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De–Med

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Gàn 贛 Dialects

1. THE DISTRIBUTION AND AREAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE GÀN DIALECTS

The Gàn 贛 dialects are one of the major dialect groups of Sinitic. They are mainly spoken in the middle and lower reaches of the Gàn River, the drainage basin of the Fǔ 撫 River and the surrounding areas of Póyáng 鄱陽 Lake in Jiāngxī province, as well as the eastern part of Húnán province. Other Gàn dialect speaking areas can also be found in southeastern Húběi, southern Ānhuī, the northwestern corner of Fújiàn, and the southwestern corner of Húnán.

According to *Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó Xíngzhèng Qūhuà Jiǎncè* 中華人民共和國行政區劃簡冊 ‘A handbook of the Administrative Divisions of the People’s Republic of China’ (Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó Mínhèngbù 2010), the entire population of the Gàn dialect speakers is estimated to be 48 million, including 29 million in Jiāngxī, 9 million in Húnán, 5.3 million in Húběi, 4.5 million in Ānhuī, and 280 thousand in Fújiàn.

The *Language Atlas of China* (Australian Academy of the Humanities and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1987, map B11) further divides the Gàn dialects into nine areal subgroups. Xiè (2006), based on the previous analysis reflected in *Language Atlas of China* and on the field research results of the Gàn dialects over the past 20 years, proposes a re-classification of the Gàn-speaking area. His classification is based

primarily on phonological features and their relationship with the phonological categories of Middle Chinese; however, there are some exceptions to the phonological criteria because geography also plays a role in the areal classification. The latest sub-classification and distribution of the Gàn dialects are as follows:

1. Chāngdū 昌都 subgroup: Including eleven cities or counties in Jiāngxī, namely Nánchāng 南昌 City, Nánchāng, Xīnjiàn 新建, Yǒngxiū 永修, Dé’ān 德安, Xīngzǐ 星子, Dūchāng 都昌, Húkǒu 湖口, Ānyì 安義, Wǔníng 武寧, and Xiūshuǐ 修水. Dialects of this areal subgroup have tonal contrasts conditioned by a distinction between aspirated and unaspirated initials, except for the dialect of Wǔníng;
2. Yíliú 宜瀏 subgroup: Including thirteen cities or counties in Jiāngxī, which are Yíchūn 宜春 city, Fēnyí 分宜, Yífēng 宜豐, Shàngāo 上高, Xīngàn 新干, Xīnyú 新余 city, Fèngxīn 奉新, Zhāngshù 樟樹, Jìngān 靖安, Gāo’ān 高安, Tónggǔ 銅鼓, Fēngchéng 豐城, and Wànzǎi 萬載, as well as one county in Húnán, Liúyáng 瀏陽. These dialects distinguish two types of open syllables with Middle Chinese (MC) sibilant initials and high vowels. For example, 子 ‘son’ and 紙 ‘paper’, which are homophonous in most Gàn dialects, are pronounced as tsɿ and tʂɿ respectively in Liúyáng dialect;
3. Jíchá 吉茶 subgroup: Including fifteen cities or counties in Jiāngxī, which are Jí’ān 吉安 city, Jí’ān, Jíshuǐ 吉水, Xiájiāng 峽江, Tàihé

泰和, Yǒngfēng 永豐, Ānfú 安福, Liánhuā 蓮花, Píngxiāng 萍鄉 city, Shàngli 上栗, Lúxī 蘆溪, Yǒngxīn 永新, Jǐnggāngshān 井崗山 city, Wàn'ān 萬安, and Suìchuān 遂川, as well as four counties in Húnán, which are Yōu 攸, Cháolíng 茶陵, Yánlíng 炎陵, and Lílíng 醴陵. Dialects of the Jíchá subgroup are rich in nasalized finals, with the two exceptions of Jí'ān and Xiájiāng; they have fewer finals, and in most dialects, the entering (*rù* 入) tone has merged with other tonal categories;

4. Fǔguǎng 撫廣 subgroup: Including twelve cities or counties in Jiāngxī, which are Fǔzhōu 撫州 city, Chóngren 崇仁, Yíhuáng 宜黃, Lè'ān 樂安, Nánchéng 南城, Líchuān 黎川, Zìxī 資溪, Jīnxī 金溪, Dōngxiāng 東鄉, Jìnxian 進賢, Nánfēng 南豐, and Guǎngchāng 廣昌, as well as two counties in Fújiàn, Jiànníng 建寧, and Tàiníng 泰寧. Dialects of the Fǔguǎng subgroup have the following features:

- There is a t^h - > h- change before non-high vowels in the colloquial stratum;
- In the dialects which have a contrast between upper and lower register of the entering tone, the pitch value of the upper entering tone is lower than that of the lower one;
- Some words with voiced obstruent initials in the rising (*shǎng* 上) tone in MC have merged with words in the upper level (*yīnpíng* 陰平) tone; in some dialects of this subgroup, some words with sonorant initials in the rising tone have merged with words in the upper level tone;
- Dialects of Dōngxiāng, Zìxī, Fǔzhōu city, Líchuān, Nánfēng, and Guǎngchāng retain all the six ending consonants (-p -t -k -m -n -ŋ) of Middle Chinese, which is rarely attested in other subgroups of Gàn dialects; and
- MC *l- initial (*lái* 來) corresponds to [t-] before high front vowels.

