5]; HL [muŋ5]; SX [muŋ5]; LF [muŋ6]; LZ [ᵐbuŋ5]; SHT
 [muŋ5]
 HY [moŋ6]; XY [moŋ3]; DB [muŋ3]; YL [muŋ3]; XC [muŋ5]
 CT [moŋ6]; WP [muŋ3]; YD [muŋ5]; SH [məŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [məŋ6]
 NK [məŋ5]; AY [məŋ6]; SY [məŋ5]; XS [məŋ5]; QN [muŋ6]; ND1 [muŋ6]; ND2 [muŋ6]; ND3
 [muŋ6]
 [OPH *mung5] CNH *muŋ6

mí 糜 QYS mje3 CDC *mi2/EC *may

BMH [mî ~ môî]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [moi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [mi2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mi2]; AY [me2]; SY [mi2]; XS [mi2]; QN [mi2]; ND1 [mi2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *moi2] CNH *mi2/*muoi2 (?)

The final of the Ānyuǎn form is irregular. It is possibly derived from an earlier *mui2.

mí 彌 QYS mjie4 CDC *mi2/EC *me

BMH [ni]; MX [ni3]; HL [ni2]; SX [—]; LF [ni2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [mi2]; YD [mi2]; SH [mi2 ~ miʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mi2]; AY [mi2]; SY [mi2]; XS [mi2]; QN [mi2]; ND1 [mi2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ni2] CNH *mi2/*ni2

The tone of the Méixiàn form is irregular.

mǐ 米 QYS mieɪ: CDC *^hmiai4/EC *^ʔmiyɣ

BMH [mí]; MX [mi3]; HL [mi3]; SX [mi3]; LF [mi3]; LZ [^mbi3]; SHT [mi3]

HY [mie3]; XY [mi3]; DB [mi3]; YL [mi3]; XC [mi3]

CT [mi3]; WP [mi3]; YD [mi3]; SH [mi3]; LC1 [mi3]; LC2 [mi3]

NK [mi3]; AY [mi3]; SY [mi3]; XS [mi3]; QN [mi3]; ND1 [mi3]; ND2 [mi3]; ND3 [mi3]

OPH *mi3 CNH *mi3

The Héyuán form appears to reflect an earlier *miai3 for which comparative evidence is not present at other points.

mì 密 QYS mjet3 CDC *mit8/EC —

BMH [mét ~ mít]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [^mbit8]; SHT [—]

HY [mit8]; XY [mɛt8]; DB [mɛt8]; YL [miʔ8]; XC [mieʔ8]

CT [mi6]; WP [mɛʔ8 ~ miʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [mɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [mie6]; AY [mi31]; SY [mie5]; XS [mit8]; QN [miʔ8]; ND1 [miet8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3 [miat8]

[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*mit8

mián 棉 QYS mjiän4 CDC *mian2/EC *men

BMH [mièn]; MX [mien2]; HL [mian2]; SX [mian2]; LF [mian2]; LZ [ᵐben2]; SHT [men2]

HY [mian2]; XY [mian2]; DB [mien2]; YL [mien2]; XC [mien2]

CT [miŋ2]; WP [mieŋ2]; YD [mien2]; SH [miẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [miẽ2]; AY [mi2]; SY [miẽ2]; XS [mien2]; QN [mien2]; ND1 [mien2]; ND2 [mian2]; ND3 [mian2]

[OPH *mian2] CNH *mian2

miàn 面 QYS mjiän-4 CDC *ᵐmian6/EC *menh

BMH [mièn]; MX [mien5]; HL [mian5]; SX [mian5]; LF [mian5]; LZ [ᵐben5]; SHT [men5]

HY [mian6]; XY [mian5]; DB [mien5]; YL [mien5]; XC [mien5]

CT [miŋ6 ~ miŋ5]; WP [mieŋ5]; YD [mien3]; SH [miẽ5]; LC1 [me5]; LC2 [me5 ~ meŋ5]

NK [miẽ5]; AY [mi5]; SY [miẽ5]; XS [mien5]; QN [mien5]; ND1 [mien5]; ND2 [mian5]; ND3 [mian5]

OPH *mian5 CNH *mian5/*mian6

miào 廟 QYS mjäu- CDC *miau6/EC *mawh

BMH [miäu]; MX [miau5]; HL [miau6]; SX [meu5]; LF [miau6]; LZ [ᵐbiau5]; SHT [—]

HY [miau6]; XY [miau3]; DB [miau3]; YL [miau3]; XC [miau5]

CT [miɔ6]; WP [miɔ3]; YD [mieu3]; SH [miə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [miɔ5]; AY [miɔ6]; SY [miɔ5]; XS [miau5]; QN [miau6]; ND1 [miau6]; ND2 [miau6]; ND3 [miau6]

OPH *miau6 CNH *miau6

miè 滅 QYS mjiät4 CDC *miat8/EC *met

BMH [mét]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [ᵐbet8]; SHT [—]

HY [miat8]; XY [miat8]; DB [met8]; YL [mɛʔ7]; XC [miɛʔ8]
CT [me6]; WP [miɛʔ8]; YD [miɛʔ8]; SH [miɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mie5]; AY [miɜ1]; SY [mie5]; XS [miɛt8]; QN [miɛʔ8]; ND1 [miɛt8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3
[miat8]
[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*miat8

miè 篾 QYS miet CDC *miat8/EC *'met
BMH [mét]; MX [—]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [—]; LZ [ᵐbet8]; SHT [—]
HY [miat8]; XY [miat5]; DB [miɛt5]; YL [miɛʔ8]; XC [miɛʔ8]
CT [me6]; WP [miɛʔ8]; YD [miɛʔ8]; SH [miɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [mie5]; AY [miɜ1]; SY [mie5]; XS [miɛt8]; QN [miɛʔ8]; ND1 [miɛt8]; ND2 [miat8]; ND3
[miat8]
[OPH *met8] CNH *met8/*miat8

The second reconstruction appears to be reflected in the Diànbái and Yílǒng forms.

mín 民 QYS mjien4 CDC *min2/EC *min
BMH [mîn]; MX [min2]; HL [min2]; SX [min2]; LF [min2]; LZ [ᵐbin2]; SHT [—]
HY [min2]; XY [mun2]; DB [mən2]; YL [min2]; XC [min2]
CT [—]; WP [miŋ2]; YD [min2 ~ miŋ2]; SH [miŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [miŋ2]; AY [miŋ2]; SY [miŋ2]; XS [min2]; QN [min2]; ND1 [min2]; ND2 [min2]; ND3
[min2]
[OPH *min2] CNH *min2

míng 明 QYS mjwɔŋ CDC *miang2/EC *—
BMH [mîn ~ miàng]; MX [min2w ~ miang2b]; HL [min2 ~ miang2]; SX [min2 ~ miang2]; LF
[min2 ~ miang2]; LZ [ᵐbin2]; SHT [—]
HY [min2]; XY [min2 ~ miang2]; DB [mən2]; YL [min2w ~ miang2b]; XC [miang2]
CT [meŋ2 ~ miang2]; WP [miŋ2 ~ miang2]; YD [miŋ2 ~ miang2]; SH [miŋ2 ~ miang2]; LC1
[miang2]; LC2 [—]

NK [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; AY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; SY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; XS [min2 ~ mian2]; QN [min2 ~ mian2]; ND1 [min2 ~ mian2]; ND2 [mian2 ~ miŋ2]; ND3 [miŋ2 ~ mian2]

[OPH *mian2] CNH *mian2/L *miŋ2

míng 名 QYS mjäng CDC *miang2/EC *meng

BMH [miâng]; MX [mian2]; HL [mian2]; SX [mian2]; LF [mian2]; LZ [ᵐbian2b ~ ᵐbin2w];

SHT [mian2]

HY [mian2]; XY [mian2]; DB [mian2]; YL [mian2]; XC [mian2]

CT [mian2]; WP [mian2]; YD [mian2]; SH [miã2]; LC1 [mian2]; LC2 [—]

NK [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; AY [miã2]; SY [miŋ2 ~ miã2]; XS [min2 ~ mian2]; QN [min2 ~ mian2];

ND1 [min2 ~ mian2]; ND2 [mian2]; ND3 [miŋ2 ~ mian2]

[OPH *mian2] CNH *mian2/L *miŋ2

mìng 命 QYS mjwəŋg- CDC *miang6/mengh

BMH [mìn ~ miàng]; MX [min5w ~ mian5b]; HL [min6w ~ mian6b]; SX [min5w ~ mian5b];

LF [min6 ~ mian6]; LZ [ᵐbian5b ~ ᵐbin5w]; SHT [mian5]

HY [mian6]; XY [min3 ~ mian3]; DB [mian5]; YL [mian3]; XC [mian5]

CT [mian6]; WP [mian3]; YD [mian5]; SH [miã3]; LC1 [mian6]; LC2 [mian6]

NK [miŋ5 ~ miã5]; AY [miŋ6 ~ miã6]; SY [miŋ5 ~ miã5]; XS [min5 ~ mian5]; QN [min6 ~

mian6]; ND1 [min6 ~ mian6]; ND2 [mian6]; ND3 [miŋ6 ~ mian6]

[OPH *mian6] CNH *mian6/L *miŋ6

miù 謬 QYS mjiaü- CDC *mieu6/EC *miwh

BMH [méu ~ miáu]; MX [miau3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ᵐbiu5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [miau5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [miɔ5]; AY [miɔ6]; SY [miɔ3]; XS [miau5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *miau6/*miau3

The final of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.

mó, mò 磨 QYS muâ, muâ- CDC *mo2-6/EC *'may, *mayh
BMH [mô ~ mò]; MX [mɔ2 ~ mɔ5]; HL [mo6]; SX [mo5]; LF [mo2 ~ mo6]; LZ [ᵐbɔ2 ~ ᵐbɔ5];
SHT [—]
HY [muɔ2 ~ muɔ6]; XY [mɔ2 ~ mɔ3]; DB [no2 ~ mo3]; YL [məu2 ~ məu3]; XC [mo2 ~ mo5]
CT [mo2 ~ mo6]; WP [mo2 ~ mo3]; YD [mou2 ~ mou3]; SH [mu3]; LC1 [mu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [mo2 ~ mo5]; AY [mo2 ~ mo6]; SY [mo2 ~ mo5]; XS [mɔ2 ~ mɔ5]; QN [mo2 ~ mo6];
ND1 [mo6]; ND2 [mo2 ~ mo6]; ND3 [mo2 ~ mo6]
[OPH *mo2 ~ *mo6] CNH *mo2/*mo6
Some points distinguish a píng tone reading meaning “grind” and a qù tone reading in the sense
“mill”. Others give only the qù tone reading or derivatives thereof.

mǒ 抹 QYS muât CDC *mot8 ~ *mat8/EC —
BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [—]; LZ [ᵐbat7]; SHT [—]
HY [mat7]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [moʔ8w ~ maʔ7b]
CT [mai6]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [maʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma6]
NK [ma8]; AY [mɜ3]; SY [—]; XS [mait7]; QN [mæʔ7]; ND1 [mait7 ~ moet7]; ND2 [muot7];
ND3 [muat7]
[OPH *mat7] CNH *mat7/L *mot7

mò 末 QYS muât CDC *mot8/EC *'mat
BMH [mát]; MX [mat8]; HL [mat8]; SX [mat8]; LF [mat8]; LZ [ᵐbat8]; SHT [—]
HY [muat8]; XY [mat8]; DB [mat8]; YL [—]; XC [moʔ8]
CT [mai6]; WP [maʔ8]; YD [mat8]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ma6]
NK [mo5]; AY [mɜ1]; SY [mo5]; XS [mait7]; QN [mæʔ8]; ND1 [moet8]; ND2 [muot8]; ND3
[muat8]
[OPH *mat8] CNH *mat8/*mot8

mò 墨 QYS mək CDC *mek8/EC *'mik
BMH [mét]; MX [met8]; HL [met8]; SX [met8]; LF [met8]; LZ [ᵐbet8]; SHT [—]
HY [mat8]; XY [met8]; DB [met8]; YL [mɛʔ8]; XC [mɛʔ8]

CT [me6]; WP [mɛʔ8]; YD [mɛʔ8]; SH [mɛʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mə1]; AY [me6]; SY [me5]; XS [mɛt8]; QN [meʔ8]; ND1 [mək8]; ND2 [mək8]; ND3
 [mək8]
 OPH *met8 CNH *mek8

mò 沒 QYS muət CDC *mut8/EC *'mut
 BMH [mút]; MX [mut8]; HL [mut8]; SX [mut8]; LF [mut8]; LZ [ˠbut8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [mut8]; SH [meiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [me5]; AY [mɜ1]; SY [me5]; XS [mɛt8]; QN [muiʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *mut8] CNH *mut8

mò 莫 QYS mâk CDC *mok8/EC *'mak
 BMH [mók]; MX [mək8]; HL [mok8]; SX [mok8]; LF [mok8]; LZ [ˠbək8]; SHT [—]
 HY [møk8]; XY [møk8]; DB [møk8]; YL [—]; XC [moʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [mɔʔ8]; SH [moʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mo1]; AY [mo1]; SY [mo5]; XS [—]; QN [moʔ8]; ND1 [mok8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [møk8]
 [OPH *mok8] CNH *mok8

móu 謀 QYS mjəu CDC *meu2/EC *mi
 BMH [mêu]; MX [meu2]; HL [meu2]; SX [meu2]; LF [meu2]; LZ [ˠbeu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [meu2]; WP [mɛ2w]; YD [mieu2]; SH [mə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mɜ2]; AY [mɘ2]; SY [mio2]; XS [məu2]; QN [—]; ND1 [meu2]; ND2 [məu2]; ND3
 [məu2]
 OPH *meu2 CNH *meu2

The tone of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.

mǒu 某 QYS məu: CDC *meu4/EC *'mix
 BMH [meu]; MX [mɛu1]; HL [meu1]; SX [meu1]; LF [meu1]; LZ [ˠbeu3]; SHT [—]

HY [muai2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [meu3]; WP [mɛ1w]; YD [meu3]; SH [mə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mɜ1]; AY [mɜ3]; SY [mio3]; XS [məu3]; QN [mɛu3]; ND1 [mɛu3]; ND2 [məu3]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *meu1] CNH *meu1/*meu3

mǔ 母 QYS məu: CDC *mu4/EC *'mix
 BMH [mu]; MX [mu1]; HL [mu1]; SX [mu1]; LF [mu1]; LZ [ᵐbu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [mu5]; XY [mu1]; DB [mu1]; YL [mu3]; XC [mu2]
 CT [mu3]; WP [mu3w]; YD [mou3]; SH [mei1 ~ mɜ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mu3]; AY [mu3]; SY [mo1]; XS [—]; QN [mu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [mu1]; ND3 [mu3]
 OPH *mu1 CNH *mu1/L *mu3

mǔ 畝 QYS məu: CDC *meu4 ~ *mu4 (~ *mo4 ?)/EC *'mix
 BMH [meu]; MX [mɛu1]; HL [meu6]; SX [meu5]; LF [meu1]; LZ [ᵐbɛu3]; SHT [miu1]
 HY [muai5]; XY [mɛu1]; DB [mei1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [meu3]; WP [mɛ3]; YD [meu3]; SH [mə3]; LC1 [meu3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mɜ1]; AY [mɜ3]; SY [mio3]; XS [məu3]; QN [mɛu3]; ND1 [mɛu3]; ND2 [məu1]; ND3
 [mɛu3]
 [OPH *meu1] CNH *meu1/*meu3/*meu6

mù 墓 QYS muo- CDC *mu6 ~ *mo6/EC *'makh
 BMH [mù]; MX [mu5]; HL [mu5]; SX [mu5]; LF [mu6]; LZ [ᵐbu5]; SHT [mu5]
 HY [mu6]; XY [mu5]; DB [mu5]; YL [məu3]; XC [mo5]
 CT [mu5]; WP [mu5]; YD [mou3]; SH [mɜ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mye5]
 NK [mu5]; AY [mu5]; SY [mo2]; XS [mu5]; QN [mu6]; ND1 [mu5]; ND2 [mu6]; ND3 [mu5]
 [OPH *mu6] CNH *mu5 ~ mu6

mù 目 QYS mjuk CDC *^hmuk8/EC *muk
 BMH [muk ~ múk]; MX [muk7 ~ muk8]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [^mbuk7];
 SHT [muk7]
 HY [mok7]; XY [mou?7]; DB [muk7]; YL [—]; XC [mu?7]
 CT [mu2]; WP [mu?7]; YD [mu?7]; SH [mə?7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye6]
 NK [mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [mu?7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7]; ND3
 [muk7]
 [OPH *muk7] CNH *muk7/*muk8

mù 牧 QYS mjuk CDC *muk8/EC *mik
 BMH [múk]; MX [muk8]; HL [mok8]; SX [muk8]; LF [muk7]; LZ [^mbuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [mu?7]
 CT [—]; WP [mu?8]; YD [mu?8]; SH [mu5w ~ mə?8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mu8]; AY [mu5]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk8]; QN [mu?7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *muk8] CNH *muk8/*muk7

mù 木 QYS muk CDC *^hmuk8/EC *^ʰmok
 BMH [muk]; MX [muk7]; HL [muk7]; SX [muk7]; LF [muk7]; LZ [^mbuk7]; SHT [muk7]
 HY [mok7]; XY [mou?7]; DB [muk7]; YL [məu?7]; XC [mu?7]
 CT [mu2]; WP [mu?7]; YD [mu?7]; SH [mə?7]; LC1 [miue6]; LC2 [mye5]
 NK [mu8 ~ mo8]; AY [mu6]; SY [mo5]; XS [muk7]; QN [mu?7]; ND1 [muk7]; ND2 [muk7];
 ND3 [muk7]
 OPH *muk7 CNH *muk7

N

ná 拿 QYS ɲa (CDC *na2)/EC *—
 BMH [na]; MX [na2]; HL [na2]; SX [na1]; LF [na1]; LZ [la2]; SHT [la1]
 HY [na5]; XY [na3]; DB [na2]; YL [na2]; XC [na2]
 CT [na1]; WP [na1]; YD [la1]; SH [na1 ~ na2]; LC1 [no1]; LC2 [no2 ~ no1]

NK [na1]; AY [na1w ~ nã1]; SY [na3]; XS [—]; QN [na1]; ND1 [na1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [na1]
OPH *na1? CNH *na1/*na2

nà 納 QYS nâp CDC *nop8/EC *nap8
BMH [náp]; MX [nap8]; HL [nap8]; SX [nap8]; LF [nap8]; LZ [lap8]; SHT [—]
HY [nap8]; XY [nap8]; DB [nap8]; YL [—]; XC [naʔ7]
CT [na6]; WP [naʔ8]; YD [laʔ8]; SH [naʔ8 ~ naʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no5]
NK [na7]; AY [nɜ1]; SY [na5]; XS [nait8]; QN [næʔ8]; ND1 [naip8]; ND2 [nap8]; ND3 [nap8]
[OPH *nap8] CNH *nap8

năi 乃 QYS nâi: CDC *noi4/EC *nix
BMH [nái]; MX [nai1]; HL [nai1]; SX [nai1]; LF [nai1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [nai5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [lai3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [næ3]; AY [næ3]; SY [næ3]; XS [nai3]; QN [nai3]; ND1 [nai3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nai1] CNH *nai1/*nai3

nán 難 QYS nân CDC *nan2/EC *'nan
BMH [nân]; MX [nan2]; HL [nan2]; SX [nan2]; LF [nan2]; LZ [lan2]; SHT [nan2]
HY [nan2]; XY [nan2]; DB [nan2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [lan2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [na2]; LC2 [na2]
NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nan2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
OPH *nan2 CNH *nan2

nán 南 QYS nâm CDC *nom2/EC *'num
BMH [nâm]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nam2]; XC [nam2]
CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [laŋ2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [naŋ2]; LC2 [naŋ2]
NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
OPH *nam2 CNH *nam2

nán 男 QYS nām CDC *nom2/EC *'num
 BMH [nām]; MX [nam2]; HL [nam2]; SX [nam2]; LF [nam2]; LZ [lam2]; SHT [nam2]
 HY [nam2]; XY [nam2]; DB [nam2]; YL [nan2]; XC [nan2]
 CT [naŋ2]; WP [naŋ2]; YD [laŋ2]; SH [nã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [naŋ2]
 NK [nã2]; AY [nã2]; SY [nã2]; XS [nan2]; QN [nam2]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]
 OPH *nam2 CNH *nam2

nǎo 腦 QYS nǎu: CDC *nou4/EC *'nawx
 BMH [nǎu ~ nǒ]; MX [nau3]; HL [no3]; SX [no3]; LF [no3]; LZ [lau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [nau3]; XY [no3]; DB [no3]; YL [nəu3]; XC [nau5]
 CT [no3]; WP [no3]; YD [lau3]; SH [no1 ~ no3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [no3]
 NK [no1]; AY [no3]; SY [no3]; XS [nau3]; QN [nau3]; ND1 [nau3]; ND2 [nau3]; ND3 [nau3]
 [OPH *nou3] CNH *nou3/*nou1

nào 鬧 QYS nǎu- CDC *nau6/EC —
 BMH [nǎu]; MX [nau5]; HL [nau6]; SX [nau5]; LF [nau6]; LZ [lau5]; SHT [—]
 HY [nau6]; XY [nau3]; DB [nau3]; YL [lau3]; XC [nau5]
 CT [no6]; WP [no3]; YD [lau5]; SH [no3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [no5]; AY [no6]; SY [no5]; XS [nau5]; QN [nau6]; ND1 [nau6]; ND2 [nau6]; ND3 [nau6]
 [OPH *nau6] CNH *nau6

nèi 內 QYS nuài- CDC *nuoi6/EC *'nuth
 BMH [nùi]; MX [nui5]; HL [nui6]; SX [nui5]; LF [nui6]; LZ [nui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [nuai6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luei3]; XC [nuei5]
 CT [nue6]; WP [ni3w]; YD [lei5]; SH [nei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [næ5]; AY [ne6]; SY [ne5]; XS [—]; QN [nui6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nui6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *nui6] CNH *nui6

nèn 嫩 QYS nuən- CDC *nun6/EC *'nunh
 BMH [nùn]; MX [nun5]; HL [nun6]; SX [nun5]; LF [nun6]; LZ [lun5]; SHT [—]

HY [nun6]; XY [nun3]; DB [nən3]; YL [nun3]; XC [lən5]
CT [neŋ6]; WP [neŋ3]; YD [lun5]; SH [neiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nẽ5]; AY [nəŋ6]; SY [nẽ5]; XS [nən5]; QN [nun6]; ND1 [nun6]; ND2 [nun6]; ND3 [nun6]
[OPH *nun6] CNH *nun6

néng 能 QYS nəng CDC *neng2/EC *'ning
BMH [nên]; MX [nen2]; HL [nen2]; SX [nen2]; LF [nen2]; LZ [lən2]; SHT [—]
HY [nan2]; XY [nen2]; DB [nen2]; YL [nen2]; XC [nən2]
CT [neŋ2]; WP [neŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [nẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nẽ2]; AY [nəŋ2]; SY [nẽ2]; XS [nen2]; QN [nen2]; ND1 [nəŋ2]; ND2 [nəŋ2]; ND3 [nəŋ2]
[OPH *nen2] CNH *neŋ2

ní 泥 QYS niei CDC *niai2/EC *'niy
BMH [nî ~ nî ~ nâi]; MX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; HL [ni2w ~ nai2b]; SX [ni2w ~ nai2b]; LF [nai2];
LZ [lai2]; SHT [lai2]
HY [niẽ2]; XY [nei2]; DB [nẽ2]; YL [nei2]; XC [nai2]
CT [ne2]; WP [ni2 ~ ne2]; YD [lei2]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [ne2]; LC2 [ne2]
NK [ni2]; AY [ne2]; SY [ni2]; XS [nẽ2]; QN [nei2]; ND1 [nai2]; ND2 [nai2]; ND3 [nai2]
[OPH *nai2] CNH *niai2/L *ni2

ní 尼 QYS ɲi CDC *ni2/EC *nriy
BMH [nî]; MX [ni2]; HL [ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nei2 ~ lei2]; XC [ni2]
CT [ni2]; WP [ni2]; YD [—]; SH [nei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [ni2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni2] CNH *ni2

The finals of the Yílǒng forms are anomalous. It is possible that they are analogical back formations from ní 泥.

nǐ 擬 QYS ngjī: CDC *ngi4/EC *ngix
 BMH [nyí]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ɲi3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ni3]; AY [—]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ɲi3] CNH *ñi3 ?

Reconstruction of the initial of this form is problematic, due to paucity of data. Initial *n- remains a possibility. The word is of high literary register and is likely to be of late provenance. Absence of determinative data also makes it impossible to determine whether O'Connor would have reconstructed his *ɲ₁ or *ɲ₂.

nǐ 你 QYS nī: CDC *ni4/EC —; rǔ 汝 CDC *nhie4/EC *nax
 BMH [ni† ~ ni†† ~ ny†††]; MX [ni3w ~ ɲ2b]; HL [ni2 ~ ɲi2]; SX [ɲi2]; LF [ni1 ~ ɲi2]; LZ [ɲgi2b ~ li3w]; SHT [ɲi2]
 HY [ɲi5]; XY [ni2]; DB [ni2w ~ ɲi2b]; YL [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; XC [ni2]
 CT [ni1]; WP [xɲ2 ~ xm2]; YD [ɲi2 ~ hn2 (~ hɛn2)]; SH [ɲ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]‡
 NK [ni2]; AY [ni2 ~ ɲ2]; SY [ni1]; XS [ni1]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [niɛ1]; ND2 [nie1 ~ nie2]; ND3 [nie1]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ɲ2 ~ *ɲ3//*ñi2//*ni1//L *ni3

†Character reading.

††Modern second person pronouns. All these forms are written in the source as 爾.

‡FJFYZ: [ɲi1].

Our other sources tend to conflate various second person pronominal forms under the Chinese graph 你. The two Wǔpíng words are free variant derivatives of the Tone 2 alternate pronunciation of the first reconstruction. The second Yǒngdīng form descends from the same Tone 2 alternate, and the third Yǒngdīng form appears to be a deformed variant of the second. The three Níngdū forms may derive from an earlier *nie2 (~ *nie3), which is Gàn-like in appearance and may have been borrowed from that family. Only the third reconstruction, which is literary in register, can be directly related to the written form nǐ 你.

nì 膩 QYS nì- CDC *ni6/EC *nriyh
BMH [nyì ~ nyè]; MX [ni3]; HL [ɲi6]; SX [ɲi5]; LF [—]; LZ [li5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [nɛ3]; YL [ɲi5]; XC [ni5]
CT [ni5]; WP [ni3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [—]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ni6/*ñi6

The tone of the Méixiàn form and the final of the Diànbái form are irregular. It is not possible to determine whether O'Connor would have reconstructed OPH *ɲ₁ or *ɲ₂ for this word.

nì 逆 QYS ngjɔk CDC *ngiak8/EC *ngak
BMH [nyák]; MX [ɲiak8]; HL [ɲiak8]; SX [ɲiak8]; LF [ɲiak8]; LZ [ʔgiak8]; SHT [ɲiak8]
HY [ɲiak8]; XY [ɲiak8]; DB [ɲak8]; YL [ɲiɛʔ8]; XC [niɛʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ɲiaʔ8]; SH [ɲiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nie8]; AY [nia6]; SY [nia5]; XS [niak8]; QN [niaʔ8]; ND1 [nak8]; ND2 [nak7]; ND3
[nək8 ~ nət8]
[OPH *ɲiak8] CNH *ñiak8/*ñik8

The tone of the Níngdū-2 form is irregularly of upper register.

nián 年 QYS nien CDC *nian2/EC *n^hnin
BMH [nyên]; MX [ɲian2]; HL [ɲian2]; SX [ɲian2]; LF [ɲian2]; LZ [ʔgɛn2]; SHT [ɲɛn2]
HY [ɲian2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [ɲian2]; YL [ɲien2]; XC [nien2]
CT [niŋ2]; WP [niɛŋ2]; YD [ɲien2]; SH [niẽ2]; LC1 [ne2 ~ niɛŋ2]; LC2 [neŋ2 ~ ne2]
NK [niẽ2]; AY [ni2]; SY [niẽ2]; XS [niɛn2]; QN [nien2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
[OPH *ɲ₁ian2] CNH *ñian2

nián 黏 QYS ɲjäm CDC *niam/EC *nrem
BMH [nyâm]; MX [ɲiam2]; HL [ɲiam2]; SX [ɲiam2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [niam1]
HY [ɲiam1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [niɛn1]
CT [—]; WP [nian2]; YD [—]; SH [niã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niẽ2]; AY [niã2]; SY [—]; XS [niɛn2]; QN [—]; ND1 [nam2]; ND2 [nam2]; ND3 [nam2]

[OPH *n₂iam2] CNH *ñiam2/*ñiam1

niàn 念 QYS niem- CDC *niam6/EC *'nimh

BMH [nyàm]; MX [n₂iam5]; HL [n₂iam6]; SX [n₂iam5]; LF [n₂iam6]; LZ [ʔgiam5]; SHT [ɲen2]

HY [ɲiam6]; XY [n₂ian3]; DB [n₂ian3]; YL [n₂iɛn5]; XC [n₂iɛn5]

CT [niŋ6]; WP [nianŋ6]; YD [n₂ianŋ5]; SH [niã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [niẽ5]; AY [niã6]; SY [niẽ5]; XS [n₂iɛn5]; QN [niam3 ~ niam5]; ND1 [nam6]; ND2 [nam6];

ND3 [nam6]

OPH *n₂iam6 CNH *ñiam6

niáng 娘 QYS njang CDC *niong2/EC —

BMH [nyông]; MX [n₂ionŋ2]; HL [n₂ionŋ2]; SX [n₂ionŋ2]; LF [n₂ionŋ2]; LZ [ʔgionŋ2]; SHT [ɲionŋ2]

HY [nyoŋ2]; XY [n₂ionŋ2]; DB [n₂ionŋ2]; YL [n₂ionŋ2]; XC [n₂ionŋ2]

CT [n₂ionŋ2]; WP [n₂ionŋ2]; YD [n₂ionŋ2]; SH [n₂ionŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [niõ2]; AY [n₂ionŋ2]; SY [niõ2]; XS [n₂ionŋ2]; QN [n₂ionŋ2]; ND1 [n₂ionŋ2 ~ noŋ2]; ND2 [—];

ND3 [noŋ2]

OPH *n₂ionŋ2 CNH *ñionŋ2

†FJFYZ: [n₂ionŋ2].

niǎo 鳥 QYS tieu: CDC *tiau3 (~ *niau4)/EC *'tiwx

BMH [niau ~ niáu ~ nyáu ~ tiaui]; MX [n₂iau1 ~ tiaui]; HL [niau1 ~ tiaui1b]; SX [n₂iau1 ~ tiaui1b];

LF [niaui1w ~ tiaui1b]; LZ [tiaui1 ~ ʔgiaui1]; SHT [ɲiau2]

HY [ɲiau3 ~ tiaui1]; XY [n₂iau3 ~ tiaui1]; DB [n₂iau3n ~ tiaui3b]; YL [tiaui3]; XC [tiaui3]

CT [tiõ3]; WP [tiõ1]; YD [n₂ieu3 ~ tieui1]; SH [tiõ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tiõ3]

NK [tiõ1 ~ niõ3]; AY [tiõ1 ~ niõ3w]; SY [niõ3]; XS [niaui3 ~ tiaui3]; QN [niaui3 ~ tiaui1]; ND1

[tiaui1]; ND2 [tiaui1]; ND3 [tiaui1]

OPH *tiau1 CNH *tiau1 ~ *tiau3/L *niaui1 ~ *niaui3

niào 尿 QYS nieu- CDC *niau6/EC *'newh

BMH [nyàu]; MX [n₂iau5]; HL [n₂iau6]; SX [n₂iau5]; LF [n₂iau6]; LZ [ʔgiaui5]; SHT [ɲiau5]

HY [ɲiau6 ~ niau6]; XY [ɲiau3]; DB [ɲiau3]; YL [ɲiau3]; XC [niau5]
CT [niɔ6]; WP [niɔ3]; YD [ɲieu5]; SH [ɲio3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [niɔ6 ~ ɲio6]
NK [niɔ5]; AY [niɔ6]; SY [niɔ5]; XS [niau5]; QN [niau6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nau6]; ND3 [nau6]
OPH *ɲ₁iau6 CNH *ɲiau6

niè 鑷 QYS ɲjəp CDC *ɲiap8/EC *nrap
BMH [nyap]; MX [ɲiap7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɲieʔ8]; XC [ɲieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nie5]; AY [—]; SY [nie5]; XS [niɛʔ7]; QN [nieʔ7]; ND1 [naip7]; ND2 [nap7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲiap7]† CNH *ɲiap7
†Also OPH [*ɲ₁iap7], sense of “pinch with the fingers”, written niē 捏. The words are essentially the same etymon in Hakka.

niú 牛 QYS ɲgəu CDC *ɲgiu2/EC *ngwi
BMH [nyú]; MX [ɲiu2]; HL [ɲiu2]; SX [ɲiu2]; LF [ɲiu2]; LZ [ɲgiu2]; SHT [ɲiu2]
HY [ɲyai2]; XY [ɲeu2]; DB [ɲiei2]; YL [ɲie2 ~ ɲie2b]; XC [niəu2]
CT [ɲeu2]; WP [ɲe2]; YD [ɲeu2]; SH [ɲə2]; LC1 [ɲeu2]; LC2 [ɲeu2]
NK [niu2]; AY [nə2]; SY [niu2]; XS [niu2]; QN [niu2]; ND1 [ɲəu2 ~ ɲeu2]†; ND2 [nəu2];
ND3 [nəu2]
OPH *ɲ₁iu2 CNH *ɲieu2/*ɲeu2
†First form found in BJYJ.

niū 紐 QYS ɲjəu: CDC *ɲnieu4/EC *nrux
BMH [nyú]; MX [ɲeu3]; HL [neu3]; SX [neu3]; LF [ɲiu3]; LZ [leu3]; SHT [—]
HY [niu3 ~ nuai3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [niəu3]
CT [nieu3 ~ neu3]; WP [nɛ3]; YD [leu3 ~ ɲiu3]; SH [nə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niu3]; AY [nə3]; SY [niu3]; XS [niu3]; QN [niu3]; ND1 [neu3]; ND2 [nəu3]; ND3 [nəu3]
[OPH *neu3] CNH *neu3/*ɲieu3

nóng 濃 QYS njwong, (nung) CDC *niung2 ~ *nung2/EC *nong ?
 BMH [nyũŋ]; MX [nuŋ2w ~ n̩iũŋ2b]; HL [nuŋ2]; SX [nuŋ2]; LF [nuŋ1]; LZ [ʷgiũŋ2]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [noŋ2 ~ -nyoŋ2]; XY [n̩ioŋ2]; DB [n̩iũŋ2]; YL [nuŋ2]; XC [nuŋ2]
 CT [noŋ2]; WP [nuŋ2]; YD [ŋiũŋ2]; SH [n̩iəŋ2 ~ nəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niŋ2]; AY [niəŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [niəŋ2]; QN [niũŋ2]; ND1 [nuŋ2]; ND2 [nuŋ2]; ND3
 [nuŋ2]
 [OPH *n̩2iũŋ2] CNH *ñiũŋ2/L *nuŋ2

nòng 弄 QYS lung- CDC *nung6 ~ *lung6/EC *'longh
 BMH [lũŋ ~ lúŋ]; MX [luŋ3 ~ luŋ5]; HL [luŋ6]; SX [nuŋ5]; LF [luŋ6]; LZ [luŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [luŋ1]; XC [luŋ1]
 CT [loŋ6]; WP [luŋ3]; YD [luŋ5]; SH [ləŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ləŋ5]; AY [ləŋ6]; SY [ləŋ5]; XS [ləŋ5]; QN [luŋ6]; ND1 [luŋ6]; ND2 [luŋ6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *lung6] CNH *lung6
 The initial of the Sixiàn form is irregular.

nú 奴 QYS nuo CDC *nu2/EC *'na
 BMH [nú]; MX [nu2]; HL [nu2]; SX [nu2]; LF [nu2]; LZ [lu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu2]; XC [nu2]
 CT [nu2]; WP [nu2w]; YD [—]; SH [nu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [nu2]; AY [nu2]; SY [nu2]; XS [nu2]; QN [nu2]; ND1 [nu2]; ND2 [nu2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *—] CNH *nu2

nǚ 努 QYS nuo: CDC *nu4/EC *'nax
 BMH [nú]; MX [nu3]; HL [nu5]; SX [nu2]; LF [nu5]; LZ [lu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu3]; XC [nu5]
 CT [nu3]; WP [nu3w]; YD [—]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [nu3]; AY [nu3]; SY [nu3]; XS [nu3]; QN [nu3]; ND1 [nu3]; ND2 [nu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *nu3 ?] CNH *nu3/nu5

The tone of the Sixiàn form is aberrant.

nù 怒 QYS nuo- CDC *nu6/EC *'nah
BMH [nù]; MX [nu5]; HL [nu6]; SX [nu5]; LF [nu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [nu3]; XC [—]
CT [nu6]; WP [nu3]; YD [—]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [nu5]; AY [nu5]; SY [nu2]; XS [nu5]; QN [nu6]; ND1 [nu6]; ND2 [nu6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *nu6] CNH *nu6
†FJFYZ: [nye6].

nǚ 女 QYS ɲjwo: CDC *nie4 (~ *niu3)/EC *nrax
BMH [ńg ~ nyí]; MX [ɲ3]; HL [ɲ3]; SX [ɲ3]; LF [ɲ3]; LZ [ɲ3b ~ ɲgi3w]; SHT [ɲ3 ~ ɲi3]
HY [ɲy3 ~ ny3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [ɲy3]; XC [ni3w ~ ɲ3b]
CT [ni3]; WP [ɲ3]; YD [hɲ3b ~ ɲi3w ~ zi2]; SH [ɲ3 ~ ɲ2]; LC1 [ɲiue3]; LC2 [i3]†
NK [ni3 ~ nie3]; AY [ni3 ~ nie3]; SY [ni3 ~ nie3]; XS [ɲ3 ~ ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nie3]; ND2
[nu3w ~ nie3b]; ND3 [nu3 ~ nie3]
[OPH *ɲ3] CNH *ɲ3/*nie3/L *ñiu3

The second reconstructed form is Gànn-like in appearance and has perhaps been borrowed from that family. The Liánchéng-2 and third Yǒngdìng forms, which do not agree with each other in tone, appear to reflect a zero initial reading, which is of obscure origin.

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

nuǎn 暖 QYS nuân: CDC *non4/EC *'nonx
BMH [non ~ nón]; MX [nɔn3w ~ nɔn1b]; HL [non1]; SX [non1]; LF [non1]; LZ [lɔn1]; SHT
[lɔn1]
HY [nuan5]; XY [nuan1]; DB [nɔn1]; YL [lɔn1]; XC [nuan2]
CT [nuɲ1]; WP [nuɛɲ1]; YD [lɔn1]; SH [nuẽ1]; LC1 [nuɔ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [noẽ1]; AY [nõ3]; SY [nuɔ1]; XS [nɔn1]; QN [nɔn1]; ND1 [noɛn1]; ND2 [nuon3]; ND3
[nuan1]
OPH *non1 CNH *nuon1/*nuon3

nuò 糯 QYS nuâ- CDC *nuo6/EC *noyh
 BMH [nò]; MX [nɔ5]; HL [no6]; SX [no5]; LF [no6]; LZ [lɔ5]; SHT [lɔ5]
 HY [nuɔ6]; XY [nɔ3]; DB [no3]; YL [lɔu3]; XC [no2]
 CT [no6]; WP [no3]; YD [lou5]; SH [nu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [no5]; AY [no6]; SY [no5]; XS [nɔ5]; QN [no6]; ND1 [no6]; ND2 [no6]; ND3 [no6]
 [OPH *no6] CNH *no6

O

ōu 歐 QYS ʔəu CDC *eu1/EC *’o
 BMH [eu]; MX [eu1]; HL [eu1]; SX [eu1]; LF [eu1]; LZ [eu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [eu1]; WP [ɛ1w]; YD [eu1]; SH [ə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɜ1]; AY [ʔu1]; SY [io1]; XS [əu1]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋeu1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *eu1] CNH *eu1

ǒu 嘔 QYS ʔəu: CDC *eu3/EC *’ox
 BMH [eu]; MX [eu3]; HL [eu3]; SX [eu3]; LF [eu3]; LZ [eu3]; SHT [iu3]
 HY [uai3]; XY [ɤu3]; DB [ei3]; YL [ai3]; XC [əu3]
 CT [eu3]; WP [ɛ3]; YD [eu3]; SH [ə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɜ3]; AY [ʔu3]; SY [io3]; XS [əu3]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋeu3]; ND2 [ŋəu3]; ND3 [ŋəu3]
 OPH *eu3 CNH *eu3

P

pá 爬 QYS ba CDC *ba2/EC *bra
 BMH [phâ]; MX [p’a2]; HL [p’a2]; SX [p’a2]; LF [p’a2]; LZ [pha2]; SHT [p’a2]
 HY [p’a2]; XY [p’a2]; DB [p’a2]; YL [p’a2]; XC [p’a2w]
 CT [p’a2]; WP [pha2]; YD [p’a2]; SH [phA2]; LC1 [p’o2]; LC2 [—]†

NK [p'a2]; AY [p'a2]; SY [p'a2]; XS [p'a2]; QN [p'a2]; ND1 [p'a2]; ND2 [p'a2]; ND3 [p'a2]
[OPH *p'a2] CNH *p'a2
†FJFYZ: p'o2.

pà 怕 QYS pha- CDC *pha5/EC *phrakh
BMH [phà]; MX [p'a5]; HL [p'a5]; SX [p'a5]; LF [p'a5]; LZ [pha5]; SHT [p'a5]
HY [p'a5]; XY [p'a5]; DB [p'a5]; YL [p'a5]; XC [p'a5]
CT [p'a5]; WP [pha5]; YD [p'a3]; SH [pha5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'a5]; AY [p'a5]; SY [p'a2]; XS [p'a5]; QN [p'a5]; ND1 [p'a5]; ND2 [p'a5]; ND3 [p'a5]
[OPH *p'a5] CNH *p'a5

pái 排 QYS bǎi CDC *bai2/EC *bruy
BMH [phâi]; MX [p'ai2]; HL [p'ai2]; SX [p'ai2]; LF [p'ai2]; LZ [phai2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'ai2]; XY [p'ai2]; DB [p'ai2]; YL [p'ai2]; XC [p'ai2]
CT [p'ai2]; WP [pha2]; YD [p'ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p'a2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'æ2]; AY [p'æ2]; SY [p'æ2]; XS [p'ai2]; QN [p'ai2]; ND1 [p'ai2]; ND2 [p'ai2]; ND3
[p'ai2]
[OPH *p'ai2] CNH *p'ai2

pái 牌 QYS bwǎi CDC *bai2/EC *bre
BMH [phâi]; MX [p'ai2]; HL [p'ai2]; SX [p'ai2]; LF [p'ai2]; LZ [phai2]; SHT [p'ai2]
HY [p'ai2]; XY [p'ai2]; DB [p'ai2]; YL [p'ai2]; XC [p'ai2]
CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ai2]; SH [pha2]; LC1 [p'e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'æ2]; AY [p'æ2]; SY [p'æ2]; XS [p'ai2]; QN [p'ai2]; ND1 [p'ai2]; ND2 [p'ai2]; ND3
[p'ai2]
[OPH *p'ai2] CNH *p'ai2/*p'ei2

The Chángtǐng, Wúping, and Liánchéng forms derives from earlier *-ei rather than *-ai.

pán 盤 QYS buān CDC *bon2/EC *'ban
BMH [phân]; MX [p'an2]; HL [p'an2]; SX [p'an2]; LF [p'an2]; LZ [phan2]; SHT [p'un2]

HY [p'uan2]; XY [p'an2]; DB [p'an2]; YL [p'an2]; XC [p'an2]
 CT [p'an2]; WP [phaŋ2]; YD [p'an2]; SH [phã2]; LC1 [p'a2]; LC2 [p'a2]
 NK [p'oẽ2]; AY [p'ã2]; SY [p'ɕ2]; XS [p'an2]; QN [p'an2]; ND1 [p'oɛn2]; ND2 [p'uon2];
 ND3 [p'uan2]
 [OPH *p'an2] CNH *p'on2

páng 旁 QYS bāng CDC *bong2/EC *'bang
 BMH [phong]; MX [p'ɔŋ2]; HL [p'ɔŋ2]; SX [p'ɔŋ2]; LF [p'ɔŋ2]; LZ [phɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'ɔŋ2]; XC [p'ɔŋ2]
 CT [p'ɔŋ2]; WP [phɔŋ2]; YD [p'ɔŋ2]; SH [phɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ɕ2]; AY [p'ɔŋ2]; SY [p'ɕ2]; XS [p'ɔŋ2]; QN [p'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [p'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [p'ɔŋ2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *p'ɔŋ2] CNH *p'ɔŋ2

páo 袍 QYS bāu CDC *bou2/EC *'bu
 BMH [phâu]; MX [p'au2]; HL [p'au2]; SX [p'au2]; LF [p'au2]; LZ [phau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [p'au2]; XY [p'au2]; DB [p'o2]; YL [p'au2]; XC [p'au2]
 CT [p'ɔ2]; WP [phɔ2]; YD [p'au2]; SH [phɔ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ɔ2]; AY [p'ɔ2]; SY [p'ɔ2]; XS [p'au2]; QN [p'au2]; ND1 [p'au2]; ND2 [p'au2]; ND3
 [p'au2]
 [OPH *p'au2] CNH *p'au2

pēi 壞 QYS phuài CDC *phuoi1/EC *'phi
 BMH [phoi]; MX [—]; HL [p'oi1]; SX [p'oi1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'oi1]; XC [p'ei1]
 CT [p'ei1]; WP [—]; YD [p'ei1 ~ p'oi1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ei1]; AY [p'ue1]; SY [p'ei1]; XS [p'i1]; QN [p'oi1]; ND1 [p'oɛ1]; ND2 [p'uei1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *p'oi1] CNH *p'oi1 ~ *p'ei1

péi 陪 QYS buài CDC *buoi2/EC *'bi
BMH [phûi]; MX [p'i2]; HL [p'oi2]; SX [p'oi2]; LF [p'ui2]; LZ [phui2]; SHT [p'ui2]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'oi2]; XC [p'ei2]
CT [p'e2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'ei2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'e2]; AY [p'e2]; SY [p'e2]; XS [p'i2]; QN [p'ui2]; ND1 [p'ei2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3 [—]
OPH *p'oi2 ? CNH *p'oi2/*p'ui2

péi 賠 QYS buài CDC *buoi2/EC *'bi
BMH [phôi]; MX [p'oi2]; HL [p'oi2]; SX [p'oi2]; LF [p'ui5]; LZ [phoi2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'uai2]; XY [p'uai2]; DB [p'oi2]; YL [p'oi2]; XC [p'ei2]
CT [p'ue2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'oi2]; SH [phei2]; LC1 [p'ui2]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'e2]; AY [p'ue2]; SY [p'e2]; XS [p'i2]; QN [p'ui2]; ND1 [p'oe2]; ND2 [p'ei2]; ND3
[p'uai2]
[OPH *p'oi2] CNH *p'oi2/*p'ui2

pén 盆 QYS buən CDC *bun2/EC *'bun
BMH [phûn]; MX [p'un2]; HL [p'un2]; SX [p'un2]; LF [p'un2]; LZ [phun2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'uan2]; XY [p'un2]; DB [p'ən2]; YL [p'ən2]; XC [p'ən2]
CT [p'ɛŋ2]; WP [phɛŋ2]; YD [p'un2]; SH [pheiŋ2]; LC1 [p'äi2]; LC2 [p'æŋ2]
NK [p'ẽ2]; AY [p'əŋ2]; SY [p'ẽ2]; XS [p'ən2]; QN [p'un2]; ND1 [p'ən2]; ND2 [p'ən2]; ND3
[p'ən2]
[OPH *p'un2] CNH *p'un2

péng 篷 QYS bung CDC *bung2/EC *'bong
BMH [phûng]; MX [p'ũŋ2]; HL [p'ũŋ2]; SX [p'ũŋ2]; LF [—]; LZ [phunŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [p'õŋ2]; XY [p'ũŋ2]; DB [p'ũŋ2]; YL [p'ũŋ2]; XC [p'ũŋ2]
CT [p'õŋ2]; WP [phunŋ2]; YD [p'ũŋ2]; SH [phəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'əŋ2]; AY [p'əŋ2]; SY [p'əŋ2]; XS [p'əŋ2]; QN [p'ũŋ2]; ND1 [p'ũŋ2]; ND2 [p'ũŋ2];
ND3 [p'ũŋ2]
[OPH *p'ung2] CNH *p'ũŋ2

péng 彭 QYS bəŋg CDC *bāŋ2/EC *bring
 BMH [phāŋ]; MX [p'əŋ2]; HL [p'əŋ2]; SX [p'əŋ2]; LF [p'əŋ2]; LZ [phaŋ2]; SHT [p'əŋ2]
 HY [p'əŋ2]; XY [p'əŋ2]; DB [p'əŋ2]; YL [p'ən2]; XC [p'ən2]
 CT [p'əŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [phaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ā2]; AY [p'ā2]; SY [p'ā2]; XS [p'əŋ2]; QN [p'əŋ2]; ND1 [p'əŋ2]; ND2 [p'əŋ2]; ND3
 [p'əŋ2]
 [OPH *p'əŋ2] CNH *p'əŋ2

The Yǐlǒng and Xīchāng forms appear to be Mandarin loans and are not reflected in the reconstructions.

péng 朋 QYS bəŋg CDC *bēŋ2/EC *'bing
 BMH [phēn]; MX [p'en2]; HL [p'en2]; SX [p'en2]; LF [p'en2]; LZ [phēn2]; SHT [p'en2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'uŋ2]; XC [p'uŋ2]
 CT [p'əŋ2]; WP [phēŋ2]; YD [p'en2]; SH [phē2]; LC1 [p'āi2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'əŋ2]; AY [p'əŋ2]; SY [p'əŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [p'uŋ2]; ND1 [p'əŋ2]; ND2 [p'əŋ2]; ND3
 [—]
 OPH *p'en2 CNH *p'əŋ2

pí 皮 QYS bje3 CDC *bi2/EC *bay
 BMH [phí]; MX [p'i2]; HL [p'i2]; SX [p'i2]; LF [p'i2]; LZ [p'i2]; SHT [p'i2]
 HY [p'i2]; XY [p'i2]; DB [p'i2]; YL [p'i2]; XC [p'i2]
 CT [p'i2]; WP [phi2]; YD [p'i2]; SH [phi2]; LC1 [p'i2]; LC2 [p'i2]
 NK [p'i2]; AY [p'i2]; SY [p'i2]; XS [p'i2]; QN [p'i2]; ND1 [p'i2]; ND2 [p'i2]; ND3 [p'i2]
 [OPH *p'i2] CNH *p'i2

pì 僻 QYS phjiäk CDC *phiak7/EC *phek
 BMH [phit]; MX [p'it7]; HL [p'it7]; SX [p'it7]; LF [—]; LZ [phit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'i2]; XC [p'ie?7]
 CT [—]; WP [phi?7]; YD [—]; SH [phi?7w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [p'ie8]; AY [p'iz3]; SY [p'ie5]; XS [p'it7]; QN [—]; ND1 [p'it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'it7] CNH *p'it7

piàn 片 QYS phien- CDC *p'ian5/EC —

BMH [phién]; MX [p'ien3w ~ p'en3b]; HL [p'ian3]; SX [p'ian3]; LF [p'ian5]; LZ [phen3];
SHT [—]

HY [p'ian5]; XY [p'ian5]; DB [p'ien5]; YL [p'ien5]; XC [p'ien5]

CT [p'ĩŋ5]; WP [phiẽŋ3]; YD [p'ien3]; SH [phiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'ĩẽ5]; AY [p'i]; SY [p'ĩẽ3]; XS [p'ien5]; QN [p'ien5]; ND1 [p'ien5]; ND2 [p'ian5]; ND3
[p'ian5]

[OPH *p'ian3 ~ *p'ian5] CNH *p'ian3/L *p'ian5

piáo 嫖 QYS phjiäu4, phjiäu-4 CDC *biau2/EC *—

BMH [phiäu]; MX [p'iau3]; HL [p'iau2]; SX [p'eu2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'iau2]; XC [p'iau2]

CT [—]; WP [phiə3]; YD [p'ieu2]; SH [phiə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'io2]; AY [p'io2]; SY [p'io2]; XS [p'iau2]; QN [p'iau2]; ND1 [p'iau2]; ND2 [p'iau2];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *p'iau2] CNH *p'iau2

pǐn 品 QYS phjəm: CDC *phim3/EC *phimx

BMH [phín]; MX [p'in3]; HL [p'in3]; SX [p'in3]; LF [p'in3]; LZ [phin3]; SHT [p'in3]

HY [p'in3]; XY [p'in3]; DB [p'ən3]; YL [p'in3]; XC [p'in3]

CT [p'ẽŋ3]; WP [phiŋ3]; YD [p'ĩŋ3]; SH [phiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'ĩŋ3]; AY [p'ĩŋ3]; SY [p'ĩŋ3]; XS [p'in3]; QN [p'in3]; ND1 [p'in3]; ND2 [p'in3]; ND3
[p'in3]

OPH *p'in3 CNH *p'in3

píng 平 QYS bjwəŋg CDC *biang2/EC *beng

BMH [phín ~ phiàng]; MX [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b]; HL [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b]; SX [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b];

LF [p'in2 ~ p'iaŋ2]; LZ [phiaŋ2b ~ phin2w]; SHT [—]

HY [p'in2]; XY [p'in2 ~ p'iaŋ2]; DB [p'ən2 ~ p'iaŋ2]; YL [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b]; XC [p'iaŋ2]
CT [p'eŋ2]; WP [phiŋ2w ~ phiŋ2b]; YD [p'iaŋ2]; SH [phiŋ2 ~ phiŋ2]; LC1 [p'iaŋ2]; LC2
[—]

NK [p'ij2 ~ p'ia2]; AY [p'ij2 ~ p'ia2]; SY [p'ij2 ~ p'ia2]; XS [p'in2 ~ p'iaŋ2]; QN [p'in2 ~
p'iaŋ2]; ND1 [p'in2 ~ p'iaŋ2]; ND2 [p'iaŋ2]; ND3 [p'iaŋ2]

[OPH *p'iaŋ2] CNH p'iaŋ2/L p'ij2

The coda of the second reconstructed form is conjectural.

píng 憑 QYS bjəŋ CDC *bing2/EC *bing

BMH [phîn ~ phûŋ]; MX [p'in2w ~ pen5b]; HL [p'in2 ~ p'en5]; SX [p'in2 ~ p'en5]; LF
[p'in2]; LZ [phuŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [p'ən3]; DB [p'ən3]; YL [p'in2]; XC [p'in2]

CT [p'eŋ2]; WP [phiŋ2]; YD [p'ən5]; SH [phê3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [p'æŋ6]

