Historical Change of Diminutives in Southern Wu Dialects

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In many languages, diminutives are formed by adding affixes to the roots, while in different Southern Wu dialects, diminutives take various forms such as suffixation, nasal coda attachment, nasalization and purely tonal change. This paper argues that all these diminutive forms are derived from one single derivational process and the tonal change can be explained in terms of the tonal stability in autosegmental phonology from a historical development perspective. Data from different Southern Wu dialects show that all the diminutive forms presented above are actually derived from one historical changing process. This changing process can be explained with autosegmental representations. Also, geographic distribution of dialects may provide insights for the interactions of phonological features in these dialects.

0. Introduction

Autosegmental phonology as a non-linear theory is developed on the discussion of tonal languages in Africa (Kenstowicz 1994). The independent behaviors of tones, such as floating tones and contour tones, provide abundant evidence for a non-linear relationship between tones and the tone bearing units (Clements, 1976. Goldsmith 1976; McCarthy, 1981, 1986; Kenstowicz, 1994; Ogden & Local 1994). Take contour tones as an example, they are best explained by the many-to-one relation between tonal features and TBUs. In a linear theory, this type of phenomenon violates the one-to-one relation between a feature and a segment.

Besides African languages, many Asian languages are also tonal. Their systems are seemingly different from the African systems. They have a large inventory of tone levels and a wide distribution of contour tones (Bao 1990; Yip 1990; Chen 2000). Nonetheless, Yip (1980) illustrates many aspects of Asian languages, such as Chinese dialects, providing similar evidence for autosegmental theory. Following her argument, this paper reviews the diminutive tone sandhi in Wu dialects and presents some data in southern Wu dialect, such as Longyou dialect, from an autosegmental perspective[1].

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[1] The contour tones of Chinese behave differently than those in African languages. Generally, they are believed to act as a unit grouped under a single tonal node. See Kenstowicz (1994:380) and Bao (1990) for discussion.

In many languages, diminutives are formed by adding affixes to the roots. In different Southern Wu dialects, diminutives take various forms such as suffixation, nasal coda attachment, nasalization and purely tonal change (i.e. Longyou dialect). Looking at the diminutive tonal change in one dialect in isolation, it is hard to find a corresponding relationship between the citation tone and the diminutive tone. The environment that causes the sound change is unclear in the dialect itself. From a different perspective, this change could be viewed as the result of a historical changing process. After analyzing the synchronic data from other Southern Wu dialects, I argue that these different forms of diminutives evolved from historical change, with each form representing one step of the change. Diminutives in Longyou dialect reflect the last step of the change.

1. Diminutives in Southern Wu dialects

1.1 Wu dialect
Wu dialect is one of the seven major divisions of the Chinese languages. It is mainly spoken in the Yangtze delta including Zhejiang, Shanghai and Jiangsu provinces. It is also spoken in some smaller areas of adjacent Anhui, Jiangxi and Fujian provinces. The total population of Wu speakers is more than 79 million (2007 consensus). The basic phonological features of Wu dialect are as follows: there are voiced stops, fricatives and affricates in this language, which means it maintains the three-way contrast of Middle Chinese stops consonants and affricates: [t], [tʰ], [d] (Chao 1928). There is only one nasal coda: [ŋ]. And there are normally seven or eight tones. Codas such as -p, -t, -k in Middle Chinese changed to glottal stop in Wu. This dialect can be categorized into six dialect areas (sub dialect groups) based on its geographical distribution and phonological features: Taihu area: southern Jiangsu (Suzhou and Changzhou), Shanghai, northern Zhejiang (Hangzhou, Shaoxing,Ningbo,Huzhou and Jiaxing); Taizhou area Taizhou and Zhejiang; Oujiang area: Wenzhou,Zhejiang; Wuzhou area: Jinhua and Zhejiang; Chu-Qu area: Lishui and Quzhou, Zhejiang ad Xuanzhou: Xuancheng and Anhui (Language Atlas of China 1987). The first area has the biggest population and distribution. It's usually called Northern Wu dialect. And the dialects spoken in the rest of the five areas are called Southern Wu dialects. The longyou dialect discussed in this paper belongs to the last subgroup: Chu-Qu area.