5. Yīngyì 鷹弋 subgroup: Including twelve cities or counties in Jiāngxī, which are Yīngtán 鷹潭 city, Guìxī 貴溪 city, Yújiāng 餘江, Wànnián 萬年, Lèpíng 樂平 city, Jǐngdézhèn 景德鎮 city, Yúgàn 餘干, Póyáng, Péngzé 彭澤, Héngfēng 橫峰, Yiyáng 弋陽, and Yánshān 鉛山. Dialects of this subgroup have aspirated consonant [k^h -] or [t^h -] for the

initial of the third-person singular pronoun; the first-person pronoun is 'a' or 'a li'. Most dialects of this subgroup lack the colloquial readings -ang, -iang, or -uang for the *Gěng* 梗 rime group words that are commonly seen in other Gàn subgroups;

6. Dàtōng 大通 subgroup: Including nine cities or counties in Húběi, which are Dàyě 大冶 city, Xiánníng 咸寧 city, Jiāyú 嘉魚, Chìbì 赤壁 city, Chóngyáng 崇陽, Tōngchéng 通城, Tōngshān 通山, Yángxīn 陽新, and Jiānlì 監利, as well as four cities or counties in Húnán, which are Píngjiāng 平江, Línxiāng 臨湘 city, Yuèyáng 岳陽, and Huáróng 華容. In words derived from the MC *Mú* 模 rime, dialects of the Dàtōng subgroup have a contrast between -au and -u in words with dental initials vs. those with bilabial or velar initials. A few dialects also have final contrasts between velar and non-velar initials. There are some dialects around northwestern Jiāngxī having voiced obstruent initials which correspond to voiceless aspirated ones of other Gàn dialects;
7. Lěizī 耒資 subgroup: Including five cities or counties in Húnán, which are Lěiyáng 耒陽 city, Chángníng 常寧 city, Ānrén 安仁, Yǒngxīng 永興, and Zìxīng 資興. Dialects of this subgroup have the same pronunciation [pā] for the words *bān* 搬 'move' and *bān* 班 'class', and the same pronunciation [kuan] for *guān* 官 'officer' and *guān* 關 'close, used as a surname'; in these pairs the former derives from MC syllables with rounded elements and has a rounded vowel in most Gàn dialects, while the latter has a non-rounded vowel in most Gàn dialects;
8. Dòngsuī 洞綏 subgroup: Including three counties in Húnán, which are Dòngkǒu 洞口, Suīníng 綏寧, and Lóngshí 隆回. In the dialects of this subgroup, like those of the Fǔguǎng subgroup, there is a t^h - > h- change before a non-high vowel in the colloquial stratum; however, unlike in those dialects, MC *l- does not correspond to /t-/ before high front vowels; and
9. Huáiyuè 懷岳 subgroup: Including nine cities or counties in Ānhuī, which are Huáiníng 懷寧, Yuèxī 岳西, Qiánshān 潛山, Tàihú 太湖, Wàngjiāng 望江, Sùsōng 宿松, Dōngzhì

東至, Shítái 石台, and Chízhōu 池州 city. These dialects have a change -om > -on after velar initials; the MC entering tone words with voiced obstruent initials have merged with the lower departing (*yángqù* 陽去) tone, and those with voiceless initials have merged with the upper departing (*yīnqù* 陰去) tone with only a few exceptions. In the dialects which the MC entering tone is retained as a tonal category, the stop endings have disappeared.

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GÀN AND HAKKA DIALECTS

Although the term Gàn has long existed as a geographic designation for the varieties of Chinese spoken in Jiāngxī province, the Gàn dialects were not widely accepted as a distinct group for a long time in the history of Chinese dialectology, owing to the fact that the Gàn and Hakka dialects agree in having voiceless aspirated reflexes in all tones for the MC voiced stop and affricate initials. The first scientific classification of the Chinese dialects was proposed by Li (1973 [1937]), and he made the development of the MC initials the cornerstone of his classification of Chinese dialects. Therefore, it was natural in his scheme that Gàn and Hakka formed one single dialect group (termed the Gàn-Hakka group). Shortly afterwards, Lo (1992 [1940], 1989 [1950]), based on the migration route of Hakka ancestors described by Luó Xiānglín (1992 [1933]), and on his investigation into Línchuān 臨川, a Gàn dialect in central-eastern Jiāngxī, proposed seven phonological features shared by Línchuān and Méixiàn 梅縣 Hakka, and concluded that “part of the dialects of Jiāngxī can be representative of the dialects spoken by Hakka ancestors who settled down in Jiāngxī and didn’t migrate southward”, and that “these two dialects probably represent two divisions of one group in the larger groupings in the Chinese dialects” (Lo 1989 [1950]:160).