NK [p'ij2]; AY [p'ij2]; SY [p'ij2]; XS [p'in2]; QN [p'in2]; ND1 [p'in2]; ND2 [p'ij2]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *p'en5] CNH *p'eŋ2/L *p'ij2/*p'uŋ2

The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural, since final *-n is also possible.

píng 瓶 QYS biəŋ CDC *biang2/EC *beng

BMH [phiāŋ ~ phên]; MX [p'in2w ~ p'iaŋ2b]; HL [p'iaŋ2]; SX [p'iaŋ2]; LF [p'iaŋ2]; LZ
[phiāŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [p'iaŋ2]; XY [p'in2]; DB [p'ən2]; YL [p'iaŋ2]; XC [p'in2]

CT [p'eŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [p'ij2]; AY [p'ij2]; SY [p'ij2]; XS [p'in2]; QN [p'in2]; ND1 [p'in2]; ND2 [p'ij2]; ND3
[p'ij2]

[OPH *p'iaŋ2] CNH *p'iaŋ2/L *p'ij2

pō 潑 QYS phuât CDC *phot7/EC *phot

BMH [phat]; MX [p'at7 ~ pat7]; HL [p'at7]; SX [p'at7]; LF [p'at7]; LZ [phat7]; SHT [—]

HY [p'uat7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'ɔʔ7]; XC [p'oʔ7]

CT [p'ai2]; WP [phaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [phaʔ7]; LC1 [p'a6]; LC2 [—]
NK [p'a7]; AY [p'ɜ3]; SY [po1]; XS [p'ait7]; QN [p'æʔ7]; ND1 [p'oet7]; ND2 [p'uoʔ7]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *p'at7] CNH *p'ot7/*p'at7/*pot7

pó 婆 QYS buâ- CDC *bo2/EC *bay
BMH [phô]; MX [p'ɔ2]; HL [p'o2]; SX [p'o2]; LF [p'o2]; LZ [phɔ2]; SHT [p'ɔ2]
HY [p'uɔ2]; XY [p'ɔ2]; DB [p'o2]; YL [p'əu2]; XC [p'o2]
CT [p'o2]; WP [pho2]; YD [p'ou2]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [p'u2]; LC2 [p'u2]
NK [p'o2]; AY [p'o2]; SY [p'o2]; XS [p'ɔ2]; QN [p'o2]; ND1 [p'o2]; ND2 [p'o2]; ND3 [p'o2]
OPH *p'o2 CNH *p'o2

pú 菩 QYS buo CDC *bu2/EC *'ba
BMH [phû]; MX [—]; HL [p'u2]; SX [p'u2]; LF [p'u2]; LZ [phu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [p'u2]; XC [p'u2]
CT [p'u2]; WP [phu2]; YD [—]; SH [phu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [p'u2]; SY [p'u2]; XS [p'u2]; QN [—]; ND1 [p'u2]; ND2 [p'u2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *p'u2] CNH *p'u2

Q

qī 七 QYS tshjiet CDC *tshit5/EC *tshit
BMH [tshit]; MX [ts'it7]; HL [ts'it7]; SX [ts'it7]; LF [ts'it7]; LZ [tʃhit7]; SHT [ts'it7]
HY [ts'it7]; XY [ts'it7]; DB [ts'ət7]; YL [tɕ'iʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ieʔ7]
CT [tsi2]; WP [tshiʔ7]; YD [ts'iʔ7]; SH [tɕhiʔ7]; LC1 [ts'ï6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ie1]; AY [ts'iz3]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [ts'it7]; QN [tɕ'iʔ7]; ND1 [tɕ'it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[ts'it7]
OPH *ts'it7 CNH *ts'it7

qī 妻 QYS tshiei CDC *tshiai1/EC *'tshiy
 BMH [tshi]; MX [ts'i1]; HL [ts'i1]; SX [ts'i1]; LF [ts'i1]; LZ [tʃhi1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ie]; XY [ts'ei1]; DB [ts'i1]; YL [te'i1]; XC [te'i1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i1]; SH [tɕhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [te'i1]; AY [ts'i1]; SY [te'i1]; XS [ts'i1]; QN [—]; D1 [te'i1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'i1]
 OPH *ts'i1 CNH *ts'i1/*ts'iai1

qī 欺 QYS khjï CDC *khi1/EC *khi
 BMH [khi]; MX [k'i1]; HL [k'i1]; SX [k'i1]; LF [k'i1]; LZ [khi1]; SHT [—]
 HY [hi1]; XY [hi1]; DB [hi1]; YL [te'i1]; XC [te'i1]
 CT [tʃ'i1]; WP [tshi1]; YD [k'i1]; SH [tɕhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [te'i1]; AY [te'i1]; SY [te'i1]; XS [te'i1]; QN [te'i1]; ND1 [te'i1]; ND2 [te'i1]; ND3 [ts'i]
 [OPH *k'i1] CNH *k'i1/*hi1

qí 其 QYS gjï CDC *gi2/EC *gi
 BMH [khi]; MX [k'i2]; HL [k'i2]; SX [k'i2]; LF [k'i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k'i2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te'i2]; XC [te'i1]
 CT [tʃ'i2]; WP [—]; YD [k'i2]; SH [tɕhi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [te'i2]; AY [te'i2]; SY [te'i2]; XS [te'i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te'i2]; ND2 [te'i2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *k'i2] CNH *k'i2

qí 奇 QYS gje3 CDC *gi2/EC *gay
 BMH [khi]; MX [k'i2]; HL [k'i2]; SX [k'i2]; LF [k'i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k'i2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [te'i2]; XC [te'i1]
 CT [tʃ'i2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [k'i2]; SH [tɕhi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [te'i2]; AY [te'i2]; SY [te'i2]; XS [te'i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [te'i2]; ND2 [te'i2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *k'i2] CNH *k'i2

qí 騎 QYS gje3 CDC *gi2/EC *gay
 BMH [khi]; MX [k'i2]; HL [k'i2]; SX [k'i2]; LF [k'i2]; LZ [khi2]; SHT [k'ia2]

HY [k'i2]; XY [k'ε2]; DB [k'i2]; YL [tɛ'i2]; XC [tɛ'i2]
CT [tʃ'i2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [k'i2]; SH [tɛhi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'i2]
NK [tɛ'i2]; AY [tɛ'i2]; SY [tɛ'i2]; XS [tɛ'i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɛ'i2]; ND2 [tɛ'i2]; ND3 [ts'i2]
[OPH *k'i2] CNH *k'i2

qí 齊 QYS dziei CDC *dziai2/EC *'dziy
BMH [tshî ~ tshê]; MX [ts'i2w ~ ts'ε2b]; HL [ts'e2]; SX [ts'e2]; LF [ts'e2 ~ ts'i2]; LZ [tʃhε2];
SHT [ts'ε2]
HY [ts'ie2]; XY [ts'ei2]; DB [ts'ε2]; YL [ts'ei2]; XC [tɛ'i1]
CT [ts'e2]; WP [tshi2]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi2 ~ tshei2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'i2 ~ ts'e2]
NK [tɛ'i2]; AY [ts'i2 ~ ts'e2]; SY [tɛ'i2]; XS [ts'i2]; QN [tɛ'i2]; ND1 [tɛ'i2]; ND2 [tɛ'iei2];
ND3 [ts'i2]
OPH *ts'e2 CNH *ts'iai2/L *ts'i2

qǐ 起 QYS khjǐ: CDC *khi3/EC *khix
BMH [hí ~ khí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]
HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [tɛ'i3]; XC [ɛi3]
CT [tʃ'i3 ~ ʃi3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [k'i3]; SH [tɛhi3]; LC1 [k'i3]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'i3]; AY [tɛ'i3]; SY [tɛ'i3 ~ ɛi3]; XS [ɛi3]; QN [tɛ'i3 ~ ɛi3]; ND1 [tɛ'i3]; ND2 [tɛ'i3 ~
ɛi3]; ND3 [ts'i3 ~ si3]
[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3/*k'i3

qǐ 企 QYS khjie:4, khjie-4 CDC *khi5 ~ *khi3/EC *khex
BMH [khi]; MX [k'i1s]; HL [k'i1]; SX [k'i1]; LF [k'i1]; LZ [khi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'i1]; XC [tɛ'i2w]
CT [tʃ'i5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi1 ~ tɛhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'i3]; AY [tɛ'i3]; SY [tɛ'i1]; XS [tɛ'i3]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɛ'i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *k'i1 CNH *k'i1/*k'i3

qì 棄 QYS khi-4 CDC *khi5/EC *khith
 BMH [khì]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'i5]; XC [ɛi5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'i5]; AY [tɛ'i5]; SY [—]; XS [tɛ'i5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tɛ'i5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *hi5] CNH *hi5/L *k'i5

qì 氣 QYS khjei- CDC *khi5/EC *khuyh, khiyh
 BMH [hì ~ khì]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [hi5]
 HY [hi5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [tɛ'i5]; XC [ɛi5]
 CT [tʃ'i5 ~ ʃi5]; WP [tshi5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [tɛhi5]; LC1 [k'i5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; AY [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; SY [tɛ'i2 ~ ɛi2]; XS [ɛi5]; QN [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; ND1 [ɛi5]; ND2
 [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; ND3 [ts'i5]
 [OPH *hi5] CNH *hi5/L *k'i5

qì 砌 QYS tshiei- CDC *tshiai/EC *—
 BMH [tshì ~ tshe]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [ts'ei5]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'y5]; XC [tɛ'i5]
 CT [—]; WP [tsieʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tɛ'iei5]; ND3 [tsi5]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ts'iai5/*ts'i5

The final and tone of the Wǔpíng form are anomalous. The final of the Yílǒng is quite irregular.
 The initial of the Níngdū-3 form irregularly lacks aspiration.

qiān 簽 QYS tshjäm CDC *tshiam1/EC *tsham
 BMH [tshiam]; MX [ts'iam1]; HL [ts'iam1]; SX [ts'iam1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhiam1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'iam1]; XY [ts'iam1]; DB [ts'iam1]; YL [tɛ'ien1]; XC [tɛ'ien1]
 CT [ts'in1]; WP [tshian1]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhiã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'ie1]; AY [ts'ia1]; SY [tɛ'ie1]; XS [ts'ien1]; QN [tɛ'ian1]; ND1 [tɛ'iam1]; ND2
 [tɛ'iam1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'iam1] CNH *ts'iam1

qiān 千 QYS tshien CDC *tshian1/EC *'tshin
BMH [tshien]; MX [ts'ien1]; HL [ts'ian1]; SX [ts'ian1]; LF [ts'ian1]; LZ [tʃhɛn1]; SHT [ts'ɛn1]
HY [ts'ian1]; XY [ts'ian1]; DB [ts'ien1]; YL [tɕ'ien1]; XC [tɕ'ien1]
CT [ts'ɪŋ1]; WP [tshien1]; YD [ts'ien1]; SH [tɕhiɛ̃1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iẽ1]; AY [ts'i1]; SY [tɕ'iẽ1]; XS [ts'ien1]; QN [tɕ'ien1]; ND1 [tɕ'ien1]; ND2 [tɕ'ian1];
ND3 [ts'ian1]
[OPH *ts'ian1] CNH *ts'ian1

qiān 牽 QYS khien CDC *khian1/EC *'khen
BMH [khen ~ khien]; MX [k'ian1]; HL [k'ian1]; SX [k'ian1]; LF [k'ian1]; LZ [kɛn1]; SHT
[—]
HY [hian1]; XY [hian1]; DB [hien1]; YL [tɕ'ien1]; XC [tɕ'ien1]
CT [tʃ'ɪŋ1]; WP [tshien1]; YD [k'ien1]; SH [tɕhiɛ̃1]; LC1 [k'e1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iẽ1]; AY [tɕ'i1]; SY [tɕ'iẽ1]; XS [tɕ'ien1]; QN [tɕ'ien1]; ND1 [ts'an1]; ND2 [ts'an1];
ND3 [ts'an1]
[OPH *k'ian1] CNH *k'ian1/*hian1

qiān 鉛 QYS jiwǎn CDC *tshian1 ~ *ion2 (~ *khan1)/EC *yon
BMH [yɛn]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [jɛn2]
HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yɛn2]; XC [tɕ'ien1]
CT [ɪŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [vien2]; SH [viɛ̃2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɛ̃2]; AY [—]; SY [jyɛ̃2]; XS [ien2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vian2/*vion2

qián 前 QYS dzien CDC *dzian2/EC *'dzen
BMH [tshiɛ̃n]; MX [ts'ien2]; HL [ts'ian2]; SX [ts'ian2]; LF [ts'ian2]; LZ [tʃhɛn2]; SHT [ts'ɛn2]
HY [ts'ian2]; XY [ts'ian2 ~ ts'an2]; DB [ts'ien2]; YL [tɕ'ien2]; XC [tɕ'ien2]
CT [ts'ɪŋ2]; WP [tshien2]; YD [ts'ien2]; SH [tɕhiɛ̃2]; LC1 [ts'e2]; LC2 [ts'e2]

NK [tɕ'iẽ2]; AY [ts'i2]; SY [tɕ'iẽ2]; XS [ts'ien2]; QN [tɕ'ien2]; ND1 [tɕ'ien2]; ND2 [tɕ'ian2];
ND3 [ts'ian2]

OPH *ts'ian2 CNH *ts'ian2

qián 錢 QYS dzjǎn CDC *dzian2/EC *dzen

BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts'ien2]; HL [ts'ian2]; SX [ts'ian2]; LF [ts'ian2]; LZ [tʃhɛn2]; SHT [ts'ɛn2]
HY [ts'ian2]; XY [ts'ian2]; DB [ts'ien2]; YL [ts'ien2]; XC [ts'ien2]
CT [ts'ij2]; WP [ts'ien2]; YD [ts'ien2]; SH [tɕhiẽ2]; LC1 [ts'e2]; LC2 [ts'e2]
NK [tɕhiẽ2]; AY [ts'i2]; SY [tɕ'iẽ2]; XS [ts'ien2]; QN [tɕ'ien2]; ND1 [tɕ'ien2]; ND2 [tɕ'ian2];
ND3 [ts'ian2]

OPH *ts'ian2 CNH *ts'ian2

qián 鉗 QYS gjǎm3 CDC *giam2/EC *gam

BMH [khiâm]; MX [k'iam2]; HL [k'iam2]; SX [k'iam2]; LF [k'iam2]; LZ [khiam2]; SHT [—]
HY [k'iam2]; XY [k'iam2]; DB [k'iam2]; YL [tɕ'ien2]; XC [tɕ'ien2]
CT [tʃ'ij2]; WP [tshian2]; YD [kian2 ~ k'ian2 ~ k'ian1]; SH [tɕhiã2]; LC1 [k'e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iẽ2]; AY [tɕ'iã2]; SY [tɕ'iẽ2]; XS [tɕ'ien2]; QN [tɕ'iam2]; ND1 [ts'am2]; ND2 [ts'am2];
ND3 [ts'am2]

[OPH *k'iam2] CNH *k'iam2

qiǎn 淺 QYS tshjǎn: CDC *tshian3/EC *tshenx

BMH [tshién]; MX [ts'ien3]; HL [ts'ian3]; SX [ts'ian3]; LF [ts'ian3]; LZ [tʃhɛn3]; SHT [ts'ɛn3]
HY [ts'ian3]; XY [ts'ian3]; DB [ts'ien3]; YL [tɕ'ien3]; XC [tɕ'ien3]
CT [ts'ij3]; WP [tshien3]; YD [ts'ien3]; SH [tɕhiẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'iẽ3]; AY [ts'i3]; SY [tɕ'iẽ3]; XS [ts'ien3]; QN [tɕ'ien3]; ND1 [tɕ'ien3]; ND2 [tɕ'yon3];
ND3 [ts'yan3]

[OPH *ts'ian3] CNH *ts'ian3

Ningdū-2 and Ningdū-3 forms are not normal syllable types for these dialects. They are of obscure provenance.

qiàn 欠 QYS khjəm- CDC *khiam5/EC *khomh
BMH [khiəm]; MX [k'iam5]; HL [k'iam5]; SX [k'iam5]; LF [k'iam5]; LZ [khiam5]; SHT
[k'iam5]
HY [hiam5]; XY [k'iam5]; DB [k'iam5]; YL [tɕ'ien5]; XC [tɕ'ien5]
CT [tɕ'ien5]; WP [tshian5]; YD [k'ian3]; SH [tɕhiã5]; LC1 [k'e5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ie5]; AY [tɕ'ia5]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [tɕ'ien5]; QN [tɕ'iam5]; ND1 [ts'am5]; ND2 [ts'am5];
ND3 [ts'am5]
[OPH *k'iam5] CNH *k'iam5

qiáng 強 QYS gjang CDC *giong2/EC *gang
BMH [khiông]; MX [k'ion2]; HL [k'ion2]; SX [k'ion2]; LF [k'ion2]; LZ [khiông2]; SHT [k'ion2]
HY [k'yon2]; XY [k'ion2]; DB [k'ion2]; YL [tɕ'ion2]; XC [tɕ'ion2]
CT [tɕ'ion2]; WP [tshion2]; YD [k'ion2]; SH [tɕhion2]; LC1 [k'ion2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ĩ2]; AY [tɕ'ion2]; SY [tɕ'ĩ2]; XS [tɕ'ion2]; QN [tɕ'ion2]; ND1 [tɕ'ion2]; ND2 [ts'ɔn2];
ND3 [ts'ɔn2]
OPH *k'iong2 CNH *k'ion2

qiáng 牆 QYS dzjang CDC *dziong2/EC *dzang
BMH [siông ~ tshiông]; MX [sion2]; HL [ts'ion2]; SX [ts'ion2]; LF [ts'ion2]; LZ [ɸion2]; SHT
[sion2]
HY [ts'yon2]; XY [ts'ion2]; DB [ts'ion2]; YL [tɕ'ion2]; XC [tɕ'ion2]
CT [ts'ion2]; WP [tshion2]; YD [ts'ion2]; SH [tɕhion2]; LC1 [ts'ion2]; LC2 [ts'ion2]
NK [tɕ'ĩ2]; AY [ts'ion2]; SY [tɕ'ĩ2]; XS [—]; QN [tɕ'ion2]; ND1 [tɕ'ion2]; ND2 [tɕ'ion2];
ND3 [ts'ion2]
[OPH *ts'iong2] CNH *ts'ion2/*sion2

qiǎng 搶 QYS tshjang: CDC *tshiong3/EC *tshangx
BMH [tshióng]; MX [ts'ion3]; HL [ts'ion3]; SX [ts'ion3]; LF [ts'ion3]; LZ [tɕhion3]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'yon3]; XY [ts'ion3]; DB [ts'ion3]; YL [tɕ'ion3]; XC [tɕ'ion3]
CT [ts'ion3]; WP [tshion3]; YD [ts'ion3]; SH [tɕhion3]; LC1 [ts'ion3]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ĩɔ̃3]; AY [ts'ĩɔ̃3]; SY [tɕ'ĩɔ̃3]; XS [ts'ĩɔ̃3]; QN [tɕ'ĩɔ̃3]; ND1 [tɕ'ĩɔ̃3]; ND2 [tɕ'ĩɔ̃3];
ND3 [ts'ĩɔ̃3]

[OPH *ts'iong3] CNH *ts'iong3

qiáo 橋 QYS gjäu CDC *giau2/EC *gaw

BMH [khiâu]; MX [k'iau2]; HL [k'iau2]; SX [k'eu2]; LF [k'iau2]; LZ [khiau2]; SHT [—]

HY [k'iau2]; XY [k'iau2]; DB [k'iau2]; YL [tɕ'iau2]; XC [tɕ'iau2]

CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [tshio2]; YD [k'iau2]; SH [tɕhiə2]; LC1 [k'io2]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'iau2]; QN [tɕ'iau2]; ND1 [ts'au2]; ND2 [ts'au2];

ND3 [ts'au2]

OPH *k'iau2 CNH *k'iau2

qiǎo 巧 QYS khau: CDC *khau3/EC *—

BMH [kháu]; MX [k'au3]; HL [k'au3]; SX [k'au3]; LF [k'au3]; LZ [khiau3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'iau3]; XC [tɕ'iau3]

CT [tʃ'io3]; WP [kɔ3]; YD [k'au3]; SH [tɕhiə3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'io3]; AY [tɕ'io3]; SY [tɕ'io3]; XS [tɕ'iau3]; QN [tɕ'iau3]; ND1 [tɕ'iau3]; ND2 [k'au3];

ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'au3] CNH *k'au3/*k'iau3

qiē 切 QYS tshiet CDC *tshiat7/EC *'tshut ~ *'tshit

BMH [tshiet]; MX [ts'iet7]; HL [ts'iet7]; SX [ts'iet7]; LF [ts'iat7]; LZ [tʃhet7]; SHT [ts'et7]

HY [ts'iat7]; XY [ts'iat7]; DB [ts'iet7]; YL [tɕ'iet7]; XC [tɕ'ieʔ7]

CT [ts'e2]; WP [tshieʔ7]; YD [ts'ieʔ7]; SH [tɕhieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ie5]; AY [ts'is3]; SY [tɕ'ie5]; XS [ts'iet7]; QN [tɕ'ieʔ7]; ND1 [tɕ'iet7]; ND2 [—]; ND3

[ts'iat7]

[OPH *ts'iat7] CNH *ts'iat7

qié 茄 QYS gja CDC *gio2/EC —

BMH [khiô]; MX [k'io2]; HL [k'io2]; SX [k'io2]; LF [—]; LZ [khiə2]; SHT [k'io2]

HY [k'yɛ2]; XY [k'ɛ2]; DB [k'e2]; YL [tɕ'iau2]; XC [tɕ'ie2w ~ tɕ'io2b]
CT [tɕ'io2]; WP [—]; YD [k'iou2]; SH [tɕhio2]; LC1 [k'ieu2]; LC2 [k'io2]
NK [tɕ'io2]; AY [tɕ'io2]; SY [tɕ'io2]; XS [tɕ'io2]; QN [tɕ'io2]; ND1 [ts'o2]; ND2 [ts'o2]; ND3
[ts'o2]
OPH *k'io2 CNH *k'io2

qiě 且 QYS tshja CDC *tshia3/EC *tshax
BMH [tshia3]; MX [ts'ia3]; HL [ts'ia3]; SX [ts'ia3]; LF [ts'ia3]; LZ [tɕhia3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts'ia3]; WP [tshia3]; YD [ts'ia3]; SH [tɕhia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ia3]; AY [ts'ia3]; SY [tɕ'ia3]; XS [ts'ia3]; QN [tɕ'ia3]; ND1 [tɕ'ia3]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *ts'ia3] CNH *ts'ia3

qīn 親 QYS tshjen CDC *tshin1/EC *tshin
BMH [tshin]; MX [ts'in1]; HL [ts'in1]; SX [ts'in1]; LF [ts'in1]; LZ [tɕhin1]; SHT [ts'in1]
HY [ts'in1]; XY [ts'in1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [tɕ'in1]; XC [tɕ'in1]
CT [ts'ɛŋ1]; WP [tshin1]; YD [ts'in1]; SH [tɕhin1]; LC1 [ts'ɛŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'in1]; AY [ts'in1]; SY [tɕ'in1]; XS [ts'in1]; QN [tɕ'in1]; ND1 [tɕ'in1]; ND2 [tɕ'in1];
ND3 [ts'in1]
[OPH *ts'in1] CNH *ts'in1

qīn 侵 QYS tshjəm CDC *tshim1/EC *tshim
BMH [tshim]; MX [ts'im1]; HL [ts'im1]; SX [ts'im1]; LF [tɕhim1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ts'ɛŋ1]; WP [tshin1]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕin1]; AY [tsin1]; SY [tɕin1]; XS [tsin1]; QN [tɕ'in1]; ND1 [tɕ'im1]; ND2 [tɕ'im1]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *ts'im1] CNH *ts'im1/*tsim1

qīn 欽 QYS khjəm CDC *khim1/EC *khum
 BMH [khim]; MX [k'im1]; HL [k'im1]; SX [k'im1]; LF [k'im1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'in1]; XC [tɛ'in1]
 CT [tʃ'ɛŋ1]; WP [tshiŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tchiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'in1]; AY [tɛ'iaŋ1]; SY [tɛ'in1]; XS [tɛ'in1]; QN [tɛ'in1]; ND1 [ts'əm1]; ND2 [—];
 ND3 [—]
 [OPH *k'im1] CNH *k'im1

qín 琴 QYS gjəm CDC *gim2/EC *gim
 BMH [khîm]; MX [k'im2]; HL [k'im2]; SX [k'im2]; LF [k'im2]; LZ [khim2]; SHT [k'im2]
 HY [k'im2]; XY [k'im2]; DB [k'im2]; YL [tɛ'in2]; XC [tɛ'in2]
 CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'iaŋ2]; SH [tchiŋ2]; LC1 [k'ieŋ2]; LC2 [k'ieŋ2]
 NK [tɛ'in2]; AY [tɛ'iaŋ2]; SY [tɛ'in2]; XS [tɛ'in2]; QN [tɛ'in2]; ND1 [ts'əm2]; ND2 [ts'əm2];
 ND3 [ts'əm2]
 [OPH *k'im2] CNH *k'im2

qín 芹 QYS gjən CDC *gin2/EC *gun
 BMH [khiûn]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [k'iun2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'in2]; XC [tɛ'in2]
 CT [tʃ'ɛŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tchiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'in2]; AY [tɛ'iaŋ2]; SY [tɛ'in2]; XS [tɛ'in2]; QN [tɛ'in1]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'iun2] CNH *k'iun2/*k'in2

qīng 清 QYS tshjäŋ CDC *tshiang1/EC *tsheng
 BMH [tshin]; MX [ts'in1w ~ ts'iaŋ1b]; HL [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; SX [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; LF [ts'in1w
 ~ ts'iaŋ1b]; LZ [tʃhin1]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'in1]; XY [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; DB [ts'ən1]; YL [tɛ'iaŋ1]; XC [tɛ'in1]
 CT [ts'ɛŋ1]; WP [tshiŋ1 ~ tshiaŋ1]; YD [ts'in1]; SH [tchiŋ1 ~ tchiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; AY [ts'ɪŋ1w ~ ts'ĩã1b]; SY [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; XS [tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; QN
[tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND1 [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND2 [tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND3 [ts'ɪŋ1]
[OPH *ts'iaŋ1] CNH *ts'iaŋ1/L *ts'ɪŋ1

qīng 青 QYS tshiang CDC *tshiang1/EC *tsheng
BMH [tshiang]; MX [ts'iaŋ1]; HL [ts'iaŋ1]; SX [ts'iaŋ1]; LF [ts'iaŋ1]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ1b ~ tʃhin1w];
SHT [ts'iaŋ1]
HY [ts'iaŋ1]; XY [ts'iaŋ1]; DB [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ1]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ1]
CT [ts'əŋ1]; WP [tshiaŋ1]; YD [ts'iaŋ1]; SH [tɕhiaŋ1]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; AY [ts'ɪŋ1w ~ ts'ĩã1b]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; XS [ts'in1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]; QN
[tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND1 [tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND2 [tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND3 [ts'ɪŋ1 ~ ts'iaŋ1]
[OPH *ts'iaŋ1] CNH *ts'iaŋ1/L *ts'ɪŋ1

qīng 輕 QYS khjäŋ CDC *khiang1/EC *kheng
BMH [khiang]; MX [k'in1w ~ k'iaŋ1b]; HL [k'in1w ~ k'iaŋ1b]; SX [k'in1w ~ k'iaŋ1b]; LF
[k'iaŋ1]; LZ [khiaŋ1]; SHT [k'iaŋ1]
HY [k'iaŋ1]; XY [hiaŋ1]; DB [hiaŋ1]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ1]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ1]
CT [tʃ'iaŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [k'iaŋ1]; SH [tɕhiaŋ1]; LC1 [k'iaŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; AY [tɕ'ĩã1]; SY [tɕ'ɪŋ1 ~ tɕ'ĩã1]; XS [tɕ'in1 ~ tɕ'iaŋ1]; QN [tɕ'in1 ~
tɕ'iaŋ1]; ND1 [ts'aŋ1]; ND2 [ts'aŋ1]; ND3 [ts'aŋ1]
[OPH *k'iaŋ1] CNH *k'iaŋ1/L *k'ɪŋ1

The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural.

qīng 傾 QYS khjwäng, khjäŋ CDC *khing1 ~ khiung1 (?)/EC *khweng
BMH [khin ~ khen]; MX [k'en1]; HL [k'en3]; SX [k'en3]; LF [—]; LZ [khin1]; SHT [—]
HY [k'in1]; XY [k'əŋ]; DB [k'ən1]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ'əŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕ'ɪŋ1]; AY [tɕ'iaŋ1]; SY [tɕ'yŋ3]; XS [tɕ'in1]; QN [tɕ'iun1]; ND1 [ts'əŋ1]; ND2 [—];
ND3 [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'ɪŋ1]
[OPH *k'en3] CNH *k'iuŋ1

qíng 晴 QYS dzjäŋ CDC *dziang2/EC *dzeng
 BMH [tshiäng]; MX [ts'in2w ~ ts'iaŋ2b]; HL [ts'iaŋ2]; SX [ts'iaŋ2]; LF [ts'iaŋ2]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ2];
 SHT [—]
 HY [ts'iaŋ2]; XY [ts'iaŋ2]; DB [ts'iaŋ2]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ2]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ2]
 CT [ts'eŋ2]; WP [tshiaŋ2]; YD [ts'iaŋ2]; SH [tɕhiaŋ2]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ia2]; AY [ts'ia2]; SY [tɕ'ia2]; XS [ts'iaŋ2]; QN [tɕ'in2 ~ tɕ'iaŋ2]; ND1 [tɕ'iaŋ2]; ND2
 [tɕ'iaŋ2]; ND3 [ts'iaŋ2]
 [OPH *ts'iaŋ2] CNH *ts'iaŋ2/L *ts'iaŋ2

qǐng 請 QYS tshjäŋ: CDC *tshiang3/EC *tshengx
 BMH [tshiäng]; MX [ts'iaŋ3]; HL [ts'iaŋ3]; SX [ts'iaŋ3]; LF [ts'iaŋ3]; LZ [tʃhiaŋ3]; SHT
 [ts'iaŋ3]
 HY [ts'iaŋ3]; XY [ts'iaŋ3]; DB [ts'iaŋ3]; YL [tɕ'iaŋ3]; XC [tɕ'iaŋ3]
 CT [ts'eŋ3]; WP [tshiaŋ3]; YD [ts'iaŋ3]; SH [tɕhiaŋ3]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'ia3]; AY [ts'ia3]; SY [tɕ'iaŋ3 ~ tɕ'ia3]; XS [tɕ'in3 ~ tɕ'iaŋ3]; QN [tɕ'iaŋ3]; ND1
 [tɕ'iaŋ3]; ND2 [tɕ'iaŋ3]; ND3 [ts'iaŋ3 ~ ts'iaŋ3]
 [OPH *ts'iaŋ3] CNH *ts'iaŋ3/L *ts'iaŋ3

qióng 窮 QYS gjung CDC *giung2/EC *gung
 BMH [khiung]; MX [k'iuŋ2]; HL [k'iuŋ2]; SX [k'iuŋ2]; LF [k'iuŋ2]; LZ [khiuŋ2]; SHT [k'iuŋ2]
 HY [k'iuŋ2]; XY [k'iuŋ2]; DB [k'iuŋ2]; YL [tɕ'iuŋ2]; XC [tɕ'iuŋ2]
 CT [tʃ'iuŋ2]; WP [tshiuŋ2]; YD [k'iuŋ2]; SH [tɕhiaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iuŋ2]; AY [tɕ'iuŋ2]; SY [tɕ'iuŋ2]; XS [tɕ'iuŋ2]; QN [tɕ'iuŋ2]; ND1 [ts'iuŋ2]; ND2 [ts'iuŋ2];
 ND3 [ts'iuŋ2]
 OPH *k'iuŋ2 CNH k'iuŋ2

qiū 秋 QYS tshjəu CDC *tshieu1/EC *tshux? ~ *tshiw?
 BMH [tshiu]; MX [ts'iu1]; HL [ts'iu1]; SX [ts'iu1]; LF [ts'iu1]; LZ [tʃhiu1]; SHT [ts'iu1]
 HY [ts'iu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'iu1]; XC [tɕ'iu1]
 CT [ts'ieu1]; WP [tshiu1]; YD [ts'iu1]; SH [tɕhiu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'iu1]; AY [ts'ʉ1]; SY [tɕ'iu1]; XS [ts'iu1]; QN [tɕ'iu1]; ND1 [tɕ'ieu1]; ND2 [tɕ'ieu1];
ND3 [ts'iu1]

OPH *ts'iu1 CNH *ts'ieu1

qiú 求 QYS gjəu CDC *gieu2/EC *gu

BMH [khiû]; MX [k'iu2]; HL [k'iu2]; SX [k'iu2]; LF [k'iu2]; LZ [khiu2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'ieu2]; XC [tɕ'ieu2]

CT [tʃ'ieu2]; WP [tshiu2]; YD [k'iu2]; SH [tɕhiu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'iu2]; AY [tɕ'ʉ2]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'iu2]; QN [tɕ'iu2]; ND1 [ts'ɛu2]; ND2 [ts'əu2];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'iu2] CNH *k'ieu2

qiú 球 QYS gjəu CDC *gieu2/EC *gu

BMH [khiû]; MX [k'iu2]; HL [k'iu2]; SX [k'iu2]; LF [k'iu2]; LZ [khiu2]; SHT [k'iu2]

HY [k'iu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'ieu2]; XC [tɕ'ieu2]

CT [tʃ'ieu2]; WP [tshiu2]; YD [k'iu2]; SH [tɕhiu2]; LC1 [k'iu2]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɕ'iu2]; AY [tɕ'ʉ2]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [tɕ'iu2]; QN [tɕ'iu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'əu2]; ND3
[ts'əu2]

[OPH *k'iu2] CNH *k'ieu2

qū 趨 QYS tshju CDC *tshiu1/EC *tsho

BMH [tshi]; MX [ts'i1]; HL [ts'i5]; SX [ts'i5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [ts'i1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'i5] CNH ?

It is possible that this syllable should be restored with final *-iu in CNH. Unfortunately, however, forms from the requisite points for determining this are absent from the set. The word is of high literary register and is consequently not listed in most of our sources.

qū 屈 QYS khjuət CDC *khiut7/EC *khut
 BMH [khiut]; MX [k'iut7]; HL [k'iut8]; SX [k'iut8]; LF [k'iut8]; LZ [khut7]; SHT [—]
 HY [k'ut7]; XY [k'ut7]; DB [k'uət7]; YL [—]; XC [tɛ'iuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k'ut7]; SH [khueiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'io8]; AY [tɛ'is3]; SY [tɛ'ye5]; XS [tɛ'it7]; QN [tɛ'iuɔiʔ]; ND1 [ts'uit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ts'ət7]
 OPH *k'iut7 ~ 8 (?) CNH *k'iut7/*k'iut8

qǔ 曲 QYS khjwok CDC *khiuk7/EC *khok
 BMH [khiuk]; MX [k'iuk7]; HL [k'iuk7]; SX [k'iuk7]; LF [k'iuk7]; LZ [khiuk7]; SHT [k'uk7
 ~ k'iuk7]
 HY [k'ok7]; XY [k'ouʔ7]; DB [k'uk7]; YL [tɛ'yʔ8]; XC [tɛ'iuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [tshiuʔ7]; YD [k'iuʔ7]; SH [tɛhiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'iu8]; AY [tɛ'io6]; SY [tɛ'io5]; XS [—]; QN [tɛ'iuʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uk7]; ND2 [ts'uk7]; ND3
 [ts'uk7]
 [OPH *k'iuk7] CNH *k'iuk7

qǔ 取 QYS tshju: CDC *tshiu3/EC *tshox
 BMH [tshî]; MX [ts'i3]; HL [ts'i3]; SX [ts'i3]; LF [ts'i3]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'y3]; XC [—]
 CT [ts'i3]; WP [tshi3]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tɛhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'y3]; AY [ts'i3]; SY [tɛ'i3]; XS [ts'i3]; QN [tɛ'i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tɛ'iu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'i3] CNH *ts'iu3

qǔ 娶 QYS tshju-, (tshju:) CDC *tshiu3 ~ *tshiu5/EC *tshox
 BMH [tshî]; MX [ts'i3]; HL [ts'i3]; SX [ts'i3]; LF [ts'i3 ~ ts'ɛ6]; LZ [tʃhi3]; SHT [ts'i3]
 HY [ts'y3]; XY [ts'y3]; DB [ts'i3]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ts'i3]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tɛhi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɛ'y3]; AY [ts'i3]; SY [tɛ'i3]; XS [ts'i3]; QN [tɛ'i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɛ'iu3]; ND3 [ts'iu3]
 [OPH *ts'i3] CNH *ts'iu3

The initial of the Níngdū-2 form is irregular.

qù 去 QYS khjwo- CDC *khie5 (~ *khiu)/EC *khah
BMH [khi ~ hi]; MX [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; HL [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; SX [k'i5w ~ hi5b]; LF [k'i3 ~ hi5];
LZ [hi5]; SHT [k'iu5 ~ hi5]
HY [hy5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [tɛ'i5]; XC [ɛi5]
CT [tʃ'i5]; WP [si5]; YD [k'i3]; SH [khi5]; LC1 [k'ui5]; LC2 [hoi5]†
NK [he5]; AY [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; SY [tɛ'y2 ~ he2]; XS [ɛi5]; QN [tɛ'i5 ~ ɛi5]; ND1 [ɛie5 ~ ɛie2];
ND2 [ɛie5]; ND3 [sie5]
[OPH *hi5] CNH *hiu5/*hie5/L *k'iu5
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [hue5].

The Xīnyí form appears to reflect earlier *hi5 rather than *hiu5. Likewise, the Yílǒng form must derive from earlier *k'i5 rather than *k'y5.

qù 趣 QYS tshju- CDC *tshiu5/EC *tshoh
BMH [tshi]; MX [ts'i5]; HL [ts'i5]; SX [ts'i5]; LF [ts'i6]; LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɛ'y5]; XC [ɛi5]
CT [ts'i5]; WP [tshi5]; YD [—]; SH [tɛhi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'y5]; AY [ts'i5]; SY [tɛ'i3]; XS [ts'i5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ts'i6] CNH *ts'iu6

quán 全 QYS dzjwän CDC *dzion2/EC *dzon
BMH [tshiên]; MX [ts'ien2]; HL [ts'ion2]; SX [ts'ion2]; LF [ts'ian2]; LZ [tʃhên2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'yan2]; XY [ts'uan2]; DB [ts'ion2]; YL [tɛ'yên2]; XC [tɛ'ien2]
CT [ts'in2]; WP [tshien2]; YD [ts'ien2]; SH [tɛhiɛ2]; LC1 [ts'e2]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'yɛ2]; AY [ts'ǝ2]; SY [tɛ'iɛ2]; XS [ts'ien2]; QN [tɛ'iuon2]; ND1 [tɛ'ien2]; ND2
[tɛ'ian2]; ND3 [ts'ian2]
[OPH *ts'ion2] CNH *ts'ion2

quán 泉 QYS dzjwän CDC *dzion2/EC *dzan
 BMH [tshân]; MX [ts'ian2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts'an2]; LZ [tʃhan2]; SHT [ts'an2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'yen2]; XC [tɕ'ien2]
 CT [ts'ij2]; WP [tshien2]; YD [ts'an2]; SH [tɕhiẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [tɕ'ie2]; AY [ts'õ2]; SY [tɕ'ie2]; XS [ts'ien2]; QN [tɕ'iuon2]; ND1 [tɕ'ien2]; ND2 [tɕ'ian2];
 ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ts'ion2
 †FJFYZ: [ts'e2].

quán 拳 QYS gjwän3 CDC *gion2/EC *gon
 BMH [khên ~ khiên]; MX [k'ian2]; HL [k'ian2]; SX [k'ian2]; LF [k'ian2]; LZ [khen2]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [k'yan2]; XY [k'ian2]; DB [k'ien2]; YL [tɕ'yen2]; XC [tɕ'ien2]
 CT [tʃ'ij2]; WP [khuen2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [tɕhiẽ2]; LC1 [k'ue2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'yẽ2]; AY [tɕ'iõ2]; SY [tɕ'yẽ2]; XS [tɕ'ien2]; QN [tɕ'iuon2]; ND1 [ts'an2]; ND2 [—];
 ND3 [ts'an2]
 [OPH *k'ian2] CNH *k'ion2/*k'un2

The second form is supported by the Wǔpíng and Yǒngdǐng forms. It is quite possible a Mǐn loanword.

quǎn 犬 QYS khiwen: CDC *khion3/EC *'khwenx
 BMH [khén]; MX [k'ian3]; HL [k'ian3]; SX [k'ian3]; LF [k'ian3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕ'ien3]
 CT [tʃ'ij3]; WP [tshien3]; YD [k'ien3]; SH [tɕhiẽ3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [khue3]
 NK [tɕ'yẽ3]; AY [tɕ'iõ3]; SY [tɕ'yẽ3]; XS [tɕ'ien3]; QN [tɕ'iuon3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *k'ian3] CNH *k'ion3

quàn 勸 QYS khjwɔn- CDC *khion5/khwonh
BMH [khèn ~ khièn]; MX [k'ian5]; HL [k'ian5]; SX [k'ian5]; LF [k'ian5]; LZ [hən5]; SHT [khen5]
HY [hyan5 ~ hian5]; XY [k'ian5]; DB [k'ien5]; YL [tɛ'yən5]; XC [tɛ'ien5]
CT [tʃ'iq5]; WP [tshien5]; YD [k'ien3]; SH [tɕhiẽ5]; LC1 [k'ue5]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'yẽ5]; AY [tɛ'iõ5]; SY [tɛ'yẽ2]; XS [tɛ'ien5]; QN [tɛ'iuɔn5]; ND1 [ts'an5]; ND2 [ts'an5]; ND3 [ts'an5]
[OPH *k'ian5] CNH *k'ion5

quē 缺 QYS khiwet CDC *khiet7/EC *'kwet
BMH [khet ~ khiet]; MX [k'iat7]; HL [k'iet5]; SX [k'iet5]; LF [k'iat5]; LZ [khet7]; SHT [—]
HY [k'yat7]; XY [k'iat7]; DB [k'iet7]; YL [tɛ'yɛʔ7]; XC [tɛ'ieʔ7]
CT [tʃ'e1]; WP [—]; YD [k'ieʔ7]; SH [tɕhieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'yæ7]; AY [tɛ'iz3]; SY [tɛ'ye5]; XS [tɛ'iet7]; QN [tɛ'iuoiʔ7]; ND1 [ts'ait7]; ND2 [ts'at7]; ND3 [ts'at7]
[OPH *k'iat7 ?] CNH *k'iot7

qué 癩 QYS guâ CDC *giuo2/EC *—
BMH [khiô]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [k'io2]; LZ [khiɔ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [tʃ'io2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɛ'io2]; AY [tɛ'io2]; SY [tɛ'io2]; XS [tɛ'io2]; QN [tɛ'io2]; ND1 [ts'o2]; ND2 [ts'o2]; ND3 [—]
[—]
[OPH *k'io2] CNH *k'io2

què 雀 QYS tsjak CDC *tsiok7/EC *tsawk
BMH [tsiok]; MX [tsiok7]; HL [tsiok7]; SX [tsiok7]; LF [tsiok7]; LZ [tʃiɔk7]; SHT [tsiok7]
HY [tsynk7 ~ tsiok7]; XY [tsiok7]; DB [tsiok7]; YL [—]; XC [tɛ'ioʔ7]
CT [tsio2]; WP [tshioʔ7]; YD [tsioʔ7]; SH [tɕhioʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsɛu6]

NK [tɛ'io8]; AY [ts'io6]; SY [tɛ'io5]; XS [ts'io7]; QN [tɛ'ioʔ7]; ND1 [tɛio7]; ND2 [—];
ND3 [ts'io8]

OPH *tsio7 CNH *tsio7/*ts'io7

The Níngdū-3 tone is irregular.

què 卻 QYS khjak CDC *khiok7/EC *khak

BMH [khiok]; MX [k'io7]; HL [k'io7]; SX [—]; LF [k'io7]; LZ [khiok7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɛ'ioʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [k'ioʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [tɛ'io6]; SY [tɛ'io5]; XS [ts'io7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ok7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *k'io7] CNH *k'io7

què 確 QYS khâk CDC *khok7/EC *khrawk

BMH [khok]; MX [k'ok7]; HL [k'ok7]; SX [k'ok7]; LF [k'ok7]; LZ [khok7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɛ'ioʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [khəʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [khəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [k'o8]; AY [k'o6]; SY [k'o5]; XS [k'ok7]; QN [k'əʔ7]; ND1 [k'ok7]; ND2 [k'ok7]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *k'ok7] CNH *k'ok7

qún 裙 QYS gjuən CDC *giun2/EC *gun

BMH [khiun]; MX [k'iun2]; HL [k'iun2]; SX [k'iun2]; LF [k'iun2]; LZ [khiun2]; SHT [k'iun2]

HY [k'un2]; XY [k'un2]; DB [k'un2]; YL [tɛ'yn2]; XC [tɛ'in2]

CT [tj'ej2]; WP [tshin2]; YD [k'un2]; SH [təhin2]; LC1 [k'uej2]; LC2 [—]

NK [tɛ'ij2]; AY [tɛ'ien2]; SY [tɛ'yn2]; XS [tɛ'in2]; QN [tɛ'iun2]; ND1 [ts'ən2]; ND2 [ts'ən2];

ND3 [ts'ən2]

OPH *k'iun2 CNH *k'iun2

R

rán 然 QYS ńǝǝǝn CDC *nhian2/EC *nan

BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [—]

HY [jian2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [—]; XC [ʒan2]

CT [—]; WP [iɛŋ2]; YD [iɛn2]; SH [iẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [iẽ2]; AY [ji2]; SY [jiẽ2]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [iɛn2]; ND1 [iɛn2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ian2]

[OPH *ian2] CNH *ian2

The Xinyí form reflects an earlier *ńian2. The Xīchāng reading is a Mandarinized form.

rán 燃 QYS ńǝǝǝn CDC *nhian2/EC *nan

BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ʒan2]

CT [niŋ3]; WP [iɛŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [lǎ2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [iẽ2]; AY [—]; SY [jiẽ2]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [iɛn2]; ND1 [iɛn2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ian2] CNH *ian2

The Chángtǐng form reflects an earlier *ńian3. The Shàngháng form is a probable loan from a Mandarin or Mandarin-like dialect, where modern l- has been substituted for non-indigenous ɭ-.

rǎn 染 QYS ńǝǝǝm: CDC *nhiam4 ~ *nhiam4/EC *namx

BMH [nyám ~ nyàm]; MX [ɲiam3 ~ ɲiam5]; HL [ɲiam6]; SX [ɲiam5]; LF [ɲiam6]; LZ [ɲiam5]; SHT [—]

HY [ɲiam3]; XY [ɲiam3]; DB [ɲiam3]; YL [ɲiɛn3]; XC [ʒan3]

CT [niŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [niǎ3]; LC1 [ɲe3]; LC2 [—]

NK [niẽ1]; AY [niǎ6]; SY [jiẽ3]; XS [niɛn3]; QN [ɲiam3]; ND1 [nam3]; ND2 [nam1]; ND3 [nam1]

[OPH *ɲiam6] CNH *ńiam3/*ńiam6

The Shàngyóu form is derived from earlier *ian3, which is intrusive rather than native. The second and third Níngdū forms have an unexpected tone 1 that is not found elsewhere.

ràng 讓 QYS ńźjang- CDC *nhiong6/EC *nangh
 BMH [yòŋg ~ nyòŋg]; MX [iəŋ5w ~ ɲiəŋ5b]; HL [ʒəŋ5]; SX [iəŋ5]; LF [jəŋ6]; LZ [ʔgiəŋ5];
 SHT [—]
 HY [nyəŋ6]; XY [ɲiəŋ3]; DB [ɲiəŋ5]; YL [ɲiəŋ3]; XC [niəŋ5]
 CT [niəŋ6]; WP [niəŋ3]; YD [ŋiəŋ5]; SH [ɲiəŋ3]; LC1 [niəŋ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niʒ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niʒ5]; XS [niəŋ5]; QN [niəŋ5]; ND1 [nəŋ6]; ND2 [nəŋ6]; ND3
 [nəŋ6]
 [OPH *ɲiəŋ5] CNH *ñiəŋ6/L *iəŋ6

ráo 饒 QYS ńźjäu CDC *nhiau2/EC *new
 BMH [nyâu]; MX [ɲiau2]; HL [ɲiau2]; SX [ɲieu2]; LF [ɲiau2]; LZ [ʔgiäu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲiau2]; XY [ɲiau2]; DB [ɲiau2]; YL [ɲiau2]; XC [zäu2]
 CT [—]; WP [niə2]; YD [ŋieu2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [niə2]; AY [niə2]; SY [niə2]; XS [niau2]; QN [niau2]; ND1 [nau2]; ND2 [nau2]; ND3
 [nau2]
 OPH *ɲiəu2 CNH *ñiau2

rè 熱 QYS ńźjät CD *nhiat8/EC *nat
 BMH [nyét]; MX [ɲiat8]; HL [ɲiet8]; SX [ɲiet8]; LF [ɲiat8]; LZ [ʔget8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲiat8]; XY [ɲiat8]; DB [ɲiat8]; YL [ɲieʔ8]; XC [nieʔ8]
 CT [ne6]; WP [nieʔ8]; YD [ɲieʔ8]; SH [ɲieʔ8]; LC1 [ɲi5]; LC2 [ni5]
 NK [nie5]; AY [niʒ1]; SY [nie5]; XS [niet8]; QN [nieʔ8]; ND1 [nait8]; ND2 [nat8]; ND3 [nat8]
 OPH *ɲiəiat8 CNH *ñiat8

rén 人 QYS ńźjen CDC *nhin2/EC *nin
 BMH [nyín]; MX [ɲin2]; HL [ɲin2]; SX [ɲin2]; LF [ɲin2]; LZ [ʔgin2]; SHT [ɲin2]
 HY [ɲin2]; XY [ɲin2]; DB [ɲən2]; YL [ɲin2]; XC [nin2]
 CT [neŋ2]; WP [niŋ2]; YD [ɲiŋ2]; SH [ɲiŋ2]; LC1 [ɲieŋ2]; LC2 [ɲieŋ2 ~ ieŋ2]
 NK [niŋ2]; AY [niəŋ2]; SY [niŋ2 ~ jiŋ2]; XS [nin2]; QN [nin2]; ND1 [nən2]; ND2 [nən2b ~
 in2w]; ND3 [nən2 ~ in2]

OPH *n₁in2 CNH *ñin2/L in2

rèn 任 QYS n̄zjəm- CDC *nhim6/EC *nimh
BMH [nyim]; MX [im5]; HL [ɟem5]; SX [im5]; LF [n̄im6]; LZ [ʷgim5]; SHT [ŋim5]
HY [ŋim6]; XY [n̄im3]; DB [n̄əm3]; YL [n̄in3]; XC [nin5]
CT [ieŋ6]; WP [iŋ3]; YD [iŋ5]; SH [iŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ5]; AY [jiŋ6]; SY [jiŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [im6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [im6]
[OPH *n₁im6] CNH *ñim6/*im6

rěn 忍 QYS n̄zjen: CDC *nhin4/EC *nunx
BMH [nyun ~ nyún†]; MX [n̄iun1]; HL [n̄iun1]; SX [n̄iun1]; LF [n̄iun1]; LZ [ʷgiun3]; SHT
[—]
HY [ŋin5]; XY [n̄yn1]; DB [n̄ən1]; YL [n̄in3]; XC [nin3]
CT [neŋ1]; WP [niŋ1]; YD [ŋin1]††; SH [n̄iŋ1]; LC1 [ŋieŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ3]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin3]; QN [nin1]; ND1 [nən3]; ND2 [nən3]; ND3 [nən3]
OPH *n₁iun1 CNH *ñiun1/*ñiun3/L *ñin1/*ñin3
†Said by the source to be the “proper” (i.e., literary or character) reading.
††Form after Lán (1999).

rèn 刃 QYS n̄zjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyún]; MX [n̄iun3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niŋ3]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nən6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *n₁iun3] CNH *ñiun6/*ñin6

rèn 認 QYS n̄zjen- CDC *nhin6/EC *nunh
BMH [nyin]; MX [nin5]; HL [n̄in6]; SX [n̄in5]; LF [n̄in6]; LZ [ʷgin5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋin6]; XY [n̄in3]; DB [n̄ən3]; YL [n̄in3]; XC [nin5]
CT [neŋ6]; WP [niŋ3]; YD [ŋiŋ5]; SH [n̄iŋ3]; LC1 [ŋieŋ6]; LC2 [—]

NK [niŋ5]; AY [niəŋ6]; SY [niŋ5]; XS [nin5]; QN [nin6]; ND1 [nən6]; ND2 [nən6]; ND3 [nən6]
[OPH *n₁in6] CNH *ñin6

日 日 QYS n̄zjet CDC *^hnhit8/EC *nit

BMH [nyit]; MX [n̄it7]; HL [n̄it7]; SX [n̄it7]; LF [n̄it7]; LZ [n̄git7]; SHT [ŋit7]

HY [ŋit7]; XY [n̄it7]; DB [n̄ət7]; YL [n̄iʔ8 ~ n̄iɛʔ8b]†; XC [z̄lʔ7w ~ z̄l2w ~ niɛʔ7b]

CT [ni2]; WP [niʔ7]; YD [n̄iʔ7]; SH [n̄iʔ7]; LC1 [ŋi6]; LC2 [n̄i6 ~ ni6]

NK [nie5 ~ nie7]; AY [ni33]; SY [nie5]; XS [nit7]; QN [niʔ7]; ND1 [n̄ət7]; ND2 [n̄ət7]; ND3
[n̄ət7]

[OPH *n₁it7] CNH *ñit7/*ñiat7

†Second form, sense of “day”, is found in the Glossary section of the source.

The Yílǒng báif form appears to be a substitution of rè 熱 *ñiat8 “hot”, as reconstructed above.