1.2 Diminutives
A diminutive form is a derived form that indicates a slight degree of the root meaning, a decrease in size, force, or intensity as compared to the base word, the smallness of the object or quality named, encapsulation, intimacy, or endearment (Aronoff & Funeman 2005: 60). In many languages, diminutives are formed by adding affixes to the roots. This type of suffixation is also a common morphophonological phenomenon in Chinese. For example, the use of morpheme -er, meaning 'child' or 'son' is diminutive marker. The exact phonological property of the diminutive suffix varies from dialect to dialect. The diminutive suffix in mandarin is realized as a retroflex feature

on the rhyme (Chao 1968). In other dialects, this suffix may be represented as an independent syllable such as a nasal or a nasalized vowel[2]. In many Southern Wu dialects, the diminutive is marked by the tonal change (also called changed tone), with or without the above mentioned syllabic suffix as the last segment of the syllable. It is named as diminutive tonal change in Cao (2002). The diminutive tonal change is a type of semantic tone change, which uses tone change to achieve a particular semantic goal. This kind of tonal change also appears in monosyllabic words, but originally it comes from the interaction of disyllabic words tone. In some other dialects, the formation of diminutives is no longer a suffixation process. The diminutive meaning is expressed by the juxtaposition of two words, not morphemes. Namely, adding a word *xiao* meaning 'small, little' to a noun to denote the diminutive meaning.

2. A Review of Literature on Diminutives in Wu dialect

Zhao (1956) brings up the diminutives in Dongyang, a Southern Wu dialect, "In Dongyang dialect, there's neither rhoticization nor [r] as an independent syllable. All the characters ended with a rhoticized [r] in mandarin are realized as [ɳ], thus producing a nasalized vowel. This kind of phenomenon only occurs at the end of the syllable of a noun with a low register tone" For instance, *tao* 'peach' by itself is [daɯ]. When it's used in its diminutive sense, it becomes [daɯn]. The author names it "n-nasalization" and claims that the *-er* 'son, small' character in mandarin is realized as a nasal [n]. However, no explanation has been provided on the origin of the nasal coda in Dongyang dialect or the association between the "n-nasalization" in this dialect and the suffix *-er* in mandarin.

Li (1957: 139) in his field work manual discusses a few examples of *–er* (or *–zi* 'son') in Wu dialects. In Hangzhou dialect, *-er* is read as an independent syllable [l̩] and it doesn't affect the original final. For example, *deng er* 'a small bench' is [tən^{44} l̩^{213}]; *piao geng er* 'a little spoon' is [biɔ^{213} kən^{44} l̩^{213}]. In Yiwu dialect, the *–er* suffixation is realized by adding a nasal coda [-n] at the end, such as: *ji* 'chicken' [tɕi^{33}] and *xiao ji er* 'little chicken' [sɯɤ^{42} tɕi:n^{33}]; *xie* 'shoe' [ɦa^{11}] and *xiao xie er* 'little shoe' [sɯɤ^{42} ɦa:n^{11}]. And there are some words produced with a *–er* suffix in natural speech, such as *bu er* 'notebook' [bu:n^{35}] and *lu er* 'deer' [lo:n^{1}]. In Pingyang dialect, *-er* suffixation is realized by either adding an independent syllable [ŋ] or geminating the vowel and adding a [ŋ] coda, plus a tonal change. In addition, in Wenling dialect, the *-er* suffixation is only reflected in the tonal change, in which a level tone changes to a high rising tone [45] and an oblique tone (other than the level tone) changes to a high falling tone [53]. For example: *dao* 'knife' [tɔ^{33}] changes to *xiao dao er* 'small knife' [ɕiɔ^{42} tɔ^{45}]. As early as in 1957, Li has noticed that there's a special tonal change (or tone sandhi) behavior in diminutive forms and their functions are close to those of the *–er* suffixation.

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[2] The data will be presented in the following pages. There are also other types of diminutives in Southern Wu dialects, such as a glottal stop or lengthening of vowels as a result of complementary lengthening. See Cao (2002) for more data.

Yue (1958) believes the nasalized vowel at the end of the syllable in Jinhua dialect reflects the relationship between the nasal [n] in Wu dialect and [r] in mandarin. Zhengzhang (1981) is against this opinion, arguing that the above proposal can't explain the origin of this type of nasalization. Both Yuan (1961) and Fu (1961) support Li (1957)'s argument. Yuan (1961) proposes this term "diminutive tone sandhi" to describe this phenomenon.

Li (1978)'s *Tonal Change in Wenling Dialect* is the first one solely focused on this topic. The diminutive form in Wenling dialect is mainly reflected by a special tonal change. If it's originally a level tone, the tone of the diminutive form becomes [15]. For all other tones, the tone of the diminutive forms becomes [51]. He proposes a new term "changed sound/tone" instead of tone sandhi. He believes that the tone sandhi form is the tonal change that occurs in certain phonological environment, while the changed sound/tone of diminutive form is derivative form of the base form with certain meanings. The tonal categories of the base form can distinguish meaning, but they don't have meanings attached to themselves. The changed sound/tone can not only distinguish meaning, but also holds a meaning such as diminutive meaning to itself. The categories of the base form is a phonological unit, nonetheless, the changed sound/tone is not only a phonological unit, but also a semantic unit. From the semantics perspective, the changed tone in Wenling dialect is the same type of change reflected by –*er* suffixation in Mandarin.