However, Jerry Norman (1988) proposed a theory very different to Lo’s (1989 [1950]). Norman (1988) argues that the similarities between Gàn and Hakka listed by Lo (1989 [1950]) are superficial and not specific to the Gàn and Hakka dialects, i.e. most of the similarities that have

been pointed out in favor of the Gàn-Hakka subgrouping can be found in dialects of other groups as well. Six types of evidence are listed to illustrate the fundamental differences between Gàn and Hakka in the area of basic vocabulary: (1) first-person pronouns; (2) negatives; (3) gender markers for domestic animals; (4) the word for ‘son’; (5) the tone category of the word ‘nose’; (6) the copular verb. To weaken the relationship between Gàn and Hakka is not the main purpose of Norman’s theory, which centers on the suggestion that the three dialect groups → Mǐn 閩, → Hakka, and → Yuè 粵 share a common historical source called ‘Old Southern Chinese’. It is argued by Norman that for the six words listed above, Hakka employs forms also found in Yuè and Mǐn or showing the Old Southern Chinese development, whereas Gàn employs forms connected with those found in Northern and Central dialects. While Norman’s theory has evoked much controversy, it is also a significant advance, since he combines phonological, lexical, and grammatical features, rather than relying solely on phonological developments from Middle Chinese, as criteria in his classification of Chinese dialects.

Ho (1988), Sagart (1988, 2002), and Lǚ (1994) also probe into the relationship between the Gàn and Hakka dialects. Ho and Sagart both take the migration history of Hakka, the notion of language contact, and the linguistic features into consideration; however, Ho is in favor of Hakka and Gàn being classified as two separate groups of Chinese dialects, while Sagart is positive about the close genetic relationship between Hakka and the southern Gàn dialects. Ho (1988) regards the Gàn dialects as a transitional dialect area which has been profoundly influenced by neighboring dialects through language contact. Resemblances between Gàn and the neighboring Mandarin, → Wú 吳, → Xiāng 湘, Mǐn, Yuè or Hakka dialects are probably the result of contact. Sagart (1988) makes use of historical demographic data of Jiāngxī as well as linguistic features to reconstruct the formation of the Gàn and Hakka dialects, and Sagart (2002) further argues that Hakka and southern Gàn arose out of a stratified dialect which included a non-Chinese substratum (probably → Hmong-Mien = Miáo-Yáo 苗瑤), an archaic layer, and a more

recent layer with an important Late Middle Chinese component. As for Lǚ (1994), he brings forward historical facts to advocate the view that Hakka, Gàn, and the Tōngtài 通泰 dialects of northern Jiāngsū must be descended from the “standard dialect” of the Southern dynasties. The aspirated devoicing, in his view, is one of the linguistic features shared by all three dialects.

Since the *Language Atlas of China* (Australian Academy of the Humanities and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1987) took the position that Gàn and Hakka should be classified into two major areal groups of Chinese dialects, determining the “internally identifying characteristics” (those features common to every variety within the dialect group) and the “externally distinguishing characteristics” (those features not found in other dialect groups) of the Gàn or Hakka dialects thus became the main task to perform. It used to be said that the feature that uniquely and unambiguously distinguished the Hakka dialects from the Gàn dialects was that the upper-level tone of Hakka dialects included a significant number of MC rising tone words with sonorant and voiced initials and MC level tone words with sonorant initials (see Hashimoto 1973, Huáng 1988, 1989 and Lǐ Róng 1989 for more detailed descriptions). In addition to this tonal feature that is allegedly unique to Hakka, it was also proposed that the major distinction between Gàn and Hakka is reflected in the considerable differences in their lexicon. However, the more knowledge Chinese dialectologists acquired concerning the linguistic characteristics of the Gàn and Hakka dialects, the less satisfactory the above features turned out to be in distinguishing Gàn from Hakka. In view of the fact that it is extremely hard to identify linguistic features that unambiguously distinguish them, some scholars claim that what really counts in differentiating Gàn and Hakka is not linguistic features, but the strong sense of ethnic identity that the Hakka people have developed owing to their special historical background. Chang (1996, 1999), Luó Měizhēn (1998), Wáng (1998), and Liú (2010) are more or less in favor of this idea.

In Chiang (2003), three aspects of the relationship between Gàn and Hakka are discussed: areal classification, genetic classification, and the historical formation of the Gàn and Hakka

dialects, with special attention placed on the second topic. Where the genetic classification of languages is concerned, the shared aspirated devoicing and the plural marker ‘teu’ for personal pronouns are cited as evidence that Hakka and part of the Gàn dialect group are genetically related. The fact that these two features (moreover, one of which is morphological) are also found in other dialects which are spoken in the north of China at the same time considerably diminishes the possibility that Gàn and Hakka share these features as a result of language contact or pure coincidence.