容 容 QYS jiwong CDC *yung2/EC *yong

BMH [yûŋ]; MX [iuŋ2]; HL [zuŋ2]; SX [iuŋ2]; LF [juŋ2]; LZ [zuŋ2]; SHT [juŋ2]

HY [jyoŋ2]; XY [ioŋ2]; DB [zuŋ2]; YL [iuŋ2]; XC [iuŋ2]

CT [ioŋ2]; WP [iuŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [iəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [iŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jiŋ2]; XS [iəŋ2]; QN [iuŋ2]; ND1 [iuŋ2]; ND2 [iuŋ2]; ND3 [iuŋ2]

OPH *iuŋ2 CNH *iuŋ2

絨 絨 QYS n̄zjung CDC *nhiung2/EC *nung

BMH [yûŋ]; MX [iuŋ2]; HL [zuŋ2]; SX [iuŋ2]; LF [juŋ2]; LZ [zuŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [jioŋ2]; XY [ioŋ2]; DB [zuŋ2]; YL [—]; XC [zuŋ2]

CT [ioŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [iuŋ2]; SH [iəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [iŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jiŋ2]; XS [iəŋ2]; QN [iuŋ2]; ND1 [iuŋ2]; ND2 [iuŋ2]; ND3 [iuŋ2]

[OPH *iuŋ2] CNH *iuŋ2

柔 柔 QYS n̄zjəu CDC *nhieu2/EC *—

BMH [yû]; M X [iu2]; HL [zu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [—]; LZ [ziu2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [zəu2]

CT [—]; WP [iu2]; YD [—]; SH [io2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [—]; SY [jiu2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iu2] CNH *ieu2

ròu 肉 QYS n̄zjuk CDC *^hnhiuk8/EC *nuk
BMH [nyuk]; MX [niuk7]; HL [niuk7]; SX [niuk7]; LF [niuk7]; LZ [ᵑgiuk7]; SHT [ɲiuk7]
HY [ɲyok7 ~ nyok8]†; XY [niuk7]; DB [niuk7]; YL [niəuʔ7]; XC [niuk7]
CT [nieu2 ~ niə2]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [niuʔ7]; SH [niəʔ]; LC1 [ɲieu6]; LC2 [nio6 ~ niəu5]
NK [niu8]; AY [nio6w ~ ɲ6]; SY [niu5]; XS [niuk7]; QN [niuʔ7]; ND1 [nuk7]; ND2 [nuk7];
ND3 [nuk7 ~ niuk7]
OPH *^hniuk7 CNH *^hniuk7/*^hniuk8

†Second form used specifically in the compound [nyok8 tsy1] 肉豬 “castrated hog”. It is the first form which normally means “meat” in this dialect.

rú 如 QYS n̄zjwo, (n̄zjwo-) CDC *nhie2 (~ *nhui2)/EC *na
BMH [yi]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ʒi2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [zu2]; XC [zu2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [yɛ2]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [jy2]; XS [—]; QN [ɛ2]; ND1 [lu2]; ND2 [lu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i2] CNH *iu2

The two Níngdū forms appear to be borrowings of a northern reading [ɹu2].

rǔ 汝 QYS n̄zjwo: CDC *nhie4/EC *nax “you” See sub nǐ 你.

rǔ 乳 QYS n̄zju: CDC *nhui4/EC *nox
BMH [—]; MX [i1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [i3]; WP [—]; YD [zi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [lui3 ~ iui3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *iu3 ?

The first Quánnán form may be a late northern loan, in which non-indigenous initial ɿ- has been replaced by native l-.

rǔ 褥 QYS ńǝjwɔk CDC *nhiuk8/EC *nok
 BMH [yúk]; MX [ɲiuk8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [juk8]; LZ [ɜuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ɟuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [iuʔ8]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [iu8]; AY [ji1]; SY [io5]; XS [—]; QN [lu3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *iuk8
 †FJFYZ: [iəu5].

The Méixiàn form appears to derive from an earlier *ɲiuk8, which is not represented elsewhere. The Quánnán form is probably a borrowing of northern [ɟu2].

rǔ 辱 QYS ńǝjwɔk CDC *nhiuk8/EC *nok
 BMH [yúk]; MX [iuk8]; HL [ɜuk8]; SX [iuk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [ɜuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [jyok8]; XY [iouʔ8]; DB [ɜuk8]; YL [—]; XC [ɟuʔ7]
 CT [ieu6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [iuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iuk7]
 OPH *iuk8 CNH *iuk8

rù 入 QYS ńǝjɔp CDC *nhip8/EC *nup
 BMH [nyip]; MX [ɲip8]; HL [ɲip8]; SX [ɲip8]; LF [ɲip8]; LZ [ʔgip5]; SHT [—]
 HY [jip8]; XY [ɲip8]; DB [zəp8]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ne6]; WP [—]; YD [ɲiʔ8]; SH [ɲiʔ8]; LC1 [ɲi5]; LC2 [ni5]
 NK [ie5]; AY [niɜ1]; SY [jie5]; XS [nit8]; QN [niʔ8]; ND1 [iap8]; ND2 [iap]; ND3 [iap8]
 OPH *ɲip8 CNH *ɲip8/*ip8

ruǎn 軟 QYS ńǝjwǎn: CDC *nhion4/EC *nonx
 BMH [nyon]; MX [ɲion1]; HL [ɲion1]; SX [ɲion1]; LF [ɲion1]; LZ [ʔgion1]; SHT [ɲion1]
 HY [ɲyan5]; XY [ɲian1]; DB [ɲion2]; YL [—]; XC [nyen2]

CT [iŋ1]; WP [niɛŋ1]; YD [niɛn1]; SH [niɛ̃1]; LC1 [ŋue1]; LC2 [ŋue1]
NK [niɛ̃1]; AY [niõ3]; SY [niɛ̃1]; XS [niuɔn1]; QN [niuɔn1]; ND1 [noɛn1]; ND2 [nuon3]; ND3
[nuan1]

OPH *_niɔn1 CNH *ñion1/*ñion3/*ñion2

The Chángtīng form is irregular. The Tone of the Héyuán form is not explained by any of the reconstructions.

ruì 銳 QYS jiwäi- CDC *yui6/EC *yoth
BMH [yüi]; MX [iui5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɣuei5]; XC [—]
CT [fue5]; WP [—]; YD [iei3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [lue5]; AY [lue6]; SY [lue3]; XS [—]; QN [iui6]; ND1 [lui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *iui6/*šui5

The l- initial forms in this set do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern appear to be late borrowings of a northern or northern-like [qui6].

ruò 弱 QYS ńźjak CDC *nhio̯k8/EC *—
BMH [nyok]; MX [niɔk8]; HL [niɔk8]; SX [niɔk8]; LF [niɔk8]; LZ [ɳgiɔk8]; SHT [ŋiɔk8]
HY [nyɔk8]; XY [niɔk8]; DB [niɔk8]; YL [niɔʔ8]; XC [nioʔ8]
CT [nio6]; WP [niɔʔ8]; YD [niɔʔ8]; SH [niɔʔ8]; LC1 [ŋieu5]; LC2 [—]
NK [nio1]; AY [nio6]; SY [nio5]; XS [niɔk8]; QN [nioʔ8]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [nɔk8]; ND3
[nɔk8]
[OPH *_niɔk8] CNH *ñio̯k8

ruò 若 QYS ńźjak CDC *nhio̯k8/EC *nak
BMH [yók]; MX [iɔk8]; HL [ʒok8]; SX [iok8]; LF [jok8]; LZ [ʒok8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [nioʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [nio5]; XS [—]; QN [ioʔ7]; ND1 [nok8]; ND2 [nɔk8]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iok8] CNH *ñio̯k8/*iok8

S

sà 薩 QYS sât CDC *sat7/EC *'sat
 BMH [sat]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [saʔ7]; XC [saʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [saʔ7]; YD [sat7]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sa8]; AY [sɜ3]; SY [sa5]; XS [sait7]; QN [sæʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *sat7] CNH *sat7

sān 三 QYS sâm CDC *sam1/EC *'sum
 BMH [sam]; MX [sam1]; HL [sam1]; SX [sam1]; LF [sam1]; LZ [ʃam1]; SHT [sam1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [san1]; XC [san1]
 CT [san1]; WP [san1]; YD [san1]; SH [sã1]; LC1 [san1]; LC2 [san1]
 NK [sã1]; AY [sã1]; SY [sã1]; XS [san1]; QN [sam1]; ND1 [sam1]; ND2 [sam1]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *sam1 CNH *sam1

sāng 喪 QYS sâng CDC *song1/EC *'sang
 BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [sɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [lɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
 CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [sɔŋ1 ~ san1]; SH [sɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [—]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *sɔŋ1] CNH *sɔŋ1

sāng 桑 QYS sâng CDC *song1/EC *'sang
 BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [sɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [lɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
 CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [suɛŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
 [OPH *sɔŋ1] CNH *sɔŋ1

sǎo 嫂 QYS sǎu: CDC *sou3/EC *'sux
BMH [sáu ~ sǒ]; MX [sau3]; HL [so3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [ʃau3]; SHT [sau3]
HY [sau3]; XY [sǒ3]; DB [lǒ3]; YL [səu3]; XC [sau3]
CT [sǒ3]; WP [sǒ3]; YD [sou3]; SH [su3]; LC1 [sǒ3]; LC2 [səu3]
NK [sǒ3]; AY [sǒ3]; SY [sǒ3]; XS [sau3]; QN [sau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]
[OPH *sou3] CNH *sou3

sè 色 QYS sjək CDC *shek7/EC *srik
BMH [set]; MX [set7]; HL [set7]; SX [set7]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃet7]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [set7]; DB [ʔet7]; YL [sɛʔ7]; XC [ʃɛʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [sɛʔ7]; YD [sɛʔ7]; SH [sɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sə5]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [set7]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [sək7]
OPH *set7 CNH *sek7

sè 瑟 QYS sjɛt CDC *shet7/EC *srit
BMH [sit]; MX [sit7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sit7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɛʔ7]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sit7] CNH *sit7/*set7

sè 澀 QYS sjəp CDC *shep7/EC *srip
BMH [sep]; MX [sep7]; HL [sep7]; SX [sep7]; LF [sep7]; LZ [ʃep7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɛʔ7]; XC [ʃɛʔ7]
CT [se2]; WP [sɛʔ7]; YD [sɛʔ7]; SH [sɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [set7]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *sep7 CNH *sep7

The initial of the Xīchāng form probably reflects Mandarin influence of some sort.

sēn 森 QYS sjem CDC *shem1/EC *srim
 BMH [sem]; MX [sem1]; HL [sem1]; SX [sem1]; LF [sem1]; LZ [fem1]; SHT [sim1]
 HY [səm1]; XY [səm1]; DB [ləm1]; YL [ʃɛn1 ~ san1]; XC [ʃən1]
 CT [seŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ1]; XS [sɛn1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3 [səm1]
 OPH *sem1 CNH *sem1

sēng 僧 QYS səng CDC *seng1/EC *'sing
 BMH [sen]; MX [sɛn1]; HL [sen1]; SX [sen1]; LF [sen1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [san1]; XC [sən1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ1]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ1]; XS [sɛn1]; QN [sen1]; ND1 [seŋ1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *sen1] CNH *seŋ1

shā 沙 QYS ʃa CDC *sha1/EC *sray
 BMH [sa]; MX [sa1]; HL [sa1]; SX [sa1]; LF [sa1]; LZ [ʃa1]; SHT [sa1]
 HY [sa1]; XY [sa1]; DB [la1]; YL [sa1]; XC [ʃa1]
 CT [sa1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [so1]
 NK [sa1]; AY [sa1]; SY [sa1]; XS [sa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa1]; ND2 [sa1]; ND3 [sa1]
 OPH *sa1 CNH *sa1

shā 殺 QYS ʃāt CDC *shat7/EC *srat
 BMH [sat]; MX [sat7]; HL [sat7]; SX [sat7]; LF [sat7]; LZ [ʃat7]; SHT [sat7]
 HY [sat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [lat7]; YL [sa2]; XC [—]
 CT [sai2]; WP [saʔ7]; YD [sat7]; SH [saʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sa6]
 NK [sa7]; AY [sɜ3]; SY [sa5]; XS [sait7]; QN [sæʔ7]; ND1 [sait7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sat7]
 [OPH *sat7] CNH *sat7

shǎ 傻 QYS ʃwa: CDC *shua3 (?) / EC *—
 BMH [sá]; MX [sɔ2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃɔ2]; SHT [sɔ2]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [sa1]; YD [—]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [so3]; SY [sa3]; XS [sa3]; QN [—]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sat7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *so2/*sa3

shāi 篩 QYS ʃi “sieve” CDC *shai1/EC *sre
BMH [si ~ tshe]; MX [si1 ~ sai1]; HL [si1]; SX [—]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [—]
HY [sai1]; XY [ts'ei1]; DB [ts'e1]; YL [—]; XC [ʃai1]
CT [sai1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sai1]; SH [sa1 ~ tshei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ1]; AY [sæ1]; SY [sæ1]; XS [sai1]; QN [sai1]; ND1 [sai1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sai1]
[OPH *si1] CNH *si1/*sai1

A variant form having initial *ts' - is also represented in this set, but its final is impossible to reconstruct.

shài 晒、曬 QYS ʃai- CDC *shai5/EC *sreh
BMH [sái]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃai5]; SHT [sai1]
HY [sai5]; XY [sai5]; DB [ʔai5]; YL [sai5]; XC [ʃai5]
CT [—]; WP [sa5]; YD [sai3]; SH [sa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sa2]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sa5]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa5]
[OPH *sai5] CNH *sai5/*sai3

shān 山 QYS ʃān CDC *shan1/EC *sran
BMH [san]; MX [san1]; HL [san1]; SX [san1]; LF [san1]; LZ [ʃan1]; SHT [san1]
HY [san1]; XY [san1]; DB [ʔan1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʃan1]
CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [san1]; SH [sā1]; LC1 [sa1]; LC2 [sa1]
NK [sā1]; AY [sā1]; SY [sā1]; XS [san1]; QN [san1]; ND1 [san1]; ND2 [san1]; ND3 [san1]
OPH *san1 CNH *san1

shān 衫 QYS ʃam CDC *sham1/EC —
BMH [sam]; MX [sam1]; HL [sam1]; SX [sam1]; LF [sam1]; LZ [ʃam1]; SHT [sam1]

HY [sam1]; XY [sam1]; DB [lam1]; YL [san1]; XC [ʃan1]
 CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [sã1]; LC1 [saŋ1]; LC2 [saŋ1]
 NK [sã1]; AY [sã1]; SY [sã1]; XS [san1]; QN [sam1]; ND1 [sam1]; ND2 [sam1]; ND3 [sam1]
 [OPH *sam1] CNH *sam1

shān 杉 QYS ʃām CDC *sham1/EC —
 BMH [tshám]†; MX [ts'am5]; HL [ts'am5]; SX [ts'am5]; LF [ts'am5]; LZ [tʃham5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'am5]; XY [ts'am5]; DB [ts'am5]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [saŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [ts'aŋ3]; SH [tshã5]; LC1 [ts'aŋ1]; LC2 [ts'aŋ5]
 NK [sa1]; AY [sa1]; SY [sã1 ~ sa1]; XS [sa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa1]; ND2 [ts'am1]; ND3
 [ts'am5]
 [OPH *ts'am5] CNH *ts'am5/*sam1/*sa1

The tone of this form is probably a misprint in our primary source. Cf. Zhuāng & Huáng (2014), who consistently give tshàm for this word.

shǎn 閃 QYS ʃjām;- CDC *shiam3/EC *θamx
 BMH [shám]; MX [sam3 ~ sap7s]; HL [ʃam3]; SX [ʃam3]; LF [ʃam3]; LZ [ʃiam3]; SHT [siam3]
 HY [siam3]; XY [sam3]; DB [sam3]; YL [ʃan3]; XC [ʃan3]
 CT [ʃiŋ3]; WP [saŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [sã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ3]; AY [sã3]; SY [sẽ3]; XS [ʃen3]; QN [—]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3 [sam1]
 [OPH *ʃam3] CNH *ʃiam3

The tone of the Níngdū-3 form is irregular.

shàn 善 QYS ʒjān-, ʒjān- CDC *zhian6/EC *danx
 BMH [shèn ~ shàn ~ shán]; MX [san5]; HL [ʃan5]; SX [ʃan5]; LF [ʃan5]; LZ [ʃen5]; SHT [—]
 HY [sian6]; XY [san3]; DB [san3]; YL [ʃan5]; XC [ʃan5]
 CT [ʃiŋ6]; WP [seŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [sẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sẽ5]; AY [ei6]; SY [sẽ5]; XS [ʃen5]; QN [sen6]; ND1 [san6]; ND2 [san6]; ND3 [san6]
 OPH *ʃan5 CNH *ʃian6

The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.

shàn 扇 QYS śjän- CDC *shian5/θanh
BMH [shèn]; MX [san5]; HL [fan5]; SX [fan5]; LF [fan5]; LZ [fen5]; SHT [sen5]
HY [sian5]; XY [san5]; DB [san5]; YL [san5]; XC [san5]
CT [fiŋ5]; WP [seŋ5]; YD [sen3]; SH [sẽ5]; LC1 [fe5]; LC2 [fe5]
NK [sẽ5]; AY [ei5]; SY [sẽ2]; XS [sen5]; QN [sen7]; ND1 [san5]; ND2 [san5]; ND3 [san5]
[OPH *šan5] CNH *šian5

shāng 商 QYS śjang CDC *shiong1/EC *θang
BMH [shong]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [foŋ1]; SX [foŋ1]; LF [foŋ1]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [sɔŋ1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [sɔŋ1]
CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [soŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɔ1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šoŋ1] CNH *šioŋ1

No Qīngliú form is available for this word. The final of the Song Him Tong form inexplicably retains medial *-i- here.

shàng 上 QYS źjang: “ascend” CDC *zhiong4/EC *dangx
BMH [shóng]; MX [sɔŋ5w ~ sɔŋ1b]; HL [foŋ6 ~ foŋ1]; SX [foŋ1]; LF [foŋ1]; LZ [fɔŋ1]; SHT [sɔŋ1]
HY [sɔŋ5]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [sɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ3]; XC [sɔŋ5]
CT [fɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [soŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fɔŋ1]
NK [sɔ3 ~ sɔ1]; AY [sɔŋ3]; SY [sɔ3]; XS [sɔŋ5]; QN [sɔŋ6]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
[OPH *šoŋ1] CNH *šioŋ1/L *šioŋ6
Cf. Qīngliú: [fiɔ1].

shàng 上 QYS źjang- “up, top” CDC *zhiong6/EC *dangh
BMH [shòŋ]; MX [sɔŋ5 ~ hoŋ5s]; HL [foŋ6 ~ hoŋ5]; SX [foŋ6]; LF [foŋ5]; LZ [fɔŋ5]; SHT [sɔŋ5]
HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ3]; DB [sɔŋ3]; YL [sɔŋ3]; XC [sɔŋ5]

CT [ʃəŋ6]; WP [səŋ3]; YD [səŋ5 ~ həŋ5 ~ həŋ3]; SH [səŋ3]; LC1 [ʃəŋ6]; LC2 [ʃəŋ6]
 NK [sə5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [sə5 ~ sə1]; XS [ʃəŋ1]; QN [səŋ6 ~ səŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ6]; ND2 [səŋ6];
 ND3 [səŋ6]
 [OPH *ʃəŋ6] CNH *ʃion6/*ʃion1

Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃi56].

The second reconstruction may be secondary and due to confusion with the word in the preceding set.

shàng 尚 QYS zjang- CDC *zhiong6/EC *dangh
 BMH [shóng]; MX [səŋ5]; HL [ʃəŋ6]; SX [ʃəŋ5]; LF [ʃəŋ6]; LZ [ʃəŋ5]; SHT [səŋ5]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃəŋ3]; XC [ʃəŋ5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [səŋ5]; SH [səŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [sə1]; XS [ʃəŋ5]; QN [səŋ6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [səŋ6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ʃəŋ6] CNH *ʃion6

Medial *-i- in this form is reconstructed analogically.

shāo 燒 QYS śjäu CDC *shiau1/EC *θew
 BMH [shau]; MX [sau1]; HL [ʃau1]; SX [ʃeu1]; LF [ʃau1]; LZ [ʃau1]; SHT [sau1]
 HY [siau1]; XY [sau1]; DB [sau1]; YL [ʃau1]; XC [ʃau1]
 CT [ʃə1]; WP [sə1]; YD [seu1]; SH [sə1]; LC1 [ʃə1]; LC2 [ʃə1 ~ ʃeu1]
 NK [sə1]; AY [sə1]; SY [sə1]; XS [ʃau1]; QN [sau1]; ND1 [sau1]; ND2 [sau1]; ND3 [sau1]
 OPH *ʃau1 CNH *ʃiau1

shǎo 少 QYS śjäu: CDC *shiau3/EC *θewx
 BMH [sháu]; MX [sau3]; HL [ʃau3]; SX [ʃeu3]; LF [ʃau3]; LZ [ʃau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [siau3]; XY [sau3]; DB [sau3]; YL [ʃau3]; XC [ʃau3]
 CT [ʃə3]; WP [sə3]; YD [seu1 ~ seu3]; SH [sə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə3]; AY [sə3]; SY [sə3]; XS [ʃau3]; QN [sau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]
 OPH *ʃau3 CNH *ʃiau3

shé 蛇 QYS dźja CDC *zhia2/EC *ɖay
BMH [shá]; MX [sa2]; HL [ʃa2]; SX [ʃa2]; LF [ʃa2]; LZ [ʃa2]; SHT [sa2]
HY [sa2]; XY [sa2]; DB [sa2]; YL [sa2]; XC [ʃa2]
CT [ʃa2]; WP [sa2]; YD [sa2]; SH [sa2]; LC1 [ʃo2]; LC2 [ʃo2]
NK [sa2]; AY [sa2]; SY [sa2]; XS [ʃa2]; QN [sa2]; ND1 [sa2]; ND2 [sa2]; ND3 [sa2]
OPH *ʂa2 CNH *ʂia2
Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃio2].

shé 舌 QYS dźjät CDC *zhiat8/EC *ɖat
BMH [shét]; MX [sat8]; HL [ʃat8]; SX [ʃat8]; LF [ʃat8]; LZ [ʃet8]; SHT [set8]
HY [siat8]; XY [sat8]; DB [sat8]; YL [ʃet8 ~ ʃaʔ8]; XC [ʃet8]
CT [ʃe6]; WP [saʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; YD [seʔ8]; SH [seʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]
NK [se5]; AY [sɜ1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃet8]; QN [seʔ8]; ND1 [sait8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sat7]
OPH *ʂat8 CNH *ʂiat8

shě 捨 QYS śja: CDC *shia3/EC *θax
BMH [shá]; MX [sa3]; HL [ʃa3]; SX [ʃa3]; LF [ʃa3]; LZ [ʃa3]; SHT [—]
HY [sa3]; XY [sa3]; DB [sa3]; YL [ʃa3]; XC [ʃa3]
CT [ʃa3]; WP [sa3]; YD [sa3]; SH [sa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [ʃa3]; QN [sa3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]
[OPH *ʂa3] CNH *ʂia3

Final *-ia in this and the following set is indicated by the final/initial correspondence pattern or signature of the set as a whole. See §3.1.2 of Chapter III.

shè 社 QYS źja: CDC *zhia3/EC *dax
BMH [sha]; MX [sa1]; HL [ʃa5]; SX [ʃa1 ~ ʃa5]; LF [ʃa5]; LZ [ʃa1]; SHT [—]
HY [sa5]; XY [sa1]; DB [sa1]; YL [ʃa3]; XC [ʃe5w ~ ʃa5b]
CT [ʃa1]; WP [sa1]; YD [sa1]; SH [sa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sa3]; AY [sa3]; SY [sa3]; XS [ʃa1]; QN [sa1]; ND1 [sa6]; ND2 [sa1 ~ sa6w]; ND3 [sa6]
[OPH *ʂa1 ~ *ʂa5 ?] CNH *ʂia1/L *ʂia6/*ʂia5

shēn 深 QYS śjəm CDC *shim1/EC *θum
 BMH [chhim]; MX [ts'əm1]; HL [tʃ'əm1]; SX [tʃ'əm1]; LF [tʃ'im1]; LZ [tʃhim1]; SHT [ts'im1]
 HY [ts'im1]; XY [ts'im1]; DB [ts'əm1]; YL [ʃɛn1]; XC [ʃən1]
 CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [tʃɛŋ1]; YD [ts'ɪŋ1]; SH [sɛ̃1w ~ tsheɪŋ1]; LC1 [ʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [tɕ'in1]; QN [tɕ'in1]; ND1 [səm1]; ND2 [səm1]; ND3
 [səm1]

OPH *tʃ'im1 CNH *tʃ'im1/L *šim1

The final of the Shàngháng wén form is anomalous. It is possible that it was borrowed from another dialect which read *sen1 for the literary form in question.

shēn 身 QYS śjen CDC *shin1/EC *θin
 BMH [shin]; MX [sən1]; HL [ʃen1]; SX [ʃen1]; LF [ʃin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
 HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [sən1]; YL [ʃɛn1]; XC [ʃən1]
 CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [sɛŋ1 ~ siŋ1]; YD [siŋ1]; SH [seɪŋ1]; LC1 [ʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕiŋ1]; XS [ʃən1]; QN [ɕin1]; ND1 [sən1]; ND2 [sən1]; ND3 [sən1]
 [OPH *šin1] CNH *šin1

shén 神 QYS dźjen CDC *zhin2/EC *ðin
 BMH [shîn]; MX [sən2]; HL [ʃen2]; SX [ʃen2]; LF [ʃin2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [sin2]
 HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [ʃɛn2]; XC [ʃən2]
 CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [sɛŋ2]; YD [siŋ2]; SH [seɪŋ2]; LC1 [ʃeŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕiŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [ɕin2]; ND1 [sən2]; ND2 [sən2]; ND3 [sən2]
 OPH *šin2 CNH *šin2

shèn 甚 QYS źjəm:, źjəm- CDC *zhim4/EC *dumx
 BMH [shim]; MX [səm5]; HL [ʃem3]; SX [ʃem3]; LF [ʃim6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ʃən5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiŋ5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [ɕiŋ5]; XS [ʃən5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səm6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *šim6] CNH *šim6

shèn 滲 QYS şjəm- CDC *shim5/EC *srumh
BMH [—]; MX [ts'am1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [seŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [seŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sẽ5]; AY [—]; SY [sẽ2]; XS [sen5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səm5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *sem5 ?

It is difficult to reconstruct a proto-form for this set on the basis of such scant evidence. The Méixiàn form is not comparable to the remaining forms in the set.

shēng 生 QYS şɔŋg CDC *shang1/EC *sring
BMH [sang ~ sen]; MX [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; HL [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; SX [sen1w ~ saŋ1b]; LF [sen1w
~ saŋ1b]; LZ [faŋ1b ~ fɛn1w]; SHT [saŋ1]
HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [saŋ1]; XC [ʂaŋ1]
CT [saŋ1 ~ seŋ1]; WP [seŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1 ~ sen1]; SH [saŋ1 ~ sɛ̃1]; LC1 [saŋ1 ~ sāi1];
LC2 [seŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
NK [sā1 ~ sɛ̃1]; AY [sā1 ~ səŋ1]; SY [sā1 ~ sɛ̃1]; XS [sen1 ~ saŋ1]; QN [sen1 ~ saŋ1]; ND1
[səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
OPH *sang1 CNH *saŋ1/L *seŋ1

shēng 甥 QYS şɔŋg CDC *shang1/EC *sring
BMH [sen]; MX [sen1]; HL [saŋ1]; SX [sen1]; LF [sen1]; LZ [faŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [laŋ1]; YL [saŋ1]; XC [ʂaŋ1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [seŋ1]; YD [sen1]; SH [sɛ̃1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [sā1]; SY [sā1]; XS [saŋ1]; QN [sen1 ~ saŋ1]; ND1 [saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *sen1 (~ *sang1?)] CNH *saŋ1/*seŋ1

The coda of the second reconstructed form is uncertain.

shēng 聲 QYS śjäng CDC *shiang1/EC *θeng
BMH [shang]; MX [saŋ1]; HL [faŋ1]; SX [faŋ1]; LF [faŋ1]; LZ [faŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [saŋ1]; XY [saŋ1]; DB [saŋ1]; YL [ʂaŋ1]; XC [ʂaŋ1]

CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [saŋ1]; YD [saŋ1]; SH [saŋ1]; LC1 [ʃaŋ1]; LC2 [ʃaŋ1]
 NK [ɕeŋ1w ~ sã1b]; AY [sã1]; SY [ɕeŋ1 ~ sã1]; XS [ʃən1 ~ ʃaŋ1]; QN [saŋ1]; ND1 [səŋ1 ~
 saŋ1]; ND2 [saŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1 ~ saŋ1]
 OPH *ʃang1 CNH *ʃiaŋ1/L *ʃiŋ1
 Cf. Qīngliú: [ʃiã1].

shēng 升 QYS śjəŋ CDC *shing1/EC *θiŋ
 BMH [shin]; MX [sən1]; HL [ʃen1]; SX [ʃen1]; LF [ʃin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]
 HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [sən1]; YL [ʃen1]; XC [ʃən1]
 CT [ʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [siŋ1]; SH [seŋ1]; LC1 [ʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕeŋ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [ɕeŋ1]; XS [ʃən1]; QN [ɕin1]; ND1 [səŋ1]; ND2 [səŋ1]; ND3 [səŋ1]
 [OPH *ʃin1] CNH *ʃiŋ1

shéng 繩 QYS dźjəŋ CDC *zhing2/EC *ðing
 BMH [shûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [ʃun2]; LZ [ʃin2]; SHT [—]
 HY [sin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [sən2]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sun2]; SH [seŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕeŋ2]; AY [səŋ2]; SY [ɕeŋ2]; XS [ʃən2]; QN [ɕin2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [səŋ2]
 [OPH *ʃun2] CNH *ʃun2/*ʃiŋ2

shèng 盛 QYS źjǎŋ- CDC *zhiang6/EC *dengh
 BMH [shèn]; MX [sən5]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃen5]; XC [ʃən5]
 CT [ʃeŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃæŋ5]
 NK [ɕeŋ5]; AY [—]; SY [ɕeŋ5]; XS [ʃən5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ʃin5] CNH *ʃiŋ6/*ʃiŋ5

The tone of the second reconstruction is confirmed by the Hǎilù form.

shèng 聖 QYS śjǎŋ- CDC *shiang5/EC *θengh
 BMH [shèn]; MX [sən5w ~ saŋ5b]; HL [ʃen5]; SX [ʃen5]; LF [ʃin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂɛn5]; XC [ʂən5]
CT [ʃeŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [siŋ5]; SH [seŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eŋ5]; AY [səŋ5]; SY [eŋ2]; XS [ʂən5]; QN [—]; ND1 [səŋ5]; ND2 [səŋ]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʂin5] CNH *ʂiŋ5

shī 施 QYS ʂje CDC *shi1/EC *θay
BMH [shi]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [ʃi1]; SX [si1]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [su1]; DB [ɬɛ1]; YL [ʂɿ1 ~ ʂei1]; XC [ʂɿ1]
CT [ʃi1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ1]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʂi1] CNH *ʂi1/*si1

shī 師 QYS ʂi CDC *shei1/EC *sriy
BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]
HY [siɛ1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɿ1 ~ ʂei1]; XC [ʂɿ1]
CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [sə1]
[OPH *si1] CNH *si1

The Héyuán form is irregular and appears to derive from an earlier *si1.

shī 獅 QYS ʂi CDC *shei1/EC *sriy
BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂɿ1]; XC [ʂɿ1]
CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ1]; AY [—]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *si1] CNH *si1

shī 濕 QYS ʂjəp CDC *ship7/EC *θip
BMH [ship]; MX [səp7]; HL [ʃip7]; SX [ʃip7]; LF [ʃip7]; LZ [ʃip7]; SHT [—]
HY [sip7]; XY [sip7]; DB [səp7]; YL [ʂeiʔ8]; XC [ʂeʔ7]

CT [ʃi2]; WP [seʔ7]; YD [siʔ7]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [ʃi6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [se7 ~ sæ5]†; AY [s33]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃʌt17]; QN [eiʔ7 ~ sʌʔ7]; ND1 [səp7]; ND2 [səp7];
 ND3 [səp7]
 OPH *šip7 CNH *šip7
 †Second form after BJYJ.

shī 虱 QYS sjet CDC *shet7/EC *srit
 BMH [set ~ sit]; MX [set7]; HL [set7]; SX [set7]; LF [set7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [sit7]
 HY [siat7]; XY [sət7]; DB [ʃet7]; YL [seʔ7]; XC [eiʔ7]
 CT [se2]; WP [seʔ7]; YD [seʔ7]; SH [seʔ7]; LC1 [suo6]; LC2 [sue6 ~ sue2]
 NK [sə7]; AY [si33]; SY [se5]; XS [—]; QN [seʔ7]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [sət7]; ND3 [sət7]
 OPH *set7 CNH *set7

shí 時 QYS ži CDC *zhi2/EC *di
 BMH [shî]; MX [sʌ2]; HL [ʃi2]; SX [ʃi2]; LF [ʃi2]; LZ [ʃi2]; SHT [si2]
 HY [sʌ2]; XY [si2]; DB [si2]; YL [ʃʌ2]; XC [ʃʌ2]
 CT [ʃi2]; WP [sʌ2]; YD [si2]; SH [sʌ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
 NK [sʌ2]; AY [sʌ2]; SY [sʌ2]; XS [ʃʌ2]; QN [sʌ2]; ND1 [ei2]; ND2 [ei2]; ND3 [ei2]
 [OPH *ši2] CNH *ši2

shí 十 QYS žjəp CDC *zhip8/EC *jip
 BMH [ship]; MX [səp8]; HL [ʃip8]; SX [ʃip8]; LF [ʃip8]; LZ [ʃip8]; SHT [tsip8 ~ sip7]
 HY [sip8]; XY [sip8]; DB [səp8]; YL [ʃeiʔ8]; XC [ʃeiʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [seʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sæ5]; AY [s31]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃʌt8]; QN [sʌʔ8]; ND1 [səp8]; ND2 [sap8]; ND3 [səp8 ~
 sap8]

OPH *šip8 CNH *šip8

The Níngdū forms in [sap8] appear to be loans of some sort.

shí 石 QYS žjäk CDC *zhiak8/EC *dak
 BMH [shák]; MX [sak8]; HL [ʃak8]; SX [ʃak8]; LF [ʃak8]; LZ [ʃak8]; SHT [sak8]
 HY [sak8]; XY [sak8]; DB [sək8]; YL [ʃaʔ8]; XC [ʃaʔ8]
 CT [ʃa6]; WP [saʔ8]; YD [saʔ8]; SH [saʔ8]; LC1 [ʃo5]; LC2 [ʃo5]
 NK [sa1]; AY [sa6]; SY [sa5]; XS [ʃak8]; QN [saʔ8]; ND1 [sak8]; ND2 [sak8]; ND3 [sak8]
 OPH *ʃak8 CNH *ʃiak8
 Cf. Xiùzhuàn: [ʃia6]; Qīngliú: [ʃioʔ7].

shí 食 QYS džjək CDC *zhik8/EC *ðik
 BMH [shít]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [sit8]
 HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃeiʔ8]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5 ~ ʃi5]
 NK [sə1]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [sɿʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sək8]; ND2 [sək8]; ND3
 [sək8]
 OPH *ʃit8 CNH *ʃik8/*ʃit8

The second reconstruction is reflected in Xiūshuǐ form, the first Quánnán reading, and the second Liánchéng-2 reading. It is perhaps a loan from some other more prestigious form of Hakka which had this pronunciation.

shí 實 QYS džjet CDC *zhit8/EC *ðit
 BMH [shit]; MX [sət8]; HL [ʃit8]; SX [ʃit8]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit8]; SHT [—]
 HY [sit8]; XY [sit8]; DB [sət8]; YL [ʃeiʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [seʔ8 ~ siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [seiʔ8]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə5]; AY [sə1]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [sɿʔ8 ~ seʔ8]; ND1 [sət8]; ND2 [sat8]; ND3 [sət8
 ~ sik7]
 [OPH *ʃit8] CNH *ʃit8

shǐ 使 QYS ʃi: CDC *shei3/EC *srix
 BMH [su]; MX [sɿ3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [se3]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [su3]
 HY [siɛ3]; XY [su3]; DB [ʃe3]; YL [ʃɿ3]; XC [ʃɿ3]

CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɿ3]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [sɿ3]; QN [sɿ3]; ND1 [sə3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sə3]
 OPH *si3 CNH *si3

shǐ 屎 QYS sí: CDC *shi3/EC *θiyx
 BMH [shí]; MX [—]; HL [ʃi3]; SX [ʃi3]; LF [ʃi3]; LZ [ʃi3]; SHT [si3]
 HY [sɿ3]; XY [si3]; DB [si3]; YL [ɣɿ3]; XC [ɣɿ3]
 CT [ʃi3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɣɿ3]
 NK [sɿ3]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [ɣɿ3]; QN [sɿ3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [ei3 ~ si3]
 [OPH *ʃi3] CNH *ʃi3

shì 事 QYS dzǐ- CDC *zhei6/EC *dzrih
 BMH [sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [si5 ~ ʃe5b]; SX [si5 ~ ʃe5b]; LF [se6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [sie6]; XY [su3]; DB [ʎe3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [ɣɿ5]
 CT [si5]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ3 ~ sɿ5b ~ sei3b]; LC1 [si6]; LC2 [sɿ6]
 NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [sə6]; ND3 [sə6]
 OPH *si5 ~ *ʃe5 CNH *ʃe6/L *si6

shì 士 QYS dzǐ: CDC *zhei6/EC *dzrix
 BMH [sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [se6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [sie6]; XY [su3]; DB [ʎe3]; YL [ɣɿ5]; XC [ɣɿ5]
 CT [si5]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [sə6]; ND3 [sə6]
 [OPH *si5] CNH *si6

shì 世 QYS ʃjǎi- CDC *shiai5/EC *θath
 BMH [shè ~ shì]; MX [sɿ5w ~ se5b]; HL [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; SX [ʃi5 ~ ʃe5b]; LF [ʃe5]; LZ [ʃe5b ~ ʃi5w]; SHT [se5]
 HY [sie5]; XY [sei5]; DB [se5]; YL [ɣɿ3]; XC [ɣɿ5]
 CT [ʃi5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ5]; LC1 [ʃi5]; LC2 [ʃi5]

NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [ɛi5]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [ɛi5 ~ sai5]
OPH *ʂe5 ~ *ʂi5 CNH *ʂiai5/L *ʂi5

shì 是 QYS ʒje: CDC *zhi4/EC *dex
BMH [shì]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi6]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [si5]
HY [si6]; XY [si3]; DB [si3]; YL [ɣɿ3]; XC [ɣɿ5]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [—]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi6]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ɛi6]
[OPH *ʂi6] CNH *ʂi6

The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. The word is perhaps borrowed from some extraneous source. The Níngdū-1 form reflects an earlier *sɿ6, which is not covered by the reconstruction.

shì 試 QYS ʃi- CDC *shi5/EC *θikh
BMH [shì ~ chhì]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [si5]
HY [sɿ5]; XY [si5]; DB [si5]; YL [ɣɿ5]; XC [ɣɿ5]
CT [ʃi5 ~ ʃi'ɿ5]; WP [sɿ5 ~ tshɿ5]; YD [ts'ɿ5]; SH [sɿ5 ~ tshɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [—]; XS [ɣɿ5]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [ɛi5]; ND2 [ɛi5]; ND3 [si5]
[OPH *ʂi5] CNH *ʂi5/*tʂ'ɿ5

The Níngdū-3 form appears to reflect an earlier *si5.

shì 示 QYS dʒi- CDC *zhi6/EC *ðiɣh
BMH [shì]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [sɿ6]; XY [si3]; DB [si5]; YL [ɣɿ5]; XC [ɣɿ5]
CT [ʃi6]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [ɣɿ5]; QN [sɿ5]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [ɛi6]; ND3 [ɛi5]
[OPH *ʂi5] CNH *ʂi6/*ʂi5

The Níngdū-1 form reflects an earlier *sɿ6.

shì 視 QYS ʒi:, ʒi- CDC *zhi6/EC *diɣh
BMH [shì]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [ʃi5]; SX [ʃi5]; LF [ʃi5]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɣ̥5]; XC [ɣ̥5]
 CT [ʃi6]; WP [—]; YD [si5]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ5]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [ɣ̥5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ei6]; ND2 [ei6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ši5] CNH *ši6/*ši5

shì 釋 QYS śjāk CDC *shiak7/EC *θak
 BMH [shit ~ sit]; MX [sət7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ʃit8]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə8]; AY [—]; SY [se5]; XS [ɣ̥et8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *šit7] CNH *šik7/*šik8
 The tone and final of the Xiūshuǐ form are irregular.

shì 適 QYS śjāk CDC *shiak7/EC *θek
 BMH [shit]; MX [sət7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sə8]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ɣ̥et8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *šit7] CNH *šik7/*šik8
 The tone and final of the Xiūshuǐ form are irregular.

shì 室 QYS śjet CDC *shit7/EC *—
 BMH [shit]; MX [sət7]; HL [ʃit7]; SX [—]; LF [ʃit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɣ̥eiʔ7]; XC [ɣ̥eʔ8]
 CT [ʃi2]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [se5]; AY [—]; SY [se5]; XS [ɣ̥t8]; QN [—]; ND1 [sət7]; ND2 [sət7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *šit7] CNH *šit7
 The tone of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular.

shì 識 QYS śjək CDC *shik7/EC *θik
BMH [shit]; MX [sət7]; HL [ʃit7]; SX [ʃit7]; LF [ʃit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [sit7]
HY [sit7]; XY [sit7]; DB [sət7]; YL [ʃeiʔ7]; XC [ʃeʔ8]
CT [ʃi2]; WP [seʔ7]; YD [siʔ7]; SH [seiʔ7]; LC1 [ʃi6]; LC2 [ʃi6]
NK [sə8]; AY [se6]; SY [se5]; XS [ʃɿt8]; QN [eiʔ7]; ND1 [sək7]; ND2 [sək7]; ND3 [sək7]
[OPH *ʃit7] CNH *ʃik7/*ʃit7

The tone of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular.

shōu 收 QYS śjəu CDC *shieu1/EC *θiw
BMH [shiu]; MX [su1]; HL [ʃu1]; SX [ʃu1]; LF [ʃiu1]; LZ [ʃiu1]; SHT [siu1]
HY [siu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃəu1]; XC [ʃəu1]
CT [ʃeu1]; WP [sɛ1]; YD [siu1]; SH [ɕiu1]; LC1 [ʃeu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiu1]; AY [ɕu1]; SY [ɕiu1]; XS [ʃu1]; QN [ɕiu1]; ND1 [seu1]; ND2 [səu1]; ND3 [səu1]
OPH *ʃiu1 CNH *ʃieu1

shǒu 手 QYS śjəu: CDC *shieu3/EC *θux
BMH [shiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃu3]; SX [ʃu3]; LF [ʃiu3]; LZ [ʃiu3]; SHT [siu3]
HY [siu3]; XY [siu3]; DB [siu3]; YL [ʃəu3]; XC [ʃəu3]
CT [ʃeu3]; WP [sɛ3]; YD [siu3]; SH [ɕiu3]; LC1 [ʃeu3]; LC2 [ʃɐu3]
NK [ɕiu3]; AY [ɕu3]; SY [ɕiu3]; XS [ʃu3]; QN [ɕiu3]; ND1 [seu3]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu3]
OPH *ʃiu3 CNH *ʃieu3

shǒu 守 QYS śjəu: CDC *shieu3/EC *θux
BMH [shiú]; MX [su3]; HL [ʃu3]; SX [ʃu3]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu3]; SHT [—]
HY [siu3]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʃəu3]; XC [ʃəu3]
CT [ʃeu3]; WP [sɛ3]; YD [siu3]; SH [ɕiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiu3]; AY [ɕu3]; SY [ɕiu3]; XS [ʃu3]; QN [ɕiu3]; ND1 [seu3]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu3]
[OPH *ʃiu3] CNH *ʃieu3

The Lùfēng tone is anomalous.

shòu 獸 QYS śjəu- CDC *shieu4/EC *θuh
 BMH [chhiù]; MX [ts'u5 ~ su5]; HL [tʃ'u5]; SX [tʃ'u5]; LF [tʃ'iu5]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [siu5]; XY [ts'iu5]; DB [ts'iu5]; YL [—]; XC [ʂəu5]
 CT [ʃeu5]; WP [tshɛ5]; YD [ts'iu3]; SH [tɕhiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'iu5]; AY [tɕ'u5]; SY [tɕ'iu2]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'eu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
 [OPH *tʂ'iu5] CNH *tʂ'ieu5/*šieu5

shòu 受 QYS źjəu:, źjəu- CDC *zhieu4/EC *dux
 BMH [shiù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu5]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu5]; SHT [siu5]
 HY [siu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂəu5]; XC [ʂəu5]
 CT [ʃeu6]; WP [sɛ3]; YD [siu5]; SH [ɕiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiu5]; AY [ɕu6]; SY [ɕiu5]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [ɕiu6]; ND1 [sɛu6]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu6 ~
 siu6]
 [OPH *šiu6] CNH *šieu6

shòu 壽 QYS źjəu:, źjəu- CDC *zhieu6/EC *duh
 BMH [shiù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu5]; LF [ʃiu6]; LZ [ʃiu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [siu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ʂəu5]; XC [ʂəu5]
 CT [ʃeu6]; WP [sɛ3]; YD [siu5]; SH [ɕiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiu5]; AY [ɕu6]; SY [ɕiu5]; XS [ʂu5]; QN [ɕiu6]; ND1 [sɛu6]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu6]
 [OPH *šiu6] CNH *šieu6

shòu 瘦 QYS śjəu- CDC *sheu5/EC *sriwh
 BMH [sèu]; MX [sɛu5]; HL [seu5]; SX [seu5]; LF [seu5]; LZ [ʃeu5]; SHT [siu5]
 HY [suai5]; XY [sɛu5]; DB [ʎei5]; YL [sai5]; XC [səu5]
 CT [seu5]; WP [sɛ5]; YD [seu5]; SH [sə5]; LC1 [seu5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɜ5]; AY [su5]; SY [ɕio2]; XS [səu5]; QN [seu5]; ND1 [seu5]; ND2 [səu3]; ND3 [səu5]
 OPH *seu5 CNH *seu5

shū 書 QYS śjwo CDC *shie1 (~ *shiu1)/EC *θa
BMH [shu]; MX [su1w ~ ts'u1b]; HL [fū1]; SX [fū1]; LF [fū1]; LZ [fū1]; SHT [su1]
HY [sy1]; XY [su1]; DB [su1]; YL [ɣu1]; XC [ɣu1]
CT [fū1]; WP [fu1]; YD [si1]; SH [su1]; LC1 [fjue1]; LC2 [fye1]†
NK [su1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [ey1]; XS [ɣu1]; QN [su1]; ND1 [ɛi1]; ND2 [ɛi1]; ND3 [sie1]
[OPH *šu1] CNH *šiu1

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [fye1].

The Níngdū forms reflect an earlier *šie1 which may have arisen through contact with Gàn dialects.

shū 殊 QYS źju CDC *zhiu2/EC *do
BMH [shû]; MX [su1]; HL [fū2]; SX [fū2]; LF [fū2]; LZ [fū2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɣu1]; XC [ɣu1]
CT [—]; WP [fu2]; YD [—]; SH [sū2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fye1]
NK [su1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [ey3]; XS [—]; QN [su1]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [su2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *šu1 ?] CNH *šiu1/*šiu2

shū 梳 QYS śjwo CDC *she1 (~ shu1)/EC *sra
BMH [sū ~ so]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [so1]; SX [so1]; LF [so1]; LZ [fɔ1]; SHT [sə1]
HY [suə1]; XY [sə1]; DB [lo1]; YL [su1]; XC [ɣo1]
CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sū1 ~ sɿ1b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [se1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [su1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [su1]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [sə1]
[OPH ?] CNH *suo1/*so1/*sɿ1

Probable variant protoforms for this set may be the result of interdialectal borrowing.

shū/shú 叔 QYS śjuk CDC *shiuk/EC *θuk
BMH [shuk]; MX [suk7]; HL [fuk7]; SX [fuk8]; LF [fuk7]; LZ [fuk7]; SHT [suk7]
HY [sok7]; XY [sou?7]; DB [suk7]; YL [ɣəu?7]; XC [ɣu?7]
CT [fū2]; WP [su?7]; YD [su?7]; SH [sə?7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fəu6]
NK [su8]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [su5]; XS [ɣuk7]; QN [su?7]; ND1 [suk7]; ND2 [suk7]; ND3 [suk7]

[OPH *ʃuk7] CNH *ʃiuk7

Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk7].

shú, shóu 熟 QYS ʒjuk CDC *zhiuk8/EC *duk

BMH [shúk]; MX [suk8]; HL [ʃuk8]; SX [ʃuk8]; LF [ʃuk8]; LZ [ʃuk8]; SHT [suk8]

HY [sok8]; XY [souʔ8]; DB [suk8]; YL [ʂəuʔ8 ~ səuʔ8 ~ suʔ8]; XC [ʂuʔ8]

CT [ʃu6]; WP [suʔ8]; YD [suʔ8]; SH [səʔ8]; LC1 [feu5]; LC2 [—]

NK [su1]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [su5]; XS [ʂuk8]; QN [suʔ8]; ND1 [suk8]; ND2 [suk8]; ND3 [suk8]

[OPH *ʃuk8] CNH *ʃiuk8

Cf. Wēngyuán [siuk8].

shǔ 鼠 QYS ʂjuw: CDC *shie3 (~ *shiu3)/EC *θax

BMH [chhú]; MX [ts' u3]; HL [tʃ' u3]; SX [tʃ' u3]; LF [tʃ' u3]; LZ [tʃhu3]; SHT [ts' u3]

HY [sy3]; XY [ts'y3]; DB [si3]; YL [tʂ' u3]; XC [tʂ' u2]

CT [ʃu3]; WP [fu5]; YD [ts'i3]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃyɛ3 ~ tʃ' ye3]

NK [ey3]; AY [ɛe3]; SY [ey3]; XS [tʂ' u3]; QN [su3 ~ sui3]; ND1 [sa3]; ND2 [sa3]; ND3 [sa3]

OPH *tʂ' u3 CNH *tʂ' iu3/*ʃiu3

The final of the Níngdū forms is irregular and enigmatic. The Ānyuǎn final is also unique in the set. The form almost certainly derives from an earlier *ʃie3, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively due to lack of parallel forms elsewhere.

shǔ 數 QYS ʂju: “to count” CDC *shu3/EC *srox

BMH [sù ~ sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [su5]; SX [su5]; LF [sɛ5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [su5 ~ sɿ5]; LC1 [ʃiue3]; LC2 [—]

NK [su3]; AY [su3]; SY [su3]; XS [sɿ3]; QN [su3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *su5] CNH *su5/*su3

shù 樹 QYS ʒju- “tree” CDC *zhiu6/EC *doh

BMH [shù]; MX [su5]; HL [ʃu6]; SX [ʃu6]; LF [ʃu6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [su5]

HY [sy6]; XY [sy3]; DB [si3]; YL [ɣu3]; XC [ɣu5]
CT [fu6]; WP [fu5]; YD [si5]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [fye6]†
NK [su5 ~ tɛ'y5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [tɛ'y4]; XS [ɣu5]; QN [su6]; ND1 [su6]; ND2 [su6]; ND3 [su6]
[OPH *ʂu6] CNH *ʂiu6/*tʂ'iu6
†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [fue5 ~ fye5].

shù 述 QYS dźjuet CDC *zhiut8/EC *—
BMH [shút]; MX [sut8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [fut8]; SHT [—]
HY [sut8]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ɣuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [—]; SY [suo5]; XS [suit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [suit8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ʂut8] CNH *ʂiut8

shù 數 QYS ɣju- CDC *shu5/EC *srokh
BMH [sù ~ sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [su5]; SX [su5]; LF [sɛ5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [su5]
HY [su5]; XY [su5]; DB [ɬu5]; YL [ɣu5]; XC [ɣu5]
CT [su5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si3]; SH [su5 ~ sɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [su5]; AY [su5]; SY [su2]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [su5]; ND1 [su5]; ND2 [su5]; ND3 [su5]
OPH *su5 CNH *su5

The Yǒngdīng and Shàngyóu tones are irregular.

shuā 刷 QYS ɣjwät CDC *shuat7 ~ *shot7?/EC *srot
BMH [sot]; MX [sɔt7]; HL [sɔt7b]; SX [sɔt7]; LF [sɔt7]; LZ [fɔt7]; SHT [—]
HY [sat7]; XY [ts'at7]; DB [ɬat7]; YL [—]; XC [ɣuaʔ7]
CT [sue2]; WP [sueʔ7]; YD [sɔt7]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [soæ7]; AY [—]; SY [suo5]; XS [sɔit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [soet7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [suat7]
[OPH *sot7] CNH *s(u)ot7/*suat7 ?

The second reconstruction is possibly reflected by the dialects of the second row of the set. The initial of the Xīnyí form is totally aberrant.

shuāi 衰 QYS ɕwi CDC *shuei1/EC *sruy
 BMH [soi]; MX [soi1]; HL [soi1]; SX [soi1]; LF [soi1]; LZ [—]; SHT [soi1]
 HY [suai1]; XY [sui1]; DB [soi1]; YL [—]; XC [ɕuai1]
 CT [—]; WP [suɛ1]; YD [sei1]; SH [sei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [suæ1]; AY [sue1]; SY [sue1]; XS [soi1]; QN [soi1]; ND1 [soɛ1]; ND2 [sui1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *soi1] CNH *suoi1/*sui1

The second reconstruction is supported by the Xīnyí, Yǒngdìng and Shàngháng forms.

shuài 帥 QYS ɕwi- CDC *shuei5/EC *sruth
 BMH [sò]; MX [sai5]; HL [sai5]; SX [sai5]; LF [sai5]; LZ [ʃoi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [suai5]; XY [suai5]; DB [soi5]; YL [ɕuai5]; XC [ɕuai5 ~ ɕuaʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sai3]; SH [sa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sæ5]; AY [sæ5]; SY [sæ2]; XS [sai5]; QN [sai5]; ND1 [sai6]; ND2 [sai5]; ND3 [sai5]
 [OPH *soi5] CNH *suoi5/*suai5

The tone of the Níngdū-1 form is irregularly of low register.

shuāng 雙 QYS ɕǎŋ CDC *shong1/EC *srong
 BMH [sung]; MX [suŋ1]; HL [suŋ1]; SX [suŋ1]; LF [suŋ1]; LZ [ʃuŋ1]; SHT [sun1]
 HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [ɬɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [ɕɔŋ1]
 CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [suŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [sɔŋ1]; LC2 [sɔŋ1]
 NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1 ~ sɔŋ5]; ND3
 [sɔŋ1 ~ suŋ1]
 [OPH *sung1] CNH *suon1

shuāng 霜 QYS ɕjang CDC *shong1/EC *srang
 BMH [song]; MX [sɔŋ1]; HL [sɔŋ1]; SX [sɔŋ1]; LF [sɔŋ1]; LZ [ʃɔŋ1]; SHT [sɔŋ1]
 HY [sɔŋ1]; XY [sɔŋ1]; DB [ɬɔŋ1]; YL [sɔŋ1]; XC [ɕɔŋ1]
 CT [sɔŋ1]; WP [sɔŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [sɔŋ1]; LC1 [sɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [sɔ̃1]; AY [sɔŋ1]; SY [sɔ̃1]; XS [sɔŋ1]; QN [sɔŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3 [sɔŋ1]
 [OPH *song1] CNH *son1

shuǐ 水 QYS świ: CDC *shui3/EC *θuyx
BMH [shúi]; MX [sui3]; HL [fui3]; SX [fui3]; LF [fui3]; LZ [fui3]; SHT [sui3]
HY [sui3]; XY [sui3]; DB [sei3]; YL [ɣuei3]; XC [ɣuei3]
CT [fue3]; WP [fi3b]; YD [fi3]; SH [fi3]; LC1 [fe3]; LC2 [fye3]
NK [ey3]; AY [se3]; SY [ey3]; XS [ɣi3]; QN [sui3]; ND1 [sui3]; ND2 [sui3]; ND3 [sui3]
OPH *šui3 CNH *šiui3
Cf. Wēngyuán [siui3].

shuì 睡 QYS źjwe- CDC *zhui6/EC *doyh
BMH [shòì]; MX [soi5]; HL [foi6]; SX [foi5]; LF [foi6]; LZ [foi5]; SHT [soi5]
HY [—]; XY [suai5]; DB [soi5]; YL [ɣoi3]; XC [ɣoi5]
CT [fue6]; WP [se3]; YD [soi5 ~ fei3]; SH [fei3]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [fi6]
NK [sue5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [ɣi5]; QN [sui6]; ND1 [sui6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *šoi6 CNH *šoi6/*šui6

The second reconstructed form appears to be a late loan form of some sort.

shùn 順 QYS dźjuen- CDC *zhiun6/EC —
BMH [shùn]; MX [sun5]; HL [fun5]; SX [fun5]; LF [fun6]; LZ [fun5]; SHT [sun5]
HY [sun6]; XY [sun3]; DB [sən3]; YL [ɣun5]; XC [ɣuən5]
CT [feŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [sun5]; SH [seŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [eyŋ5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [eyŋ5]; XS [ɣən5]; QN [sun6]; ND1 [sun6]; ND2 [sun6]; ND3 [sun6]
[OPH *šun6] CNH *šiun6
Cf. Wēngyuán [siun6].