Zhengzhang (1979, 1980, 1981) exhaustively investigates nearly 2,000 diminutive forms in Wenzhou dialect. Out of the 13 tone sandhi types in disyllabic words in this dialect, there are two occurring in the environment where the second character is an *er* 'son' [ŋ^{31}]. 1. C type [11 13], when preceded by level tones or some low falling tones/entering tones. I type [ʔ35 5], when preceded by entering tones or some high falling/high leveling tones. The I type derives from the C type. 2. F type [42 1]. The tone of the preceding character changes to [42] and the tone of the following *er* changes to [1]. The data shows that the independent tonal categories of the diminutive forms are not associated with other tone sandhi categories. However, he fails to explain where the glottal stop [ʔ] in the preceding character in the I type comes from.

Chen (1992) compares the diminutive tone sandhi between Wu and Min dialects. There are diminutive forms in Wu: [n-nasalization] and [ʔ] glottalization. There are also two similar diminutive forms in Min: nasalized diminutive form and glottalized diminutive form. He tries to find some commonalities cross languages by comparing these forms to those in the Austro-Tai family. He believes that nasalized form comes from the –*er* suffixation:

CV (C) + *er* [ŋje] ⟶ CVN (ŋ) ⟶ CṼ

And the glottalization form comes from a different character *nan* 'little kid' [kian] in Wu and Min dialects:

CV (C)+*nan* [kian]   CVK   CVʔ

In recent years, there are many comparative studies done on this topic on the diachronic level. Synchronically there are discussions on the origin, formation and development of the diminutive form and its function in phonological change and grammatical/semantic use. Cao (2002) systematically describes the categories, distribution and development of diminutives in Southern Wu dialects. He also proposes a changing process of the diminutive tonal change from *er* as a suffix to purely tonal change, as shown in the later discussion. All in all, most of the above discussions are still descriptions of the existing data and phenomena. It requires phonological analyses to fully explain them.

3. Discussion

3.1 Different Forms of Diminutives

Southern Wu Dialects have varied diminutive forms. Below I list five dialects that are geographically close to one another, but with different diminutive forms. The tonal categories are also provided.

A. Longyou dialect

		Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping	(level)	434	21
Shang	(oblique)	55	213
Qu	(falling)	52	31
Ru	(entering)	5	2

In this dialect, diminutive meanings are expressed by a tonal change plus a word *xiao* with a 'smallness' meaning. No matter what the citation tone of the monosyllabic or disyllabic word is, it is changed to one or two uniformed diminutive tone when another word is added to denote the diminutive meaning. And this type of diminutive tone forms a special category of tone in this dialect.[3]

(1). $[\varphi ia^{52}]+[t\varphi i^{434}]$ ⟶ $[\varphi ia^{33}\ t\varphi i^{45}]$ (Cao 2002:143)

小　　　　鸡　　　　　小鸡

xiao　　*ji*　　　　*xiao ji*

'small'　'chick'　　　　'chicken'

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[3] In Chinese, tones are represented on a five-step scale, a notation based on Chao (1930). The one to five scale is not a description of phonetic values, but rather as a phonological categorization. Register also plays an important role in Chinese languages. However, I choose not to discuss it because of the limited number of data gathered from this dialect.

(2). [ɕia^{52}]+ [dao^{434}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} dao^{45}] [4]

小　　　桃　　　　　　小桃
xiao　　tao　　　　　　xiao tao
'small' 'peach'　　　　'small peach

(3). [ɕia^{52}] + [mao^{434}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} mao^{45}] (Cao 2002:143)

小　　　猫　　　　　　小猫
xiao　　mao　　　　　　xiao mao
'small'　'cat'　　　　　'kitty'

(4). [ɕia^{52}] + [dua^{434}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} dua^{45}]

小　　　猪　　　　　　小猪
xiao　　zhu　　　　　　xiao zhu
'small'　　'pig'　　　　'piglet'

(5). [ɕia^{52}] + [nəŋ^{21}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} nəŋ^{213}] (Cao 2002:144)

小　　　人　　　　　　小 人
xiao　　ren　　　　　　xiao ren
'small'　'person'　　　'child'

(6). [ɕia^{52}] + [guei^{45} dəɤ^{21}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} guei^{21} dəɤ^{213}] (Cao 2002:144)