The relationship of Hakka and Gàn is an issue that can be considered from many different perspectives. This unresolved puzzle awaits further intensive investigation by Chinese dialectologists and historical linguists.

3. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GÀN DIALECTS

It has been pointed out that one of the most conspicuous features of the Gàn dialects is the voiceless aspirated reflexes in all tones for the MC voiced stop and affricate initials. However, it is known to us that this feature is also found in Hakka and in some localities in the Wú dialects of Zhèjiāng, the Tōngtài area of Jiānghuái 江淮 Mandarin, as well as the Mandarin dialects spoken in southern and western Shānxī, western Hénán, the Guānzhōng 關中 area of Shānxī, and some localities in northern Shānxī and eastern Gānsù. Therefore, it has been observed that “the Gàn dialects are not differentiated from other dialects in their vicinity” (Yuán 1960), and that “there are fewer peculiar characteristics found in the Gàn dialects” (Zhān 1981).

3.1 *Phonological features of the Gàn dialects*

3.1.1 General description

Generally speaking, in addition to the feature of aspirated devoicing, the following phonological features are often mentioned in descriptions of the Gàn dialects:

- Gàn dialects as a rule have six or seven tones; a few have only five tones or as many as ten tones. Those with seven tones have register

splits in the MC level, departing, and entering tones;

- In the dialects around Póyáng Lake and the middle and lower reaches of the Gàn River, there are tonal contrasts corresponding to either MC or modern aspirated and unaspirated initial consonants;
- In a small number of Gàn dialects, for example Ānyì, the entering tones have undergone further splits conditioned by the place of articulation of the MC final consonant (-p, -t, or -k);
- In many Gàn dialects, the colloquial pronunciation of MC rising tone words with voiced obstruent and sonorant initials merges with the *yīnpíng* tone, while the literary pronunciation of those words shows the common shift to *yángqù* tone seen in many other dialects groups. Words deriving from sonorant initials also have two tonal developments, i.e. there are always some words with sonorant initials developing into the upper rather than the lower register of their corresponding tones; however, this split cannot be correlated neatly with the distinction between the colloquial and literary readings;
- In the dialects around Póyáng Lake and northwestern Jiāngxī, there are voiced obstruent initials corresponding to the voiceless aspirated initials of other Gàn dialects;
- In the dialects which have two sets of sibilant initials [ts], [ts^h], [s] and [tʂ], [tʂ^h], [ʂ] or some similar ones, the former set roughly corresponds to MC initials that lack a palatal element, while the latter corresponds to MC initials with a palatal element. The fact that the MC palato-alveolar sibilants appear to have merged with dental sibilants in Gàn dialects is, in my view, a retention of features that predate Middle Chinese as reflected in *Qiēyùn* 切韻 (Chiang 2003);
- Some Gàn dialects like Wànzǎi have dental stop reflexes [t-] [t^h-] for the a subset of Late Middle Chinese retroflex affricate and stop initials (specifically, third-division *zhī* 知 and *zhāng* 章 series initials), where most other Chinese dialect groups have affricate reflexes. It has been argued that these reflexes result from a shift of palato-alveolar (or retroflex) affricates to dental stops rather than the retention of the Old Chinese dental-stop initials that developed into MC post-alveolars (some of which are retained as dental stops in Mǐn);
- Quite a few Gàn dialects of Central Jiāngxī have undergone the changes t^h- > x- and/or ts^h- > t^h-; in the dialects in which both rules applied, they were ordered so that original ts^h- did not further change to x-;
- In many dialects there is a confusion of f- and x- before rounded vowels, a phenomenon also attested in the Southwest Mandarin, Xiāng and Hakka dialects. There are also quite a few dialects confusing n- with l-, either unconditionally or before non high front vowels;
- Some dialects such as Nánchéng have dental stop reflexes [t-], [t^h-] or [d-] of MC *l- before high front vowels;
- The MC glottal stop initial (*yǐng* 影) before unrounded vowels has a correspondence of velar nasal [ŋ-] rather than zero initial in quite a few Gàn dialects;
- Some southeastern Gàn dialects retain all six final consonants of MC (-p -t -k -m -n -ŋ), whereas a large number of Gàn dialects have undergone some degree of merger of final consonants. The most common pattern is the merger of finals -m and -p with -n and -t respectively.
- A small number of Gàn dialects have a peculiar phonetic trait lying outside the mainstream of the development of Chinese, namely ‘discontinuous tones’ (*bù liánxù diào xíng* 不連續調型). Dialects with discontinuous tones have syllables divided into two parts by a short pause; the first part ends with the inherent stop of the syllable or with an inserted glottal stop, and the second part contains either a nasal at the same place of articulation as the inherent stop or a repeated vowel. For example, Yúgàn has [kat¹...n⁴] for ‘carapace’, and Xīnjiàn Hòutián 厚田 has [ka²¹...a¹²] for ‘home’;
- Most Gàn dialects present the vowel contrast of o and a in finals like -on/-an, -om/-am and -oi/-ai, which correspond to the contrast between the first and second divisions in the *Shān* 山, *Xián* 咸, and *Xiè* 蟹 rime