The tone of the Hǎilù form is irregular.

shuō 說 QYS śjwät CDC *shiot7/EC *θot
BMH [shot]; MX [sət7]; HL [fot7]; SX [fot7]; LF [fot7]; LZ [fət7]; SHT [sət7]
HY [suat7]; XY [suat7]; DB [sət7]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [fue2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sueʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [soæ7]; AY [s33]; SY [suo5]; XS [ʃoit7]; QN [sɔi?7]; ND1 [soet7]; ND2 [suot7]; ND3 [suat1]

OPH *ʃot7 CNH *ʃ(u)ot7

shuò 朔 QYS ʃåk CDC *shok7/EC *srak ?

BMH [sok]; MX [sɔk7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃɔk7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [so8]; AY [—]; SY [so5]; XS [ʃɔk7]; QN [so?7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *sok7] CNH *sok7

sī 思 QYS sī CDC *si1/EC *si

BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [sī1]; SX [sī1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]

CT [sī1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [sī1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [sɿ1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [—]

OPH *si1 CNH *si1

sī 私 QYS si CDC *si1/EC *siy

BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [sī1]; SX [sī1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [ʃu1]; SHT [—]

HY [sɿ1]; XY [su1]; DB [ʔɛ1]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]

CT [sī1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [sī1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [sɿ1]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [sə1]

[OPH *si1] CNH *si1

sī 絲 QYS si CDC *si1/EC *si

BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [sī1]; SX [sī1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [su1]

HY [sɿ1 ~ siɛ1]; XY [si1]; DB [ʔɛ1]; YL [sɿ1]; XC [sɿ1]

CT [sī1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [sī1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [sī1]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɿ1]; AY [sɿ1]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [—]; ND1 [sə1]; ND2 [sə1]; ND3 [sə1]

[OPH *si1] CNH *si1/*si1

sǐ 死 QYS si: CDC *si3/EC *siyx
BMH [sǐ]; MX [si3]; HL [si3]; SX [si3]; LF [si3]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [si3]
HY [sɿ3]; XY [si3]; DB [hi3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [ei3]
CT [si3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [sɿ3]
NK [sɿ3]; AY [si3]; SY [sɿ3]; XS [si3]; QN [sɿ3 ~ ei3]; ND1 [ei3]; ND2 [ei3]; ND3 [si3]
OPH *si3 CNH *si3/*si3

sì 四 QYS si- CDC *si5/EC *sith
BMH [sì]; MX [si5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [si5]; LZ [ʃu3]; SHT [si5]
HY [sɿ5]; XY [si5]; DB [hi5]; YL [sɿ5w ~ ei5b]; XC [ei5]
CT [si5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [si3]; SH [sɿ5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [si5]; SY [sɿ2]; XS [si5]; QN [ei5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [si5]
[OPH *si5] CNH *si5/L *si5

sì 寺 QYS zǐ- CDC *zi6/EC *zih
BMH [sù]; MX [ts'ɿ5]; HL [si5]; SX [—]; LF [se5]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [sɿ5]
CT [si6]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ3b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [ts'ɿ5]; XS [—]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [ts'ə6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *si5 ?] CNH *ts'ɿ6/L *si6

sì 巳 QYS zǐ: CDC *zi6/EC *zix
BMH [sù]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [si6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɿ5]; AY [sɿ6]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [sə5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *si6

sì 似 QYS zǐ: CDC *zi6/EC *zix

BMH [sɿ]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [sǐ5]; SX [sǐ5]; LF [sɛ6]; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [sǐ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [sɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɿ5]; AY [—]; SY [sɿ1]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [sə6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *si6] CNH *si6

The Lìzhīzhuāng form appears to derive from earlier *ts'i2. Its origin is uncertain.

sōng 松 QYS zjwong CDC *ziung/EC *zong

BMH [tshiung]; MX [ts'iuŋ2]; HL [ts'iuŋ2]; SX [ts'iuŋ2]; LF [ts'iuŋ2]; LZ [tʃhiuŋ2]; SHT [ts'uiŋ2]

HY [ts'ouŋ2]; XY [ts'ouŋ2]; DB [ts'uiŋ2]; YL [suŋ1]; XC [suŋ1]

CT [ts'ioŋ2]; WP [ts'iuŋ2]; YD [ts'iuŋ2]; SH [tɕhiuŋ2]; LC1 [ts'ioŋ2]; LC2 [ts'ioŋ2]

NK [ts'əŋ2]; AY [ts'əŋ2]; SY [ts'əŋ2]; XS [ts'ioŋ2]; QN [tɕhiuŋ2]; ND1 [ts'uiŋ2]; ND2 [tɕhiuŋ2]; ND3 [ts'iuŋ2]

OPH *ts'iuŋ2 CNH *ts'iuŋ2

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are probable Mandarin loans.

sòng 送 QYS sung- CDC *sung5/EC *'songh

BMH [sùŋ]; MX [suŋ5]; HL [suŋ5]; SX [suŋ5]; LF [suŋ5]; LZ [fɹuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [soŋ5]; XY [soŋ5]; DB [ɬuŋ5]; YL [suŋ5]; XC [suŋ5]

CT [soŋ5]; WP [suŋ5]; YD [suŋ3]; SH [səŋ5]; LC1 [soŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [səŋ5]; AY [səŋ5]; SY [səŋ2]; XS [səŋ5]; QN [suŋ5]; ND1 [suŋ5]; ND2 [suŋ5]; ND3 [suŋ5]

OPH *suŋ5 CNH *suŋ5

sòng 誦 QYS zjwong- CDC *ziung6/EC *zongh

BMH [siuŋ]; MX [siuŋ5]; HL [siuŋ5]; SX [siuŋ5]; LF [siuŋ5]; LZ [fɹuŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [suŋ5]; XC [suŋ5]

CT [soŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [səŋ5]; AY [səŋ6]; SY [səŋ3]; XS [siəŋ5]; QN [ɕiuŋ6]; ND1 [suŋ6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *siung5] CNH *siuŋ5/*suŋ5

sōu 搜 QYS sjəu CDC *sheu1/EC *sru sriw ?

BMH [seu]; MX [seu1]; HL [seu1]; SX [seu1]; LF [seu1]; LZ [fau1]; SHT [—]

HY [suai1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [sai1]; XC [səu1]

CT [seu1]; WP [sɛ1]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [sɜ1]; AY [su1]; SY [ɛio1]; XS [səu1]; QN [seu1]; ND1 [seu1]; ND2 [səu1]; ND3 [səu1]

[OPH *seu1] CNH *seu1

sū 蘇 QYS suo CDC *su1/EC *'sa

BMH [sɯ]; MX [sɿ1]; HL [su1]; SX [su1]; LF [sɛ1]; LZ [fu1]; SHT [—]

HY [su1]; XY [su1]; DB [ɬu1]; YL [su1]; XC [su1]

CT [su1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1b]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [su1]; AY [su1]; SY [su1]; XS [sɿ1]; QN [su1]; ND1 [su1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [su1]

[OPH *su1] CNH *su1

sú 俗 QYS zjwok CDC *ziuk8/EC *zok

BMH [siúk]; MX [siuk8]; HL [siuk8]; SX [siuk8]; LF [—]; LZ [fuk8]; SHT [siuk8]

HY [ts'ok8]; XY [ts'ouʔ8]; DB [ɬuk8]; YL [ɛy2]; XC [ɛiuʔ7]

CT [su2]; WP [siuʔ8]; YD [siuʔ8]; SH [ɛiəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛio8]; AY [si6]; SY [ɛio5]; XS [—]; QN [ɛiuʔ8]; ND1 [ɛiuk8]; ND2 [ɛiuk8]; ND3 [suk8]

[OPH *siuk8] CNH *siuk8/*suk8

The Héyuán and Diànbái forms perhaps derive from an earlier *ts'uk8 or *ts'iuk8. The matter is uncertain.

sù 素 QYS suo- CDC *su5/EC *'sakh

BMH [sɯ]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [su5]; SX [su5]; LF [sɛ5]; LZ [fu5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [su5]; XC [su5]

CT [su5]; WP [sɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [su5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [su5]; AY [su1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [su5]; ND1 [su5]; ND2 [su5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *—] CNH *su5

sù 塑 QYS suo- CDC *su5/EC *'sakh

BMH [sù]; MX [søk7]; HL [sok7]; SX [sok7]; LF [sok8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [su5]; XC [su5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [soʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [su5 ~ so6]; AY [su5]; SY [so5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *su5] CNH *su5/*sok7

The Lufēng tone is irregular.

sù 速 QYS suk CDC *suk7/EC *'sok

BMH [suk]; MX [suk7]; HL [suk7]; SX [suk7]; LF [suk7]; LZ [tʃhuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [su2]; WP [suʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [səʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [so8]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [suk7]; QN [suʔ7]; ND1 [suk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *suk7] CNH *suk7

The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular.

suān 酸 QYS suān CDC *son1/EC *'son

BMH [son]; MX [sɔn1]; HL [son1]; SX [son1]; LF [son1]; LZ [ʃɔn1]; SHT [sɔn1]

HY [suan1]; XY [suan1]; DB [ʌɔn1]; YL [sɔn1]; XC [suan1]

CT [suŋ1]; WP [sueŋ1]; YD [sɔn1]; SH [suẽ1]; LC1 [suɔ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [soẽ1]; AY [sɔ̃1]; SY [suɔ̃1]; XS [sɔn1]; QN [sɔn1]; ND1 [soɛn1]; ND2 [suon1]; ND3 [suan1]

[OPH *son1] CNH *suon1

suàn 算 QYS suān- CDC *son5/EC *'sonh

BMH [sɔn]; MX [sɔn5]; HL [son5]; SX [son5]; LF [son5]; LZ [ʃɔn5]; SHT [sɔn5]

HY [suan5]; XY [suan5]; DB [ʌɔn5]; YL [sɔn5]; XC [suan5]

CT [suŋ5]; WP [sueŋ5]; YD [sɔn3]; SH [suẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [soẽ5]; AY [sõ5]; SY [suõ2]; XS [sõn5]; QN [sõn5]; ND1 [soen5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [suan5]
OPH *son5 CNH *suon5

sui 歲 QYS sjwäi- CDC *sioi5/EC *soth
BMH [sòi ~ sùi ~ sè]; MX [sui5w ~ sɛ5b]; HL [soi5]; SX [soi5]; LF [soi5]; LZ [fɔi5]; SHT
[soi5]
HY [suai5]; XY [sui5]; DB [hɔi5]; YL [suei5]; XC [soi5]
CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [si5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛi5]; AY [sue5]; SY [sue2]; XS [si5]; QN [soi5]; ND1 [ɛie5]; ND2 [ɛiei5]; ND3 [siai5]
[OPH *soi5 ?] CNH *soi5 ~ *sioi5 ?/L *siui5
CNH *sioi5 may be reflected by the Méixiàn bái form and the three Níngdū forms.
Cf. Wēngyuán: [siui5].

sui 碎 QYS suäi- CDC *suoi5/EC *suth
BMH [sùi]; MX [sui5]; HL [sui5]; SX [sui5]; LF [sui5]; LZ [fui5]; SHT [—]
HY [sui5]; XY [sui5]; DB [hɛi3]; YL [ts'uei5]; XC [suei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'oi5]
NK [sue5]; AY [se5]; SY [se2]; XS [si5]; QN [sui5]; ND1 [sui5]; ND2 [sui5]; ND3 [sui5]
[OPH *sui5] CNH *sui5/*ts'ui5/*ts'uoï5 ?
Cf. Wēngyuán: [siui5].

The third reconstruction appears to be reflected in the Shàngháng and Liánchéng-2 forms. The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from borrowed *sui5. The set as a whole is highly mixed.

sūn 孫 QYS suən CDC *sun1/EC *sun
BMH [sun]; MX [sun1]; HL [sun1]; SX [sun1]; LF [sun1]; LZ [fun1]; SHT [sun1]
HY [suan1]; XY [sun1]; DB [lən1]; YL [sun1]; XC [sən1]
CT [seŋ1]; WP [seŋ1]; YD [sun1]; SH [seŋ1]; LC1 [sǎi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [sɛ1]; AY [səŋ1]; SY [sɛ1]; XS [sən1]; QN [sun1]; ND1 [sun1]; ND2 [sun1]; ND3 [sun1]
[OPH *sun1] CNH *sun1

sǔn 筍 QYS sjuen: CDC *siun3/EC *sunx
 BMH [sún]; MX [sun3]; HL [sun3]; SX [sun3]; LF [sun3]; LZ [ʃun3]; SHT [sun3]
 HY [sun3]; XY [sun3]; DB [ʰən3]; YL [sun3]; XC [sən3]
 CT [seŋ3]; WP [siŋ3]; YD [sun3]; SH [seŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛyŋ3]; AY [səŋ3]; SY [ɛyŋ2]; XS [sən3]; QN [sun3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɛin3]; ND3 [sin3]
 [OPH *sun3] CNH *siun3/*sun3
 Cf. Wengyuan: [siun3].

suǒ 索 QYS sâk CDC *sok7/EC *'sak
 BMH [sok]; MX [sɔk7]; HL [suk7]; SX [suk7]; LF [sok7]; LZ [ʃɔk7]; SHT [sɔk7]
 HY [—]; XY [sɔk7]; DB [ʰɔk7]; YL [sɔk7]; XC [soʔ7]
 CT [so2]; WP [sɔʔ7]; YD [sɔʔ7]; SH [soʔ7]; LC1 [su6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [so8]; AY [so6]; SY [so5]; XS [sɔk7]; QN [soʔ7]; ND1 [sok7]; ND2 [sɔk7]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *sok7 CNH *sok7

suǒ 所 QYS sjwo: CDC *she3 (~ shu3)/EC *srax
 BMH [só]; MX [sɔ3]; HL [so3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [tʃɔ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [səu3]; XC [so3]
 CT [su3]; WP [sɿ3]; YD [—]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [so3]; AY [so3]; SY [so3]; XS [sɿ3]; QN [so3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *so3] CNH *suo3/*so3

suǒ 鎖 QYS suâ: CDC *so3/EC *'soyx
 BMH [só]; MX [sɔ3]; HL [so3]; SX [so3]; LF [so3]; LZ [ʃɔ3]; SHT [sɔ3]
 HY [suo3]; XY [sɔ3]; DB [ʰo3]; YL [səu3]; XC [so3]
 CT [so3]; WP [so3]; YD [sou3]; SH [su3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [so3]; AY [so3]; SY [so3]; XS [sɔ3]; QN [so3]; ND1 [so3]; ND2 [so3]; ND3 [so3]
 OPH *so3 CNH *so3

T

tā 他 QYS thā CDC *tha1/EC *—
BMH [tha]; MX [t'a1]; HL [t'a1]; SX [t'a1]; LF [t'a1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [t'a1]; SH [thA1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'a1]; AY [t'a1]; SY [t'a1]; XS [t'a1]; QN [t'a1]; ND1 [t'a1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t'a1] CNH *t'a1

tǎ 塔 QYS thâp CDC *thap7/EC *'thup
BMH [thap]; MX [t'ap7]; HL [t'ap7]; SX [t'ap7]; LF [t'ap7]; LZ [thap7]; SHT [—]
HY [t'ap7]; XY [t'ap7]; DB [t'ap7]; YL [t'ap7]; XC [t'aʔ7]
CT [t'a2]; WP [thaʔ7]; YD [t'aʔ7]; SH [thaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'o6]
NK [t'a8]; AY [t'33]; SY [t'a5]; XS [t'ait7]; QN [t'æʔ7]; ND1 [t'aip7]; ND2 [t'ap7]; ND3
[t'ap7]
[OPH *t'ap7] CNH *t'ap7

tà 踏 QYS thâp CDC *thop7, *thap7/EC *'thup
BMH [tháp]; MX [t'ap8]; HL [t'ap7]; SX [t'ap7]; LF [t'ap8]; LZ [thap8]; SHT [t'ap8]
HY [t'ap8]; XY [t'ap8]; DB [t'ap8]; YL [t'ap7]; XC [t'aʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [thaʔ8]; YD [t'aʔ8]; SH [thaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'o5]
NK [t'a8]; AY [t'33]; SY [t'a5]; XS [t'ait8]; QN [t'æʔ8]; ND1 [t'aip8]; ND2 [t'ap8]; ND3
[t'ap8]
[OPH *t'ap8] CNH *t'ap8/*t'ap7

tāi 胎 QYS thâi CDC *thoi1/EC *'thi
BMH [thoi]; MX [t'oi1]; HL [t'oi1]; SX [t'oi1]; LF [t'oi1]; LZ [thoi1]; SHT [t'oi1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'oi1]; XC [t'oi1]
CT [t'ue1]; WP [thuε1]; YD [t'oi1]; SH [thuε1]; LC1 [t'ui1]; LC2 [t'oi1]
NK [t'æ1]; AY [t'ue1]; SY [t'e1 ~ t'æ2]; XS [—]; QN [t'oi1]; ND1 [t'oε1]; ND2 [t'uei1]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *t'oi1] CNH *t'oi1

tân 貪 QYS thām CDC *thom1/EC *'thum

BMH [tham]; MX [t'am1]; HL [t'am1]; SX [t'am1]; LF [t'am1]; LZ [tham1]; SHT [—]

HY [t'am1]; XY [t'am1]; DB [t'am1]; YL [t'am1]; XC [t'an1]

CT [t'aŋ1]; WP [thaŋ1]; YD [t'aŋ1]; SH [thã1]; LC1 [t'aŋ1]; LC2 [t'aŋ1]

NK [t'ã1]; AY [t'ã1]; SY [t'ã1]; XS [t'an1]; QN [t'am1]; ND1 [t'am1]; ND2 [t'am1]; ND3 [t'am1]

[OPH *t'am1] CNH *t'am1

tán 談 QYS dām CDC *dam2/EC *'dam

BMH [thām]; MX [t'am2]; HL [t'am2]; SX [t'am2]; LF [t'am2]; LZ [tham2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'am2]; XC [t'an2]

CT [t'aŋ2]; WP [thaŋ2]; YD [t'aŋ3]; SH [thã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'ã2]; AY [t'ã2]; SY [t'ã2]; XS [t'an2]; QN [t'am2]; ND1 [t'am2]; ND2 [t'am2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *t'am2] CNH *t'am2

tán 譚 QYS — CDC *dom2/EC *—

BMH [thām]; MX [t'am2]; HL [t'am2]; SX [t'am2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'am2]; XC [t'an2]

CT [t'aŋ2]; WP [thaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'a2]

NK [t'ã2]; AY [t'ã2]; SY [t'ã2]; XS [t'an2]; QN [t'an2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [t'am2]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *t'am2] CNH *t'am2

tàn 炭 QYS thān- CDC *than5/EC *'thanh

BMH [thàn]; MX [t'an5]; HL [t'an5]; SX [t'an5]; LF [t'an5]; LZ [than5]; SHT [t'an5]

HY [t'an5]; XY [t'an5]; DB [t'an5]; YL [t'an5]; XC [t'an5]

CT [t'aŋ5]; WP [thaŋ5]; YD [t'an3]; SH [thã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'an5]

NK [t'ã5]; AY [t'ã5]; SY [t'ã2]; XS [t'an5]; QN [—]; ND1 [t'an5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'an5]

[OPH *t'an5] CNH *t'an5

tāng 湯 QYS thāng CDC *thong/EC *'thang
BMH [thong]; MX [t'ɔŋ1]; HL [t'ɔŋ1]; SX [t'ɔŋ1]; LF [t'ɔŋ1]; LZ [thɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [t'ɔŋ1]; XY [t'ɔŋ1]; DB [t'ɔŋ1]; YL [t'ɔŋ1]; XC [t'ɔŋ1]
CT [t'ɔŋ1]; WP [thɔŋ1]; YD [t'ɔŋ1]; SH [thɔŋ1]; LC1 [t'ɔŋ1]; LC2 [t'ɔŋ1]
NK [t'ɔ1]; AY [t'ɔŋ1]; SY [t'ɔ1]; XS [t'ɔŋ1]; QN [t'ɔŋ1]; ND1 [t'ɔŋ1]; ND2 [t'ɔŋ1]; ND3
[t'ɔŋ1]
[OPH *t'ɔŋ1] CNH *t'ɔŋ1

táng 唐 QYS dāng CDC *dong2/EC *'dang
BMH [thông]; MX [t'ɔŋ2]; HL [t'ɔŋ2]; SX [t'ɔŋ2]; LF [t'ɔŋ2]; LZ [thɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'ɔŋ2]; XC [t'ɔŋ2]
CT [t'ɔŋ2]; WP [thɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thɔŋ2]; LC1 [t'ɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'ɔ2]; AY [t'ɔŋ2]; SY [t'ɔ2]; XS [t'ɔŋ2]; QN [t'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [t'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [t'ɔŋ2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t'ɔŋ2] CNH *t'ɔŋ2

táng 堂 QYS dāng CDC *dong2/EC *'dang
BMH [thông]; MX [t'ɔŋ2]; HL [t'ɔŋ2]; SX [t'ɔŋ2]; LF [t'ɔŋ2]; LZ [thɔŋ2]; SHT [t'ɔŋ2]
HY [t'ɔŋ2]; XY [t'ɔŋ2]; DB [t'ɔŋ2]; YL [t'ɔŋ2]; XC [t'ɔŋ2]
CT [t'ɔŋ2]; WP [thɔŋ2]; YD [t'ɔŋ2]; SH [thɔŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'ɔŋ2]
NK [t'ɔ2]; AY [t'ɔŋ2]; SY [t'ɔ2]; XS [t'ɔŋ2]; QN [t'ɔŋ2]; ND1 [t'ɔŋ2]; ND2 [t'ɔŋ2]; ND3
[t'ɔŋ2]
[OPH *t'ɔŋ2] CNH *t'ɔŋ2

tè 特 QYS dək CDC *dek8/EC *'dik
BMH [thit]; MX [t'it8]; HL [t'it8]; SX [t'it8]; LF [t'it8]; LZ [thit8]; SHT [—]
HY [t'at8]; XY [t'et8]; DB [t'et8]; YL [t'ɛ7]; XC [t'ɛ7]
CT [t'e6]; WP [thɛ78]; YD [t'i78]; SH [thɛ78 ~ thi78]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'ue5]
NK [t'ə1]; AY [t'e6]; SY [t'e5]; XS [t'et8]; QN [t'e7]; ND1 [t'ək8]; ND2 [t'ək8]; ND3 [t'ək8]
[OPH *t'it8] CNH *t'ek8/*t'ik8 ?

The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural. The Basel Mission and Quánnán forms, together with those of the Sīchuān points, Yílǒng and Xīchāng, point to proto-tone 7.

téng 藤 QYS dǎng CDC *deng2/EC *'ding
 BMH [thên]; MX [t'ɛn2]; HL [t'en2]; SX [t'en2]; LF [t'en2]; LZ [thɛn2]; SHT [t'ɛn2]
 HY [t'an2]; XY [t'ɛn2]; DB [t'en2]; YL [t'an2]; XC [t'ən2]
 CT [t'ɛŋ2]; WP [thɛŋ2]; YD [t'en2]; SH [thɛ̃2]; LC1 [t'ái2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'ẽ2]; AY [t'ĩŋ2]; SY [t'ẽ2]; XS [t'en2]; QN [t'en2]; ND1 [t'əŋ2]; ND2 [t'əŋ2]; ND3 [t'əŋ2]
 [OPH *t'en2] CNH *t'ɛŋ2

tī 梯 QYS thiei CDC *thiai1/EC *'thiy
 BMH [thoi]; MX [t'i1w ~ t'oi1b]; HL [t'oi1]; SX [t'oi1]; LF [t'oi1]; LZ [thoi1]; SHT [t'ai1 ~ t'oi1]
 HY [t'ie1]; XY [t'ei1]; DB [t'ei1]; YL [t'ei1]; XC [t'oi1]
 CT [t'ue1]; WP [—]; YD [t'oi1]; SH [thuɛ1]; LC1 [thui1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'i1]; AY [t'i2]; SY [t'i2]; XS [—]; QN [t'i1]; ND1 [t'ie1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [t'i1]
 OPH *t'oi1 CNH *t'oi1/*t'iai1/*t'i1

tī 踢 QYS thiek CDC *thiak7/EC *'thek
 BMH [thet]; MX [t'et7]; HL [t'et7]; SX [t'et7]; LF [t'et7]; LZ [thiak7]; SHT [t'iak7]
 HY [t'iak7]; XY [t'iak7]; DB [tɛk7 ~ t'et7]; YL [—]; XC [t'ieʔ7]
 CT [t'e2]; WP [thɛʔ7]; YD [t'ɛʔ7]; SH [thɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'ia8]; AY [t'i6]; SY [t'ia5 ~ t'ie5]; XS [t'it7]; QN [t'iʔ7 ~ t'iaʔ7]; ND1 [t'it7 ~ t'ik7];
 ND2 [t'ik7]; ND3 [t'it7 ~ t'ik7]
 [OPH *t'et7] CNH *t'iak7/*t'ik7

LZ and SHT inexplicably retain -iak here, rather than showing their regular reduction to -ak.

tí 題 QYS diei CDC *diai2/EC *'de
 BMH [thî]; MX [t'i2]; HL [t'i2]; SX [t'i2]; LF [t'i2]; LZ [thi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'ie2]; XY [t'i2]; DB [t'i2]; YL [t'i2]; XC [t'i2]

CT [t'i2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [thi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'i2]; AY [t'i2]; SY [t'i2]; XS [t'i2]; QN [t'i2]; ND1 [t'i2]; ND2 [t'i2]; ND3 [t'i2]

[OPH *t'i2] CNH *t'i2

The Héyuán form appears to derive from an earlier *t'iei2 for which comparative evidence is lacking in our data. Compare the following set, where such evidence is present.

í 啼 QYS diei CDC *diai1/EC *'de

BMH [thâi ~ thê]; MX [t'i2w ~ t'ai2b]; HL [t'i2w ~ t'ai2b]; SX [t'i2w ~ t'ai2b]; LF [t'ai2]; LZ [thai2]; SHT [t'ai2]

HY [t'ie2]; XY [t'ei2]; DB [t'e2]; YL [t'i2]; XC [t'i2]

CT [t'e2]; WP [thi2]; YD [t'ei2]; SH [thei2]; LC1 [t'i2]; LC2 [t'e2]

NK [t'i2]; AY [t'e2]; SY [t'i2]; XS [t'i2]; QN [—]; ND1 [t'i2]; ND2 [t'i2]; ND3 [t'iai2]

[OPH *t'ai2] CNH *t'iai2/L *t'i2

ĩ 體 QYS thiei: CDC *thiai3/EC *'thiyx

BMH [thĩ]; MX [t'i3]; HL [t'i3]; SX [t'i3]; LF [t'i3]; LZ [thi3]; SHT [—]

HY [t'ie3]; XY [t'i3]; DB [t'i3]; YL [t'i3]; XC [t'i3]

CT [t'i3]; WP [thi5w]; YD [t'i3]; SH [thi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'i3]; AY [t'i3]; SY [t'i3]; XS [t'i3]; QN [t'i3]; ND1 [t'i3]; ND2 [t'i3]; ND3 [t'i3]

[OPH *t'i3] CNH t'i3

ì 替 QYS thiei- CDC *thiai5/EC *'thiyh

BMH [thì ~ thài]; MX [t'i5]; HL [t'i5w ~ t'ai5b]; SX [t'i5w ~ t'ai5b]; LF [—]; LZ [thai5]; SHT [—]

HY [t'ie5]; XY [t'ei5]; DB [t'e5]; YL [t'i5]; XC [t'i5]

CT [t'e5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t'ei5]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'i5]; AY [t'i5]; SY [t'i2]; XS [t'i5]; QN [t'i5]; ND1 [t'i5]; ND2 [t'iei5]; ND3 [t'iai5]

[OPH *t'ai5] CNH *t'iai5/L *t'i5

tiān 添 QYS thiem CDC *thiam1/*'thim
 BMH [thiam]; MX [t'iam1]; HL [t'iam1]; SX [t'iam1]; LF [t'iam1]; LZ [thiam1]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'iam1]; XY [t'iam1]; DB [t'iam1]; YL [t'ien1]; XC [t'ien1]
 CT [t'ɪŋ1]; WP [thiaŋ1]; YD [t'iaŋ1]; SH [thiã1]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
 NK [t'iẽ1]; AY [t'iã1]; SY [t'iẽ1]; XS [t'ien1]; QN [t'iam1]; ND1 [t'iam1]; ND2 [t'iam1]; ND3
 [t'iam1]
 OPH *t'iam1 CNH *t'iam1

tiān 天 QYS thien CDC *thian1/EC *'thin
 BMH [thien]; MX [t'ien1]; HL [t'ian1]; SX [t'ian1]; LF [t'ian1]; LZ [then1]; SHT [t'en1]
 HY [t'ian1]; XY [t'ian1]; DB [t'ien1]; YL [t'ien1]; XC [t'ien1]
 CT [t'ɪŋ1]; WP [thienŋ1]; YD [t'ien1]; SH [thiẽ1]; LC1 [t'e1]; LC2 [t'e1]
 NK [t'iẽ1]; AY [t'i1]; SY [t'iẽ1]; XS [t'ien1]; QN [t'ien1]; ND1 [t'ien1]; ND2 [t'ian1]; ND3
 [t'ian1]
 OPH *t'ian1 CNH *t'ian1

tián 甜 QYS diem CDC *diam2/EC *'dem
 BMH [thiâm]; MX [t'iam2]; HL [t'iam2]; SX [t'iam2]; LF [t'iam2]; LZ [thiam2]; SHT [t'iam2]
 HY [t'iam2]; XY [t'iam2]; DB [t'iam2]; YL [t'ien2]; XC [t'ien2]
 CT [t'ɪŋ2]; WP [thiaŋ2]; YD [t'iaŋ2]; SH [thiã2]; LC1 [t'e2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'iẽ2]; AY [t'iã2]; SY [t'iẽ2]; XS [t'ien1]; QN [t'iam2]; ND1 [t'iam2]; ND2 [t'iam2]; ND3
 [t'iam2]
 [OPH *t'iam2] CNH *t'iam2

tián 田 QYS dien CDC *dian2/EC *'din
 BMH [thiễn]; MX [t'ien2]; HL [t'ian2]; SX [t'ian2]; LF [t'ian2]; LZ [then2]; SHT [t'en2]
 HY [t'ian2]; XY [t'ian2]; DB [t'ien2]; YL [t'ien2]; XC [t'ien2]
 CT [t'ɪŋ2]; WP [thienŋ2]; YD [t'ien2]; SH [thiẽ2]; LC1 [t'e2]; LC2 [t'e2]
 NK [t'iẽ2]; AY [t'i2]; SY [t'iẽ2]; XS [t'ien2]; QN [t'ien2]; ND1 [t'ien2]; ND2 [t'ian2]; ND3
 [t'ian2]

OPH *t'ian2 CNH *t'ian2

tiāo 挑 QYS thieu CDC *thiau1/EC *'thew

BMH [thiau]; MX [t'iau1]; HL [t'iau1]; SX [t'iau1]; LF [t'iau1]; LZ [thiau1]; SHT [—]

HY [t'iau1]; XY [t'iau1]; DB [t'iau1]; YL [t'iau1]; XC [t'iau1]

CT [t'io1]; WP [—]; YD [t'ieu1]; SH [thio1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'io1]; AY [t'io1]; SY [t'io1]; XS [t'iau1]; QN [t'iau1]; ND1 [t'iau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[t'iau1]

[OPH *t'iau1] CNH *t'iau1

tiáo 條 QYS dieu CDC *diau2/EC *'diw

BMH [thiâu]; MX [t'iau2]; HL [t'iau2]; SX [t'iau2]; LF [t'iau1]; LZ [thiau2]; SHT [t'iau2]

HY [t'iau2]; XY [t'iau2]; DB [t'iau2]; YL [t'iau2]; XC [t'iau2]

CT [t'io2]; WP [thio2]; YD [t'ieu2]; SH [thio2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'io2]; AY [t'io2]; SY [t'io2]; XS [t'iau2]; QN [t'iau2]; ND1 [t'iau2]; ND2 [t'iau2]; ND3
[t'iau2]

OPH *t'iau2 CNH *t'iau2

tiào 跳 QYS thieu- CDC *thiau5/EC *'thewh

BMH [thiäu ~ thiâu]; MX [t'iau5 ~ t'iau2]; HL [t'iau5]; SX [t'iau5]; LF [t'iau5]; LZ [thiau5];
SHT [t'iau5]

HY [t'iau2]; XY [t'iau5]; DB [t'iau5]; YL [t'iau5]; XC [t'iau5]

CT [t'io5]; WP [thio5w]; YD [t'ieu3]; SH [thio5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'io5]; AY [t'io5]; SY [t'io1 ~ t'io2]; XS [t'iau5]; QN [t'iau6]; ND1 [t'iau5]; ND2 [t'iau5];
ND3 [t'iau5]

[OPH *t'iau5] CNH *t'iau5

tiē 貼 QYS thiep CDC *thiap7/EC *'thip

BMH [thiap]; MX [t'iap7 ~ tiap7]; HL [t'iap7]; SX [t'iap7]; LF [t'iap7 ~ tiap7]; LZ [thiap7];
SHT [t'iap7]

HY [t'iap7]; XY [t'iap7]; DB [t'iap7]; YL [t'ieʔ7]; XC [t'ieʔ7]
 CT [t'e2]; WP [thiaʔ7]; YD [t'iaʔ7 ~ tiaʔ7]; SH [thiaʔ7 ~ tiaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [t'ie7]; AY [t'is3]; SY [t'ie5]; XS [t'iet7]; QN [t'iaʔ7]; ND1 [t'iap7]; ND2 [t'iap7]; ND3
 [tiap7]
 [OPH *t'iap7] CNH t'iap7/tiap7
 †FJFYZ: [t'e6].

tiě 鐵 QYS thiet CDC *thiat7/EC *'thet
 BMH [thiet]; MX [t'iet7]; HL [t'iet7]; SX [t'iet7]; LF [t'iat7]; LZ [thet7]; SHT [t'et7]
 HY [t'iat7]; XY [t'iat7]; DB [t'iet7]; YL [t'ieʔ7]; XC [t'ieʔ7]
 CT [t'e2]; WP [thieʔ7]; YD [t'ieʔ7]; SH [thieʔ7]; LC1 [t'e6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'ie7]; AY [t'is3]; SY [t'ie5]; XS [t'iet7]; QN [t'ieʔ7]; ND1 [t'iet7]; ND2 [t'iat7]; ND3
 [t'iat7]
 OPH *t'iat7 CNH *t'iat7

tīng 聽 QYS thieng CDC *thiang1/EC *'theng
 BMH [thin ~ thang]; MX [t'in1w ~ t'an1b]; HL [t'in6w ~ t'an5b]; SX [t'in6 ~ t'an5]; LF [t'in5w
 ~ t'an5b]; LZ [than5]; SHT [t'an5]
 HY [t'ian5]; XY [t'en1]; DB [ten1]; YL [t'an1]; XC [t'an5]
 CT [t'en1]; WP [then1]; YD [t'in3 ~ t'en1]; SH [thẽ1]; LC1 [t'ãi1]; LC2 [t'æn1]
 NK [t'ia1]; AY [t'ia1]; SY [t'ia1 ~ t'in1]; XS [t'ian1]; QN [t'ian1]; ND1 [t'ian1]; ND2 [t'ian1];
 ND3 [t'ian1]
 [OPH *t'an5] CNH *t'ian1/*t'ian5//L *t'in1/*t'in6
 The initial of the Diànbái form is irregularly unaspirated.

tōng 通 QYS thung CDC *thung1/EC *'thong
 BMH [thung]; MX [t'un1]; HL [t'un1]; SX [t'un1]; LF [t'un1]; LZ [thun1]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'on1]; XY [t'on1]; DB [t'un1]; YL [t'un1]; XC [t'un1]
 CT [t'on1]; WP [thun1]; YD [t'un1]; SH [thən1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'on1]

NK [t'əŋ1]; AY [t'əŋ1]; SY [t'əŋ1]; XS [t'əŋ1]; QN [t'uŋ1]; ND1 [t'uŋ1]; ND2 [t'uŋ1]; ND3
[t'uŋ1]

[OPH *t'uŋ1] CNH *t'uŋ1

tóng 同 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong

BMH [thung]; MX [t'uŋ2]; HL [t'uŋ2]; SX [t'uŋ2]; LF [t'uŋ2]; LZ [thuŋ2]; SHT [t'uŋ2]

HY [t'oŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'uŋ2]; XC [t'uŋ2]

CT [t'oŋ2]; WP [thuŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [thəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [t'əŋ2]; AY [t'əŋ2]; SY [t'əŋ2]; XS [t'əŋ2]; QN [t'uŋ2]; ND1 [t'uŋ2]; ND2 [t'uŋ2]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *t'uŋ2] CNH *t'uŋ2

tóng 銅 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong

BMH [thung]; MX [t'uŋ2]; HL [t'uŋ2]; SX [t'uŋ2]; LF [t'uŋ2]; LZ [thuŋ2]; SHT [t'uŋ2]

HY [t'oŋ2]; XY [t'oŋ2]; DB [t'uŋ2]; YL [t'uŋ2]; XC [t'uŋ2]

CT [t'oŋ2]; WP [thuŋ2]; YD [t'uŋ2]; SH [thəŋ2]; LC1 [t'oŋ2]; LC2 [t'əŋ2]

NK [t'əŋ2]; AY [t'əŋ2]; SY [t'əŋ2]; XS [t'əŋ2]; QN [t'uŋ2]; ND1 [t'uŋ2]; ND2 [t'uŋ2]; ND3
[t'uŋ2]

[OPH *t'uŋ2] CNH *t'uŋ2

tóng 筒 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong

BMH [thung]; MX [t'uŋ2]; HL [t'uŋ2]; SX [t'uŋ2]; LF [t'uŋ2]; LZ [t'uŋ2]; SHT [t'uŋ2]

HY [t'oŋ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'uŋ2]; XC [t'uŋ2]

CT [t'oŋ2]; WP [thuŋ2]; YD [t'uŋ2]; SH [thəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'əŋ2]

NK [t'əŋ2]; AY [t'əŋ2]; SY [t'əŋ2]; XS [t'əŋ2]; QN [t'uŋ2]; ND1 [t'uŋ2]; ND2 [t'uŋ2]; ND3
[t'uŋ2]

[OPH *t'uŋ2] CNH *t'uŋ2

tóng 僮、童 QYS dung CDC *dung2/EC *'dong

BMH [thung]; MX [t'uŋ2]; HL [t'uŋ2]; SX [t'uŋ2]; LF [t'uŋ2]; LZ [thuŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'ʉŋ2]; XC [t'ʉŋ2]
 CT [t'ʉŋ2]; WP [thʉŋ2]; YD [t'ʉŋ2]; SH [thəŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'əŋ2]; AY [t'əŋ2]; SY [t'əŋ2]; XS [t'əŋ2]; QN [t'ʉŋ2]; ND1 [t'ʉŋ2]; ND2 [t'ʉŋ2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *t'ʉŋ2] CNH *t'ʉŋ2

tōng 桶 QYS thung: CDC *thung3/EC **thongx
 BMH [thúng]; MX [t'ʉŋ3]; HL [t'ʉŋ3]; SX [t'ʉŋ3]; LF [t'ʉŋ3]; LZ [thʉŋ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'ʉŋ3]; XY [t'ʉŋ3]; DB [t'ʉŋ3]; YL [t'ʉŋ3]; XC [t'ʉŋ3]
 CT [t'ʉŋ3]; WP [thʉŋ3]; YD [t'ʉŋ3]; SH [thəŋ3]; LC1 [t'ʉŋ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'əŋ3]; AY [t'əŋ3]; SY [t'əŋ3]; XS [t'əŋ3]; QN [t'ʉŋ3]; ND1 [t'ʉŋ3]; ND2 [t'ʉŋ3]; ND3
 [t'ʉŋ3]
 [OPH *t'ʉŋ3] CNH *t'ʉŋ3

tòng 痛 QYS thung- CDC *thung5/EC **thongh
 BMH [thùng]; MX [t'ʉŋ5]; HL [t'ʉŋ6]; SX [t'ʉŋ5]; LF [t'ʉŋ5]; LZ [thʉŋ5]; SHT [t'ʉŋ5]
 HY [t'ʉŋ5]; XY [t'ʉŋ5]; DB [t'ʉŋ5]; YL [t'ʉŋ5]; XC [t'ʉŋ5]
 CT [t'ʉŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [thəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'əŋ5]; AY [t'əŋ5]; SY [t'əŋ2]; XS [t'əŋ5]; QN [t'ʉŋ5]; ND1 [t'ʉŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [t'ʉŋ5]
 [OPH *t'ʉŋ5] CNH *t'ʉŋ5

tōu 偷 QYS thəu CDC *theu1/EC **tho
 BMH [theu]; MX [t'eu1]; HL [t'eu1]; SX [t'eu1]; LF [t'eu1]; LZ [thəu1]; SHT [—]
 HY [t'uai1]; XY [t'eu1]; DB [t'ei1]; YL [t'ai1]; XC [t'əu1]
 CT [t'eu1]; WP [thə1]; YD [t'eu1]; SH [thə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t'ɜ1]; AY [t'ʉ]; SY [t'io1]; XS [t'əu1]; QN [t'eu1]; ND1 [t'eu1]; ND2 [t'ieu1]; ND3 [t'iu1]
 [OPH *t'eu1] CNH *t'eu1

tóu 頭 QYS dəu CDC *deu2/EC *'do
BMH [thêu]; MX [t'eu2]; HL [t'eu2]; SX [t'eu2]; LF [t'eu2]; LZ [thêu2]; SHT [t'iu2 ~ t'eu2]
HY [t'uai2]; XY [t'eu2]; DB [t'ei2]; YL [t'ai2]; XC [t'eu2]
CT [t'eu2]; WP [thɛ2]; YD [t'eu2]; SH [thə2]; LC1 [t'eu2]; LC2 [t'eu2]
NK [t'ɛ2]; AY [t'u2]; SY [t'io2]; XS [t'eu2]; QN [t'eu2]; ND1 [t'eu2]; ND2 [t'eu2 ~ t'ieu2];
ND3 [t'iu2]
OPH *t'eu2 CNH *t'eu2

tú 徒 QYS duo CDC *du2/EC *'da
BMH [thû]; MX [t'u2]; HL [t'u2]; SX [t'u2]; LF [t'u2]; LZ [thu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t'u2]; XC [t'u2]
CT [t'u2]; WP [thu2]; YD [—]; SH [thɯ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'u2]; AY [t'u2]; SY [t'u2]; XS [t'u2]; QN [t'u2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [t'u2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *t'u2] CNH *t'u2

tú 圖 QYS duo CDC *du2/EC *'da
BMH [thû]; MX [t'u2]; HL [t'u2]; SX [t'u2]; LF [t'u2]; LZ [thu2]; SHT [—]
HY [t'u2]; XY [t'u2]; DB [t'u2]; YL [t'u2]; XC [t'u2]
CT [t'u2]; WP [—]; YD [t'i2]; SH [thɯ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [t'u2]; AY [t'u2]; SY [t'u2]; XS [t'u2]; QN [t'u2]; ND1 [t'u2]; ND2 [t'u2]; ND3 [t'u2]
[OPH *t'u2] CNH *t'u2

tuán 團 QYS duân CDC *don2/EC *'don
BMH [thôn]; MX [t'on2]; HL [t'on2]; SX [t'on2]; LF [t'on2]; LZ [thôn2]; SHT [t'on2]
HY [t'uan2]; XY [t'uan2]; DB [t'on2]; YL [t'on2]; XC [t'uan2]
CT [t'uŋ2]; WP [thuɛŋ2]; YD [t'on2]; SH [thuɛ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'uɛ2]
NK [t'oẽ2]; AY [t'õ2]; SY [t'uõ2]; XS [t'on2]; QN [t'on2]; ND1 [t'oɛn2]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[t'uan2]
[OPH *t'on2] CNH *t'uon2

tuì 退 QYS thuài- CDC *thuoi5/EC *’thuth
 BMH [thui]; MX [t’ui5]; HL [t’ui5]; SX [t’ui5]; LF [t’ui5]; LZ [thui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [t’uai5]; XY [t’ui5]; DB [t’ei5]; YL [t’uei5]; XC [t’uei5]
 CT [t’ue5]; WP [thi5]; YD [t’ei3]; SH [thei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t’ue5]; AY [t’ue5]; SY [t’e2]; XS [t’i5]; QN [t’ui5]; ND1 [t’ui5]; ND2 [t’uei5 ~ t’ui5];
 ND3 [t’ui5]
 [OPH *t’ui5] CNH *t’ui5

tūn 吞 QYS thən CDC *then1 ~ *thuen1/’thun
 BMH [thun]; MX [t’un1]; HL [t’un1]; SX [t’un1]; LF [t’un1]; LZ [thun1]; SHT [t’un1]
 HY [t’un1]; XY [t’un1]; DB [t’ən1]; YL [t’un1]; XC [t’ən1]
 CT [t’ɛŋ1]; WP [thɛŋ1]; YD [t’un1]; SH [theiŋ1]; LC1 [t’ai1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t’ɛ1]; AY [t’əŋ1]; SY [t’ɛ1]; XS [t’ən1]; QN [t’un1]; ND1 [t’un1]; ND2 [t’un1]; ND3
 [t’un1]
 OPH *t’un1 CNH *t’un1

tuō 託 QYS thāk CDC *thok7/EC *’thak
 BMH [thok]; MX [t’ɔk7]; HL [t’ok7]; SX [t’ok7]; LF [t’ok7]; LZ [thɔk7]; SHT [t’ɔk8]
 HY [t’ɔk7]; XY [t’ɔk7]; DB [t’ɔk7]; YL [t’ɔʔ7]; XC [t’oʔ7]
 CT [t’o2]; WP [thɔʔ7]; YD [t’ɔʔ7]; SH [thoʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t’u6]
 NK [t’o8]; AY [t’o6]; SY [t’o5]; XS [t’ɔk7]; QN [t’oʔ7]; ND1 [t’ok7]; ND2 [t’ɔk7]; ND3 [t’ɔk7]
 [OPH *t’ok7] CNH *t’ok7

tuō 脫 QYS thuât CDC *thot7/EC *’thot
 BMH [thot]; MX [t’ot7]; HL [t’ot7]; SX [t’ot7]; LF [t’ot7]; LZ [thot7]; SHT [t’ot7]
 HY [t’uat7]; XY [t’uat7]; DB [t’ot7]; YL [t’ɔʔ8 ~ t’ot7]; XC [t’oʔ7]
 CT [t’ue2]; WP [thuɛʔ7]; YD [t’ɔʔ7 ~ t’ot7]; SH [thuɛʔ7]; LC1 [t’ue6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [t’oæ7]; AY [t’ɔ3]; SY [t’uo1]; XS [t’ɔit7]; QN [t’ɔiʔ7]; ND1 [t’oet7]; ND2 [t’uot7]; ND3
 [t’uat7]
 OPH *t’ot7 CNH *t’(u)ot7

W

wǎ 瓦 QYS ngwa: CDC *^hngua4/EC *ngwrayx
 BMH [ngá ~ ngwá]; MX [ŋa3]; HL [ŋua3]; SX [ŋa3]; LF [ŋua3]; LZ [^hga3]; SHT [ŋa3]
 HY [ŋa3]; XY [ŋa3]; DB [ŋa3]; YL [ŋa3]; XC [ŋa3]
 CT [ŋua3]; WP [ŋa3]; YD [ŋa3]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [ŋo3]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ŋa3]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3]; XS [ŋa3]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [ŋa3]; ND2 [ŋa3]; ND3 [ŋa3]
 OPH *ngua3 CNH *ŋua3/*ŋa3
 †FJFYZ: [ŋo3].

wà 襪 QYS mjwnt CDC *^hmvat8/EC *mot
 BMH [mat]; MX [mat7]; HL [mat7]; SX [mat7]; LF [mat7]; LZ [^mbat7]; SHT [—]
 HY [mat8]; XY [mat7]; DB [mat7]; YL [maʔ7]; XC [maʔ7]
 CT [mai2]; WP [maʔ7]; YD [mat7]; SH [maʔ8]; LC1 [ma6]; LC2 [ma5]
 NK [ma8]; AY [m33]; SY [ma5]; XS [mait7]; QN [mæʔ7]; ND1 [mait7 ~ moet7]; ND2 [muot7];
 ND3 [muat7]
 OPH *mat7 CNH *mat7

The Níngdū data point to an earlier *mot7, which in Níngdū-1 is in competition with more general Hakka *mat7.

wāi 歪 QYS — CDC —/—
 BMH [vai]; MX [vai1]; HL [vai1]; SX [vai1]; LF [vai1]; LZ [vai]; SHT [—]
 HY [vai1]; XY [vai1]; DB [vai1]; YL [uai1]; XC [vai1]
 CT [vai1]; WP [va1]; YD [vai1]; SH [va1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [va1]
 NK [væ1]; AY [væ1]; SY [væ1]; XS [vai1]; QN [vai1]; ND1 [vai1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vai1]
 [OPH *vai1] CNH *vai1

wài 外 QYS ngwâi- CDC *nguoi6/EC *^hngwath
 BMH [ngòi]; MX [ŋoi5]; HL [ŋoi6]; SX [ŋoi5]; LF [ŋoi6]; LZ [^hgoi5]; SHT [ŋoi5]
 HY [ŋuai6]; XY [ŋuai3]; DB [ŋoi3]; YL [uoi3]; XC [vai5]
 CT [ŋue6]; WP [ŋue3]; YD [ŋai5]; SH [ŋa3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋua6]

NK [ɲæ5 ~ væ5]; AY [mue6]; SY [væ5 ~ ve3 ~ ve2]; XS [ɲoi5]; QN [ɲoi6]; ND1 [ɲoε6]; ND2 [ɲuei5 ~ ɲuei6]; ND3 [ɲuai6]

OPH *ngoi6 CNH *ngoi6/vai5

The origin of the Yílǒng form is uncertain. The initial of the Ānyuan form is irregular and anomalous.

wān 彎 QYS ʔwan CDC *uan1/EC *'wron

BMH [van]; MX [van1]; HL [van1]; SX [van1]; LF [van1]; LZ [van1]; SHT [—]

HY [van1]; XY [van1]; DB [van1]; YL [uan1]; XC [van1]

CT [vaŋ1]; WP [vaŋ1]; YD [van1]; SH [vã1]; LC1 [va1]; LC2 [—]

NK [vã1]; AY [vã1]; SY [vã1]; XS [van1]; QN [van1]; ND1 [van1]; ND2 [van1]; ND3 [van1]

OPH *van1 CNH *van1

wán 完 QYS yuân CDC *huon2/EC *'gon

BMH [vân ~ vôn]; MX [van2]; HL [van2]; SX [van2]; LF [van2]; LZ [van2]; SHT [van2]

HY [vuan2 ~ van2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]

CT [vuŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [van2]; SH [vã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vã2 ~ huã2]; AY [hõ2]; SY [vã2 ~ huã2]; XS [vɔn2]; QN [vɔn2]; ND1 [voen2]; ND2 [uon2]; ND3 [vuan2 ~ fan2]

OPH *van2 CNH *von2/*van2/huan2/*vion2 ?