groups respectively. In Mandarin, these pairs of finals have all merged; and

- The final contrasts of MC *Hāi* 哈, *Tán* 覃 and *Tài* 泰, *Tán* 談 rimes are retained in syllables with non-velar initials. Take *Yífēng* for example, [tʰɔŋ²] 潭 ‘deep pool’ contrasts with [tʰan²] 痰 ‘phlegm’ while [kɔŋ³] 感 ‘to feel’ do not contrast with [kɔŋ³] 敢 ‘dare’; in each pair the former belongs to the MC *Tán* 覃 rime while the latter belongs to the *Tán* 談 rime.

For more detailed descriptions of these features of the Gàn dialects, readers are recommended to consult Chén 1991, Lǐ Rúlóng and Chang 1992, and Liú 1999.

3.1.2 The phonology of Nánchāng

Nánchāng, the capital city of Jiāngxī province, is often taken as representative of the Gàn dialects. A brief description of the phonological system of Nánchāng will be provided in this section. This system is taken from the work carried out by Zhāng (2007), and reflects the spoken language of the elder generation in the urban areas of Nánchāng.

Consonants and initials

There are 20 consonants in the systems:

p	p ^h	m	f
t	t ^h	n	l
ts	ts ^h		s
tɕ	tɕ ^h	ɲ	ɕ
k	k ^h	ŋ	h
ʔ			

Only the consonants [n], [ŋ], [t], and [ʔ] can occur in coda position. The consonant [n] as an initial is only found in the fusion of personal pronouns, therefore it is usually not listed in the inventory of initials. The consonant [ʔ] cannot occur in initial position, and zero initial is allowed in the system. As a result, there are 19 initials in the system of Nánchāng. In addition, the consonants [m], [n], and [ŋ] can serve as syllabic nuclei.

Vowels and finals

The vowels of Nánchāng are as follows:

i, y	i, ɿ	u
e	ə	o
	a	ɔ

The vowels [o] and [ɔ] are in complementary distribution, the latter occurring only before a velar nasal or a glottal stop. The vowels [ɿ] and [ə] do not co-occur with any other vowels or final consonants. The vowels above as well as the four consonants [n], [ŋ], [t], [ʔ], and the three syllabic [m], [n], [ŋ] combine to form the following 64 syllable finals in the system of Nánchāng:

ɿ	a	o	e	ə	m̩	n̩	ŋ̩
i	ia		ie				
u	ua	uo	ue				
y			ye				
ai	oi	ei	ii	au	eu		
uai			ui		ieu	iu	
an	on	en	in	aŋ	ɔŋ		
		ien	in	iaŋ	ioŋ	iuŋ	
uan	uon		un	uaŋ	uoŋ	uŋ	
	yon		yn				
at	ot	et	it	aʔ	ɔʔ		
		iet	it	iaʔ	ioʔ	iuʔ	
uat	uot		ut	uaʔ		uʔ	
	yot		yt				

Tones

There are seven tones in the system of Nánchāng:

upper level (<i>yīnpíng</i>)	42 (mid falling)	lower level (<i>yángpíng</i> 陽平)	24 (mid rising)
upper rising (<i>yīnshǎng</i> 陰上)	213 (mid-low concave)		
upper departing (<i>yīnqù</i>)	44 (mid-high level)	lower departing (<i>yángqù</i>)	21 (low falling)
upper entering (<i>yīnrù</i> 陰入)	5 (high short level)	lower entering (<i>yánggrù</i> 陽入)	1 (low short level)

Nánchāng has tonal contrasts between aspirated and unaspirated initial words in the *yángpíng* and *yīnqù* tones. Words deriving from the MC departing tone with voiceless unaspirated initials have become the *yīnqù* tone, while those with voiceless aspirated ones have merged with the *yīnshǎng* tone. Words deriving from MC level tone with voiced stops and affricates (which are now voiceless aspirated) have become the *yángpíng* tone, while those with voiced fricatives (now unaspirated voiceless fricatives) have merged with the *yīnqù* tone.

3.2 *The morphology and syntax of the Gàn dialects*

A comprehensive description of the grammar of the Gàn dialects will be far beyond the capacity of this article. Moreover, previous studies of Gàn focus mainly on the phonological features, particularly on identifying linguistic (especially phonological) features that unambiguously distinguish Gàn from Hakka (see Section 2 for details), and little attention has been paid to the morphology and syntax of the Gàn dialects. Descriptions of the Gàn grammar are only sparsely provided in some research results. In this section, several aspects of Gàn grammar which are known to be different from other varieties of Chinese will be briefly introduced. All example forms given are from Nánchāng Gàn except where otherwise noted.

- In the Gàn dialects, the nominalizers and the diminutive suffixes show strong local features:
 - i. There are several sets of diminutive suffixes corresponding roughly with the functions of the Mandarin *zǐ* 子 and *ér* 兒: (1) [tsɿ] corresponding to Mandarin *zǐ* etymologically; (2) [li]-like forms written as 哩 or 伢; (3) [tɛ]-like forms written as 得; (4) [tɕɛ]-like forms written as 崽 or 仔; (5) [tɕi]-like forms written as 基; and (6) [e]-like forms usually taken as cognate to Mandarin *ér*;
 - ii. Of the six forms, the former four forms are the ones most commonly found in the Gàn dialects;

- iii. Most dialects have only one of the forms, while a few dialects have two or more forms, the choice among which is not systematic. For example, the Nánchāng Jiǎngxiàng 蔣巷 dialect uses [tsɿ] in the word [tɕy⁷ tsɿ] ('orange') but [li] in the words [li² li] ('pear') and [t^hau² li] ('peach'). Different forms serving the same grammatical function within one single dialect could be regarded as an instance of syntactic stratification resulting from lexical competition among the native form and borrowed forms; and
- iv. Etymologically, the [tɕɛ]-like forms and [tɕi]-like forms might have derived from the same lexical source (cognate to *zǐ* 'son, baby'), and are colloquial pronunciations corresponding to literary [tsɿ]; the [li]-like forms and [ɛ]-like forms share a lexical source with *ér*, although the relationships among them are still unclear. Furthermore, the [tɛ]-like forms are etymologically opaque.

- The personal pronouns in the Ānyì dialect are shown in Table 3.1 as an example of the Gàn pronominal system (data from Wàn 1999):
 - i. Some of the Gàn dialects have two sets of forms for the singular personal pronouns, as can be seen in the Ānyì dialect. There is a grammatical distinction between the two forms in the Yánshān and some other dialects, in which the forms with the suffix [li] are used as objects, while those without [li] are used as subjects (Chén 1995, Xiào and Chén 2004);
 - ii. A few Gàn dialects possess a distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural pronouns, as can be seen in the Ānyì dialect. The inclusive form varies from place to place; many employ a fusion of [ŋo] 'I' and [ŋ] 'you' or something similar. This phenomenon can also be found in the Wú dialects; and
 - iii. The plural forms also vary from place to place. Suffixation of singular forms is the most common strategy to derive plurals; the most common suffix is [li]. However, tonal alternation sometimes plays a role too. For example, in the Ānyì dialect, the singular of

personal pronouns has *yángqù* tone, while the plural has *yángpíng* tone, as can be seen in Table 3.1. The lexical source of the plural suffix [li] is unclear based on evidence from the Gàn dialects alone; however, since [li] can be used as both a plural suffix and a place word within some Wú dialects, this raises the possibility that the Wú plural suffix might have grammaticalized from a place word and then been borrowed into the Gàn dialects.

- In some localities of Gàn, there is a three-way or even four-way distinction instead of a two-way distinction in the demonstrative pronouns. The internal relationships among the three-way pronouns, however, may differ. Table 3.2 show some examples (data from Liú 1999):
- In the Gàn dialects, most monosyllabic adjectives can be prefixed to form the [X-Adj] construction, indicating intensification. A wide variety of Xs are used with highly restricted distribution. Some of the X morphemes are etymologically clear, and can be found in Mandarin and also in many other dialects; for example, Fǔzhōu has [pit² t^hi?⁵], which corresponds to Mandarin *bǐ zhí* 筆直 / pen-straight / ‘as straight as a pen’. However, most of the Xs in the Gàn dialects are etymologically opaque, and do not have clear meaning connections with the adjectives that they precede. For example, Fǔzhōu has [pa?² tuon³⁵] [pa?²-short] ‘very short’. The [X-Adj] construction is extremely abundant in the Gàn dialects, and the common adverb meaning ‘very’ turns out to be rarely used;
- Most of the [X-Adj] constructions can be reduplicated as [X-X-A(dj)] or [XAXA] to indicate a greater degree of intensification or to make the description more vivid. The [XAXA] form is more widely found than [X-X-A] in the Gàn dialects;
- There seem to be some infixes used in reduplicated forms in the Gàn dialects:
 - i. The infix [ta] 搯 can be used between reduplicated monosyllabic adjectives to make the description more vivid; for example, Fǔzhōu [ŋaŋ³³ ta³⁵ ŋaŋ³³] / hard-ta-hard / means ‘extremely hard’;
 - ii. The infix [sɿ] can be used between reduplicated measures or numerals to indicate the intensification of a large quantity. For example, many dialects have expressions like

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns in the Ānyì dialect

	Singular	Plural	
First person	ŋo ⁶ / ŋo ⁶ li	exclusive: ŋo ² ts ^h ai	inclusive: ŋon ₃
Second person	ŋ ⁶ / ŋ ⁶ li	ŋ ² ts ^h ai	
Third person	tei ⁶ / tei ⁶ li	tei ² ts ^h ai	
‘self’	ts ^h ɤ ⁶ ka		
‘others’	t ^h ai ² ka		
‘everyone’	p ^h iɛt ⁸ ka		