The second Nánkāng, Shàngyóu, and Níngdū-3 forms reflect earlier huan2, which must be a rather late loan. The Ānyuǎn form, on the other hand, must derive from a *huon2 for which we have no other comparative evidence. The Xìnyí and Diànbái forms perhaps derive from earlier vion2, as also reconstructed in the following set.

wán 丸 QYS yuân CDC *huon2 ~ *yon2/EC *'gon

BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒen2]; SHT [—]

HY [ian2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [viŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [vien2]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vã2]; AY [—]; SY [jyê2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuon2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ian2]

[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

wán 玩 QYS nguân- CDC *ngun6/EC *'ngonh

BMH [ngân]; MX [ŋan5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ŋuan5]; LZ [van3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vã3w ~ ɲã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [võ3]; SY [vã2]; XS [van2]; QN [van2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *ŋuan5/L *van2

The Ānyuǎn form appears to derive from earlier *von2. This is also true of the first Ānyuǎn form in the following set.

wán 頑 QYS ngwǎn CDC *nguan2/EC *ngron

BMH [ngân]; MX [ŋan2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ɲgan2]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋan2]; XY [ŋan2]; DB [ŋan2]; YL [uan2]; XC [van2]

CT [ŋuan2]; WP [ŋuan2]; YD [—]; SH [ɲã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [vã2 ~ ɲã2]; AY [võ2 ~ ɲã2]; SY [ɲã2]; XS [ŋan2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋan2]; ND2 [ŋan2]; ND3 [ŋan2]

[OPH *ngan2] CNH *ŋuan2/*van2

wǎn 碗 QYS ʔuân: CDC *uon3/EC *'wonx

BMH [vôn]; MX [vɔn3]; HL [von3]; SX [von3]; LF [von3]; LZ [vɔn3]; SHT [—]

HY [vuan3]; XY [van3]; DB [vɔn3]; YL [uɔn3]; XC [vɔn3]

CT [vuɲ3]; WP [ueɲ3]; YD [van3]; SH [vã3]; LC1 [va3]; LC2 [—]

NK [oẽ3 ~ voẽ3]; AY [võ3]; SY [vã3]; XS [vɔn3]; QN [vɔn3]; ND1 [voen3]; ND2 [uan3]; ND3 [vuan3]

OPH *von3 CNH *von3

wǎn 晚 QYS mjwɔn: CDC *mvan4/EC *monx

BMH [man ~ van ~ vǎn]; MX [van3w ~ man1b]; HL [van1]; SX [van3]; LF [van1]; LZ [ᵐban3]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [man3]; DB [man5]; YL [uan3]; XC [vən3]
 CT [vaŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [van3]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vã3]; AY [võ3]; SY [vã3]; XS [van3]; QN [van3]; ND1 [van3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *man1 ?] CNH *man1/*man3/*von3/L *van3

wàn 萬 QYS mjwɔn- CDC *mvan6/EC *monh
 BMH [vàn]; MX [van5]; HL [van5]; SX [van5]; LF [van6]; LZ [ᵐban5b ~ van5w]; SHT [van5]
 HY [man6]; XY [man3]; DB [man3]; YL [uan3]; XC [van5]
 CT [vaŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [van5]; SH [vã3]; LC1 [va6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vã5]; AY [vã6]; SY [vã5]; XS [van5]; QN [van6]; ND1 [van6]; ND2 [van6]; ND3 [van6]
 [OPH *van6] CNH *man6/*van6

wáng 亡 QYS mjwang CDC *mvong2/EC *mang
 BMH [mông]; MX [mɔŋ2]; HL [mɔŋ2]; SX [mɔŋ2]; LF [mɔŋ2]; LZ [ᵐbɔŋ2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
 CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [mɔŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [mɔ̃2]; AY [mɔŋ2]; SY [mɔ̃2]; XS [mɔŋ2]; QN [mɔŋ2]; ND1 [mɔŋ2]; ND2 [vɔŋ2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *mong2] CNH *mɔŋ2

wáng 王 QYS jwang CDC *wong2/EC *wang
 BMH [vông]; MX [vɔŋ2]; HL [vɔŋ2]; SX [vɔŋ2]; LF [vɔŋ2]; LZ [vɔŋ2]; SHT [vɔŋ2]
 HY [vɔŋ2]; XY [vɔŋ2]; DB [vɔŋ2]; YL [uɔŋ2]; XC [vɔŋ2]
 CT [vɔŋ2]; WP [vɔŋ2]; YD [vɔŋ2]; SH [vɔŋ2]; LC1 [vɔŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vɔ̃2]; AY [vɔŋ2]; SY [vɔ̃2]; XS [vɔŋ2]; QN [vɔŋ2]; ND1 [vɔŋ2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vɔŋ2]
 [OPH *vong2] CNH *vɔŋ2

wǎng 網 QYS mjwang: CDC *ᵐmvong4/EC *mangx
 BMH [mióng]; MX [mion3]; HL [mion3]; SX [mion3]; LF [mion3]; LZ [ᵐbion3]; SHT [—]
 HY [mɔŋ3]; XY [mɔŋ3]; DB [mɔŋ3]; YL [uɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5]

CT [vɔŋ3]; WP [mɔŋ3]; YD [mɔŋ3]; SH [mɔŋ3]; LC1 [mɔŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [mɔ̃2]; AY [mɔŋ3]; SY [mɔ̃3]; XS [mɔŋ3]; QN [mɔŋ3]; ND1 [mɔŋ3]; ND2 [mɔŋ3]; ND3
[mɔŋ3]
OPH *miong3 CNH *miong3/von3

wǎng 往 QYS jwang: CDC *wong4/EC *wangx
BMH [vong ~ vóng]; MX [vɔŋ1]; HL [vɔŋ1]; SX [vɔŋ1]; LF [vɔŋ1]; LZ [vɔŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5]
CT [vɔŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [mɔŋ3]; SH [vɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vɔ̃1]; AY [vɔŋ3]; SY [vɔ̃3]; XS [vɔŋ1]; QN [vɔŋ3]; ND1 [vɔŋ3]; ND2 [vɔŋ1]; ND3 [vɔŋ3]
[OPH *vong1] CNH *von1/*von3
The Yǒngdǐng initial is anomalous.

wàng 望 QYS mjwang- CDC *mvong6/EC *mangh
BMH [mòng]; MX [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]; HL [mɔŋ6]; SX [mɔŋ5]; LF [mɔŋ6]; LZ [ᵐbɔŋ5]; SHT
[mɔŋ5]
HY [mɔŋ6]; XY [mɔŋ3]; DB [mɔŋ3]; YL [mɔŋ3]; XC [vɔŋ5w ~ mɔŋ5b]
CT [mɔŋ6]; WP [mɔŋ3]; YD [mɔŋ3]; SH [mɔŋ3 ~ von3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vɔ̃5 ~ mɔ̃5]; AY [mɔŋ6]; SY [vɔ̃5 ~ mɔ̃5]; XS [mɔŋ5 ~ vɔŋ5]; QN [mɔŋ6 ~ vɔŋ6]; ND1
[vɔŋ6]; ND2 [mɔŋ6]; ND3 [mɔŋ6]
[OPH *mong6] CNH *mɔŋ6/L von6

wéi 為 QYS jwe CDC *wi2/EC *woy
BMH [vui]; MX [vi2]; HL [vui2]; SX [vui2]; LF [vui2]; LZ [vui2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [vui1]; DB [—]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
CT [ve2]; WP [vi2]; YD [—]; SH [vi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi2]; AY [ve2]; SY [ve2]; XS [vi2]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [vi2]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vui2] CNH *vui2

wéi 唯、惟 QYS jiwi CDC *yui2/EC *yuy
 BMH [vûi]; MX [vi2]; HL [vui2]; SX [vui2]; LF [vui2]; LZ [vui2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
 CT [ve2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vi2]; AY [ve2]; SY [ve2]; XS [vi2]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [vi2]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vui2] CNH *vui2

wéi 微 QYS mjwei CDC *mvui2/EC *muy
 BMH [mî]; MX [mi2]; HL [mi2]; SX [mi2]; LF [mi2]; LZ [^mbi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [vui1]; DB [vi1]; YL [uei2]; XC [vei2]
 CT [ve1]; WP [vi1]; YD [vi1]; SH [vi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [ve1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [vui2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [vi2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *mi2] CNH *mi2/*vui2

wěi 尾 QYS mjwei: CDC *mvui4/EC *muyx
 BMH [mui]; MX [mi1]; HL [mui1]; SX [mui1]; LF [mui1]; LZ [^mbui1]; SHT [mui1]
 HY [mi5]; XY [mui1]; DB [mei1]; YL [mei1]; XC [mei3]
 CT [me1]; WP [mi1]; YD [mei1]; SH [mi1]; LC1 [mo1]; LC2 [muə1]
 NK [mi1]; AY [me1]; SY [mi1]; XS [mi1]; QN [mui1]; ND1 [mei1]; ND2 [mei1]; ND3 [mei1]
 OPH *mui1 CNH *mui1

wèi 衛 QYS jwái- CDC *woi6/EC *wath
 BMH [vùi]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6 ~ vui3]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
 HY [vie6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [—]; XC [vei5]
 CT [ve6]; WP [vi5]; YD [vei3]; SH [vi5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [vi6]
 NK [vi5]; AY [ve1]; SY [ve3]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vei6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
 [OPH *vui6] CNH *vui6

wèi 為 QYS jwe- CDC *wi6/EC *woyh
 BMH [vùi]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui5]; LZ [vui5 ~ vui2]; SHT [vui5]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [ve6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui3]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vui5] CNH *vui6/*vui5

wèi 位 QYS jwi- CDC *wi6/EC *wuth
BMH [vùì]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [vui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [vui6]; XY [vui3]; DB [vei3]; YL [uei3]; XC [vei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [vi3]; YD [vi5 ~ vei5]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [i6]; ND3 [vei6]
[OPH *vui6] CNH *vui6

wèi 味 QYS mjwei- CDC *mvui6/EC *muth
BMH [múi ~ mì]; MX [mi5]; HL [mui6]; SX [mui5]; LF [mui6]; LZ [mbui5]; SHT [mui5]
HY [mi6]; XY [mui3]; DB [mei5]; YL [mei3]; XC [mei5]
CT [vi6]; WP [mi3]; YD [mei5]; SH [mei3]; LC1 [vi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [vi5]; AY [ve6]; SY [vi5]; XS [vi5]; QN [mui6]; ND1 [vi6 ~ vei6 ~ mei6]; ND2 [—]; ND3
[vei6]
OPH *mui6 CNH *mui6/*vui6

wèi 未 QYS mjwei- CDC *mvui6/EC *muth
BMH [vùì]; MX [vi5]; HL [vui6]; SX [vui5]; LF [mui6]; LZ [vui5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [mei5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ve6]; SY [ve5]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui6]; ND1 [vi6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *mui6/*vui6

wèi 慰 QYS ?jwei- CDC *ui5/EC *uth
BMH [vúi]; MX [vi3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [vui3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [vei5]

CT [—]; WP [vi5]; YD [—]; SH [vi5w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vi5]; AY [ve5]; SY [ve3]; XS [vi5]; QN [vui3]; ND1 [vi5]; ND2 [i5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *vui5

wēn 瘟 QYS ʔuən CDC *un1/EC *'un
 BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [un1]; XC [—]
 CT [veŋ1]; WP [veŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vẽ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vẽ1]; XS [vən1]; QN [—]; ND1 [vən1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vun1] CNH *vun1

wēn 瘟 QYS ʔuən CDC *un1/EC *'un
 BMH [vun]; MX [vun1]; HL [vun1]; SX [vun1]; LF [vun1]; LZ [vun1]; SHT [—]
 HY [un1]; XY [vun1]; DB [vən1]; YL [un1]; XC [vən1]
 CT [veŋ1]; WP [veŋ1]; YD [vun1]; SH [veiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vẽ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vẽ1]; XS [vən1]; QN [vun1]; ND1 [vən1]; ND2 [vən1]; ND3 [vən1]
 [OPH *vun1] CNH *vun1

wén 文 QYS mjuən CDC *mvun2/EC *mun
 BMH [vûn]; MX [vun2]; HL [vun2]; SX [vun2]; LF [vun2]; LZ [vun2]; SHT [vun2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [un2]; XC [vən2w ~ mən2b]
 CT [veŋ2]; WP [veŋ2]; YD [vun2]; SH [veiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [veŋ2]
 NK [vẽ2]; AY [vəŋ2]; SY [vẽ2]; XS [vən2]; QN [vun2]; ND1 [vən2]; ND2 [vən2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vun2] CNH *vun2

Xīchāng data indicate that this form is actually a literary word. The corresponding popular form must have been *mun2, for which we do not have corroborating comparative evidence.

wén 蚊 QYS mjuən CDC *hmvun2/EC *mun
 BMH [mun]; MX [mun2]; HL [mun1]; SX [mun1]; LF [mun1]; LZ [mbun1]; SHT [mun1 ~ min1]

HY [mun1]; XY [mun1]; DB [mən1]; YL [un2]; XC [vən2w ~ mən2b]
CT [meŋ1]; WP [meŋ1]; YD [mun1]; SH [meiŋ1]; LC1 [meŋ1]; LC2 [meŋ2 ~ mæŋ2]
NK [mẽ1]; AY [məŋ1]; SY [mẽ1]; XS [mən1]; QN [mun1]; ND1 [mən1]; ND2 [mən1]; ND3
[mən1]
OPH *mun1 CNH *mun1/L vun2

wěn 穩 QYS ʔuən: CDC *un3/EC */EC *'unx
BMH [vún]; MX [vun3]; HL [vun3]; SX [vun3]; LF [vun3]; LZ [vun3]; SHT [—]
HY [un3]; XY [vun3]; DB [vən3]; YL [un3]; XC [vən3]
CT [veŋ3]; WP [veŋ3]; YD [vun3]; SH [veiŋ3]; LC1 [vãi2]; LC2 [—]
NK [vẽ3]; AY [vəŋ3]; SY [vẽ3]; XS [vən3]; QN [vun3]; ND1 [vən3]; ND2 [vən3]; ND3 [vən3]
[OPH *vun3] CNH *vun3

wèn 問 QYS mjuən- CDC *^hmvun6/EC *munh
BMH [mùn]; MX [mun5]; HL [mun5]; SX [mun5]; LF [mun5]; LZ [^mbun5]; SHT [mun5]
HY [mun5]; XY [mun5]; DB [mən5]; YL [mən5]; XC [mən5]
CT [meŋ5]; WP [meŋ5]; YD [mun3]; SH [meiŋ5]; LC1 [meŋ5]; LC2 [—]
NK [vẽ5 ~ mẽ2]; AY [məŋ5]; SY [vẽ2 ~ mẽ2]; XS [vən5 ~ mən5]; QN [mun5]; ND1 [mən5];
ND2 [mən5b ~ vən5w]; ND3 [mən5]
OPH *mun5 CNH *mun5/L vun5

wēng 翁 QYS ʔung CDC *ung1/EC *'ong
BMH [vung]; MX [vuŋ1]; HL [vuŋ1]; SX [vuŋ1]; LF [vuŋ1]; LZ [vuŋ1]; SHT [vuŋ1]
HY [oŋ1]; XY [ioŋ1]; DB [zuŋ1]; YL [—]; XC [vuŋ1]
CT [voŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [vuŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vəŋ1]; AY [vəŋ1]; SY [vəŋ1]; XS [vəŋ1]; QN [vuŋ1]; ND1 [vuŋ1]; ND2 [vuŋ1]; ND3
[vuŋ1]
[OPH *vuŋ1] CNH *vuŋ1/*viuŋ1 ?

The second reconstruction is based on the Xīnyí and Diànbái forms and is uncertain, especially since the syllable type is unique. Cf. §2.1.5 of Chapter II.

wǒ 我 QYS ngâ: CDC *ngo4/EC *'ngayx
 BMH [ngó ~ ngái]; MX [ŋɔ1w ~ ɲai2b]; HL [ŋo1w ~ ɲai3b]; SX [ŋo1w ~ ɲai3b]; LF [ŋo1w ~ ɲai3b]; LZ [ʔgai2b ~ ʔgo1w]; SHT [ɲai2]
 HY [ɲuai5]; XY [ɲai2]; DB [ɲai2]; YL [ɲai2]; XC [ɲai2]
 CT [ɲai1]; WP [ɲa2]; YD [ɲai2 ~ ɲou3]; SH [ɲa2 ~ ɲa3 ~ ɲa3 ~ ɲu3]; LC1 [ɲa1]; LC2 [ɲa1]
 NK [ɲæ1]; AY [ɲæ2 ~ ɲo2]; SY [ɲæ1 ~ ɲo1]; XS [ɲai1]; QN [ɲai1 ~ ɲo2]; ND1 [ɲai1]; ND2 [ɲai1]; ND3 [ɲai1]
 [OPH *ngai3 ?] CNH *ɲai1/*ɲai2/*ɲai3/L *ɲo1/*ɲo2

The final of the Héyuán form is irregular. It is theoretically possible that it derives from an earlier *ɲoi5, but in the absence of apposite comparative data from other points, this cannot be confirmed.

wò 臥 QYS nguâ- CDC *ngo6/EC *'ngwayh
 BMH [ngò]; MX [ŋɔ5]; HL [ŋo5]; SX [ŋo5]; LF [—]; LZ [ʔgo5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ŋo6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ɲu3 ~ ɲo3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ŋo5]; AY [ŋo6]; SY [ŋo5]; XS [ŋɔ5]; QN [ŋo6]; ND1 [ŋo6]; ND2 [ŋo6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ngo5] CNH *ɲo6

wò 握 QYS ʔāk CDC *ok7/EC *rok
 BMH [vok]; MX [vɔk7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʔgak7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ɲoʔ7]
 CT [ɲo2]; WP [vɔʔ7]; YD [vɔʔ7]; SH [voʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vo8]; AY [vo6]; SY [vo5]; XS [vɔk7]; QN [—]; ND1 [vok7]; ND2 [vɔk7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vok7] CNH *vok7

The Lìzhīzhuāng and Xīchāng forms are not directly comparable either to each other or to the remaining forms in the set.

wū 汙 QYS ʔuo CDC *u1/EC *'a
 BMH [vu]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [vu5]; LF [vu1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u1]; XC [vu1]
CT [—]; WP [vu1]; YD [—]; SH [vu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vu1]; AY [vu1]; SY [vu1]; XS [vu1]; QN [vu1]; ND1 [vu1]; ND2 [vu1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vu1] CNH *vu1

wū 烏 QYS ʔuo CDC *u1/EC *'a
BMH [vu]; MX [vu1]; HL [vu1]; SX [vu1]; LF [vu1]; LZ [vu1]; SHT [vu1]
HY [u1 ~ vu1]; XY [u1]; DB [vu1]; YL [u1]; XC [vu1]
CT [vu1]; WP [vu1]; YD [vi1]; SH [vu1]; LC1 [viue1]; LC2 [vyɛ1]
NK [vu1]; AY [vu1]; SY [vu1]; XS [vu1]; QN [vu1]; ND1 [vu1]; ND2 [vu1]; ND3 [vu1]
[OPH *vu1] CNH *vu1

wū 屋 QYS ʔuk CDC *uk7/EC *'ok
BMH [vuk]; MX [vuk7]; HL [vuk7]; SX [vuk7]; LF [vuk7]; LZ [vuk7]; SHT [vuk7]
HY [ok7]; XY [ouʔ7]; DB [uk7]; YL [uʔ7]; XC [vuʔ7]
CT [vu2]; WP [vuʔ7 ~ uʔ7]; YD [vuʔ7]; SH [vəʔ7]; LC1 [viue6]; LC2 [vyɛ6]
NK [vu8]; AY [vu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [vuk7]; QN [vuʔ7]; ND1 [vuk7]; ND2 [vuk7]; ND3 [vuk7]
OPH *vuk7 CNH *vuk7

wú 吾 QYS nguō CDC *ngu2/EC *'nga
BMH [ŋg]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ŋ2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u2]; XC [vu2]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ŋ2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [ŋu2]; SY [vu5]; XS [—]; QN [vu2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ŋ2] CNH *ŋ2/*vu2

The Ānyuǎn form is not directly comparable to other forms in the set.

wú 無 QYS mju CDC *mvu2/EC *ma
BMH [vû]; MX [vu2w ~ mɔ2b]; HL [vu2]; SX [vu2]; LF [vu2]; LZ [vu2]; SHT [—]
HY [mɔ2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [vu2]

CT [vu2]; WP [u2 ~ mo2]; YD [vi2 ~ mou2]; SH [vu2 ~ mu2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [mɔ2]
 NK [vu2 ~ mɔ2]; AY [vu2 ~ mɔ2]; SY [vu2 ~ mɔ2]; XS [vu2 ~ mau2]; QN [vu2 ~ mau2]; ND1
 [mau2]; ND2 [vu2]; ND3 [mau2]
 [OPH *vu2] CNH *mou2/L *vu2

The first reconstructed form is the native Hakka existential negative. The literary form is the reading for the graph 無.

wǔ 五 QYS nguo: CDC *^hngu4/EC *'ngax
 BMH [ńg]; MX [ŋ3]; HL [ŋ3]; SX [ŋ3]; LF [ŋ3]; LZ [ŋ3]; SHT [ŋ3]
 HY [m3]; XY [ŋ3]; DB [ŋ3]; YL [ŋ3]; XC [m3]
 CT [ŋ3]; WP [ŋ3 ~ m3]; YD [ŋ3]; SH [m3]; LC1 [ŋ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; AY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; SY [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; XS [ŋ3]; QN [ŋ3 ~ vu3]; ND1 [ŋ3]; ND2 [ŋ3];
 ND3 [ŋ3]
 OPH *ng3 CNH *ŋ3/*vu3

wù 誤 QYS nguo- CDC *^hngu6/EC *'ngah
 BMH [ngù]; MX [ŋu5]; HL [ŋu5]; SX [ŋu5]; LF [ŋu5]; LZ [ʔgu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ŋu6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u5]; XC [vu5]
 CT [vu6 ~ ŋ5]; WP [ŋu3 ~ vu5]; YD [ŋou5]; SH [vu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vu5]; AY [ŋu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [—]; QN [vu6]; ND1 [vu6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ngu5] CNH *ŋu5/*vu6

wù 悟 QYS nguo- CDC *^hngu6/EC *'ngah
 BMH [ngù]; MX [ŋu5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u5]; XC [vu5]
 CT [vu6]; WP [ŋu3]; YD [ŋou5]; SH [m3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [vu5]; AY [ŋu6]; SY [vu5]; XS [—]; QN [vu6]; ND1 [vu6]; ND2 [vu6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ŋu6/*vu6

wù 物 QYS mjuət CDC *^hmvut8/EC *mut
BMH [vút]; MX [vut8]; HL [vut8]; SX [vut8]; LF [vut8]; LZ [vut8]; SHT [vut8]
HY [muat7]; XY [mut8]; DB [vət8]; YL [uɛʔ8]; XC [uʔ8]
CT [vu2]; WP [—]; YD [vut8]; SH [veiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [oæ7 ~ vo5]; AY [v33]; SY [vo5]; XS [vət8]; QN [væʔ7]; ND1 [vət7 ~ vət8]; ND2 [vət7];
ND3 [vət7]

OPH *vut8 CNH *vut8/*vut7

The finals of Héyuán and Xīnyí forms do not show a regular correspondence pattern. The Xīnyí form appears to derive from earlier *mut8.

wù 勿 QYS mjuət CDC *mvut8/EC *mut
BMH [vút]; MX [vut8]; HL [vut8]; SX [fut8]; LF [vut8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [uʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [vət8]; QN [—]; ND1 [fət8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vut8] CNH *vut8

wù 惡 QYS ʔuo- CDC *u5/EC *^ʔakh
BMH [vù]; MX [vu5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [vu5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [u5]; XC [vu5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [vʉ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [vu5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [vu5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *vu5] CNH *vu5

X

xī 西 QYS siei CDC *siai1/EC *^ʔsiy
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [si1]
HY [siɛ1]; XY [si1]; DB [hi1]; YL [ɕi1]; XC [ɕi1]
CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [sɿ1]; LC1 [si1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛi1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɛi1]; XS [si1]; QN [ɛi1]; ND1 [ɛi1 ~ ɛiɛ1]; ND2 [ɛiɛi1]; ND3 [siai1]
OPH *si1 CNH *siai1/*si1

xī 希 QYS xjei CDC *xi1/EC *huy, *hiy
BMH [hi]; MX [hi1]; HL [hi1]; SX [hi1]; LF [hi1]; LZ [hi1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛi1]; XC [ɛi1]
CT [ʃi1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ɛi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi1]
NK [ɛi1]; AY [ɛi1]; SY [ɛi1]; XS [—]; QN [ɛi1]; ND1 [ɛi1]; ND2 [ɛi1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *hi1] CNH *hi1

xí 昔 QYS sjäk CDC *siak7/EC *sak
BMH [sit]; MX [sit7]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [sit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [sit7]; DB [lɛt7]; YL [ɛiʔ7]; XC [ɛiɛʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [ɛiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛie8]; AY [si33]; SY [ɛie5]; XS [sit7]; QN [—]; ND1 [ɛit7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [sik7]
[OPH *sit7] CNH *sik7

xí 習 QYS zjəp CDC *zip8/EC *zip
BMH [sip]; MX [sip8]; HL [sip8]; SX [sip8]; LF [sip8]; LZ [tʃhip8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'ip8]; XY [ts'ap8]; DB [ts'əp8]; YL [ɛiʔ8]; XC [ɛiʔ7w ~ ɛiɛʔ7b]
CT [si2]; WP [siʔ8]; YD [siʔ8]; SH [ɛiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛie5]; AY [si31]; SY [ɛie5]; XS [—]; QN [ɛiʔ8]; ND1 [ɛiap8]; ND2 [ɛiap8]; ND3 [siap7]
OPH *sip8 CNH *sip8/*ts'ip8

The finals of the Xīnyí and Diànbái forms do not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. They may be Yuè dialect loans. The Níngdū forms appear to derive from an earlier *siap (Tone 7 or 8), which is of obscure origin.

xí 息 QYS sjäk CDC *sik7/EC *sik
BMH [sit]; MX [sit7]; HL [sit7]; SX [sit7]; LF [sit7]; LZ [ʃit7]; SHT [—]
HY [sit7 ~ sat7]; XY [sɛt7]; DB [lɛt7]; YL [—]; XC [ɛiɛʔ7]

CT [si2]; WP [siʔ7]; YD [siʔ7]; SH [eiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛie8]; AY [si33]; SY [ɛie5]; XS [sit7]; QN [eiʔ7]; ND1 [ɛit7]; ND2 [ɛik7]; ND3 [sik7]

[OPH *sit7] CNH *sik7

The Xīnyí and second Héyuán forms show no recognizable correspondence pattern and are of uncertain origin.

xí 錫 QYS siek CDC *siak7/EC *'sek

BMH [siak ~ sit]; MX [sit7w ~ siak7b]; HL [siak7]; SX [siak7]; LF [siak7]; LZ [ʃiak7]; SHT [siak7]

HY [siak7]; XY [siak7]; DB [ʎiak7]; YL [ɛiaʔ8]; XC [ɛiaʔ7]

CT [sia2]; WP [siaʔ7]; YD [siaʔ7]; SH [ɛiaʔ7]; LC1 [suɔ6]; LC2 [sio6]

NK [ɛiaʔ8]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɛie5 ~ ɛia5]; XS [siak7]; QN [eiʔ7]; ND1 [ɛiak7]; ND2 [ɛiak7]; ND3 [sik7 ~ siak7]

OPH *siak7 CNH *siak7/L *sik7

xǐ 喜 QYS xjǐ: CDC *xi3/EC *hix

BMH [hí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [hi3]

HY [hi3]; XY [hi3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ɛi3]; XC [ɛi3]

CT [ʃi3]; WP [—]; YD [si3]; SH [ɛi3]; LC1 [ʃi3]; LC2 [ʃi3]

NK [ɛi3]; AY [ɛi3]; SY [ɛi3]; XS [ɛi3]; QN [ɛi3]; ND1 [ɛi3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [si3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hi3

xǐ 洗 QYS siei: CDC *siai3/EC *'suyx ~ *'siyh

BMH [sé]; MX [se3]; HL [se3]; SX [se3]; LF [se3]; LZ [ʃe3]; SHT [se3]

HY [sie3]; XY [sei3]; DB [ʎe3]; YL [sei3]; XC [sei3]

CT [se3]; WP [se3]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei3]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [si3]

NK [ɛi3]; AY [se3]; SY [ɛi3]; XS [se3]; QN [sei3]; ND1 [ɛie3]; ND2 [ɛiei3]; ND3 [siai3]

OPH *se3 CNH *siai3

The Liánchéng forms represent a variant reading in *si3. The Nánkāng final is, on the contrary, the regular modern reflex of CNH *-iai.

xì 戲 QYS xje-3 CDC *xi5/EC *hayh
 BMH [hi]; MX [hi5]; HL [hi5]; SX [hi5]; LF [hi5]; LZ [hi5]; SHT [hi5]
 HY [hi5]; XY [hi5]; DB [hi5]; YL [ei5]; XC [ei5]
 CT [ji5]; WP [—]; YD [si3]; SH [sei3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ji5]
 NK [ei5]; AY [ei5]; SY [ei2]; XS [ei5]; QN [tɕ'i5]; ND1 [ei5]; ND2 [ei5]; ND3 [si5]
 [OPH *hi5] CNH *hi5

xì 細 QYS siei- CDC *siai5/EC *'siyh
 BMH [sè]; MX [sɛ5 ~ se2]; HL [se5]; SX [se5]; LF [se5]; LZ [jɛ5]; SHT [se5]
 HY [sie5]; XY [sei5]; DB [ɬe5]; YL [sei5]; XC [sei5]
 CT [se5]; WP [si5 ~ se5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [si5]
 NK [ei5]; AY [se5]; SY [ei2]; XS [se5]; QN [sei5]; ND1 [eiɛ5]; ND2 [eiɛi5]; ND3 [siai5 ~ sie5]
 OPH *se5 CNH *siai5/*si5

xiā 瞎 QYS xat CDC *xat/EC *hrat
 BMH [hat]; MX [hat7 ~ hat8]; HL [hat7]; SX [hat7]; LF [hat7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [hat7]; XY [hat7]; DB [hat7]; YL [haʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]
 CT [hai2]; WP [xaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [haʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [jɛ6]
 NK [ha5]; AY [h33]; SY [ha5]; XS [hait1]; QN [hæʔ7]; ND1 [hait1]; ND2 [hat7]; ND3 [hat7]
 OPH *hat7 CNH *hat7

xiá 匣 QYS ɣap CDC *hap8/EC *grap
 BMH [ap ~ hap]; MX [hap8]; HL [ap7]; SX [ap7]; LF [—]; LZ [hap8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [haʔ8]; XC [haʔ8]
 CT [ha2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [k33]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [kap7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ap7/*hap8/*kap7

The tone of the second Basil Mission form is unaccountably of upper register.

xià 下 QYS ya: “down, below” CDC *ha4/EC *grax
 BMH [ha ~ hà]†; MX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; HL [ha5w ~ ha1b]; SX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; LF [ha6]; LZ
 [ha1]; SHT [ha5]
 HY [ha5 ~ ha1]; XY [ha1]; DB [ha3]; YL [ha5]; XC [ha5 ~ ha2]
 CT [ha1]; WP [xa1]; YD [ha1]; SH [ha1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ho6 ~ ho5 ~ ho1]
 NK [ha1 ~ ha3]; AY [ha3]; SY [ha1]; XS [ha1]; QN [ha5]; ND1 [ha6 ~ ha1]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ha1]
 [OPH *ha1 ~ ha5 ?] CNH *ha1/*ha6/L ha5

† The second form, hà, is said to be the “proper” (i.e., character reading) pronunciation of this etymon, thereby indicated that upper ha was the actual spoken form in standard Hakka of the nineteenth century. It is possible that both *ha6, as well as *ha5, is ultimately of literary origin.

xià 下 QYS ya- “descend” CDC *ha6/*grah
 BMH [ha]; MX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; HL [ha5w ~ ha1b]; SX [ha5w ~ ha1b]; LF [ha6w ~ ha1b]; LZ
 [ha5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ha1]; XY [ha3]; DB [ha1]; YL [ha3]; XC [ha5]
 CT [ha6]; WP [xa3]; YD [ha5]; SH [ha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ha5]; AY [ha5]; SY [ha3]; XS [ha3]; QN [ha3]; ND1 [ha1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ha6]
 [OPH ?] CNH *ha1/L *ha6

In most Hakka dialects, the sense “descend” is colloquially some form of luò 落. The present syllable is probably basically of literary register.

xià 廈 QYS ya: CDC *ha4/EC *grax
 BMH [hà]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ha6]; LZ [ha5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ha6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ha5]
 CT [ha6]; WP [xa3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ha5]; AY [ha5]; SY [ha5]; XS [ha5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ha6]; ND2 [sa6 ~ ha6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ha6] CNH *ha6

xià 嚇 QYS xpk CDC *xak7/EC *hrak
 BMH [hak]; MX [hak7]; HL [hak7]; SX [hak7]; LF [—]; LZ [hak7]; SHT [hat7]
 HY [hak7]; XY [hak7]; DB [hak7]; YL [haʔ7]; XC [haʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [xɑʔ7]; YD [haʔ7]; SH [hAʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ha8]; AY [ha6]; SY [ha5]; XS [hak7]; QN [haʔ7]; ND1 [hak7]; ND2 [hak7]; ND3 [hak7]
 [OPH *hak7] CNH *hak7

xiān 先 QYS sien CDC *sian1/EC *'sun ~ *'sin
 BMH [sien]; MX [sien1w ~ sin1b]; HL [sian1]; SX [sian1]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃen1]; SHT [sen1]
 HY [sian1]; XY [sian1]; DB [lien1]; YL [eien1]; XC [eien1]
 CT [sin1]; WP [sien1]; YD [sien1]; SH [eiẽ1]; LC1 [se1]; LC2 [sen1]
 NK [eiẽ1]; AY [si1]; SY [eiẽ1]; XS [sien1]; QN [eien1]; ND1 [eien1]; ND2 [cian1]; ND3 [sian1]
 [OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

xiān 仙 QYS sjän CDC *sian1/EC *sen
 BMH [sien]; MX [sien1]; HL [sian1]; SX [sian1]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃen1]; SHT [—]
 HY [sian1]; XY [sian1]; DB [lien1]; YL [eien1]; XC [eien1]
 CT [sin1]; WP [sien1]; YD [sien1]; SH [eiẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sen1 ~ se1]
 NK [eiẽ1]; AY [si1]; SY [eiẽ1]; XS [sien1]; QN [eien1]; ND1 [eien1]; ND2 [cian1]; ND3 [sian1]
 [OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

xiān 鮮 QYS sjän CDC *sian1/EC *san
 BMH [sien]; MX [sien1]; HL [sian3]; SX [sian3]; LF [sian1]; LZ [ʃen1]; SHT [—]
 HY [sian1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [eien1]; XC [eien1]
 CT [sin1]; WP [sien1]; YD [sien1]; SH [eiẽ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [se1]
 NK [eiẽ1]; AY [si1]; SY [eiẽ1]; XS [sien1]; QN [eien1]; ND1 [eien1]; ND2 [cian1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *sian1] CNH *sian1

xián 閑 QYS yǎn CDC *han2/EC *gren
 BMH [hân]; MX [han2]; HL [han2]; SX [han2]; LF [han2]; LZ [han2]; SHT [—]

HY [han2]; XY [han2]; DB [han2]; YL [ɛien2]; XC [ɛien2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [han2]; SH [hã2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [ʃe2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [han2]; ND1 [han2]; ND2 [han2]; ND3 [han2]
OPH *han2 CNH *han2/*hian2

xián 嫌 QYS yiem CDC *hiam2/*'gem
BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam2]; HL [hiam2]; SX [hiam2]; LF [hiam2]; LZ [hiam2]; SHT [—]
HY [hiam2]; XY [sam2]; DB [hiam2]; YL [ɛien2]; XC [ɛien2]
CT [ʃiŋ2]; WP [siaŋ2]; YD [saŋ2]; SH [ɛiã2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛiẽ2]; AY [ɛiã2]; SY [ɛiẽ2]; XS [ɛien2]; QN [ɛian2]; ND1 [sam2]; ND2 [sam2]; ND3
[sam2]
[OPH *hiam2] CNH *hiam2

xián 鹹 QYS yǎm CDC *ham2/EC *grum
BMH [hâm]; MX [ham2]; HL [ham2]; SX [ham2]; LF [ham2]; LZ [ham2]; SHT [ham2]
HY [ham2]; XY [ham2]; DB [ham2]; YL [han2]; XC [han2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xaŋ2]; YD [haŋ2]; SH [hã2]; LC1 [haŋ2]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [ham2]; ND1 [ham2]; ND2 [ham2]; ND3 [ham2]
OPH *ham2 CNH *ham2

xián 銜 QYS yam CDC *ham/EC —
BMH [hâm]; MX [ham2]; HL [ham2]; SX [ham2]; LF [ham2]; LZ [ham2]; SHT [—]
HY [ham2]; XY [ham2]; DB [ham2]; YL [—]; XC [han2]
CT [haŋ2]; WP [xəŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [haŋ2]
NK [hã2]; AY [hã2]; SY [hã2]; XS [han2]; QN [ham2]; ND1 [ham2]; ND2 [ham2]; ND3 [ham2]
[OPH *ham2] CNH *ham2

xiǎn 險 QYS xjäm:3 CDC *xiam3/EC *hamx
BMH [hiám]; MX [hiam3]; HL [hiam3]; SX [hiam3]; LF [hiam3]; LZ [hiam3]; SHT [hiam3]
HY [hiam3]; XY [hiam3]; DB [hiam3]; YL [ɛien3]; XC [ɛien3]

CT [ɕiŋ3]; WP [siaŋ3]; YD [saŋ3]; SH [eiã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [eiẽ3]; AY [eiã3]; SY [eiẽ3]; XS [eiɛn3]; QN [ɛiam3]; ND1 [sam3]; ND2 [sam3]; ND3
 [sam3]
 OPH *hiam3 CNH *hiam3

xiàn 縣 QYS yiwen- CDC *hion6/EC *'gwenh
 BMH [yèn ~ hièn]; MX [ian5]; HL [zan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan6]; LZ [ʒen5]; SHT [—]
 HY [yan6]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [ɛien5w ~ ien3b]; XC [ɛien5]
 CT [iŋ6]; WP [viɛŋ3]; YD [vien5]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve6]; LC2 [ve6]
 NK [iẽ5]; AY [jiõ6]; SY [yẽ2]; XS [ɛien5]; QN [iuon6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ian6]; ND3 [ien6]
 [OPH *ian5] CNH *vion6/L *hian5

xiàn 陷 QYS yǎm- CDC *ham6/EC *gramh
 BMH [hàm ~ hám]; MX [ham5]; HL [ham5]; SX [ham5]; LF [ham5]; LZ [ham5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [han5]
 CT [—]; WP [xaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [hã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hã5]; AY [hã6]; SY [hã5]; XS [han5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ham6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ham5] CNH *ham5/*ham6

xiàn 線 QYS sjǎn- CDC *sian5/EC *sanh
 BMH [sièn]; MX [siɛn5]; HL [sian5]; SX [sian5]; LF [sian5]; LZ [ʃen5]; SHT [sen5]
 HY [sian5]; XY [sian5]; DB [ɕien5]; YL [ɛien5]; XC [ɛien5]
 CT [siŋ5]; WP [siɛŋ5]; YD [siɛn3]; SH [eiẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [seŋ5]
 NK [eiẽ5]; AY [si5]; SY [eiẽ2]; XS [siɛn5]; QN [ɛien5]; ND1 [ɛien5]; ND2 [ɛian5]; ND3 [sian5]
 [OPH *sian5] CNH *sian5

xiāng 相 QYS sjang CDC *siong1/EC *sang
 BMH [siong]; MX [siɔŋ1]; HL [sioŋ1]; SX [sioŋ1]; LF [sioŋ1]; LZ [ɕioŋ1]; SHT [ɕioŋ1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛioŋ1]; XC [ɛioŋ1]
 CT [siɔŋ1]; WP [siɔŋ1]; YD [sioŋ1]; SH [ɛioŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiɿ1]; AY [sioŋ1]; SY [ɛiɿ1]; XS [sioŋ1]; QN [ɛioŋ1]; ND1 [ɛioŋ1]; ND2 [ɛioŋ1]; ND3

[—]

[OPH *sioŋ1] CNH *sioŋ1

xiāng 香 QYS xjang CDC *xiong1/EC *hang

BMH [hiong]; MX [hioŋ1]; HL [hioŋ1]; SX [hioŋ1]; LF [hioŋ1]; LZ [hioŋ1]; SHT [hioŋ1]

HY [hyoŋ1 ~ hioŋ1]; XY [hioŋ1]; DB [hioŋ1]; YL [ɛioŋ1]; XC [ɛioŋ1]

CT [fioŋ1]; WP [sioŋ1]; YD [sɔŋ1]; SH [ɛioŋ1]; LC1 [fioŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiɿ1]; AY [ɛioŋ1]; SY [ɛiɿ1]; XS [ɛioŋ1]; QN [ɛioŋ1]; ND1 [sɔŋ1]; ND2 [sɔŋ1]; ND3

[sɔŋ1]

OPH *hiong1 CNH *hioŋ1

xiáng 詳 QYS zjang CDC *ziong2/EC *zang

BMH [siôŋ]; MX [sioŋ2]; HL [sioŋ2]; SX [sioŋ2]; LF [sioŋ2]; LZ [fioŋ2]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛioŋ2]; XC [ɛioŋ2]

CT [sioŋ2]; WP [sioŋ2]; YD [sioŋ2]; SH [ɛioŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiɿ2]; AY [sioŋ2]; SY [ɛiɿ2]; XS [sioŋ2]; QN [ɛioŋ2]; ND1 [ɛioŋ2]; ND2 [ɛioŋ2]; ND3

[—]

[OPH *sioŋ2] CNH *sioŋ2

xiǎng 想 QYS sjang: CDC *siong3/EC *sang

BMH [sióng]; MX [sioŋ3]; HL [sioŋ3]; SX [sioŋ3]; LF [sioŋ3]; LZ [fioŋ3]; SHT [sioŋ3]

HY [syoŋ3]; XY [sioŋ3]; DB [hioŋ3]; YL [ɛioŋ3]; XC [ɛioŋ3]

CT [sioŋ3]; WP [sioŋ3]; YD [sioŋ5]; SH [ɛioŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiɿ3]; AY [sioŋ3]; SY [ɛiɿ3]; XS [sioŋ3]; QN [ɛioŋ3]; ND1 [ɛioŋ3]; ND2 [ɛioŋ3]; ND3

[sioŋ3]

[OPH *siong3] CNH *sioŋ3

xiǎng 響 QYS xjang: CDC *xiong3/EC *hangx

BMH [hióng]; MX [hioŋ3]; HL [hioŋ3]; SX [hioŋ3]; LF [hioŋ3]; LZ [hioŋ3]; SHT [—]

HY [hyɔŋ3]; XY [hiɔŋ3]; DB [hiɔŋ3]; YL [ɕiɔŋ3]; XC [ɕiɔŋ5]
 CT [fiɔŋ3]; WP [siɔŋ3]; YD [sɔŋ3]; SH [ɕiɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiɔ̃3]; AY [ɕiɔŋ3]; SY [ɕiɔ̃3]; XS [ɕiɔŋ3]; QN [ɕiɔŋ3]; ND1 [sɔŋ3]; ND2 [sɔŋ3]; ND3
 [sɔŋ3]
 [OPH *hiong3] CNH *hiong3

xiǎng 享 QYS xjang: CDC *xiong3/EC *hangx
 BMH [hióng]; MX [hiɔŋ3]; HL [—]; SX [hiong3]; LF [hiong3]; LZ [hiɔŋ3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕiɔŋ3]; XC [ɕiɔŋ5]
 CT [fiɔŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [ɕiɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiɔ̃3]; AY [—]; SY [ɕiɔ̃3]; XS [ɕiɔŋ3]; QN [ɕiɔŋ3]; ND1 [sɔŋ3]; ND2 [sɔŋ3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *hiong3] CNH *hiong3

xiàng 像 QYS zjang: CDC *ziong4/EC *zangx
 BMH [siòng]; MX [siɔŋ5w ~ ts'ioŋ5b]; HL [siɔŋ5w ~ ts'ioŋ5]; SX [siɔŋ5w ~ ts'ioŋ5]; LF
 [siɔŋ5]; LZ [tʃhiɔŋ5b ~ ʃiɔŋ5w]; SHT [ts'ioŋ5]
 HY [—]; XY [ts'ioŋ5]; DB [hiɔŋ5]; YL [ɕiɔŋ5]; XC [tɕ'ioŋ5]
 CT [ts'ioŋ6]; WP [siɔŋ5 ~ tshiɔŋ3]; YD [siɔŋ3]; SH [ɕiɔŋ5 ~ tɕhiɔŋ5]; LC1 [ts'ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiɔ̃5 ~ tɕ'iõ5]; AY [ts'ioŋ6]; SY [ɕiɔ̃2 ~ tɕ'iõ5]; XS [ts'ioŋ5]; QN [tɕ'ioŋ6]; ND1 [tɕ'ioŋ6];
 ND2 [tɕ'ioŋ6]; ND3 [ts'ioŋ6]
 [OPH *ts'iong5] CNH *ts'iong6/L *siong5

xiàng 向 QYS xjang- CDC *xiong5/EC *hangh
 BMH [hiòng]; MX [hiɔŋ5]; HL [hiong5]; SX [hiong5]; LF [hiong5]; LZ [hiɔŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [hyɔŋ5]; XY [hiɔŋ5]; DB [hiɔŋ5]; YL [ɕiɔŋ5]; XC [ɕiɔŋ5]
 CT [fiɔŋ5]; WP [siɔŋ5]; YD [sɔŋ3]; SH [ɕiɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕiɔ̃5]; AY [ɕiɔŋ5]; SY [ɕiɔ̃2]; XS [ɕiɔŋ5]; QN [ɕiɔŋ5]; ND1 [sɔŋ5]; ND2 [sɔŋ5]; ND3
 [sɔŋ5]
 [OPH *hiong5] CNH *hiong5

xiàng 相 QYS sjang- CDC *siong5/EC *sang
 BMH [siòng]; MX [siɔŋ5]; HL [siɔŋ5]; SX [siɔŋ5]; LF [siɔŋ5]; LZ [ʃiɔŋ5]; SHT [siɔŋ5]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛiɔŋ5]; XC [ɛiɔŋ5]
 CT [siɔŋ5]; WP [siɔŋ5]; YD [siɔŋ3]; SH [ɛiɔŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛiɔ5]; AY [siɔŋ5]; SY [ɛiɔ2]; XS [siɔŋ5]; QN [ɛiɔŋ5]; ND1 [ɛiɔŋ5]; ND2 [ɛiɔŋ5]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *siong5] CNH *sion5

xiǎo 曉 QYS xieu: CDC *xiau3/EC **hewx
 BMH [hiáu]; MX [hiau3]; HL [hiau3]; SX [hiau3]; LF [hiau3]; LZ [hiau3]; SHT [hiəu3]
 HY [hiau3]; XY [hiau3]; DB [hiau3]; YL [ɛiau3]; XC [ɛiau3]
 CT [ʃiɔ3]; WP [siɔ3]; YD [seu1 ~ sou1]; SH [ɛiə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃe6]
 NK [ɛiɔ3]; AY [ɛiɔ3]; SY [ɛiɔ3]; XS [ɛiau3]; QN [ɛiau3]; ND1 [sau3]; ND2 [sau3]; ND3 [sau3]
 OPH *hiau3 CNH *hiau3

xiǎo 小 QYS sjäu: CDC *siau3/EC *sewx
 BMH [siáu]; MX [siau3]; HL [siau3]; SX [seu3]; LF [siau3]; LZ [ʃiau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [siau3]; XY [siau3]; DB [hiau3]; YL [—]; XC [ɛiau3]
 CT [siɔ3]; WP [siɔ3]; YD [sieu3]; SH [ɛiə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [siɔ3]
 NK [ɛiɔ3]; AY [siɔ3]; SY [ɛiɔ3]; XS [siau3]; QN [ɛiau3]; ND1 [ɛiau3]; ND2 [ɛiau3]; ND3
 [siau3]
 [OPH *siau3] CNH *siau3

xiào 孝 QYS xau- CDC *xau5/EC *hruh
 BMH [hàu]; MX [hau5]; HL [hau5]; SX [hau5]; LF [hau5]; LZ [hau5]; SHT [—]
 HY [hau5]; XY [hau5]; DB [hau5]; YL [ɛiau5]; XC [ɛiau5]
 CT [hɔ5]; WP [xɔ5]; YD [hau3]; SH [ho5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [hɔ5]; AY [hɔ5]; SY [hɔ2]; XS [hau5]; QN [hau5]; ND1 [hau5]; ND2 [hau5]; ND3 [hau5]
 [OPH *hau5] CNH *hau5

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms are of probable Mandarin origin.

xiào 笑 QYS sjäu- CDC *siau5/EC *sawh
 BMH [siaù]; MX [siau5]; HL [siau5]; SX [seu5]; LF [siau5]; LZ [fiau]; SHT [siau5]
 HY [siau5]; XY [siau5]; DB [hiau5]; YL [ɛiau5]; XC [ɛiau5]
 CT [siɔ5]; WP [siɔ5]; YD [sieu3]; SH [ɛiɔ5]; LC1 [siɔ5]; LC2 [siɔ5]
 NK [ɛiɔ5]; AY [siɔ5]; SY [ɛiɔ2]; XS [siau5]; QN [ɛiau5]; ND1 [ɛiau5]; ND2 [ɛiau3]; ND3
 [siau5]
 OPH *siau5 CNH *siau5

xiē 些 QYS sjā CDC *sia1/EC *say
 BMH [sia]; MX [sia1]; HL [sia2]; SX [sia2]; LF [sia1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [sia1]; SH [ɛia1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛia1]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [sia1]; QN [ɛia1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *sia1] CNH *sia1

xiē 歇 QYS xjɔt CDC *xiat7/EC *hot
 BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [—]
 HY [hiat7]; XY [k'iat7]; DB [k'iet7]; YL [ɛieʔ7]; XC [ɛieʔ7]
 CT [ʃe2]; WP [sieʔ7]; YD [seʔ7]; SH [ɛieʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ʃi2]
 NK [ɛie7 ~ ɛie8]; AY [ɛi33]; SY [ɛie5]; XS [ɛiet7]; QN [ɛieʔ7 ~ saiʔ7]; ND1 [sait7 ~ ts'ait7];
 ND2 [—]; ND3 [sat7]
 OPH *hiat7 CNH *hiat7

xié 鞋 QYS yǎi CDC *hai2/EC *gre
 BMH [hâi]; MX [hai2]; HL [hai2]; SX [hai2]; LF [hai2]; LZ [hai2]; SHT [hai2]
 HY [hai2]; XY [hai2]; DB [hai2]; YL [hai2]; XC [hai2]
 CT [hai2]; WP [xa2]; YD [hei2]; SH [ha2]; LC1 [ʃe2]; LC2 [ʃe2]
 NK [hæ2]; AY [hæ2]; SY [hæ2]; XS [hai2]; QN [hai2]; ND1 [hai2]; ND2 [hai2]; ND3 [hai2]
 OPH *hai2 CNH *hai2/*hiai2

The second reconstruction is supported by the Yǒngdīng and Liánchéng forms.

xié 邪 QYS zja CDC *zia2/EC *za
BMH [siâ]; MX [sia2]; HL [sia2]; SX [sia2]; LF [sia2]; LZ [fia2]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'ia2]; XY [ts'ɛ2]; DB [ts'ia2]; YL [ɛia2]; XC [ɛia2]
CT [sia2]; WP [sia2]; YD [sia2]; SH [ɛia2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛia2]; AY [sia2]; SY [ɛia2]; XS [sia2]; QN [ɛia2]; ND1 [ɛia2]; ND2 [ɛia2]; ND3 [sia2]
[OPH *sia2] CNH *sia2

xiě 寫 QYS sia: CDC *sia3/EC *sax
BMH [siá]; MX [sia3]; HL [sia3]; SX [sia3]; LF [sia3]; LZ [fia3]; SHT [sia3]
HY [sia3]; XY [sɛ3]; DB [hia3]; YL [ɛia3]; XC [ɛia3]
CT [sia3]; WP [sia3]; YD [sia3]; SH [ɛia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛia3]; AY [sia3]; SY [ɛia3]; XS [sia3]; QN [ɛia3]; ND1 [ɛia3]; ND2 [ɛia3]; ND3 [sia3]
[OPH *sia3] CNH *sia3

xiè 謝 QYS zja- CDC *zia6/EC *zakh
BMH [tshià]; MX [ts'ia5]; HL [ts'ia6]; SX [ts'ia5]; LF [ts'ia5]; LZ [tʃhia5]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'ia6]; XY [ts'ɛ3]; DB [ts'ia3]; YL [ɛia3]; XC [ɛie5w ~ tɛ'ia5b]
CT [sia6]; WP [sia3 ~ tshia3]; YD [ts'ia5 ~ ts'ia3]; SH [tɬhia3 ~ ɛia3]; LC1 [ts'io6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛia5]; AY [sia6]; SY [ɛia5]; XS [sia5 ~ ts'ia5]; QN [ɛia6 ~ tɛ'ia6]; ND1 [ɛia6 ~ tɛ'ia6];
ND2 [tɛ'ia6]; ND3 [sia6 ~ ts'ia6]
[OPH *ts'ia6] CNH *ts'ia6/L *sia6

Where both affricate and fricative forms are present, and the distinction is explained, the fricative initial form is usually the word for “thank” and “fade (of flowers)”, while the affricate form is a surname.

xiè 蟹 QYS yai: CDC *hai4/EC *grex
BMH [háí]; MX [hai3]; HL [hai3]; SX [hai3]; LF [hai3]; LZ [hai3]; SHT [hai3]
HY [hai3 ~ hai5]; XY [hai2]; DB [hai3]; YL [hai3]; XC [—]
CT [hai6]; WP [xa3]; YD [hai3]; SH [ha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [hæ3]; AY [hæ3]; SY [k'æ3]; XS [hai3]; QN [k'ai3]; ND1 [k'ai3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [k'ai2]

OPH *hai3 CNH *hai3/k'ai3

Several points in this set show divergent tones, but they do not form a recognizable correspondence pattern.

xīn 心 QYS sjəm CDC *sim1/EC *sim

BMH [sim]; MX [sim1]; HL [sim1]; SX [sim1]; LF [sim1]; LZ [sim1]; SHT [sim1]

HY [sim1]; XY [sim1]; DB [ləm1]; YL [ɛin1]; XC [ɛin1]

CT [seŋ1]; WP [sɪŋ1]; YD [sɪŋ1]; SH [ɛiŋ1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]

NK [ɛiŋ1]; AY [sɪŋ1]; SY [ɛiŋ1]; XS [sin1]; QN [ɛin1]; ND1 [ɛim1]; ND2 [ɛim1]; ND3 [sim1]

OPH *sim1 CNH *sim1

xīn 辛 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sin

BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [—]

HY [sin1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛin1]; XC [ɛin1]

CT [seŋ1]; WP [sɪŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [ɛiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiŋ1]; AY [sɪŋ1]; SY [ɛiŋ1]; XS [sin1]; QN [ɛin1]; ND1 [ɛin1]; ND2 [ɛin1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *sin1] CNH *sin1

xīn 新 QYS sjen CDC *sin1/EC *sinh

BMH [sin]; MX [sin1]; HL [sin1]; SX [sin1]; LF [sin1]; LZ [ʃin1]; SHT [sin1]

HY [sin1]; XY [sin1]; DB [lən1]; YL [ɛin1]; XC [ɛin1]

CT [seŋ1]; WP [sɪŋ1]; YD [sɪŋ1]; SH [ɛiŋ1]; LC1 [seŋ1]; LC2 [seŋ1]

NK [ɛiŋ1]; AY [sɪŋ1]; SY [ɛiŋ1]; XS [sin1]; QN [ɛin1]; ND1 [ɛin1]; ND2 [ɛin1]; ND3 [sin1]

OPH *sin1 CNH *sin1

xìn 信 QYS sjen- CDC *sin5/EC *sinh

BMH [sin]; MX [sin5]; HL [sin5]; SX [sin5]; LF [sin5]; LZ [ʃin5]; SHT [sin5]

HY [sin5]; XY [sin5]; DB [lən5]; YL [ɛin5]; XC [ɛin5]

CT [seŋ5]; WP [sɪŋ5]; YD [sɪŋ3]; SH [ɛiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiŋ5]; AY [sɪŋ5]; SY [ɛiŋ2]; XS [sin5]; QN [ɛin5]; ND1 [ɛin5]; ND2 [ɛin5]; ND3 [sin5]

[OPH *sin5] CNH *sin5

xīng 星 QYS sieng CDC *siang1/EC *'seng

BMH [sin ~ siang ~ sen]; MX [sɛn1]; HL [sen1w ~ siaŋ1b]; SX [sen1]; LF [sen1]; LZ [ʃin1];
SHT [sin1]

HY [siaŋ1 ~ sin1]; XY [sɛn1]; DB [ʎɛn1]; YL [ɛin1w ~ san1b]; XC [ɛin1w ~ ɛiaŋ1b]

CT [seŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [sɛn1]; SH [sɛ̃1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [sæŋ1]

NK [ɛiŋ1 ~ ɛiã1]; AY [siŋ1 ~ ɛiã1]; SY [ɛiŋ1 ~ ɛiã1]; XS [sin1 ~ siaŋ1]; QN [ɛin1 ~ ɛiaŋ1];

ND1 [ɛin1 ~ ɛiaŋ1]; ND2 [ɛiaŋ1]; ND3 [siŋ1 ~ siaŋ1]

[OPH *siang1] CNH *siaŋ1/L *siŋ1

xíng 形 QYS yieng CDC *hiang2/EC *'geng

BMH [hín]; MX [hin2]; HL [hin2]; SX [hin2]; LF [hin2]; LZ [hin2]; SHT [—]

HY [hin2]; XY [sin2]; DB [hən2]; YL [ɛin2]; XC [ɛin2]

CT [ʃeŋ2]; WP [siŋ2]; YD [siŋ2]; SH [ɛiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛiŋ2]; AY [ɛiəŋ2]; SY [ɛiŋ2]; XS [ɛin2]; QN [ɛin2]; ND1 [səŋ2]; ND2 [səŋ2]; ND3 [səŋ2]

[OPH *hin2] CNH *hiŋ2

xíng 行 QYS yɔŋg CDC *hang2/EC *'grang

BMH [hâng]; MX [haŋ2]; HL [haŋ2]; SX [haŋ2]; LF [haŋ2]; LZ [haŋ2]; SHT [haŋ2]

HY [haŋ2]; XY [haŋ2]; DB [haŋ2]; YL [ɛin2]; XC [ɛin2]

CT [haŋ2]; WP [xəŋ2 ~ siŋ2]; YD [haŋ2]; SH [ɛiŋ2 ~ haŋ2]; LC1 [haŋ2]; LC2 [haŋ2]

NK [hã2]; AY [hã2 ~ ɛiəŋ2]; SY [ɛiŋ2]; XS [haŋ2 ~ ɛin2]; QN [haŋ2 ~ ɛin2]; ND1 [haŋ2 ~ ɛin2]; ND2 [haŋ2b ~ həŋ2w]; ND3 [haŋ2]

[OPH *hang2] CNH *haŋ2/L hiŋ2

xǐng 醒 QYS sieng: CDC *siang3/EC *'sengx

BMH [siáng]; MX [siaŋ3]; HL [siaŋ3]; SX [siaŋ3]; LF [siaŋ3]; LZ [ʃiaŋ3]; SHT [siaŋ3]

HY [siaŋ3]; XY [siaŋ3]; DB [ʎiaŋ3]; YL [—]; XC [ɛiaŋ3]

CT [seŋ3]; WP [siaŋ3]; YD [ts'iaŋ3]; SH [tɕhiaŋ3 ~ ɛiaŋ3]; LC1 [ts'iaŋ3]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiã3]; AY [siã3]; SY [ɕiŋ3 ~ ɕiã3]; XS [siaŋ3]; QN [ɕiaŋ3]; ND1 [ɕiaŋ3]; ND2 [ɕiaŋ3];
ND3 [siŋ3 ~ siaŋ3]

[OPH *siang3] CNH *siaŋ3/*siŋ3

xìng 姓 QYS sjäng- CDC *siang5/EC *sengh

BMH [siàng]; MX [siaŋ5]; HL [siaŋ5]; SX [siaŋ5]; LF [siaŋ5]; LZ [ɕiaŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [siaŋ6]; XY [siaŋ5]; DB [liaŋ5]; YL [ɕiaŋ5]; XC [ɕiaŋ5]

CT [seŋ5]; WP [siaŋ5]; YD [siaŋ3]; SH [ɕiaŋ5]; LC1 [siaŋ5]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiã5]; AY [siã5]; SY [ɕiã2]; XS [siaŋ5]; QN [ɕiaŋ5]; ND1 [ɕiaŋ5]; ND2 [ɕiaŋ5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *siang5] CNH *siaŋ5/*siŋ5

The Héyuán tone is irregular.

xìng 幸 QYS yəng: CDC *hang4/EC *grengx

BMH [hèn]; MX [hen5]; HL [hen5]; SX [hen5]; LF [hen6]; LZ [hen5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕin5]; XC [ɕin5]

CT [heŋ6]; WP [xeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [hẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [hẽ5]; AY [ɕiəŋ6]; SY [hẽ5]; XS [ɕin5]; QN [ɕin6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [həŋ6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *hen5] CNH *heŋ6/*hiŋ6 ?