Table 3.2 Demonstrative pronouns in the Gàn dialects

	Proximate	More proximate	Distal	More distal
Húkǒu	i ¹	–	kai ²	ŋ ^{5A}
Xīngzǐ	ko ³	–	ŋ ^{5A}	ko ^{5A}
Lèpíng	i ¹	i ²	ŋ ⁵	–
Shànggāo	koi ¹	i ³	hai ²	–
Línchuān	ko ³	ko ⁶	ɛ ⁶	ɛ ³

Nánchāng [tɕin⁴² sɿ²¹ tɕin⁴²] / catty-sɿ -catty / ‘many catties’ and [tɕ^hiɛn⁴² sɿ²¹ tɕ^hiɛn⁴²] / thousand-sɿ-thousand / ‘thousands upon thousands’; and

- iii. The infix [pa] 把 can be used between reduplicated classifiers to indicate approximate quantity. For example, many dialects have expressions like Nánchāng [k^huai⁴⁴ pa⁰ k^huai⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛn²⁴] / cl-*pa*-cl money / ‘several bucks’. Some dialects also have the word ‘two’ following *pa* to form the construction [cl-*pa*-two-cl], in which ‘two’ indicates a rough quantity, rather than exactly ‘two’, and implies a small amount as judged subjectively by the speaker: [k^huai⁴⁴ pa⁰ liŋ²¹³ k^huai⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛn²⁴] / cl-*pa*-two-cl money / ‘a couple of bucks’.

- The disposal and passive constructions show a high degree of variation among the Gàn dialects:

- In some Gàn dialects, the preposition for disposal or passive is not used as often as are the Mandarin equivalents → *bǎ* 把 and → *bèi* 被. Although expressions with the disposal or passive markers do exist, speakers tend to use those without the markers if they have a choice;
- The prepositions [pa²¹³], [la⁵] (derived from the meaning ‘to take’), [t^hia²⁴] (derived from the meaning ‘to carry; to take’), [pai²¹³] (derived from the meaning ‘to give’) are used as disposal markers. It is worth noting that cognates to Nánchāng [pa²¹³] in the Gàn dialects are derived from the meaning of ‘to give’ and, despite superficial similarity, are not cognate to the Mandarin disposal marker *bǎ* which is derived from the meaning ‘to hold’;
- In some dialects, the disposal marker and the passive marker come from the same lexical source. For example, Píngxiāng and Yánshān both use [pa], which is also used as a verb meaning ‘to give’, for disposal and passive constructions; and
- The Mandarin passive marker *bèi* is rarely attested in the Gàn dialects. Forms cognate to Nánchāng [tɕn²¹³], [tɕ⁵], [t^huo²⁴] are most

commonly found, while cognates to Mandarin *ràng* 讓, *tǎo* 討, *ná* 拿, *bǎ* are attested sparsely. These passive markers derive mainly from verbs with the active meaning ‘to take’, ‘to give’ or ‘to obtain’.

- In the Sùsōng dialect, the partative measure [ɕie⁰] (cognate to Mandarin *xiē* 些) can also be used to function as a plural marker which is not restricted to personal pronouns. [ɕie⁰] occurs before an NP, which can be with or without the feature [+human] or [+animate], and which even can be a coordinate NP. For example, [ɕie⁰ tɕɛn²² xo³⁵ ua³¹] / pl-brick-and-roof.tile / ‘quite a few bricks and roof tiles’ (Táng 2005).

4. RESEARCH ON THE GÀN DIALECTS

Compared to other major dialect groups of Sinitic languages such as Mandarin, Wú, Yuè, and Mǐn, less is known about Gàn. Chén (1991) is the first book which comprehensively introduces the Gàn dialects. Lǐ Rúlóng and Chāng (1992) and Liú (1999) are two outstanding broad surveys of the Gàn dialects, although they are presented in the context of comparison with Hakka. Detailed surveys of individual Gàn dialects have been published in the journal *Fāngyán* 方言 from time to time since the 1980s; however, more detailed and comprehensive research results of individual descriptions have only been published in significant numbers in the last decade. A series of books on Hakka and Gàn dialects, *Kè Gàn Fāngyán Yánjiū Xiliè Cóngshū* 客贛方言研究系列叢書, were published from 2005 to 2008, which include systematic studies of the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of the Gàn dialects of Dūchāng, Fǔzhōu, Yánshān, Lúxī, Sùsōng, Nánchāng, and Yuèyáng Bóxiáng 柏祥. In addition, a Conference on the Gàn Dialects was held twice, in 2002 and 2009, of which the first was joint conference with Hakka dialects. *Gàn Fāngyán Yánjiū (dì èr jí)* 贛方言研究 (第二輯) [Studies on Gàn dialects (volume 2)] (2012) is composed of papers from the second conference, and is the most recently published monograph on all aspects of the Gàn dialects.