The coda of the second reconstruction is conjectural.

xiōng 兄 QYS xjwəŋ CDC *xuang1 ~ *xiang1/EC *hwang

BMH [hiung]; MX [hiuŋ1]; HL [hiuŋ1]; SX [hiuŋ1]; LF [hiuŋ1]; LZ [hiuŋ1]; SHT [hiuŋ1]

HY [hin1]; XY [soŋ1]; DB [hən1 ~ hɔŋ1]; YL [ɕiaŋ1]; XC [ɕiuŋ1]

CT [ɕiaŋ1 ~ ɕoŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [suŋ1 ~ saŋ1]; SH [ɕiaŋ1 ~ ɕiəŋ1w]; LC1 [ɕoŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɕiã1]; AY [ɕiəŋ1]; SY [ɕiã1 ~ ɕiŋ1]; XS [ɕiaŋ1]; QN [ɕiaŋ1]; ND1 [ɕiaŋ1]; ND2 [ɕiaŋ1];

ND3 [ɕiaŋ1]

[OPH *hiuŋ1] CNH *huiŋ1/L *hiuŋ1

xióng 熊 QYS jung CDC *yung2 ~ *hiung2/EC *wing

BMH [yûŋg]; MX [ɕuŋ2]; HL [iuŋ2]; SX [iuŋ2]; LF [juŋ2]; LZ [ɕuŋ2]; SHT [juŋ2]

HY [jion̩2]; XY [ion̩2]; DB [zun̩2]; YL [ɛion̩2]; XC [ɛion̩2]
CT [ʃon̩2]; WP [siun̩2]; YD [iun̩2]; SH [ɛion̩2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛin̩2]; AY [ɛion̩2]; SY [ɛyn̩2]; XS [ɛion̩2]; QN [—]; ND1 [sun̩2]; ND2 [sun̩2]; ND3 [sun̩2]
[OPH *iun̩2] CNH *iun̩2/*hiun̩2

xiū 修 QYS sjəu CDC *sieu1/EC *siw
BMH [siu]; MX [siu1]; HL [siu1]; SX [siu1]; LF [siu1]; LZ [ʃiu1]; SHT [—]
HY [siu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛiau1]; XC [ɛiau1]
CT [sieu1]; WP [siu1]; YD [siu1]; SH [ɛiau1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛiu1]; AY [sɯ1]; SY [ɛiu1]; XS [siu1]; QN [ɛiu1]; ND1 [ɛiau1]; ND2 [ɛiau1]; ND3 [siu1]
[OPH *siu1] CNH *sieu1

xiù 袖 QYS zjəu- CDC *zieu6/EC *zuh
BMH [tshiù]; MX [ts'iu5]; HL [ts'iu6]; SX [ts'iu5]; LF [ts'iu6]; LZ [tʃhiu5]; SHT [ts'iu5]
HY [ts'iu6]; XY [ts'iu3]; DB [ts'iu3]; YL [tɕ'ieu5]; XC [tɕ'ieu5 ~ ɛieu5]
CT [ts'ieu6]; WP [tshiu3 ~ siu3]; YD [ts'iu5]; SH [ɛiu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tshieu6]
NK [tɕ'iu1]; AY [ts'ɰ6]; SY [tɕ'iu5]; XS [ts'iu5]; QN [ɛiu6]; ND1 [tɕ'ieu6]; ND2 [tɕ'ieu6];
ND3 [ts'iu6]
[OPH *ts'iu5] CNH *ts'ieu6/*sieu6

xiù 秀 QYS sjəu- CDC *sieu5/EC *—
BMH [siù]; MX [siu5]; HL [siu5]; SX [siu5]; LF [siu5]; LZ [ʃiu5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛieu5]; XC [ɛieu5]
CT [sieu5]; WP [siu5]; YD [siu3]; SH [ɛiu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɛiu5]; AY [sɯ5]; SY [ɛiu2]; XS [siu5]; QN [ɛiu5]; ND1 [ɛieu5]; ND2 [ɛieu5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *siu5] CNH *sieu5

xū 須 QYS sju CDC *siu1/EC *so
BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1 ~ sɛ1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛy1]; XC [ɛi1]

CT [si1]; WP [sɿ1]; YD [si1]; SH [ɕi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛy1 ~ ɕi1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕi1]; XS [si1]; QN [ɕi1]; ND1 [ɕiu1]; ND2 [ɕiu1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *si1] CNH *siu1

xū 鬚 QYS sju CDC *siu1/EC *so
 BMH [si]; MX [si1]; HL [si1]; SX [si1]; LF [si1]; LZ [ʃi1]; SHT [—]
 HY [su1]; XY [su1]; DB [ʃu1]; YL [ɛy1]; XC [ɕi1]
 CT [si1]; WP [—]; YD [si1]; SH [ɕi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɕi1]; AY [si1]; SY [ɕi1]; XS [si1]; QN [ɕi]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ɕiu1]; ND3 [siu1]
 [OPH *si1] CNH *siu1

xū 虛 QYS xjwo CDC *xie1 (~ *xiu1)/EC *ha
 BMH [hi]; MX [hi1]; HL [hi1]; SX [hi1]; LF [hi1]; LZ [hi1]; SHT [—]
 HY [hy1]; XY [hy1]; DB [hi1]; YL [ɛy1]; XC [ɕi1]
 CT [ʃi1]; WP [si1]; YD [si1]; SH [ɕi1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [hoi1]†
 NK [ɛy1]; AY [ɕi1]; SY [ɛy1]; XS [ɕi1]; QN [ɕi1]; ND1 [su1]; ND2 [su1]; ND3 [su1]
 [OPH *hi1] CNH *hiu1
 †FJFYZ: [ʃye1].

xú 徐 QYS zjwo CDC *zie2 (~ *ziu2)/EC *za
 BMH [tshí]; MX [ts'i2]; HL [ts'i2]; SX [ts'i2]; LF [ts'i2]; LZ [tʃhi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'y2]; XY [ts'y2]; DB [ts'i2]; YL [ɛy2]; XC [ɕi2]
 CT [si2]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i2]; SH [ɕi2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tɕ'i2]; AY [ts'i2]; SY [tɕ'i2]; XS [ts'i2]; QN [tɕ'i2]; ND1 [ɕiu2]; ND2 [ɕiu2]; ND3 [sie2]
 [OPH *ts'i2] CNH *ts'iu2/*siu2

xǔ 許 QYS xjwo: CDC *xie3 (~ *xiu3)/EC *hax
 BMH [hí]; MX [hi3]; HL [hi3]; SX [hi3]; LF [hi3]; LZ [hi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [hy3]; DB [hi3]; YL [ɛy3]; XC [ɕi2]
 CT [ʃi3]; WP [si3w ~ tshi3b]; YD [—]; SH [ɕi3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [ɛy3]; AY [ɛi3]; SY [ey3]; XS [—]; QN [ɛi3]; ND1 [su3]; ND2 [su3]; ND3 [su3]

[OPH *hi3] CNH *hiu3

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [fye3].

xù 婿 QYS siei- CDC *siai5/EC *siyh

BMH [sè]; MX [sɛ5]; HL [se5 ~ se3]; SX [se5]; LF [se5]; LZ [ʃɛ5]; SHT [se5]

HY [sie5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [sei5]

CT [se5]; WP [si5]; YD [sei3]; SH [sei5]; LC1 [si3]; LC2 [si5]

NK [ɛi5]; AY [se5]; SY [ɛi1]; XS [sɛ5]; QN [sei5 ~ ɛi5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

OPH *se5 CNH *siai5/*si5

xù 序 QYS zjwo: CDC *zie4 (~ *ziu4)/EC *zax

BMH [sì]; MX [si5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [—]; LZ [ʃi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ey5]; XC [ɛi5]

CT [si6]; WP [—]; YD [si5]; SH [ɛi3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ɛi5]; AY [si6]; SY [—]; XS [si5]; QN [ɛi6]; ND1 [ɛi6]; ND2 [ɛiu6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *si5] CNH *siu6

The final of the Ningdū-1 form is irregular. We would expect final -iu here.

xù 蓄、畜 QYS xjuk “to breed, raise” CDC *xiuk7/EC *huk

BMH [hiuk ~ khiuk]; MX [hiuk7]; HL [hiuk7]; SX [hiuk7]; LF [hiuk7]; LZ [hiuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ok7]; XY [ts'ouʔ7]; DB [ts'uk]; YL [—]; XC [ɛiuʔ7w]

CT [—]; WP [tshiuʔ7]; YD [suʔ7]; SH [ɛiəʔ7 ~ tɕhiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [k'iɛw6]

NK [te'iu8 ~ ɛiu8 ~ ɛio8]; AY [ɛio6]; SY [te'iu5 ~ ɛio5]; XS [—]; QN [ɛiuʔ7]; ND1 [ts'uk7];

ND2 [—]; ND3 [suk7 ~ ts'uk7]

OPH *hiuk7 CNH *hiuk7/*k'iuk7/*tš'iuk7

xù 絮 QYS sjwo- CDC *sie5 (~ *siu5)/EC *sah

BMH [sì]; MX [si5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [suei5]; XC [ɛi5w ~ suei5b]

CT [si5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ei5]; AY [—]; SY [ei5]; XS [si5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *si5] CNH *si5 ?

The Yílǒng and Xīchāng triphthongal forms are possibly Yuè dialect loan forms.

xuē 靴 QYS xuâ CDC *xiuo1/EC *—

BMH [hio]; MX [hiɔ1]; HL [hio1]; SX [hio1]; LF [hio1]; LZ [hiɔ1]; SHT [hiɔ1]

HY [hyɛ1]; XY [hœ1]; DB [hio1]; YL [eyɛ1]; XC [—]

CT [fiɔ1]; WP [—]; YD [sou1]; SH [eiɔ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [eia7]; AY [eia7]; SY [eiɔ1]; XS [eiɔ1]; QN [eiɔ1]; ND1 [so1]; ND2 [so1]; ND3 [so1]

OPH *hio1 CNH *hio1

xué 學 QYS yâk CDC *h(i)ok8/EC *grawk

BMH [hók]; MX [høk8]; HL [hok8]; SX [hok7]; LF [hok8]; LZ [høk8]; SHT [høk8]

HY [høk8]; XY [høk8]; DB [høk8]; YL [hɔʔ8]; XC [hoʔ8]

CT [ho6]; WP [xɔʔ8]; YD [hɔʔ8]; SH [hoʔ8]; LC1 [hu5]; LC2 [hu5]

NK [ho1]; AY [ho6]; SY [ho5]; XS [høk8]; QN [hoʔ8 ~ ɕiuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [hok8]; ND2 [høk8];

ND3 [høk8]

[OPH *hok8] CNH *hok8

The second Quánnán form appears to reflect a variant in *hiok8 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

xuě 雪 QYS sjwät CDC *siot7/EC *sot

BMH [siet]; MX [siet7]; HL [siet7]; SX [siet7]; LF [siet7]; LZ [ʃet7]; SHT [set7]

HY [syat7]; XY [siet7]; DB [ʰiet7]; YL [eyɛʔ7]; XC [ɕieʔ7]

CT [se2]; WP [sieʔ7]; YD [siɛʔ7]; SH [ɕieʔ7]; LC1 [si6]; LC2 [si6]

NK [ɕie7 ~ ɕye8]; AY [si33]; SY [ɕie5]; XS [siet7]; QN [ɕiuɔiʔ7]; ND1 [ɕiet7]; ND2 [ɕiat7];

ND3 [siet7]

OPH *syat7 CNH *siot7/*siet7

The second reconstruction is supported by the first Nánkāng form and the Liánchéng-2 form. The tone of the first Nánkāng form is irregular. O'Connor (1976: 47) expresses doubt regarding the final of his Proto-Hakka form. Cf. jué 決 above.

xuě 血 QYS xiwet CDC *xiot7/EC *'hwet
BMH [hiet]; MX [hiat7]; HL [hiet7]; SX [hiet7]; LF [hiat7]; LZ [het7]; SHT [het7]
HY [hyat7]; XY [sat7]; DB [hiet7]; YL [ɕieʔ7]; XC [ɕieʔ7]
CT [fe2]; WP [fiɛʔ7]; YD [fiɛʔ7]; SH [fiɛʔ7]; LC1 [fi6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕyæ7]; AY [ɕiɜ3]; SY [ɕye5]; XS [ɕiet7]; QN [ɕieʔ7]; ND1 [fiɛʔ7]; ND2 [fiat7]; ND3 [fiat7]
OPH *hiat7 CNH *huiot7

We would expect Quánnán rounded final -iuoiʔ here. However, compare the nearby and closely related dialect, Lǒngnán 隴南, for which BJYJ gives competing variants, [ɕieʔ7] and [ɕiuoiʔ7]. We assume that the latter best reflects the CNH form. Quánnán perhaps originally also had such a rounded final form, which it has replaced with a loan from some other Hakka variety where rounding has been lost.

xūn 熏 QYS xjuən CDC *xiun1/EC *hun
BMH [hiun]; MX [hiun1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [hiun1]; SHT [—]
HY [hun1]; XY [fun1 ~ hin1]; DB [fən1]; YL [ɕyn1]; XC [ɕin1]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ1]; YD [sun1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕiŋ2]; AY [ɕiəŋ1]; SY [ɕyŋ1]; XS [ɕin1]; QN [ɕiun1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [fən1]; ND3 [sən1]
[OPH *hiun1] CNH *hiun1

xún 旬 QYS zjuen CDC *ziun2/EC *zun
BMH [sûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [sun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɕyn2]; XC [ɕin2]
CT [—]; WP [siŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [ɕiŋ2 ~ ɕiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ɕyŋ2]; AY [siŋ2]; SY [ɕyŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [ɕin2 ~ ɕiun2]; ND1 [ɕin2]; ND2 [ɕin2]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *sun2] CNH *siun2

xún 巡 QYS zjwen CDC *ziun2/EC *zun
 BMH [sûn]; MX [sun2]; HL [sun2]; SX [sun2]; LF [sun2]; LZ [ʃun2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɛyn2]; XC [ɛin2]
 CT [—]; WP [siŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [ɛiŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛyŋ2]; AY [siŋ2]; SY [ɛyŋ2]; XS [—]; QN [ɛin2 ~ ɛiun2]; ND1 [ɛin2]; ND2 [ɛin2]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *sun2] CNH *siun2

xún 尋 QYS zjəm CDC *zim2/EC *zim
 BMH [tshîm]†; MX [ts'im2]; HL [ts'im2]; SX [ts'im2]; LF [ts'im2]; LZ [tʃhim2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'im2]; XY [ts'im2]; DB [ts'əm2]; YL [tɛ'in2]; XC [ɛin2]
 CT [ts'eŋ2]; WP [tshiŋ2 ~ siŋ2]; YD [ts'iŋ2]; SH [tchiŋ2]; LC1 [ts'eŋ2]; LC2 [tshen2]
 NK [tɛ'iŋ2]; AY [ts'iŋ2]; SY [tɛ'iŋ2]; XS [ts'in2]; QN [tɛ'in2]; ND1 [tɛ'im2]; ND2 [tɛ'im2];
 ND3 [ts'im2]
 [OPH *ts'im2] CNH *ts'im2

†Tone confirmed apud Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014). The second Wúpíng form and the Xīchāng form probably reflect an earlier *sim2, but the coda of this syllable cannot be confirmed comparatively.

xùn 訓 QYS xjuən- CDC *xiun5/EC *hunh
 BMH [hiùn]; MX [hiun5]; HL [hiun5]; SX [hiun5]; LF [hiun5]; LZ [fun5]; SHT [—]
 HY [hun5]; XY [fun5]; DB [fən5]; YL [ɛyn5]; XC [ɛin5]
 CT [—]; WP [siŋ5]; YD [sun3]; SH [seiŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ɛyŋ5]; AY [ɛiəŋ5]; SY [ɛyŋ5]; XS [ɛin5]; QN [ɛiun5]; ND1 [fin5]; ND2 [fin5]; ND3 [fin5]
 [OPH *hiun5] CNH *hiun5

Y

yā 壓 QYS ʔap CDC *ap7/EC *rap
BMH [ap]; MX [ap7]; HL [ap7]; SX [ap7]; LF [ap7]; LZ [ap7]; SHT [—]
HY [at7]; XY [ap7]; DB [ap7]; YL [aʔ7]; XC [iaʔ7]
CT [a2]; WP [aʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [aʔ7 ~ Aʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [o6]
NK [a7]; AY [ɜ3]; SY [a5]; XS [ait7]; QN [æʔ7]; ND1 [ŋap7]; ND2 [ŋat7]; ND3 [ŋap7]
[OPH *ap7] CNH *ap7
The coda of the Héyuán form is irregular.

yā 鴨 QYS ʔap CDC *ap7/EC *rap
BMH [ap]; MX [ap7]; HL [ap7]; SX [ap7]; LF [ap7]; LZ [ap7]; SHT [ap7]
HY [ap7]; XY [ap7]; DB [ap7]; YL [aʔ7]; XC [aʔ7]
CT [a2]; WP [aʔ7]; YD [aʔ7]; SH [aʔ7]; LC1 [o6]; LC2 [o6]
NK [a7]; AY [ɜ3]; SY [a5]; XS [ait7]; QN [æʔ7]; ND1 [ŋap7]; ND2 [ŋap7]; ND3 [ŋap7]
[OPH *ap7] CNH *ap7

yá 牙 QYS nga CDC *nga2/EC *ngra
BMH [ngâ]; MX [ŋa2]; HL [ŋa2]; SX [ŋa2]; LF [ŋa2]; LZ [ʰga2]; SHT [ŋa2]
HY [ŋa2]; XY [ŋa2]; DB [ŋa2]; YL [ŋa2]; XC [ŋa2]
CT [ŋa2]; WP [ŋa2]; YD [ŋa2]; SH [ŋA2]; LC1 [ŋo2]; LC2 [ŋo2]
NK [ŋa2]; AY [ŋa2]; SY [ŋa2]; XS [ŋa2]; QN [ŋa2]; ND1 [ŋa2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋa2]
OPH *nga2 CNH *ŋa2

yá 佻 QYS — “boy, young unmarried male” CDC *nga2/EC *—
BMH [ngâ]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [ŋa2]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋa2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ŋa2]; XC [ŋa2]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ŋa2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ŋa2]; AY [—]; SY [ŋa2]; XS [ŋa2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ŋa2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ŋa2]
[OPH *nga2] CNH *ŋa2

yá 涯 QYS ngai CDC *nga(i)2/EC *ngre
 BMH [ngâi]; MX [ŋai2]; HL [ŋai2]; SX [ŋai5]; LF [ŋai2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [ŋai2]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ŋæ2]; AY [ŋæ2]; SY [ŋæ2]; XS [ŋai2]; QN [ŋai2]; ND1 [ŋai2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ngai2] CNH *ŋai2
 The tone of the Sixiàn form is unexpected.

yǎ 雅 QYS nga: CDC *nga4/EC *ngrax
 BMH [nga ~ ngá]; MX [ŋa3]; HL [ŋa1]; SX [ŋa1]; LF [ŋa1]; LZ [ᵛga3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ia2]
 CT [ŋa3]; WP [ia2w ~ ŋa3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [ŋa3]; SY [ŋa3 ~ jia3]; XS [—]; QN [ŋa3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *nga3 ?] CNH *ŋa1/*ŋa3/L *ia2

yǎ 啞 QYS ʔa: CDC *a3/EC *rax
 BMH [á]; MX [a3]; HL [a3]; SX [a3]; LF [a1]; LZ [a3]; SHT [a3]
 HY [a3]; XY [a3]; DB [a3]; YL [ŋa3]; XC [a3]
 CT [a3]; WP [a3]; YD [a3]; SH [A3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [a3]; AY [a3]; SY [a3]; XS [a3]; QN [a3]; ND1 [ŋa1]; ND2 [ŋa1]; ND3 [ŋa1 ~ ŋa3]
 [OPH *a3] CNH *a3

yān 煙 QYS ʔien CDC *ian1/EC *ʔin
 BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [jan1]; LZ [ʒen1]; SHT [ien1]
 HY [ian1]; XY [ian1]; DB [zan1]; YL [ien1]; XC [ien1]
 CT [iŋ1]; WP [iɛŋ1]; YD [ien1]; SH [iẽ1]; LC1 [ie1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ1]; AY [ji1]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [ien1]; QN [ien1]; ND1 [ien1]; ND2 [ian1]; ND3 [ian1]
 OPH *ian1 CNH *ian1

yán 言 QYS ngjɔn CDC *ngian2/EC *ngon
BMH [nyên]; MX [ɲian2]; HL [ɲian2]; SX [ɲian2]; LF [ɲian2]; LZ [ʷgɛn2]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲyan2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [ɲian2]; YL [iɛn2]; XC [iɛn2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [niɛŋ2]; YD [ɲien2]; SH [ɲiẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [niẽ2]; AY [ni2]; SY [niẽ2]; XS [niɛn2]; QN [nien2]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
[OPH *ɲ₂ian2] CNH *ñian2/*ian2

The Héyuán form does not correspond regularly to other forms in this set. It appears to derive from an earlier *ñion2, which is not reflected elsewhere.

yán 鹽 QYS jiâm CDC *yam2/EC *yam
BMH [yâm]; MX [iam2]; HL [ɰam2]; SX [iam2]; LF [jam2]; LZ [ɰam2]; SHT [jam2]
HY [jiam2]; XY [iam2]; DB [zam2]; YL [iɛn2]; XC [iɛn2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iã2]; LC1 [ie2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiẽ1]; XS [iɛn2]; QN [iam2]; ND1 [iam2]; ND2 [iam2]; ND3 [iam2]
OPH *iam2 CNH *iam2

yán 嚴 QYS ngjɔm CDC *ngiam2/EC *ngom
BMH [nyâm]; MX [ɲiam2]; HL [ɲiam2]; SX [ɲiam2]; LF [ɲiam2]; LZ [ʷgiam7]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲiam2]; XY [ɲiam2]; DB [ɲiam2]; YL [ɲien2]; XC [niɛn2]
CT [niŋ2]; WP [nianŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [niã2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ɲiaŋ2]
NK [niẽ2]; AY [niã2]; SY [niẽ2]; XS [nien2]; QN [niam2]; ND1 [niam2]; ND2 [nam3]; ND3
[nam2]
OPH *ɲ₂iam2 CNH *ñiam2

The tone of the Níngdū-2 form is irregular.

yǎn 眼 QYS ngǎn: CDC *hngan4/EC *ngrunx
BMH [nyén ~ ngán]; MX [ɲian3]; HL [ɲian3w ~ ɲan3b]; SX [ɲian3w ~ ɲan3b]; LF [ɲan3]; LZ
[ʷgan3]; SHT [ɲan3]
HY [ɲan5]; XY [ɲan3]; DB [ɲan3]; YL [ɲan3]; XC [ɲan3]
CT [ɲaŋ3]; WP [ɲaŋ3]; YD [ɲan3]; SH [ɲã3]; LC1 [ɲa3]; LC2 [ɲa3]

NK [ŋã3]; AY [ŋã3]; SY [ŋã3]; XS [ŋan3]; QN [ŋan3]; ND1 [ŋan3]; ND2 [ŋan3]; ND3 [ŋan3]
[OPH *ŋan3] CNH *ŋan3/L *ñian3

The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yàn 雁 QYS ŋan- CDC *ŋan6/EC *ngranh
BMH [nyèn]; MX [ɲian5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʔŋan5]; SHT [—]
HY [ŋan6]; XY [—]; DB [ŋan5]; YL [ŋan5]; XC [ŋan5]
CT [ŋaŋ6 ~ iŋ6]; WP [ŋaŋ5]; YD [ŋan5]; SH [ŋã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ŋa6]
NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋã6]; SY [ŋæ5]; XS [ŋan5]; QN [ŋan6]; ND1 [iɛn6]; ND2 [ŋan5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *ŋan5/*ŋan6/*ñian5

yàn 燕 QYS ʔien- CDC *ian5/EC *'enh
BMH [yèn]; MX [ian5]; HL [ʒan5]; SX [ian5]; LF [jan5]; LZ [ʒɛn5]; SHT [ien5]
HY [jian5]; XY [ian5]; DB [zan5]; YL [ien5]; XC [ien5]
CT [iŋ5]; WP [iɛŋ5]; YD [iɛn3]; SH [iẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ5]; AY [ji5]; SY [iẽ5]; XS [ien5]; QN [ien5]; ND1 [ien5]; ND2 [ian5]; ND3 [ian5]
[OPH *ian5] CNH *ian5

yāng 央 QYS ʔjang CDC *iong1/EC *ang
BMH [yong]; MX [iɔŋ1]; HL [ʒoŋ1]; SX [ioŋ1]; LF [joŋ1]; LZ [ʒoŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iɔŋ1]; XC [iɔŋ1]
CT [iɔŋ1]; WP [iɔŋ1]; YD [ɔŋ1 ~ iɔŋ1]; SH [ioŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɔ̃1]; AY [jiɔŋ1]; SY [jiɔ̃1]; XS [—]; QN [iɔŋ1]; ND1 [iɔŋ1]; ND2 [iɔŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iong1] CNH *ioŋ1

yāng 秧 QYS ʔjang CDC *iong1/EC *ang
BMH [yong]; MX [iɔŋ1]; HL [ʒoŋ1]; SX [ioŋ1]; LF [joŋ1]; LZ [ʒoŋ1]; SHT [jɔŋ1]
HY [yɔŋ1]; XY [iɔŋ1]; DB [zɔŋ1]; YL [iɔŋ1]; XC [iɔŋ1]
CT [iɔŋ1]; WP [iɔŋ1]; YD [iɔŋ1]; SH [ioŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iɔ̃1]; AY [jiɔŋ1]; SY [jiɔ̃1]; XS [—]; QN [iɔŋ1]; ND1 [iɔŋ1]; ND2 [iɔŋ1]; ND3 [iɔŋ1]

[OPH *iong1] CNH *ion1

yáng 羊 QYS jiang CDC *yong2/EC *yang
BMH [yóng]; MX [ion2]; HL [ɔɔn2]; SX [ion2]; LF [jon2]; LZ [ɔɔn2]; SHT [jɔn2]
HY [jyɔn2]; XY [ion2]; DB [zɔn2]; YL [ion2]; XC [ion2]
CT [ion2]; WP [ion2]; YD [ion2]; SH [ion2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ið2]; AY [jion2]; SY [jið2]; XS [ion2]; QN [ion2]; ND1 [ion2]; ND2 [ion2]; ND3 [ion2]
OPH *iong2 CNH *ion2

yǎng 仰 QYS ngjang: CDC *ngiong4/EC *ngangx
BMH [nyong ~ nyóng]; MX [ɲion3]; HL [ɲion3]; SX [ɲion3]; LF [ɲion3]; LZ [ɲgion3]; SHT
[—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɲion3]; XC [ɲion1]
CT [ion3]; WP [—]; YD [ɲion3 ~ ɲion1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [nið3]; AY [ɲion3]; SY [nið3]; XS [ion3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nɔn3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲion3] CNH *ñion3

The Chángtǐng form reflects a probable variant reading in *ion3 which is not reconstructable comparatively.

yàng 樣 QYS jiang- CDC *yong6/EC *yangh
BMH [yòng]; MX [ion5]; HL [ɔɔn6]; SX [ion5]; LF [jon6]; LZ [ɔɔn5]; SHT [jɔn5]
HY [jyɔn6]; XY [ion3]; DB [zɔn3]; YL [ion3]; XC [ion5]
CT [ion6]; WP [ion3]; YD [ion5]; SH [ion5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ion6]
NK [ið5]; AY [jion6]; SY [jið5]; XS [ion5]; QN [ion6]; ND1 [ion6]; ND2 [ion6]; ND3 [ion6]
[OPH *ion6] CNH *ion6

yāo 腰 QYS ʔjiäu CDC *iau1/EC *ew
BMH [yau]; MX [iau1]; HL [ɔau1]; SX [ieu1]; LF [jau1]; LZ [—]; SHT [jau1]
HY [iau1]; XY [iau1]; DB [zau1]; YL [iau1]; XC [iau1]
CT [iə1]; WP [iə1]; YD [iau1]; SH [iə1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [iɔ1]; AY [jiɔ1]; SY [jiɔ1]; XS [iau1]; QN [iau1]; ND1 [iau1]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iau1]
 OPH *iau1 CNH *iau1

yáo 搖 QYS jiäu CDC *yau2/EC *yaw
 BMH [yâu]; MX [iau2]; HL [ɜau2]; SX [ieu2]; LF [jau2]; LZ [ɜau2]; SHT [—]
 HY [jiau2]; XY [iau2]; DB [zau2]; YL [iau2]; XC [iau2]
 CT [iɔ2]; WP [iɔ2]; YD [iau2]; SH [iɔ2]; LC1 [iɔ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iɔ2]; AY [jiɔ2]; SY [jiɔ2]; XS [iau2]; QN [iau2]; ND1 [iau2]; ND2 [iau2]; ND3 [iau2]
 OPH *iau2 CNH *iau2

yǎo 舀 QYS jiäu: CDC *yau4/EC *yawx
 BMH [yáu]; MX [iau3]; HL [ɜau3]; SX [ieu3]; LF [jau3]; LZ [ɜau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [iau3]; XY [iau3]; DB [zau3]; YL [iau3]; XC [iau3]
 CT [iɔ3]; WP [iɔ3]; YD [iau3]; SH [iɔ3]; LC1 [iɔ3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iɔ3]; AY [jiɔ3]; SY [jiɔ3]; XS [iau3]; QN [iau3]; ND1 [iau3]; ND2 [iau3]; ND3 [iau3]
 [OPH *iau3] CNH *iau3

yào 要 QYS ʔjiäu- CDC *iau5/EC *ewh
 BMH [yäu]; MX [iau5]; HL [ɜau5]; SX [ieu5]; LF [jau5]; LZ [ɜau5]; SHT [jau5]
 HY [iau6]; XY [iau5]; DB [zau5]; YL [—]; XC [iau5]
 CT [iɔ5]; WP [iɔ5w]; YD [—]; SH [iɔ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [iɔ5]
 NK [iɔ5]; AY [jiɔ5]; SY [jiɔ2]; XS [iau5]; QN [iau5]; ND1 [iau5]; ND2 [iau5]; ND3 [iau5]
 [OPH *iau5] CNH *iau5

The Héyuán tone is irregular.

yào 藥 QYS jiak CDC *yok8/EC *yawk
 BMH [yók]; MX [iɔk8]; HL [ɜok8]; SX [iok8]; LF [jok8]; LZ [ɜok8]; SHT [jok8]
 HY [—]; XY [iɔk8]; DB [zok8]; YL [iɔʔ8]; XC [ioʔ8]
 CT [io6]; WP [iɔʔ8]; YD [iɔʔ8]; SH [ioʔ8]; LC1 [ieu5]; LC2 [iɐu6]
 NK [io1]; AY [jiɔ6]; SY [jiɔ5]; XS [iɔk8]; QN [ioʔ8]; ND1 [iok8]; ND2 [iɔk8]; ND3 [iɔk8]

OPH *iok8 CNH *iok8

yé 爺 QYS jia CDC *ya2/EC *ya
BMH [yâ]; MX [ia2]; HL [ʒa2]; SX [ia2]; LF [ja2]; LZ [ʒa2]; SHT [ja2]
HY [ia2]; XY [ia2]; DB [za2]; YL [ia2]; XC [ia2]
CT [ia2]; WP [ia2]; YD [ia2]; SH [ia2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [io2]
NK [ia2]; AY [jia2]; SY [jia2]; XS [ia2]; QN [ia2]; ND1 [ia2]; ND2 [ia2]; ND3 [ia2]
[OPH *ia2] CNH *ia2

yě 也 QYS jia: CDC *ya4/EC *yayx
BMH [ya]; MX [ia1]; HL [ʒa1]; SX [ia1]; LF [ja1]; LZ [—]; SHT [ja1]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia2]
CT [ia3]; WP [ia1]; YD [ia3]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ia3]; AY [jia3]; SY [jia1]; XS [ia1]; QN [ia3]; ND1 [ia3]; ND2 [ia3]; ND3 [—]
OPH *ia1 CNH *ia1/*ia3

yè 夜 QYS jia- CDC *ya6/yakh
BMH [yà]†; MX [ia5]; HL [ʒa6]; SX [ia5]; LF [ja6]; LZ [ʒa5]; SHT [ja5]
HY [ia6]; XY [ia3]; DB [ia3]; YL [ia3]; XC [ia5]
CT [ia6]; WP [ia3]; YD [ia5]; SH [ia3]; LC1 [io6]; LC2 [io6]
NK [ia5]; AY [jia6]; SY [jia5]; XS [ia5]; QN [ia6]; ND1 [ia6]; ND2 [ia6]; ND3 [ia6]
OPH *ia6 CNH *ia6

†Tone after Chappell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

yè 葉 QYS jiäp CDC *yap8/EC *yap
BMH [yáp]; MX [iap8]; HL [ʒap8]; SX [iap8]; LF [jap8]; LZ [ʒap8]; SHT [jap8]
HY [jiap8]; XY [iap8]; DB [zap8]; YL [ieʔ8]; XC [ieʔ8]
CT [ie6]; WP [iaʔ8]; YD [iaʔ8]; SH [iaʔ8]; LC1 [i5]; LC2 [—]
NK [ia5 ~ ie5]; AY [jiɿ1]; SY [jie5]; XS [iet8]; QN [—]; ND1 [iap8]; ND2 [iap]; ND3 [iap8]
OPH *iap8 CNH *iap8

yè 業 QYS ngjɔp CDC *ngiap8/EC *ngop
 BMH [nyáp]; MX [ɲiap8]; HL [ɲiap8]; SX [ɲiap8]; LF [ɲiap8]; LZ [ɲgiap8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲiap8]; XY [ɲiap8]; DB [ɲiap8]; YL [ɲieʔ8]; XC [ɲieʔ7]
 CT [ne6]; WP [niaʔ8]; YD [ɲiaʔ8]; SH [ɲiaʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [nie5]; AY [ni31]; SY [nie5]; XS [niɛt8]; QN [niæʔ7]; ND1 [naip8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [nap8]
 OPH *ɲiap8 CNH *ɲiap8
 †FJFYZ: [ɲie5].

yī 一 QYS ʔjiet4 CDC *it7/EC *it
 BMH [yit]; MX [it7]; HL [ʒit7]; SX [it7]; LF [jit7]; LZ [jit7]; SHT [—]
 HY [it7]; XY [it7]; DB [zət7]; YL [iʔ7]; XC [ieʔ7]
 CT [i2]; WP [iʔ7]; YD [iʔ7]; SH [iʔ7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [i6]
 NK [ie7]; AY [ji33]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [iʔ7]; ND1 [it7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iat7]
 [OPH *it7] CNH *it7

yī 衣 QYS ʔjei CDC *i1/EC *uy, *iy
 BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi1]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ji1]; SHT [—]
 HY [i1]; XY [i1]; DB [zi1]; YL [i1]; XC [i1]
 CT [i1]; WP [i1]; YD [i1 ~ zi1]; SH [i1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i1]; AY [ji1]; SY [ji1]; XS [i1]; QN [i1]; ND1 [i1]; ND2 [i1]; ND3 [i1]
 OPH *i1 CNH *i1

yī 依 QYS ʔjei CDC *i1/EC *uy, *iy
 BMH [yi]; MX [i3]†; HL [ʒi1]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ji1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [i1]; XC [i1]
 CT [—]; WP [i1]; YD [zi1]; SH [i1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i1]; AY [ji1]; SY [ji1]; XS [i1]; QN [i1]; ND1 [i1]; ND2 [i1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *i1] CNH *i1

†This reading is unetymological and has actually been borrowed from the word yī 倚 (MX [i3]).

yī 揖 QYS ʔjiəp CDC *ip7/EC *ip
BMH [yip]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [jip8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ieʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [i1w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ia5]
NK [ie7]; AY [jɜ1]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ip7] CNH *ip7

yí 移 QYS jie CDC *yi2/EC *yay
BMH [yí]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ji2]; SHT [—]
HY [ji2]; XY [i2]; DB [zi2]; YL [i2]; XC [i2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [ji2]; XS [i2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [i2]; ND2 [i2]; ND3 [i2]
OPH *i2 CNH *i2

yí 姨 QYS ji CDC *yi2/EC *yiy
BMH [yí]; MX [i2]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2]; LZ [ji2]; SHT [ji2]
HY [ji2]; XY [i2]; DB [zi2]; YL [i2]; XC [i2]
CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [zi2]; SH [i2]; LC1 [i2]; LC2 [—]
NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [ji2]; XS [i2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [i2]; ND2 [i2]; ND3 [i2]
OPH *i2 CNH *i2

yí 宜 QYS ngje3 CDC *ngi2/EC *ngay
BMH [ni̯]; MX [ni2 ~ i2]; HL [ni2]; SX [ni2]; LF [ni̯2]; LZ [li2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ni̯2]; XC [i2]
CT [—]; WP [ni1]; YD [ni̯2]*; SH [i2w ~ ni̯2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ni̯i2] CNH *ni2/*ni̯2/L i2

The Lùfēng form appears to derive from CNH *ni2. The Yílǒng form is ambiguous in this regard. It could reflect either *ni2 or *ni̯2.

yí 疑 QYS ngjï CDC *ngi2/EC *ngi
 BMH [nyĩ]; MX [ɲi2]; HL [ɲi2]; SX [ɲi2]; LF [ɲi2]; LZ [ʔgi2]; SHT [—]
 HY [ɲi2]; XY [ɲi2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [ɲi2]; XC [ni2]
 CT [ni2]; WP [—]; YD [hɲ2b ~ ɲi2w]; SH [i2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ni2]
 OPH *ɲi2 CNH *ɲi2
 †FJFYZ: [ɲi2].

In Yǒngding the second form cited here is identified as being of literary register, while the corresponding báí form is the syllabic nasal. In Shàngháng we find another form, probably derivable from earlier *i2. Comparing the sets for yí 儀, yì 義, and yì 藝 below, we can then discern in the present set three lexical layers, for which the reconstructed forms for this etymon would be *ɲ2/*ɲi2/*i2, with the first probably being the oldest and the third the latest.

yí 儀 QYS ngje3 CDC *ngi2/EC *ngay
 BMH [nyĩ]; MX [ɲi2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ɲi2]; LZ [ʔgi2]; SHT [ji2]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ɲi2]; XC [i2]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [i2w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ni2]; AY [ni2]; SY [ni2]; XS [ni2]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ɲi2] CNH *ɲi2/L *i2

yí 遺 QYS jiwi CDC *yui2/EC *yuy
 BMH [vũĩ]; MX [vi2]; HL [vui2]; SX [vui2]; LF [vui2]; LZ [vui2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [vi2]; YD [vei2]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [i2]; ND2 [i2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *vui2] CNH *vui2

The Níngdū forms reflect a variant reading in *i2.

yǐ 以 QYS jii: CDC *yi4/EC *—
 BMH [yi]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i1]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [ji3]

HY [i5]; XY [i2]; DB [i5]; YL [i3]; XC [i5]
CT [i3]; WP [i5]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [i3]
[OPH ?] CNH *i3/*i2/*i5

yǐ 椅 QYS ʔje:3 CDC *i3/EC *yayx
BMH [yɿ]; MX [i3]; HL [ʒi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [—]
HY [i3]; XY [i3]; DB [zi3]; YL [i3]; XC [i3]
CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [i3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [i3]; ND3 [i3]
[OPH *i3] CNH *i3

yǐ 乙 QYS ʔjet3 CDC *it7/EC *—
BMH [yet]; MX [iat7]; HL [ʒat7]; SX [iet7]; LF [jat7]; LZ [ʒet7]; SHT [jet7 ~ jit7]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iʔ7]; XC [iɛʔ7]
CT [ie2]; WP [—]; YD [vieʔ7]; SH [viɛʔ7]; LC1 [i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ie7]; AY [ji33]; SY [jie5]; XS [it7]; QN [—]; ND1 [iet2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *iat7 CNH *viat7

yǐ 已 QYS jii: CDC *yi4/EC *—
BMH [yɿ]; MX [i3 ~ ki5s]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [—]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [i3]; XC [i5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [i3]
NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [ji3]; XS [i3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [i3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *i3

yǐ 蟻 QYS ngje:3 CDC *hngi4 ~ *ngi4/EC *ngayx
BMH [ni]ʔ; MX [ni5w ~ ni1b]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [nɛ5]; LZ [li1]; SHT [li1]
HY [ɲie3]; XY [ɲei5]; DB [ɲɛ5]; YL [ɲei5]; XC [i2]
CT [ɲe3]; WP [ɲe5]; YD [ɲei3]; SH [ɲei5]; LC1 [ɲi5]; LC2 [ɲi5]

NK [mi1]; AY [ni1w]; SY [ni3]; XS [nɛ1]; QN [ni1]; ND1 [ni1]; ND2 [ni1]; ND3 [ni3]

[OPH ?] CNH *ŋiai1/*ŋiai3 ~ *ŋiai5/*ni1/L *ñi1/*ñi5

†After Chapell & Lamarre (2005) and Zhuāng & Huáng (2014).

The material in this complex set is heavily layered. Forms with initial *ŋ- bear a striking resemblance to Norman's Proto-Mǎn *ŋhiəi-b “ant” (Jerry Norman, p.c.). The latest layer probably comprises our CNH *ñi1 and *ñi5.

yì 義 QYS ngje-3 CDC *ngi6/EC *ngayh

BMH [nyì]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [ni5]; LF [ni6]; LZ [ŋgi5]; SHT [—]

HY [ŋi6]; XY [ni3]; DB [ni3]; YL [ni3]; XC [ni5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ŋi5 ~ hŋ5]; SH [ŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [ni6]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni3]; ND3 [ni6]

[OPH *ni6] CNH *ŋ6/*ñi6

yì 意 QYS ʔjǐ- CDC *i5/EC *ih

BMH [yì]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [ʒi5]; SHT [ji5]

HY [i5]; XY [i5]; DB [zi5]; YL [i5]; XC [i5]

CT [i5]; WP [i5]; YD [zi3]; SH [i5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [i5]

NK [i5]; AY [ji5]; SY [ji2]; XS [i5]; QN [i5]; ND1 [i5]; ND2 [i5]; ND3 [i5]

OPH *i5 CNH *i5

yì 易 QYS jie- CDC *yi6/EC *yekh

BMH [yì]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [—]; LF [ji5]; LZ [ʒi5]; SHT [ji5]

HY [—]; XY [i3]; DB [zi3]; YL [—]; XC [i5]

CT [i6]; WP [i3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [i5]; AY [ji6]; SY [ji5]; XS [i5]; QN [i6]; ND1 [i6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [i6]

[OPH *i5] CNH *i6/*i5

The initial of the Níngdū-2 initial is irregular.

yì 毅 QYS ngjei- CDC *ngi6/EC *nguyh, *ngiyh
BMH [nyì]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʰgi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *ñi6

yì 藝 QYS ngjiäi-4 CDC *ngiai6/EC *ngeth
BMH [nyì]; MX [ni5]; HL [ni6]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [ʰgi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ni5]; XC [i5]
CT [ni6]; WP [—]; YD [hɲ5b ~ ɲi5w]; SH [i3 ~ ɲ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ni6]; ND2 [ni6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ɲ6/L *ñi6/*i6

yì 異 QYS jii- CDC *yi6/EC *yih
BMH [yì]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [ʒi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i5]; AY [ji6]; SY [ji5]; XS [i5]; QN [i6]; ND1 [i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i5] CNH *i5

yì 役 QYS jiwäk CDC *yuak8/EC *yek
BMH [yit]; MX [it8]; HL [ʒit8]; SX [it8]; LF [jit8]; LZ [ʒit8]; SHT [—]
HY [jit8]; XY [it8]; DB [zət8]; YL [—]; XC [iʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ie8]; AY [ji6]; SY [jie5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [it8]; ND2 [ik7]; ND3 [ik7]
[OPH *it8] CNH *ik8/*ik7

yīn 因 QYS ʔjien4 CDC *in1/EC *in
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin1]

HY [in1]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
 CT [ieŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in1]
 OPH *in1 CNH *in1

yīn 音 QYS ʔjəm3 CDC *im1/EC *um
 BMH [yim]; MX [im1]; HL [zəm1]; SX [im1]; LF [jim1]; LZ [ʒim1]; SHT [jim1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
 CT [ieŋ1]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [ieŋ1]; LC2 [iŋ1]
 NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [im1]; ND2 [im1]; ND3 [im1]
 OPH *im1 CNH *im1

yín 銀 QYS ngjen CDC *ngin2/(EC *ngun)
 BMH [nyŋn]; MX [ɲiun2]; HL [ɲiun2]; SX [ɲiun2]; LF [ɲiun2]; LZ [ɲgiun2]; SHT [ɲiun2]
 HY [ɲan2]; XY [ɲen2]; DB [ɲien2]; YL [in2]; XC [in2w ~ iaŋ3b]
 CT [ɲeŋ2]; WP [ɲeŋ2]; YD [ɲen2]; SH [ɲẽ2]; LC1 [ɲãi2]; LC2 [ɲue2 ~ ɲæŋ2]
 NK [niŋ2]; AY [niəŋ2]; SY [niŋ2]; XS [nin2]; QN [niun2]; ND1 [nən2]; ND2 [nən2]; ND3
 [nən2]
 OPH *n₂iun2 CNH *ñiun2/*ɲen2/*ñin2

In this rather complex set, the first reconstruction is unambiguously supported by all dialects in the first line, by the Liánchéng-1 and Quánnán forms, and by the first Liánchéng variant. The Chángtīng, Ānyuǎn, Xiūshuǐ, and Níngdū points are ambiguous but could arguably derive from the first reconstruction. The Héyuán, Xìnyí, Wǔpíng, Yǒngdīng, and Shàngháng forms, together with the second Liánchéng variant, support the second reconstruction. This form is a possible Yuè borrowing. The Nánkāng and Shàngyóu forms support the third reconstruction. The Diànbái form must derive from earlier *ɲian2, which cannot be reconstructed comparatively for this set. Reflexes of CNH *-ian are attested variants of CNH *-en after gutturals in this dialect. The Yílǒng and first Xīchāng forms derive from earlier *in2, a probable Mandarinizing loan form. The Xīchāng bái reading is of uncertain origin.

yín 淫 QYS jiəm CDC *yim2/EC *yim
BMH [yîm]; MX [im2]; HL [ɜem2]; SX [im2]; LF [jim2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in2]; XC [in2]
CT [—]; WP [iŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [iŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ2]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [in2]; QN [in2]; ND1 [im2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [in1]
[OPH *im2] CNH *im2

yín 弓 QYS jien: CDC *yin4/EC *yinx
BMH [yin ~ yín]; MX [in3]; HL [ɜen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin3]; LZ [ɜin3]; SHT [—]
HY [in5]; XY [in3]; DB [zən3]; YL [in3]; XC [—]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [iŋ3]; YD [iŋ3]; SH [iŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jiŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [in3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [in1]; ND3 [in3]
[OPH *in1 ~ *in3 ?] CNH *in1/*in3

yín 飲 QYS ʔjəm:3 CDC *im3/EC *umx
BMH [yîm]; MX [im3]; HL [ɜem3]; SX [im3]; LF [jim3]; LZ [ɜim3]; SHT [jim3]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
CT [ieŋ3]; WP [—]; YD [iŋ3]; SH [iŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jiŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [in3]; ND1 [im3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *im3] CNH *im3

yīng 英 QYS ʔjɔŋg CDC *iang1/EC *ang
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ɜen1]; SX [in1]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ɜin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [in1]
CT [ieŋ1]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ieŋ1]
NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH * in1] CNH *iŋ1

yīng 應 QYS ʔjəŋg “ought” CDC *ing1/EC *ing
BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ɜen5]; SX [in5]; LF [jin5]; LZ [ɜin1]; SHT [jin5]

HY [in5]; XY [in1]; DB [zən1]; YL [in1]; XC [in5]
 CT [eŋ5 ~ ieŋ5]; WP [—]; YD [ɛn3]; SH [iŋ5]; LC1 [äi5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [iŋ5]
 OPH *in5 CNH *iŋ1/*iŋ5
 Both forms mean “ought” in their respective dialects.

yīng 鷹 QYS ʔjəŋ CDC *ing1/EC *ing
 BMH [yin]; MX [in1]; HL [ʒen2]; SX [in2]; LF [jin1]; LZ [ʒin1]; SHT [jin1]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [in1]; XC [—]
 CT [ieŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [iŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [æŋ1]
 NK [iŋ1]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jiŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [in1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [iŋ1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *in1] CNH *iŋ1

yíng 迎 QYS ŋjəŋ CDC *ngiang2/EC *ngang
 BMH [nyāŋ]; MX [ɲiaŋ2]; HL [ɲiaŋ2]; SX [ɲiaŋ2]; LF [ɲiaŋ2]; LZ [ɲgiaŋ2]; SHT [ɲiaŋ2]
 HY [ɲiaŋ2]; XY [ɲiaŋ2]; DB [ɲiaŋ2]; YL [in2]; XC [in2]
 CT [ieŋ2]; WP [—]; YD [ɲiaŋ2]; SH [ɲiaŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [niā2]; AY [niā2]; SY [niā2]; XS [—]; QN [niaŋ2]; ND1 [naŋ2]; ND2 [nəŋ2]; ND3 [naŋ2]
 OPH *n₂iang2 CNH *ñiaŋ2/*iŋ2
 The coda of the second form is conjectural.
 †FJFYZ: [ɲiaŋ2].

yíng 贏 QYS jiǎŋ CDC *yang2/EC *yeng
 BMH [yāŋ ~ yīn]; MX [in2w ~ iaŋ2b]; HL [ʒen2w ~ ʒaŋ2b]; SX [in2w ~ iaŋ2b]; LF [jin2 ~ ʒaŋ2]; LZ [ʒaŋ2b ~ ʒin2w]; SHT [—]
 HY [jiaŋ2]; XY [iaŋ2]; DB [zaŋ2]; YL [iaŋ2]; XC [iaŋ2]
 CT [iaŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [iaŋ2]; SH [iaŋ2]; LC1 [iaŋ2]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iā2]; AY [jiā2]; SY [jiā2]; XS [iaŋ2]; QN [iaŋ2]; ND1 [iaŋ2]; ND2 [iaŋ2]; ND3 [iaŋ2]
 OPH *iang2 CNH *iaŋ2/L *iŋ2
 The coda of the second form is conjectural.