In the surveys conducted so far, research on the synchronic and diachronic phonology of the Gàn dialects has had more significant results than research on lexicon and grammar. Three dialect dictionaries of Nánchāng, Líchuān, and Píngxiāng compiled by Lǐ Róng 李榮 in the 1990s and the *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fāngyán Dàcídiǎn* 現代漢語方言大詞典 constitute valuable contributions to the study of the Gàn lexicon. Wāng (1994) is the only monograph on the grammar of a Gàn dialect spoken outside Jiāngxī. A comprehensive study of the grammar of the Gàn dialects has yet to be published and would be warmly welcomed by scholars.

The greatest issue concerning Gàn that has been hotly debated is probably that of the relationship between Gàn and Hakka, as described above. In recent years, scholars have noticed that the Gàn dialects also have an intimate relationship to the neighboring Mandarin, Wú, and Xiāng dialects as a result of language contact. More attention has recently been paid to the comparison of Gàn with Mandarin, Wú, and Xiāng dialects than to that of Gàn with Hakka in the study of Gàn dialects. In addition, language contact between the Gàn and non-Gàn dialects in Jiāngxī is also under investigation. Hú *et al.* (2009) is a survey of 31 dialects of northeastern Jiāngxī which belong to the dialects of Gàn, Wú, → Huī 徽, Mǐn, and Hakka respectively.

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Gay Language

When linguists speak of “gay language”, they may be talking about the way issues having to do with sexuality are encoded in a particular language, they may be referring to the “special language” associated with gay subcultures in a particular speech community, or they may be more interested in the strategic ways gays and lesbians use language for personal or political purposes, to communicate desire, for example, or negotiate social identity (Cameron and Kulick 2003).

Although homosexual behavior has been practiced in China for thousands of years and in some periods of Chinese history has enjoyed widespread acceptance and even institutional status (Hinsch 1992), it has always occupied a rather ambiguous place in Chinese culture, often tolerated but seldom talked about (Hodge and Louie 1998). Part of this stems from the fact that homosexuality in China has traditionally been both linguistically and culturally indicative of a series of social practices rather than a distinct “social identity” (Pan and Aggleton 1996; Chow 2001). *Tóngxìngliàn* 同性戀 (lit. ‘same-sex-love’) is normally an intransitive verb, which is descriptive of behavior, rather than an adjective or noun descriptive of identity. The first explicit constructions of the “homosexual person” in China were probably produced during the Republican Period under the influence of Western psychology and a growing interest in eugenics (Dikotter 1995). The concept of the homosexual as a distinct identity, achieved linguistically by adding to *tóngxìngliàn* the suffix *-zhě* 者 ‘-er, the one who’, is even more recent.

The earliest recorded mention of homosexuality in Chinese literature is probably in the *Shījīng* 詩經 (1100–600 BCE), and the oldest historical record is the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chūnqiū* 春秋; 722–479 BCE). Stories from the Spring-Autumn Period, the Warring States Period (475–221 BCE), and the Western and Eastern Jin (265–420 CE) make reference to homosexuality in the context of palace intrigues, politics, and warfare. In the early 19th century, an anonymous author compiled approximately fifty famous historical stories of same sex love into *Records of the Cut Sleeve* (*Duànxiù biān* 斷袖編). It is from these stories that many euphemisms for homosexual behavior that are still used today come. The expression *duànxiù* ‘cut sleeves’, for example, comes from the story of the Hàn Dynasty Emperor Āi 哀 and his lover Dǒng Xián 董賢 recorded in the *Book of Hàn* (*Hàn Shū* 漢書), which relates an incident of the emperor cutting off the sleeves to avoid awakening his sleeping lover, and the expression ‘sharing a peach’ (*fēn táo zhī ài* 分桃之愛) makes reference to the Zhōu dynasty figure Mízi Xiá 弥子瑕, lover of the Duke of Wèi (534–473 BCE) who is said to have once bitten into a peach and, finding it exceedingly sweet, offered the remaining half to the ruler as a token of his love.

Beginning in the 20th century, under the influence of the Neo-Confucianism, homosexual behavior began to be spoken of as an “obsession” (*pǐ* 癖), as in *duànxiù fēntáo pǐ* 斷袖分桃癖, where *duànxiù fēntáo* (literally ‘torn sleeve, shared peach’) is a euphemism for homosexuality; or *lóngyáng pǐ* 龍陽癖 ‘the perversion of Lóngyáng’, referring to a Lord of the Warring States Period (Kang 2009). During the Republican Period (1911–1949), it began to be portrayed in racial terms, as a foreign and “uncivilized” perversion (Dikotter 1995), and in the Revolutionary Period, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), it was seen as a symptom of bourgeois decadence, and the homosexual was a kind of “class enemy”. At this time, homosexuals were regularly arrested under article 106 of Chinese Criminal Law, which prohibited “hooliganism”. In the Reform Period, since the 1990s, moral and political models of homosexuality were replaced with medical models, and recently,