yíng 營 QYS jiwǎng CDC *yung2 ~ *yung2/EC *yeng
BMH [yáng]; MX [in2w ~ iaŋ2b]; HL [ʒen2w ~ ʒaŋ2b]; SX [in2 ~ iaŋ2]; LF [jin2 ~ jaŋ2]; LZ
[ʒaŋ2w ~ ʒin2w]; SHT [—]
HY [jiaŋ2]; XY [iaŋ2]; DB [zaŋ2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [iaŋ2]; WP [iaŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [iAŋ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iã2]; AY [jiã2]; SY [jiã2]; XS [in2]; QN [in2]; ND1 [in2]; ND2 [iŋ2]; ND3 [iŋ2]
[OPH *iaŋ2] CNH *iaŋ2/L *iŋ2

yǐng 影 QYS jìng CDC *iang3/EC *angx
BMH [yáng]; MX [iaŋ3]; HL [ʒaŋ3]; SX [iaŋ3]; LF [jaŋ3]; LZ [ʒaŋ3]; SHT [jaŋ3]
HY [jiaŋ3]; XY [iaŋ3]; DB [zaŋ3]; YL [in3w ~ iaŋ3b]; XC [in3w ~ iaŋ3b]
CT [iaŋ3]; WP [iaŋ3]; YD [iaŋ3]; SH [iAŋ3]; LC1 [iaŋ3]; LC2 [—]
NK [iã3]; AY [jiã3]; SY [jiã3]; XS [iaŋ3]; QN [iaŋ3]; ND1 [iaŋ3]; ND2 [iaŋ3]; ND3 [iaŋ1]
OPH *iaŋ3 CNH *iaŋ3/L *iŋ3

yìng 硬 QYS ngəng- CDC *ngang6/EC *ngrangh
BMH [ngàng]; MX [ŋaŋ5]; HL [ŋaŋ5]; SX [ŋaŋ5]; LF [ŋaŋ6]; LZ [ʔgaŋ5]; SHT [ŋaŋ5]
HY [ŋaŋ6]; XY [ŋaŋ3]; DB [ŋaŋ3]; YL [ŋaŋ3]; XC [ŋaŋ5]
CT [ŋeŋ6]; WP [ŋaŋ3]; YD [ŋaŋ5]; SH [ŋAŋ3]; LC1 [ŋaŋ3]; LC2 [—]†
NK [ŋã5]; AY [ŋã6]; SY [ŋã5]; XS [ŋaŋ5]; QN [ŋaŋ6]; ND1 [ŋaŋ6]; ND2 [ŋaŋ6]; ND3 [ŋaŋ6]
[OPH *ngang6] CNH *ŋaŋ6
†FJFYZ: [ŋaŋ5].

yǒng 勇 QYS jiwong: CDC *yung4/EC *yongx
BMH [yúŋ]; MX [iuŋ3]; HL [ʒuŋ3]; SX [iuŋ3]; LF [juŋ3]; LZ [ʒuŋ3]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iuŋ3]; XC [iuŋ3]
CT [ioŋ3]; WP [iuŋ3]; YD [iuŋ3]; SH [iəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jiŋ3]; XS [iəŋ3]; QN [iuŋ3]; ND1 [iuŋ3]; ND2 [iuŋ3]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iuŋ3] CNH *iuŋ3

yǒng 永 QYS jwɔŋg: CDC *wing4 ~ *wiung4/EC *wangx
 BMH [yún]; MX [iun3]; HL [ʒun3]; SX [iun3]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ʒun3]; SHT [—]
 HY [vin5]; XY [vin2]; DB [zən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [iuŋ1]
 CT [ieŋ3]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [iun3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [iŋ3]; ND3 [iuŋ1]
 [OPH *iun3] CNH *viuiŋ3/*viuiŋ1

yòng 用 QYS jiwong- CDC *yung6/EC *yongh
 BMH [yùŋ]; MX [iuŋ5 ~ ɲiuŋ5]; HL [ʒuŋ5]; SX [iuŋ5]; LF [juŋ6]; LZ [ʒuŋ5]; SHT [juŋ5]
 HY [jyoŋ6]; XY [ioŋ3]; DB [zuŋ3]; YL [iuŋ3]; XC [iuŋ5]
 CT [ioŋ6]; WP [iuŋ3]; YD [iuŋ5]; SH [iəŋ3]; LC1 [ioŋ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iŋ5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jiŋ5]; XS [iəŋ5]; QN [iuŋ6]; ND1 [iuŋ6]; ND2 [iuŋ6]; ND3 [iuŋ6]
 OPH *iuŋ6 CNH *iuŋ6

yōu 憂 QYS ʔjəu CDC *ieu1/EC *u
 BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [jiu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu1]; XC [iəu1]
 CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iɪ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iu1]; AY [jɪ1]; SY [jiu1]; XS [iu1]; QN [iu1]; ND1 [iəu1]; ND2 [iəu1]; ND3 [iəu1]
 [OPH *iu2] CNH *ieu1/*ieu2

yóu 由 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
 BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
 CT [ieu2]; WP [iu2]; YD [iu2]; SH [iɪ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iu2]; AY [jɪ2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *iu2] CNH *ieu2

yóu 油 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
 BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ʒu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [ʒiu2]; SHT [jiu2]

HY [jiu2]; XY [iu2]; DB [iu2]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu2]; WP [iu2]; YD [iu2]; SH [iə2]; LC1 [ieu2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [jə2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [iəu2]
OPH *iu2 CNH *ieu2

yóu 猶 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ɜu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [ɜiu2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
CT [—]; WP [iu2]; YD [—]; SH [iə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [jə2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iu2] CNH *ieu2

yóu 遊~游 QYS jiəu CDC *yeu2/EC *yu
BMH [yû]; MX [iu2]; HL [ɜu2]; SX [iu2]; LF [jiu2]; LZ [ɜiu2]; SHT [jiu2]
HY [jiu2]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu2]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu2]; WP [iu2]; YD [iu2]; SH [iə2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu2]; AY [jə2]; SY [jiu2]; XS [iu2]; QN [iu2]; ND1 [iəu2]; ND2 [iəu2]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iu2] CNH *ieu2

yǒu 有 QYS jəu: CDC *yeu4/EC *wix
BMH [yu]; MX [iu1]; HL [ɜu1]; SX [iu1]; LF [jiu1]; LZ [ɜiu1]; SHT [jiu1]
HY [jiu5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu2]
CT [ieu1]; WP [iu1]; YD [iu1]; SH [iə1]; LC1 [ieu1]; LC2 [—]
NK [iu1]; AY [jə3]; SY [jiu3]; XS [iu3]; QN [iu1]; ND1 [iəu1]; ND2 [iəu1 ~ iəu3]; ND3 [iu1
~ iəu3]
OPH *iu1 CNH *ieu1/*ieu3

yòu 又 QYS jəu- CDC *yeu6/EC *wih
BMH [yù]; MX [iu5]; HL [ɜu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu6]; LZ [ɜiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu5]

CT [ieu6]; WP [iu3]; YD [—]; SH [iɤ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [jɤ6]; SY [jiu5]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu6]; ND1 [iəu6]; ND2 [iəu6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *iu6] CNH *ieu6

yòu 右 QYS jəu- CDC *yeu6/EC *wih
 BMH [yù]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu6]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
 HY [jiu6]; XY [iu3]; DB [iu3]; YL [iəu3]; XC [iəu5]
 CT [ieu6]; WP [iu3]; YD [iu5]; SH [iɤ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iu5]; AY [jɤ6]; SY [jiu5]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu6]; ND1 [iəu6]; ND2 [iəu6]; ND3 [iəu6]
 [OPH *iu6] CNH *ieu6

yòu 幼 QYS ʔjiəu-4 CDC *ieu5/EC *iwh
 BMH [yù]; MX [iu5]; HL [ʒu5]; SX [iu5]; LF [jiu5]; LZ [ʒiu5]; SHT [jiu5]
 HY [jiu5]; XY [iu5]; DB [iu5]; YL [iəu5]; XC [iəu5]
 CT [ieu5]; WP [iu5]; YD [iu3]; SH [iɤ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iu5]; AY [jɤ5]; SY [jiu1]; XS [iu5]; QN [iu5]; ND1 [iəu5]; ND2 [iəu5]; ND3 [iəu5]
 [OPH *iu5] CNH *ieu5

yú 於 QYS ju CDC *yu2/EC *wa
 BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji1 ~ ʒi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i2]
 CT [i2]; WP [i2]; YD [—]; SH [i2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i2]; AY [ji2]; SY [jy1]; XS [vi2]; QN [i2]; ND1 [iu2]; ND2 [iu2]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *i2] CNH *iu2

yú 魚 QYS ngjwo CDC *ngie2 (~ *ngiu2)/EC *nga
 BMH [ɲg]; MX [ɲ2]; HL [ɲ2]; SX [ɲ2]; LF [ɲ2]; LZ [ɲ2]; SHT [ɲ2]
 HY [ɲy2 ~ ny2]; XY [ny2]; DB [ɲi2]; YL [ny2]; XC [i2 ~ ɲ2b]
 CT [ɲe2]; WP [ɲe2]; YD [ɲei2]; SH [ɲei2]; LC1 [ɲui2]; LC2 [ɲoi2]†

NK [ɲe2]; AY [ji2w ~ ɲ2b]; SY [ɲe2 ~ ju2]; XS [ɲ2]; QN [ɲ2 ~ ni2]; ND1 [niɛ2]; ND2 [nie2 ~ iu3]; ND3 [ɲie2 ~ nie2]††

OPH *ng2 CNH *ɲ2/*ñiu2/*ɲie2/*ɲei2/L *iu2

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [ɲue2].

††Second form found in the glossary section of the source.

The form *ɲie2 is Gàn-like in appearance (cf. Common Gàn *ɲie2 “fish”) and perhaps reflects contact with that dialect group. The literary reading is probably a northern koine intrusion into this rather complex set. The Liánchéng forms are regular derivatives of CNH *ñiu2.

yú 虞 QYS ngju CDC *ngiu2/EC *nga

BMH [nyí]; MX [ɲi2]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ɲi2 ~ ɲu2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i2]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [ju2]; XS [—]; QN [ni2]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ɲi2] CNH *ñiu2

yǔ 語 QYS ngjwo: CDC *ngie4 (~ *ngiu4)/EC *ngax

BMH [nyí]; MX [ɲi1]; HL [ɲi1]; SX [ɲi1]; LF [ɲi1]; LZ [ɲgi1]; SHT [ji1]

HY [ɲy3]; XY [ɲy3]; DB [ɲi3]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [ni3]; WP [—]; YD [ɲi1 ~ ɲi3w ~ hɲ3b]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†

NK [ni3]; AY [ni3]; SY [ni3]; XS [ni3]; QN [ni3]; ND1 [nu1]; ND2 [nu1]; ND3 [nu3]

OPH *ɲi1 CNH *ñiu1/*ñiu3/iu3

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [nye3].

Yǒngding shows three different forms. One must derive from an unreconstructable *ɲ3, which is purely colloquial. The reflex of CNH *ñiu3 is clearly designated as literary in register. Intermediate between these is the Tone 1 form *ñiu1, which is not literary in this dialect but is probably older than the literary form.

yǔ 雨 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax

BMH [yí]; MX [i3]; HL [ɹi3]; SX [i3]; LF [ji3]; LZ [ɹi3]; SHT [ji3]

HY [jy5]; XY [y3]; DB [zi3]; YL [yu3]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [zi3 ~ vi3]; SH [i3]; LC1 [iue3]; LC2 [yε3]
 NK [iu3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [vu3 ~ iu3]
 [OPH *i3] CNH *iu3

yǔ 與 QYS jiwo: CDC *ye4 (~ *yu4)/EC *yax
 BMH [yi]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i2]; LF [ji2 ~ ji3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *iu3

yǔ 羽 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
 BMH [yɿ]; MX [i1]; HL [ʒi1]; SX [—]; LF [ji1]; LZ [ʒi3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [i3]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i3]; AY [ji2]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [—]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [iu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *i1] CNH *iu3

yǔ 宇 QYS ju: CDC *yu4/EC *wax
 BMH [yɿ]; MX [—]; HL [ʒi2]; SX [i3]; LF [ji1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]
 CT [i3]; WP [—]; YD [zi3]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i3]; AY [ji3]; SY [jy3]; XS [vi3]; QN [i3]; ND1 [iu3]; ND2 [iu3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *iu3

yù 欲 QYS jiwok CDC *yuk8/EC *yok
 BMH [yúk]; MX [iuk8]; HL [ʒuk8]; SX [iuk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [jyok8]; XY [iou?8]; DB [zuk8]; YL [—]; XC [iu?7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [io1]; AY [—]; SY [jio5]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [iuk8]
OPH *iuk8 CNH *iuk8

yù 浴 QYS jiwok CDC *yuk8/EC *yok
BMH [yúk]; MX [iuk8 ~ iɔk8]; HL [ʒuk8]; SX [iuk8]; LF [juk8]; LZ [ʒuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [iuʔ7]
CT [—]; WP [iuʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [io1]; AY [ji6]; SY [jio5]; XS [—]; QN [iuʔ8]; ND1 [iuk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *iuk8] CNH *iuk8

yù 玉 QYS ngjwok CDC *ngiuk8/EC *ngok
BMH [nyúk]; MX [ɲiuk8]; HL [ɲiuk8]; SX [ɲiuk8]; LF [ɲiuk8]; LZ [ɲgiuk8]; SHT [—]
HY [ɲok8]; XY [ɲiouʔ8]; DB [ɲiuk8]; YL [y5]; XC [iuʔ7]
CT [nieu6]; WP [niuʔ7]; YD [ɲiuʔ8]; SH [ɲiəʔ8]; LC1 [ɲieu5]; LC2 [nieu6]
NK [niu8]; AY [ji6]; SY [jy5]; XS [—]; QN [niuʔ8]; ND1 [nuk8]; ND2 [nuk8]; ND3 [nuk8]
OPH *n₂iuk8 CNH *ñiuk8

The Yílǒng and Shàngyóu forms reflect borrowing of a form from a modern or early modern northern koine. The Xīchāng form is also a loan, perhaps from the Míng-Qīng southern Guānhuà koine.

yù 譽 QYS jiwo- CDC *ye6 (~ *yu6)/EC *yah
BMH [yí]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5 ~ ʒi2]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
CT [i6]; WP [i3]; YD [i5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [i5]; AY [ji5]; SY [jy3]; XS [—]; QN [i6]; ND1 [iu6]; ND2 [iu6]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *i5] CNH *iu6

yù 寓 QYS ngju- CDC *ngiu6/EC *ngoh
BMH [nyì]; MX [ɲi5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ɲi6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]

CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i5]; AY [—]; SY [jy3]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nu7]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ɲiu6/*iu6

yù 遇 QYS ngju- CDC *ngiu6/EC *ngoh
 BMH [nyì]; MX [ɲi5]; HL [ɲi6]; SX [ɲi5]; LF [ɲi6]; LZ [ɲgi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
 CT [i6]; WP [—]; YD [hɲ5b ~ ɲi5w]; SH [i3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ni5]; AY [ni6]; SY [ni5]; XS [ni5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ɲi6] CNH *ɲiu6/*iu6

Yǒngdīng has a *bái* form apparently derived from earlier *ɲ6, while the first reconstruction above is a *wén* form there. The second reconstruction is identified in Shàngháng as a *wén* form and is clearly of external and probably northern origin.

yù 預 QYS jiwo- CDC *ye6 (~ *yu6)/EC *yah
 BMH [yì]; MX [i5]; HL [ʒi5]; SX [i5]; LF [ji5]; LZ [ʒi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [i5]
 CT [—]; WP [i3]; YD [—]; SH [i3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [i5]; AY [ji6]; SY [jy5]; XS [—]; QN [i6]; ND1 [iu6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *i5] CNH *iu6

yuān 冤 QYS ʔjwɔn CDC *ion1/EC *won
 BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [jan1]; LZ [ʒɛn1]; SHT [jen1]
 HY [yan1]; XY [ian1]; DB [zan1]; YL [yɛn1]; XC [ien1]
 CT [viŋ1]; WP [viɛŋ1]; YD [vien1]; SH [viɛ̃1]; LC1 [ve1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iɛ̃1]; AY [jiɔ̃1]; SY [jyɛ̃1]; XS [ien1]; QN [iuɔn1]; ND1 [ien1]; ND2 [ian1]; ND3 [ien1]
 [OPH *ian1] CNH *vion1

yuán 圓 QYS jwän CDC *yon2/EC *won
 BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [jen2]

HY [yan2]; XY [ian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [viŋ2]; WP [vieŋ2]; YD [viɛn2]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [ve2]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuɔn2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~
vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuán 援 QYS jwɔn CDC *yon2/EC *won
BMH [yen]; MX [ian1]; HL [ʒan1]; SX [ian1]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [vieŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ1]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ1]; XS [ien2]; QN [ian2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *ian1] CNH *vion2

yuán 元 QYS ngjwɔn CDC *ngion2/EC *ngwon
BMH [nyên]; MX [ɲian2]; HL [ɲian2]; SX [ɲian2]; LF [ɲian2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [—]
HY [yan2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [nieŋ2]; YD [ɲien2]; SH [ɲiẽ2 ~ viẽ2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [iẽ2]; AY [niõ2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ɲien2]; QN [iuɔn]; ND1 [nan2]; ND2 [nan2]; ND3 [nan2]
[OPH *ɲ2ian2] CNH *ñion2
†FJFYZ: [ɲye2].

yuán 緣 QYS jiwän CDC *yon2/EC *—
BMH [yên]; MX [ian2]; HL [ʒan2]; SX [ian2]; LF [jan2]; LZ [ʒɛn2]; SHT [—]
HY [yan2]; XY [ɲian2]; DB [zan2]; YL [yen2]; XC [ien2]
CT [iŋ2]; WP [vieŋ2]; YD [—]; SH [viẽ2]; LC1 [ve2]; LC2 [—]
NK [iẽ2]; AY [jiõ2]; SY [jyẽ2]; XS [ien2]; QN [iuɔn2]; ND1 [ien2]; ND2 [ian2]; ND3 [ien2 ~
vian2]
[OPH *ian2] CNH *vion2

yuǎn 遠 QYS jwɔn: CDC *yon4/EC *wonx
 BMH [yén]; MX [ian3]; HL [zan3]; SX [ian3]; LF [jan3]; LZ [ʒen3]; SHT [jen3]
 HY [yan3]; XY [ian3]; DB [zan3]; YL [yen3]; XC [ien3]
 CT [viŋ3]; WP [vieŋ3]; YD [vien3]; SH [viẽ3]; LC1 [ve3]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ3]; AY [jiõ3]; SY [jyẽ3]; XS [ien3]; QN [iuɔn3]; ND1 [ien3]; ND2 [ian3]; ND3 [ien3]
 OPH *ian3 CNH *vion3

yuàn 願 QYS ngjwɔn- CDC *ngion6/EC *ngwonh
 BMH [nyèn]; MX [nian5]; HL [nian6]; SX [nian5]; LF [nian6]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yen3]; XC [ien5]
 CT [niŋ6]; WP [nieŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [niẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [iẽ5]; AY [niõ5]; SY [jyẽ5]; XS [nien5]; QN [niuɔn6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [nan6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *n₂ian6] CNH *ñion6

yuē 約 QYS ʔjak CDC *iok7/EC *awk
 BMH [iok]; MX [iok7]; HL [ʒok7]; SX [iok7]; LF [jok7]; LZ [ʒok7]; SHT [—]
 HY [yɔk7]; XY [iok7]; DB [zok7]; YL [ioʔ7 ~ ioʔ8]; XC [ioʔ7]
 CT [io6]; WP [ioʔ7]; YD [ioʔ7]; SH [ioʔ8 ~ ioʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [io8]; AY [jio6]; SY [jio5]; XS [iok7]; QN [ioʔ7]; ND1 [iok7]; ND2 [iok7]; ND3 [iok7]
 OPH *iok7 CNH *iok7 ~ *iok8

yuè 越 QYS jwɔt CDC *yot8/EC *wot
 BMH [yét]; MX [iat8]; HL [ʒat8]; SX [iet8]; LF [jat8]; LZ [ʒet8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ieʔ8]
 CT [ie8]; WP [vieʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [vieʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ie5]; AY [jiɜ1]; SY [ye5]; XS [iet8]; QN [iuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [iet8]; ND2 [iat8]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *iat8 ?] CNH *viot8

yuè 月 QYS ngjwɔt CDC *ngiot8/EC *ngwot
 BMH [nyét]; MX [niat8]; HL [niet8]; SX [niet8]; LF [niat8]; LZ [ʔget8]; SHT [ŋet8]

HY [ɲyat8]; XY [ɲiat8]; DB [ɲiat8]; YL [ɲieʔ8]; XC [ɲieʔ8]
CT [ne6 ~ ie6]; WP [ɲieʔ8]; YD [ɲieʔ8]; SH [ɲieʔ8]; LC1 [ɲui5]; LC2 [ɲvi6]
NK [ɲie5]; AY [ɲi31]; SY [ɲie5]; XS [ɲiet8]; QN [ɲiuɔiʔ8]; ND1 [ɲait8]; ND2 [ɲat8]; ND3
[ɲat8]
OPH *ɲ₂iat8 CNH *ɲiot8

yún 雲 QYS juən CDC *yun2/EC *wun
BMH [yûn]; MX [iun2]; HL [ɟun2]; SX [iun2]; LF [jun2]; LZ [ɟun2]; SHT [jin2]
HY [vun2]; XY [vun2]; DB [zən2]; YL [yn2]; XC [in2]
CT [veŋ2]; WP [viŋ2]; YD [viŋ2]; SH [viŋ2]; LC1 [veŋ2]; LC2 [veŋ2]
NK [iŋ2 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ2]; SY [jyŋ2]; XS [in2]; QN [iun2]; ND1 [in2]; ND2 [in2]; ND3 [in2]
OPH *iun2 CNH *viun2

yǔn 允 QYS jiuen: CDC *yun4/EC *—
BMH [yún]; MX [iun1]; HL [ɟun3]; SX [iun1]; LF [jun3]; LZ [ɟun3]; SHT [—]
HY [yn3]; XY [vun3]; DB [zən3]; YL [yn3]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ3 ~ yŋ3]; AY [jiŋ3]; SY [jyŋ3]; XS [in3]; QN [in3]; ND1 [in3]; ND2 [in3]; ND3 [in1]
[OPH *iun3] CNH *viun3

The Héyuán and Quánnán forms are irregular.

yùn 暈 QYS juən- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
BMH [yún]; MX [in1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [vin2]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [yɛn1]; XC [—]
CT [veŋ6]; WP [iŋ1]; YD [iŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [iŋ1 ~ yŋ2]; AY [jiŋ1]; SY [jyŋ1]; XS [in1]; QN [iun1]; ND1 [in1]; ND2 [in6]; ND3 [in1]
[OPH ?] CNH *viun1

The Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular and, oddly, more similar to the reconstructed form than expected as regards its segmental shape. The tone of the Chángtīng form is irregular.

yùn 運 QYS juən- CDC *yun6/EC *wunh
 BMH [yún]; MX [iun5]; HL [zun6]; SX [iun5]; LF [jun6]; LZ [zun5]; SHT [—]
 HY [vun6]; XY [vun3 ~ yn3]; DB [zən5]; YL [yn3]; XC [in5]
 CT [veŋ6]; WP [viŋ3]; YD [viŋ3]; SH [viŋ3]; LC1 [veŋ6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [yŋ5]; AY [jiŋ5]; SY [jyŋ5]; XS [—]; QN [iun6]; ND1 [in6]; ND2 [in6]; ND3 [in6]
 OPH *iun6 CNH *viun6

Z

zá 雜 QYS dzâp CDC *dzop8/EC *’dzup
 BMH [tsháp]; MX [ts’ap8]; HL [ts’ap8]; SX [ts’ap8]; LF [ts’ap8]; LZ [tshap8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts’ap8]; XY [ts’ap8]; DB [ts’ap8]; YL [ts’aʔ8]; XC [ts’aʔ8]
 CT [ts’a6]; WP [tshaʔ8]; YD [ts’aʔ8]; SH [tshaʔ8]; LC1 [ts’o5]; LC2 [ts’o5]
 NK [ts’a5]; AY [ts’ɜ1]; SY [ts’a5]; XS [ts’ait8]; QN [ts’æʔ8]; ND1 [ts’aip8]; ND2 [ts’ap8];
 ND3 [ts’ap8]
 [OPH *ts’ap8] CNH *ts’ap8

zāi 栽 QYS tsâi CDC *tsoi1/EC *’tsi
 BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃai1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsai1]; XY [tsuai1]; DB [tsoi1]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
 CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsæ1]; AY [tsue1]; SY [tse1]; XS [tsoi1]; QN [tsoi1]; ND1 [tsoe1]; ND2 [tsuei1]; ND3
 [tsuai1]
 [OPH *tsai1] CNH *tsoi1/*tsai1

zài 在 QYS dzâi:, dzâi- CDC *dzo14/EC *’dzix
 BMH [tshoi ~ tshài]; MX [ts’ai5 ~ ts’oi1]; HL [ts’ai6w ~ ts’oi1b]; SX [ts’ai5w ~ ts’oi1b]; LF
 [ts’ai6w ~ ts’oi1b]; LZ [tʃhɔi1 ~ tʃhɔ1]; SHT [ts’oi1]
 HY [—]; XY [ts’uai1]; DB [ts’oi3]; YL [ts’oi1]; XC [tsai5w ~ ts’oi5b]
 CT [ts’ai1]; WP [tshue1 ~ sue5]; YD [ts’oi1 ~ ts’ai5]; SH [tsha3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'æ1]; AY [ts'ue6]; SY [ts'e1]; XS [ts'oi1]; QN [ts'oi1]; ND1 [ts'oε1]; ND2 [ts'uei6];
ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'oi1] CNH *ts'oi1/*ts'oi6/L *ts'ai6

zài 再 QYS tsâi- CDC *tsoi5/EC *'tsih

BMH [tsài]; MX [tsai5]; HL [tsai5]; SX [tsai5]; LF [tsai5]; LZ [tʃai5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsai5]; XC [tsai5]

CT [tsai5]; WP [tsa5]; YD [—]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [tsæ5]; SY [tsæ2]; XS [tsai5 ~ tsoi5]; QN [tsoi5]; ND1 [tsai5]; ND2 [tsai5]; ND3
[—]

[OPH *tsai5] CNH *tsai5/*tsoi5

zài 載 QYS tsâi- CDC *tsoi5/EC *'tsih

BMH [tsài]; MX [tsoi5]; HL [—]; SX [tsai5]; LF [tsai5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsai5]; XC [tsai5]

CT [tsai5]; WP [—]; YD [tsai3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsai5]; AY [tsæ5]; SY [tsæ3]; XS [tsai5]; QN [tsoi5]; ND1 [tsoe5]; ND2 [tsai5]; ND3
[tsuai5]

[OPH *tsoi5] CNH *tsoi5/*tsai5

zān 簪 QYS tsâm CDC *tsom1/EC *'tsum

BMH [tsam]; MX [tsam1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tsam1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsan1]; XC [tsan1]

CT [tsaŋ1]; WP [tsaŋ1]; YD [tsaŋ1]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsã1]; AY [tsã1]; SY [tsã1]; XS [tsan1]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsan1]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tsam1] CNH *tsam1

zāo 糟 QYS tsâu CDC *tsou1/EC *'tsu

BMH [tsau]; MX [tsau1]; HL [tso1]; SX [tso1]; LF [tso1]; LZ [tʃau1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsau1]; XY [tsɔ1]; DB [tso1]; YL [tsau1]; XC [tsau1]

CT [tsɔ1]; WP [tsɔ1]; YD [tsou1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [tsɔ1]; LC2 [ts'ɔ1]
 NK [tsɔ1]; AY [tsɔ1]; SY [tsɔ1]; XS [tsau1]; QN [tsau1]; ND1 [tsau1]; ND2 [tsau1]; ND3
 [tsau1]
 [OPH *tsou1] CNH *tsou1

záo 鑿 QYS dzâk CDC *dzok8/EC *'dzawk
 BMH [tshók]; MX [ts'ók8]; HL [ts'ok8]; SX [ts'ok8]; LF [ts'ok8]; LZ [tʃhók8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'ók8]; XY [ts'ók8]; DB [ts'ók8]; YL [ts'əu5]; XC [ts'oʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [tshoʔ8]; YD [ts'ɔʔ8]; SH [tshoʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'o1]; AY [ts'o6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [ts'ók8]; QN [ts'oʔ8]; ND1 [ts'ok8]; ND2 [ts'ók8];
 ND3 [ts'ók8]
 [OPH *ts'ok8] CNH *ts'ok8

zǎo 早 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *'tsux
 BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]
 HY [tsau3]; XY [tsɔ3]; DB [tso3]; YL [tsəu3]; XC [tsau3]
 CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [—]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3
 [tsau3]
 OPH *tsou3 CNH *tsou3

zǎo 棗 QYS tsâu: CDC *tsou3/EC *'tsux
 BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [tʃau3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsəu3]; XC [tsau3]
 CT [tsɔ3]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsou3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɔ3]; AY [tsɔ3]; SY [tsɔ3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsou3] CNH *tsou3

zào 燥 QYS sâu:, sâu- CDC *tsou5 ~ sou5/EC *'tsawx
 BMH [tshàu]; MX [ts'au5 ~ tsau1s]; HL [tsau1]; SX [tsau1]; LF [ts'au5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsau5]; XC [—]
CT [—]; WP [tsɔ1]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsɔ1]
NK [tsɔ1]; AY [tsɔ1]; SY [tsɔ1]; XS [—]; QN [tsau1]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH ?] CNH *tsou1/*ts'au5

zào 灶 QYS tsâu- CDC *tsou5/EC *tsawkh
BMH [tsàu]; MX [tsau5]; HL [tso5]; SX [tso5]; LF [tso5]; LZ [tʃau5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsau5]; XY [tsɔ5]; DB [tso5]; YL [tsəu5]; XC [tsau5]
CT [—]; WP [tsɔ3]; YD [tsou3]; SH [tsu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsɔ5]
NK [tsɔ5]; AY [tsɔ5]; SY [tsɔ2]; XS [tsau5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3
[tsau5]
[OPH *tsou5] CNH *tsou5

zé 則 QYS tsək CDC *tsek7/EC *tsik
BMH [tset]; MX [tset7]; HL [tset7]; SX [tset7]; LF [tset7]; LZ [tʃet7]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsɛʔ7]
CT [tse2]; WP [tsɛʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tsɛʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsə8]; AY [tse6]; SY [tse5]; XS [tset7]; QN [tseʔ7]; ND1 [tsək7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tset7] CNH *tsek7

zé 擇 QYS ɬək CDC *jak7/EC *drak
BMH [tshét ~ tshák ~ thók]; MX [ts'et8w ~ t'ɔk8b]; HL [ts'et8 ~ t'ok8]; SX [t'ok8]; LF [ts'et8];
LZ [tʃhak8]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ɛʔ8]
CT [—]; WP [tshɛʔ8w ~ thoʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tshɛʔ8w ~ thoʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [t'u5]
NK [—]; AY [t'o6]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [tɕ'et8]; QN [ts'eʔ7]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [ts'ak7]
[OPH *t'ok8] CNH *t'ok8/*ts'ak8/L *ts'ek8

The coda of the third reconstructed form is conjectural and is posited by analogy.

zéi 賊 QYS dzək CDC *dzek8/EC *'dzik
 BMH [tshét]; MX [ts'et8]; HL [ts'et8]; SX [ts'et8]; LF [ts'et8]; LZ [tʃhet8]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'at8]; XY [ts'et8]; DB [ts'et8]; YL [ts'et8]; XC [ts'et8]
 CT [ts'e6]; WP [tshet8]; YD [ts'et8]; SH [tshet8]; LC1 [ts'uɔ5]; LC2 [ts'ue5]
 NK [ts'ə1]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [ts'et8]; QN [ts'e78]; ND1 [ts'ək8]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
 [ts'ək8]
 OPH *ts'et8 CNH *ts'ek8

zēng 曾 QYS tsəŋ CDC *tseng1/EC *'tsing
 BMH [tsen]; MX [tsen1]; HL [tsen1]; SX [tsen1]; LF [tsen1]; LZ [tʃen1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsan1]; XC [tsən1]
 CT [tsen1]; WP [tsen1]; YD [—]; SH [tsɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tsɛ1]; XS [tsen1]; QN [tsen1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsen1] CNH *tsen1

zēng 增 QYS tsəŋ CDC *tseng1/EC *'tsing
 BMH [tsen]; MX [tsen5]; HL [tsen5]; SX [tsen5]; LF [tsen1]; LZ [tʃen1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsan1]; XC [tsən1]
 CT [tsen1]; WP [tsen5]; YD [—]; SH [tsɛ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɛ1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tsɛ1]; XS [tsen1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsen1] CNH *tsen1

zèng 贈 QYS dzəŋ- CDC *dzeng6/EC *'dzing
 BMH [tsèn]; MX [tsen5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tsen5]; LZ [tʃhen5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsən5]
 CT [—]; WP [tshen3]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tshɛ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɛ1]; AY [tsən1]; SY [tsɛ1]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [ts'ən6]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsen5] CNH *ts'ən6/*tsen5

zhā 渣 QYS tʂa CDC *ca1/EC *tsra
BMH [tsa]; MX [tsa1]; HL [tsa1]; SX [tsa1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃa1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsa1]; XC [tʂa1]
CT [tsa1]; WP [tsa1]; YD [tsa1]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa1]; AY [tsa1]; SY [tsa1]; XS [tsa1]; QN [tsa1]; ND1 [tsa1]; ND2 [tsa1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa1] CNH *tsa1

zhá 扎 QYS (tʂāt) CDC —/EC —
BMH [tsap]; MX [tsap7]; HL [tsap7]; SX [tsap7]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsat]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsaʔ7]; XC [tʂaʔ7]
CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [tsaʔ7 ~ tsat7]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsa6]
NK [tsa2]; AY [ts33]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsait7]; QN [tsæʔ7]; ND1 [tsait7]; ND2 [tsat7]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsap7] CNH *tsap7 ~ *tsat

zhà 詐 QYS tʂa- CDC *ca5/EC *tsrakh
BMH [tsà]; MX [tsa5]; HL [tsa5]; SX [tsa5]; LF [tsa5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [tsa5]; XY [tsa5]; DB [tsa5]; YL [tsa5]; XC [tsa5]
CT [tsa5]; WP [—]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tsa5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa5] CNH *tsa5

zhà 炸 QYS — CDC *ca5/EC *—
BMH [tsà]; MX [tsa5 ~ sap8]; HL [tsa5]; SX [tsa5]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsa5]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsa5 ~ tsaʔ7]; XC [tsa5]
CT [—]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tsa5]; QN [tsa5]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsa5] CNH *tsa5

zhāi 齋 QYS tʂăi CDC *cai1/EC *tsriy
BMH [tsai]; MX [tsai1]; HL [tsai1]; SX [tsai1]; LF [tsai1]; LZ [tʃai1]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tsai1]
 CT [tsai1]; WP [—]; YD [tsai1]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsæ1]; AY [tsæ1]; SY [tsæ1]; XS [tsai1]; QN [tsai1]; ND1 [tsai1]; ND2 [tsai1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tsai1] CNH *tsai1

zhái 宅 QYS ɬək CDC *jak7/EC *drak
 BMH [ts'ət]; MX [ts'et8]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [ts'et8]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕ'aʔ7]; XC [tɕ'ɛʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tshaʔ8w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [tɕ'ak8]; QN [ts'eʔ8]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'et8] CNH *ts'ek8/*tɕ'ak8 ?

The coda of the first reconstructed form is conjectural. The vowel of the Shàngháng form is irregular. We would expect [A] here. The form is specifically said by the source to be a wén reading.

zhài 債 QYS tsäi- CDC *cai5/EC *tsrekh
 BMH [tsài]; MX [tsai5]; HL [tsai5]; SX [tsai5]; LF [tʃai5]; LZ [tʃai5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsai5]; XY [tsai5]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕai5]
 CT [tsai5]; WP [—]; YD [tsai3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsæ5]; AY [tsæ5]; SY [tsæ2]; XS [tsai5]; QN [tsai5]; ND1 [tsai5]; ND2 [tsai5]; ND3 [tsai5]
 [OPH *tsai5 ?] CNH *tsai5

The initial of the Lùfēng form is irregular.

zhān 占 QYS tsjäm “to divine” CDC *ciam1/EC *tem
 BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃam1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tɕam1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsā1]; AY [—]; SY [tsẽ1]; XS [tɕen1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsam1]; ND2 [tsam1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tɕam1] CNH *tɕiam1

zhān 沾 QYS t̪äm CDC *ciam1/EC *tram
BMH [cham]; MX [tsam1]; HL [t̪am1]; SX [t̪am1]; LF [t̪am1]; LZ [t̪am1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t̪an1]; XC [t̪an1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsã1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsã1]; SY [tsẽ1]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
OPH *t̪am1 CNH *t̪iam1

zhǎn 展 QYS t̪än: CDC *cian3/EC *tranx
BMH [chén]; MX [tsan3]; HL [t̪an3]; SX [t̪an3]; LF [—]; LZ [t̪en3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsian3]; XY [tsan3]; DB [tsan3]; YL [t̪an3]; XC [t̪an3]
CT [t̪ĩn3]; WP [t̪en3]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tsẽ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsẽ3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tsẽ3]; XS [t̪en3]; QN [tsen3]; ND1 [tsan3]; ND2 [tsan3]; ND3 [tsan3]
[OPH *t̪an3] CNH *t̪ian3

zhǎn 盞 QYS t̪ǎn: CDC *can3/EC *tsranx
BMH [tsán]; MX [tsan3]; HL [tsan3]; SX [tsan3]; LF [tsan3]; LZ [t̪an3]; SHT [tsan3]
HY [tsan3]; XY [tsan3]; DB [tsan3]; YL [tsan3]; XC [t̪an3]
CT [tsaŋ3]; WP [tsaŋ3]; YD [tsan3]; SH [tsã3]; LC1 [tsa3]; LC2 [tsa3]
NK [tsã3]; AY [tsã3]; SY [tsã3]; XS [tsan3]; QN [tsan3]; ND1 [tsan3]; ND2 [tsan3]; ND3
[tsan3]
[OPH *tsan3] CNH *tsan3

zhàn 戰 QYS t̪jǎn- CDC *cian5/EC *tranh
BMH [chèn]; MX [tsan5]; HL [t̪an5]; SX [t̪an5]; LF [t̪an5]; LZ [t̪en5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsian5]; XY [tsan5]; DB [tsan5]; YL [t̪an5]; XC [t̪an5]
CT [t̪ĩn5]; WP [t̪en5]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tsẽ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
NK [tsẽ5]; AY [tsi5]; SY [tsẽ2]; XS [t̪en5]; QN [tsen5]; ND1 [tsan5]; ND2 [tsan5]; ND3 [tsan5]
[OPH *t̪an5] CNH *t̪ian5
†FJFYZ: [t̪ie5].

zhàn 站 QYS tǎm- “to stand” CDC *cam5/EC *tremh

BMH [chàm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tsan5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]

CT [tsaŋ5]; WP [tsaŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsã3]; AY [tsã5]; SY [tsã2]; XS [tsan5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tšam5] CNH *tšam5

The initial of the Xiūshuǐ form is irregular and seems to reflect an earlier *tsam5.

zhàn 占、佔 QYS tǎm- “to occupy” CDC *ciam5/EC *temh

BMH [chàm]; MX [tsam5]; HL [tʃam5]; SX [tʃam5]; LF [tʃam5]; LZ [tʃam5]; SHT [—]

HY [tsiam5]; XY [tsam5]; DB [tsam5]; YL [tʃan5]; XC [tʃan5]

CT [—]; WP [tsaŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsã5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsã3]; AY [tsã5]; SY [tsẽ2]; XS [tʃen5]; QN [tsan5]; ND1 [tsam5]; ND2 [tsam5]; ND3

[tsam5]

[OPH *tšam5] CNH *tšiam5

zhāng 張 QYS tjang CDC *ciong1/EC *trang

BMH [chong]; MX [tsɔŋ1]; HL [tʃɔŋ1]; SX [tʃɔŋ1]; LF [tʃɔŋ1]; LZ [tʃɔŋ1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsɔŋ1]; XY [tsɔŋ1]; DB [tsɔŋ1]; YL [tʃɔŋ1]; XC [tʃɔŋ1]

CT [tʃɔŋ1]; WP [tsɔŋ1]; YD [tsɔŋ1]; SH [tsɔŋ1]; LC1 [tʃɔŋ1]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɔ̃1]; AY [tsɔŋ1]; SY [tsɔ̃1]; XS [tʃɔŋ1]; QN [tsɔŋ1]; ND1 [tsɔŋ1]; ND2 [tsɔŋ1]; ND3

[tsɔŋ1]

[OPH *tšong1] CNH *tšiong1

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃiɔ̃1].

zhǎng 長 QYS tjang: CDC *ciong3/EC *trangx

BMH [chóng]; MX [tsɔŋ3]; HL [tʃɔŋ3]; SX [tʃɔŋ3]; LF [tʃɔŋ3]; LZ [tʃɔŋ3]; SHT [—]

HY [tsɔŋ3]; XY [tsɔŋ3]; DB [tsɔŋ3]; YL [tʃɔŋ3]; XC [tʃɔŋ3]

CT [tʃɔŋ3]; WP [tsɔŋ3]; YD [tsɔŋ3]; SH [tsɔŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tš3]; AY [tsəŋ3]; SY [tš3]; XS [tɕəŋ3]; QN [tsəŋ3]; ND1 [tsəŋ3]; ND2 [tsəŋ3]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]

[OPH *tɕəŋ3] CNH *tɕəŋ3

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃi̯3̌3].

zhǎng 掌 QYS tɕjang: CDC *cɪəŋ3/EC *təŋx

BMH [chóng]; MX [tsəŋ3]; HL [tʃəŋ3]; SX [tʃəŋ3]; LF [tʃəŋ3]; LZ [tʃəŋ3]; SHT [—]

HY [tsəŋ3]; XY [tsəŋ3]; DB [tsəŋ3]; YL [tɕəŋ3]; XC [tɕəŋ3]

CT [tʃəŋ3]; WP [tsəŋ3]; YD [tsəŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tš3]; AY [tsəŋ3]; SY [tš3]; XS [tɕəŋ1]; QN [tsəŋ3]; ND1 [tsəŋ3]; ND2 [tsəŋ3]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]

OPH *tɕəŋ3 CNH *tɕəŋ3

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃi̯3̌3].

zhàng 杖 QYS ɖjang:, ɖjang- CDC *jɪəŋ4/EC *drəŋx

BMH [chhòng]; MX [ts'əŋ5]; HL [tʃ'əŋ3]; SX [tʃ'əŋ3]; LF [tʃ'əŋ6]; LZ [tʃhəŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕəŋ5]; XC [tɕ'əŋ5]

CT [tʃ'əŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [ts'əŋ3]; SH [tshəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'̌5]; AY [ts'əŋ6]; SY [tš3]; XS [tɕ'əŋ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tɕ'əŋ3 ~ *tɕ'əŋ6 ?] CNH *tɕ'əŋ3/*tɕ'əŋ6

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'i̯5̌6].

zhàng 丈 QYS ɖjang: CDC *jɪəŋ4/EC *drəŋx

BMH [chhòng]; MX [ts'əŋ5w ~ ts'əŋ1b]; HL [tʃ'əŋ6]; SX [tʃ'əŋ5]; LF [tʃ'əŋ3]; LZ [tʃhəŋ1b ~ tʃhəŋ5w]; SHT [ts'əŋ1]

HY [ts'əŋ6]; XY [ts'əŋ3]; DB [ts'əŋ3]; YL [tɕəŋ5 ~ tɕ'əŋ3]; XC [tɕ'əŋ3]

CT [tʃ'əŋ6]; WP [tshəŋ3 ~ tshəŋ1]; YD [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'əŋ3 ~ ts'əŋ5]; SH [tshəŋ1 ~ tshəŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃ'əŋ1]

NK [ts'̌5]; AY [ts'əŋ6]; SY [ts'̌5]; XS [tɕ'əŋ5]; QN [ts'əŋ5 ~ ts'əŋ6]; ND1 [ts'əŋ5 ~ ts'əŋ6]; ND2 [ts'əŋ1]; ND3 [ts'əŋ1 ~ ts'əŋ6]

[OPH *tʂ'ong6] CNH *tʂ'ion1/L *tʂ'ion6

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɕ6].

zhàng 瘴 QYS tʂang- CDC *ciong5/EC *tangh

BMH [chòng]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃon̩5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂon̩5]; XC [tʂon̩5]

CT [—]; WP [tson̩5]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɔ̃1]; AY [tson̩5]; SY [tsɔ̃1]; XS [tʂon̩1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tson̩1]; ND2 [tson̩5]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʂong5] CNH *tʂion5

No Qīngliú form is available for this set. The final must be reconstructed by analogy.

zhàng 帳 QYS — CDC *ciong5/EC *trangh

BMH [chòng]; MX [tson̩5]; HL [tʃon̩5]; SX [tʃon̩5]; LF [tʃon̩5]; LZ [tʃon̩5]; SHT [tson̩5]

HY [tson̩5]; XY [tson̩5]; DB [tson̩5]; YL [tʂon̩5]; XC [tʂon̩5]

CT [tʃon̩5]; WP [tson̩5]; YD [tson̩3]; SH [tson̩5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɔ̃5]; AY [tson̩5]; SY [tsɔ̃2]; XS [tʂon̩5]; QN [tson̩5]; ND1 [tson̩5]; ND2 [tson̩5]; ND3 [tson̩5]

[OPH *tʂong5] CNH *tʂion5

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɕ5].

zhǎo 爪 QYS tʂau: CDC *cau3/EC *tsrawx

BMH [tsáu]; MX [tsau3]; HL [tsau3]; SX [tsau3]; LF [tsau3]; LZ [ʃau3]; SHT [tsau3]

HY [tsau3]; XY [tsau3]; DB [tsau3]; YL [tsau3]; XC [tʂau3]

CT [tsɔ̃3]; WP [tsɔ̃3]; YD [tsau3]; SH [tsɔ̃3]; LC1 [tsɔ̃3]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɔ̃3]; AY [tsɔ̃3]; SY [tsɔ̃3]; XS [tsau3]; QN [tsau3]; ND1 [tsau3]; ND2 [tsau3]; ND3 [tsau3]

OPH *tsau3 CNH *tsau3

The initial of the Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregularly a fricative rather than an affricate.

zhào 兆 QYS djäu: CDC *jiau5/EC *drewx
BMH [chhàu ~ chhèu]; MX [sau5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhau5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃau5]; XC [tʃau5]
CT [—]; WP [tshə3]; YD [—]; SH [tshə3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ə5]; AY [ts'ə6]; SY [ts'ə5]; XS [tʃ'ə5]; QN [ts'au6]; ND1 [ts'au6]; ND2 [ts'au6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH ?] CNH *tʃ'iau6

The final is reconstructable as *-iau, rather than *-au, on the basis of the Shàngháng and second Basil Mission forms. The Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms, which irregularly lack aspiration, are probable Mandarin loans. The initial of the Méixiàn form is irregularly a fricative rather than an affricate.

zhào 照 QYS tʃjäu- CDC *ciau5/EC *tewh
BMH [chèu ~ chàu]; MX [tsau5]; HL [tʃau5]; SX [tʃeu5]; LF [tʃau5]; LZ [tʃau5]; SHT [tsau5]
HY [tsiau5]; XY [tsau5]; DB [tsau5]; YL [tʃau5]; XC [tʃau5]
CT [tʃə5]; WP [tsə5]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsə5]; AY [tsə5]; SY [tsə2]; XS [tʃə5]; QN [tsau5]; ND1 [tsau5]; ND2 [tsau5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃau5] CNH *tʃiau5

zhē 遮 QYS tʃja CDC *cia1/EC *ta
BMH [cha]; MX [tsa1]; HL [tʃa1]; SX [tʃa1]; LF [tʃa1]; LZ [tʃa1]; SHT [tsa1]
HY [tsa1]; XY [tsa1]; DB [tsa1]; YL [tsa1]; XC [tʃa1]
CT [tʃa1]; WP [tsa1]; YD [tsa1]; SH [tsa1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsa1]; AY [tsa1]; SY [tsa1]; XS [tʃa1]; QN [tsa1]; ND1 [tsa1]; ND2 [tsa1]; ND3 [tsa1]
[OPH *tʃa1] CNH *tʃia1

Reconstruction of final *-ia is supported indirectly by the initial/final correspondence pattern of the set as a whole.

zhé 摘 QYS tʃək CDC *cak7/EC *trek
BMH [tsak]; MX [tsak7]; HL [tsak7]; SX [tsak7]; LF [tsak7]; LZ [tʃak7]; SHT [tsak7]

HY [tsak7]; XY [tsak7]; DB [tsak7]; YL [tʂaʔ7]; XC [tʂaʔ7]
 CT [tsa2]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsa8]; AY [tsa6]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tsak7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsak7]; ND2 [tsak7]; ND3 [tsak7]
 OPH *tsak7 CNH *tsak7

zhé 擢 QYS tʂjǎp CDC *ciap/EC *tap
 BMH [chap ~ tsap]; MX [—]; HL [tʃap7]; SX [tʃap7]; LF [tʃap7]; LZ [tʃap7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʂeʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsaʔ7]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tse8]; AY [—]; SY [tse5]; XS [tʂet7]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tsap7]; ND3 [tsap7]
 OPH *tʂap7 CNH *tʂiap7

The correspondence profile in this set shows clearly that the proto-final patterns with *-iap rather than *-ap, even though we have in the data no actual form with medial *-i-.

zhě 者 QYS tʂja: CDC *cia3/EC *tax
 BMH [chá]; MX [tsa3]; HL [tʃa3]; SX [tʃa3]; LF [tʃa3]; LZ [tʃa3]; SHT [tsa3]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʂe3]
 CT [tʃa3]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsa3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsa3]; AY [tsa3]; SY [tsa3]; XS [tʂa3]; QN [tsa3]; ND1 [tsa3]; ND2 [tsa3]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tʂa3] CNH *tʂia3

zhè 蔗 QYS tʂja- CDC *cia5/—
 BMH [chà]; MX [tsa5]; HL [tʃa5]; SX [tʃa5]; LF [tʃa5]; LZ [tʃa5]; SHT [tsa5]
 HY [tsa5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂa5]; XC [tʂa5]
 CT [tʃa5]; WP [tsa5]; YD [tsa3]; SH [tsa5]; LC1 [tʃo5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsa5]; AY [tsa5]; SY [tsa2]; XS [tʂa5]; QN [tsa5]; ND1 [tsa5]; ND2 [tsa5]; ND3 [tsa5]
 [OPH *tʂa5] CNH *tʂia5

zhēn 針 QYS tʂjəm CDC *cim1/EC *cim (kyim)
 BMH [chim]; MX [tsəm1]; HL [tʃəm1]; SX [tʃəm1]; LF [tʃim1]; LZ [tʃim1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsim1]; XY [tsim1]; DB [tsəm1]; YL [tʂen1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [tseŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseiŋ1]; LC1 [tʃeŋ1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsəm1]; ND2 [tsəm1]; ND3
[tsəm1]
[OPH *tʂim1] CNH *tʂim1

zhēn 珍 QYS tʃen CDC *cin1/EC *trin ? trun
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂen1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseiŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʂin1] CNH *tʂin1

zhēn 真 QYS tʃjen CDC *cin1/EC *tin
BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]
HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʂen1]; XC [tʂən1]
CT [tʃeŋ1]; WP [tseŋ1]; YD [tsiŋ1]; SH [tseiŋ1]; LC1 [tʃeŋ1]; LC2 [tʃeŋ1]
NK [tɕiŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tɕiŋ1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [tɕin1]; ND1 [tsən1]; ND2 [tsən1]; ND3
[tsən1]
OPH *tʂin1 CNH *tʂin1

zhèn 鎮 QYS tʃjen- CDC *cin5/EC *trinh
BMH [chín]; MX [tsən5]; HL [tʃen3]; SX [tʃen3]; LF [tʃin6]; LZ [tʃin3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsin3]; XY [tsin3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʂen5]; XC [tʂən5]
CT [tʃeŋ5]; WP [tseŋ3]; YD [tsiŋ3]; SH [tseiŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiŋ5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tɕiŋ3]; XS [tʂən5]; QN [tɕin5]; ND1 [tsən5]; ND2 [tsən5]; ND3
[tsən5]
[OPH *tʂin3 ?] CNH *tʂin5/*tʂin3

The tone of the Lùfēng form is anomalous.

zhēng 爭 QYS tʂəŋ CDC *cang1/EC *tsreŋ
 BMH [tsang ~ tsen]; MX [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; HL [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; SX [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; LF
 [tsen1 ~ tsəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1]; SHT [tsəŋ1]
 HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsəŋ1 ~ tsen1]; YL [tsən1w ~ tsəŋ1b]; XC [tʂəŋ1]
 CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tsəŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [tsəŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɛ̃1 ~ tsã1]; AY [tsəŋ1 ~ tsã1]; SY [tsɛ̃1 ~ tsã1]; XS [tsen1 ~ tsəŋ1]; QN [tsen1 ~ tsəŋ1];
 ND1 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ1]
 [OPH *tsang1] CNH *tsəŋ1/L *tsəŋ1

zhēng 蒸 QYS tʂjəŋ CDC *cing1/EC *ting
 BMH [chin]; MX [tsən1]; HL [tʃen1]; SX [tʃen1]; LF [tʃin1]; LZ [tʃin1]; SHT [tsin1]
 HY [tsin1]; XY [tsin1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tʂen1]; XC [tʂən1]
 CT [tʃen5]; WP [tsəŋ1]; YD [tsin1]; SH [tʂen1]; LC1 [tʃen5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tʃin1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tʃin1]; XS [tʂən1]; QN [tʃin1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3
 [tsəŋ1]
 [OPH *tsin1] CNH *tʂin1

zhěng 整 QYS tʂjǎŋ: CDC *ciang3/EC *tengx
 BMH [chín]; MX [tsən3w ~ tsəŋ3b]; HL [tʃən3w ~ tʃəŋ3b]; SX [tʃən3w ~ tʃəŋ3b]; LF [tʃin3];
 LZ [tʃin3]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsəŋ3 ~ ts'in3]; XY [tsin3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʂen3]; XC [tʂən3]
 CT [tʃen3]; WP [tsin3]; YD [tsin3]; SH [tʂen3 ~ tsəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃəŋ3]; LC2 [tʃen3]
 NK [tsəŋ3 ~ tsã3]; AY [tʃin3 ~ tsã3]; SY [tʃin3 ~ tsã3]; XS [tʂən3 ~ tʂəŋ3]; QN [—]; ND1 [—];
 ND2 [tsəŋ1b ~ tsəŋ1w]; ND3 [tsəŋ3]
 [OPH *tʂang3 ?] CNH *tʂəŋ3/L *tʂin3

The initial of the second Héyuán form is irregularly aspirated.

Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃã3].

zhèng/zhēng 正 QYS tsjäng, tsjäng- CDC *ciang5/EC *teng
BMH [chìn]; MX [tsən5w ~ tsəŋ5b]; HL [tʃən5w ~ tʃəŋ1b]; SX [tʃən5w ~ tʃəŋ5b]; LF [tʃin5 ~ tʃəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1/tʃəŋ5 ~ tʃin5]; SHT [tsin5]
HY [tsin5 ~ tsəŋ5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tsən5]; YL [tʃen5]; XC [tʃən5]
CT [tʃeŋ5]; WP [tsin5 ~ tsəŋ1]; YD [tsin3 ~ tsəŋ1]; SH [tsein5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; LC1 [tʃəŋ5];
LC2 [—]
NK [tein5 ~ tsā3 ~ tsā1]; AY [tsəŋ5 ~ tsā5 ~ tsā1]; SY [tein2 ~ tsā2 ~ tsā1]; XS [tʃən5 ~ tʃəŋ5];
QN [tein5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1]; ND3
[tsəŋ5 ~ tsəŋ1 ~ tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tʃang5 ~ *tʃang1] CNH *tʃəŋ1/L *tʃin1// *tʃəŋ5/L *tʃin5
Tone 1 forms refer specifically to the name of the first Lunar month. Tone 5 forms take the
more general senses of “correct, upright, etc.”
Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃā5].

zhèng 政 QYS tsjäng- CDC *ciang5/EC *tengh
BMH [chìn]; MX [tsən5]; HL [tʃən5]; SX [tʃən5]; LF [tʃin5]; LZ [tʃin5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃen5]; XC [tʃən5]
CT [tʃeŋ5]; WP [tsin5]; YD [—]; SH [tsein5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tein5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tein2]; XS [tʃən5]; QN [tein5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ5]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *tʃin5] CNH *tʃin5

zhèng 證 QYS tsjəng- CDC *cing5/EC *tingh
BMH [chìn]; MX [tsən5]; HL [tʃən5]; SX [tʃən5]; LF [tʃin5]; LZ [tʃin5]; SHT [—]
HY [tsin5]; XY [tsin5]; DB [tsən5]; YL [tʃen5]; XC [tʃən5]
CT [—]; WP [tseŋ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsein5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tein5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tein2]; XS [tʃən5]; QN [tein5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [tsəŋ5]; ND3
[tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tʃin5] CNH *tʃin5

zhī 之 QYS tsi CDC *ci1/EC *ti

BMH [tsu ~ chi]; MX [tsɿ1]; HL [tsi1]; SX [tsi1]; LF [tsɛ1]; LZ [tʃi1]; SHT [tsi1]

HY [tsɿ1]; XY [tsi1]; DB [tɛ1]; YL [tɕɿ1]; XC [tɕɿ1]

CT [tʃi1]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɿ1]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tsɿ1]; XS [tɕɿ1]; QN [tsɿ1]; ND1 [tsə1]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tsɿ1]

[OPH *tsi1 ~ *tsi1] CNH *tɕi1

The Níngdū-1 form appears to represent an extraneous apical vowel final borrowing.

zhī 支 QYS tɕje CDC *ci1/EC *ce (kye)

BMH [chi ~ ki]; MX [tsɿ1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃi1]; LZ [tʃi1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsɿ1 ~ ki1]; XY [tsi1]; DB [tsi1]; YL [tɕɿ1]; XC [tɕɿ1]

CT [tʃi1]; WP [tsɿ1w ~ tsi1]; YD [tsi1 ~ ki1]; SH [tɛi1 ~ tsɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsɿ1]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tsɿ1]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ1]; ND1 [tɛi1]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tsɿ1]

[OPH *tɕi1] CNH *tɕi1//*ki1

The second form is a classifier and is written 枝 in the Basil Mission source. In modern sources it is normally written 支. The Wǔpíng literary form, which has an apical vowel final, can theoretically be compared with the Mandarinized Yílǒng and Xīchāng forms to reconstruct an extraneous literary reading in *tɕi1.

zhī 知 QYS tje CDC *ci1/EC *tre

BMH [chi ~ ti]; MX [tsɿ1w ~ ti1b]; HL [ti1]; SX [ti1]; LF [ti1]; LZ [ti1 ~ tʃhi1]; SHT [ti1]

HY [ti1]; XY [ti1]; DB [ti1]; YL [tɕɿ1]; XC [tɕɿ1w ~ ti1b]

CT [tʃi1]; WP [ti1]; YD [ti1]; SH [ti1 ~ tsɿ1]; LC1 [ti1]; LC2 [ti1]

NK [tsɿ1]; AY [tsɿ1 ~ ti1]; SY [tsɿ1]; XS [tɕɿ1]; QN [tsɿ1]; ND1 [tsə1]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tsɿ1]

[OPH *ti1] CNH *ti1/L *tɕi1

The Níngdū-1 and 3 forms appear to represent apical vowel final loans.

zhī 汁 QYS tɕjəp CDC *cip7/EC *tip

BMH [chip]; MX [tsəp7]; HL [tʃip7]; SX [tʃip7]; LF [tʃip7]; LZ [tʃip7]; SHT [tsip7]

HY [tsip7]; XY [tsip7]; DB [tsəp7]; YL [tɕei7?]; XC [tɕɿ7?]

CT [tʃi2]; WP [tsiʔ7 ~ tsheʔ7]; YD [tsiʔ7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃi6]
NK [tse8]; AY [ts33]; SY [tse5]; XS [tʂɿʈ7]; QN [tɕiʔ7]; ND1 [tsəp7]; ND2 [tsəp7]; ND3 [tsəp7]
OPH *tʂip7 CNH *tʂip7

zhí 值 QYS (d̥jək), d̥i- CDC *jik8/EC *drik
BMH [chhít]; MX [ts'ət8]; HL [tʃ'it8]; SX [tʃ'it8]; LF [tʃ'it8]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [—]
HY [ts'it8]; XY [ts'it8]; DB [ts'ət8]; YL [tʂ'eiʔ8]; XC [tʂ'ɛʔ8]
CT [tʃ'i6]; WP [tshiʔ8]; YD [—]; SH [tsheiʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ə1]; AY [—]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [tʂ'ɿʈ8]; QN [ts'ɿʔ8]; ND1 [ts'ək8]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
[—]
[OPH *tʂ'it8] CNH *tʂ'ik8

zhí 直 QYS d̥jək CDC *jik8/EC *drik
BMH [chhít]; MX [ts'ət8]; HL [tʃ'it8]; SX [tʃ'it8]; LF [tʃ'it8]; LZ [tʃhit8]; SHT [ts'it8]
HY [—]; XY [ts'it8]; DB [ts'it8]; YL [tʂ'eiʔ8]; XC [tʂ'ɛʔ8]
CT [tʃ'i6]; WP [tshiʔ8 ~ tsheʔ8]; YD [ts'iʔ8]; SH [tsheiʔ8]; LC1 [tʃ'i5]; LC2 [tʃhɿ5]
NK [ts'ə1]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [ts'e5]; XS [tʂ'ɿʈ8]; QN [ts'ɿʔ8]; ND1 [ts'ək8]; ND2 [ts'ək8]; ND3
[ts'ək8]
OPH *tʂ'it8 CNH *tʂ'ik8

zhǐ 指 QYS t̥si:
CDC *ci3/EC *ciyx (kyiyx)
BMH [chí]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tʃi3]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [tʃi3]; SHT [tsi3]
HY [tsɿ3 ~ tsie3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʂɿ3]; XC [tʂɿ3]
CT [tʃi3]; WP [tsɿ5 ~ tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tʃi3]; LC2 [tʃi3]
NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tʂɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tɕi3]; ND2 [tɕi1]; ND3 [tɕi3 ~ tsi3]
OPH *t̥si3 CNH *t̥si3

zhǐ 旨 QYS t̥si:
CDC *ci3/EC *ciyx (kyiyx)
BMH [chí]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [—]; SX [tʃi3]; LF [tʃi3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂɿ3]; XC [tʂɿ3]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tɕɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tɕi3] CNH *tɕi3

zhǐ 紙 QYS tɕje: CDC *ci3/EC *tex
 BMH [chi]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tɕi3]; SX [tɕi3]; LF [tɕi3]; LZ [tɕi3]; SHT [tɕi3]
 HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tɕɿ3]; XC [tɕɿ3]
 CT [tɕi3]; WP [tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tɕi3]; LC2 [tɕi3]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tei3]; ND2 [tei1]; ND3 [tei3]
 OPH *tɕi3 CNH *tɕi3

zhì 至 QYS tɕi- CDC *ci5/EC *tith
 BMH [chi]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [tɕi5]; SX [tɕi5]; LF [tɕi5]; LZ [tɕi5]; SHT [tsi5]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕɿ5]; XC [tɕɿ5]
 CT [tɕi5]; WP [tsɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɿ5]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsɿ2]; XS [tɕɿ5]; QN [tsɿ5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tɕi5] CNH *tɕi5

zhì 痔 QYS ɕi: CDC *ji4/EC *drix
 BMH [chhi]; MX [—]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [tɕhi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕɿ5]; XC [tɕɿ5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i5]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [—]; SY [ts'ɿ5]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [te'i6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH ?] CNH *tɕ'i6

zhì 致 QYS ti- CDC *ci5/EC *trith
 BMH [chi]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tɕi5]; LZ [tɕi5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕɿ5]; XC [tɕɿ5]
 CT [tɕi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɿ5]; AY [—]; SY [tsɿ2]; XS [tɕɿ5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [tei5]

[OPH *tʃi5] CNH *tʃi5

zhì 制 QYS tʃjǎi- CDC *ciai5/EC *tath
BMH [chì]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [tʃi5]; SX [tʃi5]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [tʃai5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃɿ5]; XC [tʃɿ5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɿ5]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [tsɿ5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi5] CNH *tʃi5

zhì 製 QYS tʃjǎi- CDC *ciai5/EC *tath
BMH [chì]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [tʃi5]; SX [tʃi5]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃɿ5]; XC [tʃɿ5]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi5] CNH *tʃi5

zhì 智 QYS tje- CDC *ci5/EC *treh
BMH [chì]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [tʃi5]; SX [tʃi5]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [tʃi5]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃɿ5]; XC [tʃɿ5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɿ5]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsɿ1]; XS [tʃɿ5]; QN [tsɿ5]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [tei5]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi5] CNH *tʃi5

zhì 誌 QYS tʃi- CDC *ci5/EC *tih ?cih
BMH [chì]; MX [tsɿ5]; HL [—]; SX [tʃi5]; LF [tʃi5]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃɿ5]; XC [tʃɿ5]
CT [tʃi5]; WP [tsɿ5]; YD [—]; SH [tsɿ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsɿ5]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsɿ2]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [tei5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tʃi5] CNH *tʃi5

zhì 治 QYS ġi- CDC *ji6/EC *drih

BMH [chhì]; MX [ts'ɿ5 ~ ts'ɿ2]; HL [tʃ'ɿ6]; SX [tʃ'ɿ5]; LF [tʃ'ɿ6]; LZ [tʃhi5]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsɿ5]; XC [tʃɿ5]

CT [tʃ'ɿ6]; WP [tshɿ3 ~ tshɿ2]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [ts'ɿ6]; SY [ts'ɿ3]; XS [—]; QN [ts'ɿ6]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tɕ'ɿ6]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʃ'ɿ6] CNH *tʃ'ɿ6//*tʃ'ɿ2

The Tone 2 reading of this syllable is used in the special sense “to slaughter (sc. animals)”.

zhì 炙 QYS tʃjāk CDC *ciak7/EC *tak

BMH [chak]; MX [—]; HL [tʃak7]; SX [tʃak7]; LF [tʃak7]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [tsak7]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [—]

CT [—]; WP [tsaʔ7]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsaʔ7]; LC1 [tʃo6]; LC2 [tʃo2]

NK [tsa8]; AY [tsa6]; SY [tsa5]; XS [tʃak7]; QN [tsaʔ7]; ND1 [tsak7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʃak7] CNH *tʃiak7

The final of this form is reconstructed analogically on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set.

zhōng 中 QYS tʃung CDC *ciung1/EC *trung

BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ1w ~ tuŋ5b]; HL [tʃuŋ1w ~ tuŋ5b]; SX [tʃuŋ1]; LF [tʃuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1];

SHT [tsuŋ1]

HY [tsuŋ1]; XY [tsuŋ1]; DB [tsuŋ1]; YL [tʃuŋ1]; XC [tʃuŋ1]

CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [tsuŋ1]; SH [tsuŋ1]; LC1 [tʃuŋ1]; LC2 [—]†

NK [tsuŋ1]; AY [tsuŋ1]; SY [tsuŋ1]; XS [tʃuŋ1]; QN [tsuŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3

[tsuŋ1]

[OPH *tung5 ~ tʃuŋ1] CNH *tuŋ1/L *tʃiuŋ1

Both MX and HL forms mean “center”.

†FJFYZ: [tʃiəŋ1].

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ1.

zhōng 終 QYS t̚jung CDC *ciung1/EC *tung
 BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [t̚fuŋ1]; LZ [t̚fuŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t̚suŋ1]; XC [t̚suŋ1]
 CT [t̚foŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]†
 NK [tsəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsəŋ1]; XS [t̚əŋ1]; QN [tsuŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3
 [—]
 [OPH *t̚suŋ1] CNH *t̚siuŋ1
 †FJFYZ: [t̚f̊əŋ1].

zhōng 鐘 QYS t̚jwong CDC *ciung1/EC *tong
 BMH [chung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [t̚fuŋ1]; SX [t̚fuŋ1]; LF [t̚fuŋ1]; LZ [t̚fuŋ1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsuŋ1]; YL [t̚suŋ1]; XC [t̚suŋ1]
 CT [t̚foŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [t̚foŋ1]; LC2 [t̚f̊əŋ1]
 NK [tsəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsəŋ1]; XS [t̚əŋ1]; QN [tsuŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3
 [tsuŋ1]
 [OPH *t̚suŋ1] CNH *t̚siuŋ1
 Cf. Wēngyuán: t̚siuŋ1.

zhǒng 種 QYS t̚jwong: CDC *ciung3/EC *tongx
 BMH [chúng]; MX [tsuŋ3]; HL [t̚fuŋ3]; SX [t̚fuŋ3]; LF [t̚fuŋ3]; LZ [t̚fuŋ3]; SHT [tsuŋ5]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [t̚suŋ3]; XC [t̚suŋ5]
 CT [t̚foŋ3]; WP [tsuŋ3]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ3]; LC1 [t̚foŋ5]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsəŋ3]; AY [tsəŋ3]; SY [tsəŋ3]; XS [t̚əŋ3]; QN [tsuŋ3]; ND1 [tsuŋ3]; ND2 [tsuŋ3]; ND3
 [tsuŋ3]
 [OPH *t̚suŋ3] CNH *t̚siuŋ3

The reconstructed medial is based on the correspondence pattern of the set as a whole. The tone of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

zhòng 種 QYS t̚jwong- CDC *ciung5/EC *tongh
 BMH [chùng]; MX [tsuŋ5]; HL [t̚fuŋ5]; SX [t̚fuŋ5]; LF [t̚fuŋ5]; LZ [t̚fuŋ5]; SHT [tsuŋ5]

HY [tsoŋ5]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsuŋ5]†; XC [tʂuŋ5]
 CT [tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsəŋ5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [—]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *tʂuŋ5 CNH *tʂiŋ5
 †This form is from the glossary of the source and consequently lacks retroflexion.
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

zhòng 重 QYS dǐwong: CDC *jiung4/EC *drongx
 BMH [chhung]; MX [ts'uŋ5w ~ ts'uŋ1b]; HL [tʃ'uŋ5w ~ tʃ'uŋ1b]; SX [tʃ'uŋ5 ~ tʃ'uŋ1]; LF
 [tʃ'uŋ5w ~ tʃ'uŋ1b]; LZ [tʃhuŋ1]; SHT [ts'uŋ1]
 HY [ts'oŋ5]; XY [ts'oŋ1]; DB [ts'uŋ1]; YL [tʂ'uŋ5]; XC [tʂ'uŋ5]
 CT [tʃ'oŋ1 ~ tʃ'oŋ6]; WP [tshuŋ3]; YD [ts'uŋ1]; SH [tshəŋ3]; LC1 [tʃ'oŋ1]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'oŋ1]; AY [ts'əŋ5]; SY [ts'əŋ5]; XS [tʂ'oŋ1]; QN [ts'uŋ1 ~ ts'uŋ5]; ND1 [ts'uŋ1]; ND2
 [ts'uŋ1]; ND3 [ts'uŋ6]
 [OPH *tʂ'uŋ1] CNH *tʂ'iŋ1/L *tʂ'iŋ6
 Cf. Wēngyuán: ts'iŋ1; Qīngliú: tʃ'iŋ1.

zhòng 眾 QYS tǎjung- CDC *ciung5/EC *tungh
 BMH [chùŋ]; MX [tsuŋ5]; HL [tʃuŋ5]; SX [tʃuŋ5]; LF [tʃuŋ5]; LZ [tʃuŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsoŋ5]; XY [tsoŋ5]; DB [tsuŋ5]; YL [tʂuŋ5]; XC [tʂuŋ5]
 CT [tʃoŋ5]; WP [tsuŋ5]; YD [tsuŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsəŋ5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tsəŋ2]; XS [tʂəŋ5]; QN [tsuŋ5]; ND1 [tsuŋ5]; ND2 [tsuŋ5]; ND3
 [tsuŋ5]
 [OPH *tʂuŋ5] CNH *tʂiŋ5
 Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuŋ5.

zhōu 粥 QYS tǎjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk
 BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsok7 ~ tsɒk7]; XY [tsou?7]; DB [tsuk1]; YL [tʂəu?7]; XC [tʂu?7]
 CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsu?7]; YD [tsu?7]; SH [tsə?7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʂuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsuk7]
[OPH *tʂuk7] CNH *tʂiuk7

Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhōu 周 QYS tʂjəu CDC *cieu/EC *tiw
BMH [chiu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃiu1]; SX [tʃiu1 ~ tʃu1]; LF [tʃiu1]; LZ [tʃiu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsiu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəu1]; XC [tʂəu1]
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tsɛ1]; YD [tsiu1]; SH [tɕiu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiu1]; AY [tɕu1]; SY [tɕiu1]; XS [tʂu1]; QN [tɕiu1]; ND1 [tseu1]; ND2 [tsəu1]; ND3
[tsəu1]
[OPH *tʂiu1] CNH *tʂieu1

zhōu 州 QYS tʂjəu CDC *cieu/EC *tiw
BMH [chiu ~ chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃiu1]; LZ [tʃiu1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsiu1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəu1]; XC [tʂəu1]
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tsɛ1]; YD [—]; SH [tɕiu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [tɕiu1]; AY [tɕu1]; SY [tɕiu1]; XS [—]; QN [tɕiu1]; ND1 [tseu1]; ND2 [tsəu1]; ND3 [tsəu1]
[OPH *tʂiu1] CNH *tʂieu1

zhòu 晝 QYS tʂjəu- CDC *cieu5/EC *truh
BMH [chiù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃiu5]; LZ [tʃiu5]; SHT [tsiu5]
HY [tsiu5]; XY [tsiu5]; DB [tsiu5]; YL [tʂəu5]; XC [tʂəu5]
CT [tʃeu1]; WP [tsɛ5]; YD [tsiu3]; SH [tɕiu5]; LC1 [tʃeu5]; LC2 [tʃəu5]
NK [tɕiu5]; AY [tɕu5]; SY [tɕiu2]; XS [tʂu5]; QN [tɕiu5]; ND1 [tseu5]; ND2 [tsəu5]; ND3
[tsəu5]
OPH *tʂiu5 CNH *tʂieu5

zhòu 驟 QYS dzjəu- CDC *jeu6/EC *dzroh
BMH [tshéu]; MX [ts'eu3]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [—]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [ts'əu5]

CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [tɕio3]; XS [ts'əu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'eu6]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *ts'eu5] CNH *ts'eu5

zhū 豬 QYS tʃwo CDC *cie1 (~ *ciu1)/EC *tra

BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]

HY [tsy1]; XY [tsy1]; DB [tsi1]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]

CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [tʃiue1]; LC2 [tʃyɛ1]†

NK [tse1]; AY [tse1]; SY [tse1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tɕiɛ1]; ND2 [tɕiɛ1]; ND3 [tsie1]

[OPH *tʃu1] CNH *tʃiu1/*tʃie1

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [tʃyɛ1].

zhū 珠 QYS tʃju CDC *ciu1/EC *to

BMH [chu]; MX [tsu1]; HL [tʃu1]; SX [tʃu1]; LF [tʃu1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsy1]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʃu1]; XC [tʃu1]

CT [tʃu1]; WP [tu1]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsu1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃyɛ1 ~ tʃvɛ1]†

NK [tsu1]; AY [tsɿ1]; SY [tɕy1]; XS [tʃu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [—]

OPH *tʃu1 CNH *tʃiu1

†Cf. FJFYZ, LC: [tʃyɛ1].

zhú 逐 QYS dʒuk CDC *jiuk8/EC *druk

BMH [chhúk]; MX [ts'uk8]; HL [tʃ'uk8]; SX [tʃ'uk8]; LF [tʃ'uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʃuʔ7]

CT [—]; WP [tsiuʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tɕhiəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'o8]; AY [ts'o6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [tʃ'uk8]; QN [ts'uʔ8]; ND1 [ts'uk8]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʃ'uk8] CNH ?

This set as a whole does not show a recognizable correspondence pattern. A possibility is that it is a late literary loan with the non-canonical syllable form *tʃ'uk8. But even this expedient will not account for the Fújiàn line forms, which have medial -i-. Compare zhù 祝 below.

zhú 竹 QYS tʃuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *truk
BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [tsuk1]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tʃəuʔ7]; XC [tʃuʔ7]
CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3
[tsuk7]
OPH *tʃuk7 CNH *tʃiuk7
Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhú 燭 QYS tʃjwok CDC *ciuk7/EC *tok
BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk7]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]
HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃuʔ7]
CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsuʔ7]; YD [tsuʔ7]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [tʃeu6]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu8]; AY [tsɿ5]; SY [tsu5]; XS [tʃuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3
[tsuk7]
[OPH *tʃuk7] CNH *tʃiuk7
Cf. Wēngyuán: tsiuk7; Qīngliú: tʃy3.

zhǔ 主 QYS tʃju: CDC *ciu3/EC *tox
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [—]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃye3]
NK [tsu3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tɛy3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tsu3]; ND2 [tsu3]; ND3 [tsu3]
[OPH *tʃu3] CNH *tʃiu3

zhǔ 煮 QYS tʃjwo: CDC *cie3 (~ *ciu3)/EC *tax
BMH [chú]; MX [tsu3]; HL [tʃu3]; SX [tʃu3]; LF [tʃu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
HY [tsy3]; XY [tsy3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tʃu3]; XC [tʃu3]
CT [tʃu3]; WP [tu3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [tʃiue3]; LC2 [tʃye3]
NK [tse3]; AY [tse3]; SY [tse3]; XS [tʃu3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [teie3]; ND2 [teie3]; ND3 [tsie3]

[OPH *tʂu3] CNH *tʂiu3/*tʂie3

zhù 祝 QYS tʂjuk CDC *ciuk7/EC *tuk

BMH [chuk]; MX [tsuk1]; HL [tʃuk7]; SX [tʃuk7]; LF [tʃuk7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [—]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tʂəuʔ7]; XC [tʂuʔ7]

CT [tʃu2]; WP [tsəʔ7]; YD [—]; SH [tsəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tso8]; AY [—]; SY [tso5]; XS [tʂuk7]; QN [tsuʔ7]; ND1 [tsuk7]; ND2 [tsuk7]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʂuk7] CNH *tʂuk7 ?

The reconstruction comprises a syllabic shape which is not usual for the CNH system as a whole. It is possible that the word, which is of high literary register, is borrowed from some other form of Chinese. Cf. zhú 逐 above.

zhù 柱 QYS dju: CDC *jiu4/EC *drox

BMH [chhu]; MX [ts'u1]; HL [tʃ'u1]; SX [tʃ'u1]; LF [tʃ'u1]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'y5]; XY [ts'y1]; DB [ts'i1]; YL [tʂ'u3]; XC [tʂ'u2]

CT [tʃ'u6]; WP [thu1]; YD [ts'i1]; SH [tshu1w ~ tsɿ1]; LC1 [tʃ'iue1]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'u1]; AY [ts'ɿ3]; SY [tɕ'y5]; XS [tʂ'u1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [ts'u1]; ND2 [ts'u1]; ND3 [ts'u1]

[OPH *tʂ'u1] CNH *tʂ'iu1/*tʂ'iu6

zhù 苧 QYS djwo: CDC *jie4 (~ *jiu4)/EC *drax

BMH [chhu ~ chhú]; MX [—]; HL [tʃ'u1]; SX [tʃ'u1]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu1]; SHT [—]

HY [tsy1]; XY [ts'y1]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʂ'u2]

CT [tʃ'u1]; WP [thu1]; YD [—]; SH [tshu1w ~ tshɿ1]; LC1 [tʃ'iue1]; LC2 [tʃ'ye1]

NK [ts'u1 ~ ts'e1]; AY [ts'e3 ~ ts'e1]; SY [ts'e1]; XS [tʂ'u1]; QN [ts'u1]; ND1 [tɕ'ie1]; ND2 [tɕ'ie1]; ND3 [ts'ie1]

[OPH *tʂ'u1] CNH *tʂ'iu1/*tʂ'ie1

The Héyuán form irregularly lacks aspiration. This is perhaps a typographical error in the source.

zhù 助 QYS dzjwo- CDC *je6 (~ *ju6)/EC *dzrah
 BMH [tshù]; MX [ts'ɿ5]; HL [ts'u6]; SX [ts'u5]; LF [ts'ɛ5]; LZ [tʃhɔ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'uɔ6]; XY [ts'ɔ3]; DB [ts'u3]; YL [ts'i5]; XC [tʂu5]
 CT [ts'u6]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [—]; SH [tshɿ]†; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'u5]; AY [ts'u6]; SY [ts'u5]; XS [ts'ɿ5]; QN [ts'u5]; ND1 [ts'u6]; ND2 [ts'u6]; ND3
 [ts'u6]
 [OPH *ts'u6] CNH *ts'uo6
 †Tone indeterminate in the source.

zhù 著 QYS tjwo- CDC *cie5 (~ *ciu5)/EC *tah, *takh
 BMH [chù]; MX [tsu5]; HL [tʃu5]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [tʃu6]; LZ [tʃu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [—]; XC [tʂu5]
 CT [tʃu5]; WP [tu5]; YD [—]; SH [tsu5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃye5]
 NK [tsu5]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [tʂu5]; QN [—]; ND1 [tsu5]; ND2 [tsu5]; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tʂu5] CNH *tʂiu5
 The Lùfēng tone is irregular.

zhù 箸 QYS djwo- CDC *jie6 (~ *jiu6)/EC *drah
 BMH [chhù]; MX [ts'u5]; HL [tʃu6]; SX [tʃu5]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'y6]; XY [—]; DB [ts'i3]; YL [tsu5]; XC [tʂu5]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [ts'i5]; SH [—]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃye5]
 NK [—]; AY [—]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [tɕ'ie6]*; ND3 [—]
 [OPH *tʂ'u5] CNH *tʂ'iu6
 The Níngdū-2 form is said to be used for “chopstick” only by elderly speakers. It is clearly
 derived from a CNH *tʂ'ie6, which we are unable to reconstruct comparatively.

zhuān 專 QYS tsjwän CDC *cion1/EC *ton
 BMH [chon]; MX [tsɔn1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃɔn1]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsɔn1]; XC [tʂuan1]
 CT [tʃuɿ1]; WP [tsuɿ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsuɿ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kue1]

NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsõ1]; SY [tsuõ1]; XS [tʂon1]; QN [tsɔn1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3

[—]

[OPH *tʂon1] CNH *tʂuon1

zhuān 磚 QYS tʂjwǎn CDC *cion1/EC *ton

BMH [chɔn]; MX [tsɔn1]; HL [tʃon1]; SX [tʃon1]; LF [tʃon1]; LZ [tʃon1]; SHT [tsɔn1]

HY [tsuan1]; XY [tsuan1]; DB [tsɔn1]; YL [tʂon1]; XC [tʂuan1]

CT [tʃuŋ1]; WP [tsueŋ1 ~ tseŋ1]; YD [tsen1]; SH [tsuẽ1]; LC1 [kue1]; LC2 [kue1]

NK [tsoẽ1]; AY [tsõ1]; SY [tsuõ1]; XS [tʂon1]; QN [tsɔn1]; ND1 [tsoen1]; ND2 [tsuon1]; ND3

[tsuan1]

[OPH *tʂon1] CNH *tʂuon1

zhuǎn 轉 QYS tʂjwǎn: CDC *cion3/EC *tronx

BMH [chón]; MX [tsɔn3]; HL [tʃon3]; SX [tʃon3]; LF [tʃon3]; LZ [tʃon3]; SHT [tsɔn3]

HY [tsuan3]; XY [tsuan3]; DB [tsɔn3]; YL [tʂon3]; XC [tʂuan3]

CT [tʃuŋ3]; WP [tsueŋ3 ~ tseŋ3]; YD [tsen3]; SH [tsuẽ3]; LC1 [kue3]; LC2 [kue3]

NK [tsoẽ3]; AY [tsõ3]; SY [tsuõ3]; XS [tʂon3]; QN [tsɔn3]; ND1 [tsoen3]; ND2 [tsuon3]; ND3

[tsuan3]

[OPH *tʂon3] CNH *tʂuon3

zhuàn 賺 QYS ɖǎm- CDC *dzan6 ~ *dzuan6/EC *dremh

BMH [tshàn]; MX [ts'on5]; HL [ts'on6]; SX [ts'on5]; LF [ts'on6]; LZ [tʃhan5]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'an6]; XY [ts'an3]; DB [ts'an3]; YL [sɔn1]; XC [tʂuan5]

CT [—]; WP [tshaŋ3]; YD [ts'an5]; SH [tshã3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [ts'ã5]; AY [ts'ã6]; SY [ts'ã5]; XS [ts'an5]; QN [ts'an5]; ND1 [ts'an6]; ND2 [ts'an6]; ND3

[ts'am6]

[OPH *ts'on5] CNH *ts'om6

zhuāng 妝、粧 QYS tʂjang CDC *cong1/EC *—

BMH [tsong]; MX [—]; HL [tson1]; SX [tson1]; LF [tson1]; LZ [—]; SHT [tson1]

HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsəŋ1]; XC [tɕəŋ1]
CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
NK [—]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [—]; XS [—]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsong1] CNH *tsəŋ1

zhuāng 裝 QYS tsjang CDC *cong1/EC *tsrang
BMH [tsong]; MX [tsəŋ1]; HL [tsəŋ1]; SX [tsəŋ1]; LF [tsəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1]; SHT [ts'əŋ1]
HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsəŋ1]; YL [tsəŋ1]; XC [tɕəŋ1]
CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [—]; YD [tsəŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tʃəŋ1]
NK [tsɔ̃1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsɔ̃1]; XS [tsəŋ1]; QN [tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3
[tsəŋ1]
OPH *tsong1 CNH *tsəŋ1

The initial of the Song Him Tong form is irregularly aspirated.

zhuāng 莊 QYS tsjang CDC *cong1/EC *tsrang
BMH [tsong]; MX [tsəŋ1]; HL [tsəŋ1]; SX [tsəŋ1]; LF [tsəŋ1]; LZ [tʃəŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsəŋ1]; XC [tɕəŋ1]
CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [tsəŋ1]; YD [tsəŋ1]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsəŋ1]
NK [tsɔ̃1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsɔ̃1]; XS [tsəŋ1]; QN [tsəŋ1]; ND1 [tsəŋ1]; ND2 [tsəŋ1]; ND3 [—]
[OPH *tsong1] CNH *tsəŋ1

zhuàng 壯 QYS tsjang- CDC *cong5/EC *tsrangh
BMH [tsòŋ]; MX [tsəŋ5]; HL [tsəŋ5]; SX [tsəŋ5]; LF [tsəŋ5]; LZ [tʃəŋ5]; SHT [tsəŋ5]
HY [tsəŋ5]; XY [tsəŋ5]; DB [tsəŋ5]; YL [—]; XC [tɕəŋ5]
CT [tsəŋ5]; WP [tsəŋ5]; YD [tsəŋ3]; SH [tsəŋ5]; LC1 [tsəŋ5]; LC2 [tsəŋ5]
NK [tsɔ̃5]; AY [tsəŋ5]; SY [tsɔ̃2]; XS [tsəŋ5]; QN [tsəŋ5]; ND1 [tsəŋ5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsəŋ5]
[OPH *tsong5] CNH *tsəŋ5

zhuàng 狀 QYS dzjang- CDC *jong6/EC *dzrangh
BMH [tshòŋ]; MX [ts'əŋ5]; HL [ts'əŋ6]; SX [ts'əŋ5]; LF [tʃ'əŋ6]; LZ [tʃhəŋ5]; SHT [—]

HY [ts'ɤŋ6]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tɕɤŋ5]; XC [tɕɤŋ5]
 CT [ts'ɤŋ6]; WP [—]; YD [ts'ɤŋ5]; SH [tshɤŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɕ5]; AY [ts'ɤŋ6]; SY [ts'ɕ5]; XS [ts'ɤŋ5]; QN [ts'ɤŋ6]; ND1 [ts'ɤŋ6]; ND2 [ts'ɤŋ6];
 ND3 [—]
 [OPH *ts'ong6] CNH *ts'ɤŋ6

zhuàng 撞 QYS ǰǎŋ- CDC *jong6/EC *drongh
 BMH [tshòŋ]; MX [ts'ɤŋ5]; HL [ts'ɤŋ6]; SX [ts'ɤŋ5]; LF [—]; LZ [tʃhɤŋ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'ɤŋ1]; XC [tɕ'ɤŋ5]
 CT [ts'ɤŋ6]; WP [tshɤŋ3]; YD [tsɤŋ5]; SH [tshɤŋ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [ts'ɤŋ6]
 NK [ts'ɕ5]; AY [ts'ɤŋ6]; SY [ts'ɕ5]; XS [ts'ɤŋ5]; QN [ts'ɤŋ6]; ND1 [ts'ɤŋ6]; ND2 [ts'ɤŋ6];
 ND3 [ts'ɤŋ6]
 [OPH *ts'ong6] CNH *ts'ɤŋ6
 Cf. Qīngliú: [tʃ'iɕ6].

The Qīngliú form is anomalous in that its initial is not commensurate with those of the other forms in the set. How and where it arose is unclear.

zhuī 追 QYS tʃwi CDC *cui1/EC *truy
 BMH [chui ~ tui]; MX [tsui1]; HL [tʃui1w ~ tui1b]; SX [tʃui1]; LF [tʃui1]; LZ [tʃui1]; SHT [—]
 HY [tsui1]; XY [tsui1]; DB [tsei1]; YL [—]; XC [tɕuei1]
 CT [tʃue1]; WP [tse1]; YD [tsei1]; SH [tsei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsue1]; AY [tse1]; SY [tsue1]; XS [tɕi1]; QN [tsui1]; ND1 [tsui1]; ND2 [tsui1]; ND3 [tsui1]
 [OPH *tui1] CNH *tui1/L *tɕiui1
 Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsiui1].

zhuī 錐 QYS tɕwi CDC *cui1/EC *tuy
 BMH [chui]; MX [tsui1]; HL [—]; SX [—]; LF [tʃui1]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [tsuei1]; XC [tɕuei1]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [—]; SH [tsei1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsue1]; AY [—]; SY [tsue1]; XS [tɕi1]; QN [—]; ND1 [—]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [—]

[OPH *tʃui1] CNH *tʃiui1

The final of this form is reconstructed on the basis of the correspondence profile of the set as a whole.

zhǔn 准 QYS tʃjwen: CDC *ciun3/EC *tunx

BMH [chún]; MX [tsun3]; HL [tʃun3]; SX [tʃun3]; LF [tʃun3]; LZ [—]; SHT [—]

HY [tsun3]; XY [tsun3]; DB [tsən3]; YL [tʃun3]; XC [tʃuən3]

CT [tʃeŋ3]; WP [tʃeŋ3]; YD [—]; SH [tʃeŋ3]; LC1 [kueŋ3]; LC2 [kueŋ3]

NK [tʃeŋ3]; AY [tsən3]; SY [tʃeŋ3]; XS [tʃən3]; QN [tsun3]; ND1 [tsun3]; ND2 [tsun3]; ND3 [tsun3]

[OPH *tʃun3] CNH *tʃiun3

Cf. Wēngyuán [tʃiun3].

zhuō 桌 QYS (tʃak) CDC —/EC —

BMH [tsok]; MX [tsək7]; HL [tsok7]; SX [tsok7]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃək7]; SHT [—]

HY [tsək7]; XY [ts'ək7]; DB [ts'ək7]; YL [tʃək7]; XC [tʃək7]

CT [tso2]; WP [tsək7]; YD [tsək7]; SH [tso7]; LC1 [tsu6]; LC2 [—]

NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; XS [tsək7]; QN [tso7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsək7]

[OPH *tsok7] CNH *tsok7

zhuō 捉 QYS tʃak CDC *cok1/EC *tsrok

BMH [tsok]; MX [tsək7]; HL [—]; SX [tsok7b]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃuk7]; SHT [tsuk7]

HY [tsək7]; XY [tsək7]; DB [tsək7]; YL [—]; XC [tʃək7]

CT [tso2]; WP [tsək7]; YD [tsək7]; SH [tso7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; XS [tsək7]; QN [tso7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsək7]; ND3 [tsək7]

[OPH *tsok7] CNH *tsok7

zhuó 著 QYS tʃak “to put on, wear (sc. clothing)” CDC *ciok8/EC *trak

BMH [chok]; MX [tsək7]; HL [tʃok7]; SX [tʃok7]; LF [tʃok7]; LZ [tʃək7]; SHT [tsək7]

HY [tsɒk7]; XY [tsɒk7]; DB [tsɒk8]; YL [tʂɔʔ7]; XC [tʂɔʔ7]
 CT [tʃo2]; WP [tsɔʔ7]; YD [tsɔʔ7]; SH [tsoʔ7]; LC1 [tʃu6]; LC2 [tʃu6]
 NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; XS [tʂɒk7]; QN [tsoʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsɒk7]; ND3
 [tsɒk7]
 [OPH *tʂok7] CNH *tʂok7

zǐ 子 QYS tsi: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsix
 BMH [tsí]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tsĩ3]; SX [tsĩ3]; LF [tse3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [tsu3]
 HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsu3]; DB [tɛ3]; YL [tsɿ3]; XC [tsɿ3]
 CT [tsi3]; WP [tsɿ3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tsĩ3]; LC2 [tsɿ3]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsɿ3]; SY [tsɿ3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tsɿ3]; ND1 [tsə3]; ND2 [tsə3]; ND3 [tsə3]
 OPH *tsi3 CNH *tsi3

zǐ 姊 QYS tsi: CDC *tsi3/EC *tsiyx
 BMH [tsí]; MX [tsi3]; HL [tsi3]; SX [tsi3]; LF [tse3]; LZ [—]; SHT [tsi3]
 HY [tsɿ3]; XY [tsi3]; DB [tsi3]; YL [tɛi3]; XC [tɛi3]
 CT [tsi3]; WP [tsi3]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3]; LC1 [tsĩ3]; LC2 [tsɿ3]
 NK [tsɿ3]; AY [tsi3]; SY [tɛi3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tɛi3]; ND1 [tɛi3]; ND2 [tɛi1]; ND3 [tsi3]
 [OPH *tsi3] CNH *tsi3/*tsi3

zì 自 QYS dzi- CDC *dzi6/EC *dzith
 BMH [tshù]; MX [ts'ɿ5 ~ ts'ɿ2]; HL [ts'ĩ6]; SX [ts'ĩ5]; LF [ts'ɛ6]; LZ [tʃhu5]; SHT [ts'u5]
 HY [ts'ĩ6]; XY [ts'u3]; DB [t'ɛ3]; YL [ts'ɿ5]; XC [ts'ɿ5]
 CT [ts'ĩ6]; WP [tshɿ3]; YD [ts'ĩ5]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'ɿ5 ~ ts'ə5]; AY [ts'ɿ6]; SY [sɿ5]; XS [ts'ɿ5]; QN [ts'ɿ6]; ND1 [ts'ə6 ~ tɛ'ĩ6]; ND2 [ts'ə6];
 ND3 [ts'ĩ6]
 [OPH *ts'ĩ6] CNH *ts'ĩ6

zì 字 QYS dzi- CDC *dzi6/EC *dzih
 BMH [tshù ~ sù]; MX [sɿ5]; HL [si5]; SX [si5]; LF [sɛ6]; LZ [ʃu5]; SHT [su5]

HY [ts'i6]; XY [su3]; DB [ɬɛ3]; YL [sɿ3]; XC [sɿ5]
CT [ts'i6]; WP [tshɿ3 ~ sɿ3]; YD [ts'i5]; SH [tshɿ3]; LC1 [ts'i6]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts'ɿ5]; AY [sɿ3]; SY [ts'ɿ5]; XS [sɿ5]; QN [sɿ6]; ND1 [ts'ə6]; ND2 [ts'ə6]; ND3 [ts'ə6]
[OPH *si6] CNH *si6/*ts'i6

zōng 宗 QYS tsuong CDC *tsung1/EC *'tsung
BMH [tsung]; MX [tsuŋ1]; HL [tsuŋ1]; SX [tsuŋ1]; LF [tsuŋ1]; LZ [tʃuŋ1]; SHT [—]
HY [tsəŋ1]; XY [tsəŋ1]; DB [tsuŋ1]; YL [tsuŋ1]; XC [tsuŋ1]
CT [tsəŋ1]; WP [tsuŋ1]; YD [—]; SH [tsəŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsəŋ1]
NK [tsəŋ1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsəŋ1]; XS [tsəŋ1]; QN [tsuŋ1]; ND1 [tsuŋ1]; ND2 [tsuŋ1]; ND3
[tsuŋ1]
[OPH *tsung1] CNH *tsuŋ1

zǒu 走 QYS tsəu: CDC *tseu3/EC *'tsox
BMH [tséu]; MX [tsəu3]; HL [tseu3]; SX [tseu3]; LF [tseu3]; LZ [tʃəu3]; SHT [tsiu3]
HY [tsuai3]; XY [tsəu3]; DB [tsɛi3]; YL [tsai3]; XC [tsəu3]
CT [tseu3]; WP [tsɛ3]; YD [tseu3]; SH [tsə3]; LC1 [tseu3]; LC2 [—]
NK [ts33]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tɕio3]; XS [tsəu3]; QN [tseu3]; ND1 [tseu3]; ND2 [tsəu3]; ND3
[tsəu3]
OPH *tseu3 CNH *tseu3

zū 租 QYS tsuo CDC *tsu1/EC *'tsa
BMH [tsu]; MX [tsɿ1]; HL [tsu1]; SX [tsu1]; LF [tsɛ1]; LZ [tʃu1]; SHT [tsu1]
HY [tsu1]; XY [tsu1]; DB [tsu1]; YL [tsu1]; XC [tsu1]
CT [tsu1]; WP [—]; YD [tsi1]; SH [tsɿ1b]; LC1 [tsi1]; LC2 [—]
NK [tsu1]; AY [tsu1]; SY [tsu1]; XS [tsu1]; QN [tsu1]; ND1 [tsu1]; ND2 [tsu1]; ND3 [tsu1]
[OPH *tsu1] CNH *tsu1

zú 足 QYS tsjwok CDC *tsiuk7/EC *tsok
 BMH [tsiuk]; MX [tsiuk7]; HL [tsiuk7]; SX [tsiuk7]; LF [tsiuk7]; LZ [tʃiuk7]; SHT [tsuk7 ~
 tsiuk7]
 HY [tsok7]; XY [tsouʔ7]; DB [tsuk7]; YL [tɛyʔ7]; XC [tɛiuʔ7]
 CT [tsu2]; WP [tsiuʔ7]; YD [tsiuʔ7]; SH [tɛiəʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsɛu6]
 NK [tɛiu8]; AY [tsi6]; SY [tɛiu5]; XS [—]; QN [tɛiuʔ7]; ND1 [tɛiuk7]; ND2 [tɛiuk7]; ND3
 [tsiuk7]
 [OPH *tsiuk7] CNH *tsiuk7

zú 卒 QYS tswət CDC *tsut7/EC *'tsut
 BMH [tsut]; MX [tsut7]; HL [tsut7]; SX [tsut7]; LF [tsut7]; LZ [tʃut7]; SHT [tsut7]
 HY [tsut7]; XY [tsut7]; DB [tsət7]; YL [—]; XC [tɛiuʔ7]
 CT [—]; WP [—]; YD [tsut7]; SH [tseiʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsəʔ7]; AY [ts33]; SY [tsuo5]; XS [tsət7]; QN [tsuiʔ7]; ND1 [tsuit7]; ND2 [tsut7]; ND3
 [tsut7]
 [OPH *tsut7] CNH *tsut7

zú 族 QYS dzuk CDC *dzuk8/EC *'dzok
 BMH [tshúk]; MX [ts'uk8]; HL [ts'uk8]; SX [ts'uk8]; LF [ts'uk8]; LZ [tʃhuk8]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'uʔ8]; XC [tɛ'iuʔ7]
 CT [ts'u6]; WP [tshuʔ8]; YD [ts'uʔ8]; SH [tshəʔ8]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [—]; AY [ts'u6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [ts'uk8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'uk8]; ND2 [ts'uk8]; ND3 [—]
 OPH *ts'uk8 CNH *ts'uk8

The final of the Xīchāng form is irregular.

zǔ 祖 QYS tsuo: CDC *tsu3/EC *tsax
 BMH [tsú]; MX [tsɿ3]; HL [tsu3]; SX [tsu3]; LF [tsɛ3 ~ tsu3]; LZ [tʃu3]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [tsu3]; DB [tsu3]; YL [tsu3]; XC [tsu3]
 CT [tsu3]; WP [—]; YD [tsi3]; SH [tsɿ3b ~ tsu3w]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsɿ3]
 NK [tsu3]; AY [tsu3]; SY [tsu3]; XS [tsɿ3]; QN [tsu3]; ND1 [tsu3]; ND2 [tsu3]; ND3 [tsu3]

[OPH *tsu3] CNH *tsu3

zuǐ 嘴 QYS tsjwe: CDC *tsui3/EC —

BMH [tsúi ~ chòì]; MX [tsui3w ~ tsoi5b]; HL [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; SX [tʃoi3 ~ tsui3]; LF [tʃoi5 ~ tsui3]; LZ [tʃoi3 ~ tʃui3]; SHT [tsui3]

HY [tsuai5]; XY [tsuai5]; DB [tsui5]; YL [tsui5 ~ tsei3]; XC [tsui5]

CT [tʃue5]; WP [tse3 ~ tsi5 ~ tsuæ5]; YD [tsei3]; SH [tsue5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [kvi5]

NK [tsuæ5]; AY [tsue5]; SY [tey2]; XS [tʃoi5]; QN [tsui5 ~ tsui3]; ND1 [tsoe5]; ND2 [tsuei5]; ND3 [tsuai5]

[OPH *tʃoi3] CNH *tʃoi5 ~ *tʃoi3/L *tsui3

Two entirely different etyma for “mouth” are represented in this set. The first, which has variants in Tones 5 and 3, is the popular, autochthonous word. Only the second which is literary in origin, is validly to be associated with the graph 嘴.

zuì 最 QYS tswâi- CDC *tsui5/EC *ʔtsuth

BMH [tsùi]; MX [tsui5]; HL [tsui5]; SX [tsui5]; LF [tsui5]; LZ [tʃui5]; SHT [tsui5]

HY [tsui5]; XY [tsui5]; DB [tsei5]; YL [tsuei5]; XC [tsuei5]

CT [tsue5]; WP [tse3]; YD [tsei3]; SH [tsei5]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]

NK [tsue5]; AY [tse5 ~ tse1]; SY [tsue2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tsui5]; ND1 [tsui5]; ND2 [tsui5]; ND3 [tsui5]

[OPH *tsui5] CNH *tsui5/*tsui5

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsui5].

zuì 醉 QYS tswi- CDC *tsui5/EC *tsuth

BMH [tsùi]; MX [tsui5]; HL [tsui5]; SX [tsui5]; LF [tsui5]; LZ [tʃui5]; SHT [tsui5]

HY [tsui5]; XY [tsui5]; DB [tsei5]; YL [tsuei5]; XC [tsuei5]

CT [tsi5]; WP [tse3]; YD [tsei3]; SH [tsei5]; LC1 [tsi5]; LC2 [tsɿ5]

NK [tey5]; AY [tse5]; SY [tɕi2]; XS [tsi5]; QN [tsui5]; ND1 [tɕi5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tsi5]

[OPH *tsui5] CNH *tsui5

Cf. Wēngyuán: [tsui5].

zuì 罪 QYS dzuâi: CDC *dzuoi4/EC *dzuyx
 BMH [tshùì]; MX [ts'ui5w ~ ts'oi1b]; HL [ts'ui6]; SX [ts'ui5]; LF [ts'ui6]; LZ [tʃhui5]; SHT
 [—]
 HY [ts'uai6]; XY [ts'ui3]; DB [ts'ei3]; YL [ts'uei3]; XC [ts'uei5]
 CT [ts'ue6]; WP [tshe3]; YD [—]; SH [tshei3]; LC1 [ts'ui6]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'æ5]; AY [ts'e6]; SY [tsue2]; XS [ts'i5]; QN [ts'ui6]; ND1 [ts'ui6]; ND2 [ts'ui6]; ND3
 [ts'ui6]
 OPH *ts'ui6 CNH *ts'uoì6/L *ts'ui6
 Cf. Wēngyuán: [ts'ui6].

The Wēngyuán form is a probable back formation from a borrowed *ts'ui5.

zūn 尊 QYS tsuən CDC *tsun1/EC *tsun
 BMH [tsun]; MX [tsun1]; HL [tsun1]; SX [tsun1]; LF [tsun1]; LZ [tʃun1]; SHT [tsun1]
 HY [tsun1]; XY [tsun1]; DB [tsən1]; YL [tsun1]; XC [tsən1]
 CT [tseŋ1]; WP [tseŋ1]; YD [tsun1]; SH [tseŋ1]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tsɛ̃1]; AY [tsəŋ1]; SY [tsɛ̃1]; XS [tsən1]; QN [tsun1]; ND1 [tsun1]; ND2 [tsun1]; ND3
 [tsun1]
 [OPH *tsun1] CNH *tsun1

zuó 昨 QYS dzâk CDC *dzok8/EC *dzak
 BMH [tshok]; MX [ts'ok8]; HL [ts'ok8]; SX [ts'ok8]; LF [ts'ok7]; LZ [tʃok7]; SHT [—]
 HY [—]; XY [—]; DB [—]; YL [ts'aʔ8]; XC [ts'oʔ8]
 CT [—]; WP [tsɔʔ7 ~ tshia2]; YD [ts'a1]; SH [tɕhia2]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsha6]
 NK [ts'o1]; AY [ts'o6]; SY [ts'o5]; XS [ts'ok8]; QN [—]; ND1 [ts'ok8]; ND2 [—]; ND3
 [ts'ok8]
 [OPH *ts'ok8] CNH *ts'ok8/*ts'ia2

The second reconstructed form is curious and may represent an etymologically different word from the first. The Yǒngdīng and Liánchéng-2 forms may be related to this *ts'ia2 in some way. The Lìzhīzhuāng form is irregular in both initial and tone. It may be a loan from some other dialect. The Lùfēng form is also tonally irregular.

zuǒ 左 QYS tsâ: CDC *tso3/EC *—
 BMH [tsó]; MX [tsǝ3]; HL [tso3]; SX [tso3]; LF [tso3]; LZ [tʃǝ3]; SHT [tsǝ3]
 HY [tsuǝ3]; XY [tsǝ3]; DB [tso3]; YL [tsəu3]; XC [tso3]
 CT [tso3]; WP [tso3]; YD [tsou3]; SH [tsu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [tso3]; AY [tso3]; SY [tso3]; XS [tsǝ3]; QN [tso3]; ND1 [tso3]; ND2 [tso3]; ND3 [tso3]
 [OPH *tso3] CNH *tso3

zuò 坐 QYS dzuâ:, dzuâ- CDC *dzo4/EC *dzoyx
 BMH [tsho ~ tshò]; MX [ts'ǝ5w ~ ts'ǝ1b]; HL [ts'o1]; SX [ts'o1]; LF [ts'o1 ~ ts'o6]; LZ [tʃhǝ1];
 SHT [ts'ǝ1]
 HY [ts'uǝ5]; XY [ts'ǝ1]; DB [ts'o1]; YL [ts'əu1 ~ ts'əu3 ~ ts'əu5]; XC [ts'o5]
 CT [ts'o1 ~ ts'o6]; WP [tsho1]; YD [ts'ou1]; SH [tshu1]; LC1 [ts'u1]; LC2 [ts'ɰ1]
 NK [ts'o1]; AY [ts'o3]; SY [ts'o1]; XS [ts'ǝ1]; QN [ts'o1]; ND1 [ts'o1]; ND2 [ts'o1]; ND3
 [ts'o1]
 OPH *ts'o1 CNH *ts'o1/*ts'o6

zuò 座 QYS dzuâ- CDC *dzo6/EC *'dzoyh
 BMH [tshò]; MX [ts'ǝ5]; HL [ts'o6]; SX [ts'o5]; LF [ts'o6]; LZ [tʃhǝ5]; SHT [—]
 HY [ts'uǝ5]; XY [ts'ǝ3]; DB [ts'ǝ3]; YL [ts'əu3]; XC [tso5]
 CT [ts'o6]; WP [tsho3]; YD [ts'ou5]; SH [tshu3]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [—]
 NK [ts'o1]; AY [ts'o6]; SY [ts'o1]; XS [ts'ǝ5]; QN [ts'o1]; ND1 [ts'o6]; ND2 [ts'o6]; ND3
 [ts'o6]
 [OPH *ts'o6] CNH *ts'o6/*ts'o1

zuò 作 QYS tsâk CDC *tsok7/EC *'tsak
 BMH [tsok]; MX [tsǝk7]; HL [tsok7]; SX [tsok7]; LF [tsok7]; LZ [tʃǝk7]; SHT [tsǝk7]
 HY [tsǝk7]; XY [tsǝk7]; DB [tsǝk7]; YL [—]; XC [tsoʔ7]
 CT [tso2]; WP [tsǝʔ7]; YD [tsǝʔ7]; SH [tsoʔ7]; LC1 [—]; LC2 [tsǝ2 ~ tsuǝ6]
 NK [tso8]; AY [tso6]; SY [tso5]; XS [tsǝk7]; QN [tsoʔ7]; ND1 [tsok7]; ND2 [tsǝk7]; ND3
 [tsǝk7]

[OPH *tsok7] CNH *tsok7

zuò 做 QYS (tsuo-, tsâ-) CDC *tsuo5/EC *tsakh

BMH [tsò]; MX [—]; HL [tso5]; SX [tso5]; LF [tso5]; LZ [tʃɔ̌5]; SHT [tsɔ̌5]

HY [tsu5]; XY [tsɔ̌5]; DB [tso5]; YL [tsəu5]; XC [tsoʔ7]

CT [tso5]; WP [tso5 ~ tsɔ̌5]; YD [tsou3]; SH [tsu5]; LC1 [tsu5]; LC2 [tsu5]

NK [tso5]; AY [tso5]; SY [tso1]; XS [tsɔ̌5]; QN [tso5]; ND1 [tso5]; ND2 [—]; ND3 [tso5]

OPH *tso5 CNH *tso5

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