小　　　鬼头　　　　　　小鬼头
xiao　　guitou　　　　　　xiao guitou
'small'　'ghost head'　　'boy'

(7). [ɕia^{52}]+ [tu^{45} dəɤ^{21}] ⟶ [ɕia^{33} tu^{21} dəɤ^{213}]

小　　　土豆　　　　　　小土豆
xiao　　tudou　　　　　　xiao tudou
'small'　'potato'　　　'small potato'

B. Yunhe dialect:

	Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping (level)	324	423
Shang (oblique)	53	21
Qu (falling)	55	223
Ru (entering)	5	24

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[4] The data that are not given references are collected from Jiuqing Du, a native speaker of Longyou dialect.

(8) /maɔ^{423}+ ɲi^{324}/ ⟶ [maɔ^{423} ɲi^{324}] (Cao 2002)

猫　　儿　　　　　猫　　儿

mao　*er*　　　　*mao*　*er*

'cat'　'son'　　　'kitty'

C. Wenzhou dialect:

	Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping (level)	33	31
Shang (oblique)	35	24
Qu (falling)	42	11
Ru (entering)	313	212

The following two forms are used interchangeably:

(9). a. / lə^{24} + o^{33}+ ŋ^{31}/ ⟶ [lə^{53}o^{11} ŋ^{13}] (Zhengzhang 1981)

老　鸦　儿　　　　　老　鸦　儿

lao　*wo*　*er*　　　*lao*　*wo*　*er*

'old' 'crow' 'son'　　'old man'

b. / lə^{24} + o^{33} ŋ^{31}/ ⟶ [lə^{53}oŋ^{313}]

老　翁　　　　　　老　翁

lao wong　　　　*lao wong*

old' 'man'　　　'old man'

D. Yiwu dialect:

	Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping (level)	33	213
Shang (oblique)	53	31
Qu (falling)	55	13
Ru (entering)	1A	1B

(10). / tɕi^3 + n^3/ ⟶ [tɕin^{33}] (Chao 1956)

鸡　　儿　　　　　鸡儿

ji　*er*　　　　　*ji'er*

'chicken' 'son'　　'chick'

E. Jinhua dialect:

	Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping (level)	334	213
Shang (oblique)	535	312
Qu (falling)	55	14

Ru   (entering)   4   2

Older speakers use this form:

(11). a. [kuɤ-uəŋ^{334}]   (Cao 2002)

　　　歌 儿

　　　ge er

　　　 'song'

Younger speakers use the following form:

　　b. [kuɤ-uẽ^{334}]

　　　　歌 儿

　　　　ge er

　　　　 'song'

3.2 An autosegmental analysis of the changing process of the 儿 –*er* morpheme

　　　Tracing the diminutive form back to its origin, I find the *er* 'son' morpheme[5] is the original source of the diminutive form. According to Zhengzhang (1981), the morpheme *er* in Chinese took on a diminutive meaning in as early as the third century. At first, it only referred to a baby animal. Later, it developed to be a suffix with a broad denotation of 'smallness'. Some Southern Wu dialects still bear such kind of evidence. For instance, the –*er* in Jinyun dialect can only be added to a noun indicating human or animal, indicating a 'baby' meaning (Cao 2002:149).

F. Jinyun dialect：

	Yin (high register)	Yang (low register)
Ping (level)	334	213
Shang (oblique)	53	31
Qu (falling)	554	213
Ru (entering)	423	35

(8) /aʔ^{50}/ + /ɲi324/ ⟶   [aʔ^{50}ɲi324]

　　鸭　　儿　　　　　 鸭儿

　　ya　　er　　　　　*ya'er*

　'duck' 'son'　　　　'baby duck'

　　　When the *er* morpheme functions more and more like a special diminutive suffix, it starts to change from a content word to a function morpheme, thus affecting its

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[5] Chinese is not an inflectional language. Morphemes and words are not distinctively separated in Chinese. Most of the morphemes function as single words.

phonological stability. Because *er* in Southern Wu dialects is usually pronounced as [ni],
[nie], [ɲi] or other nasal syllables, it naturally becomes a nasal coda and attaches to the
previous syllable, if the previous syllable doesn't have a nasal coda itself. More evidence
can be found in Wenzhou dialect. According to Zhengzhang (1981:41), some words in
Wenzhou dialect have two diminutive forms, one is with the –*er* suffixation, the other is
with a nasal coda:

(10)=(4). [lə^{53}o^{11} ŋ ^{13}] == [lə^{53}o ŋ ^{313}] (Zhengzhang 1981)

老鸦儿   老翁

lao wo er   lao wong

'old man'   'old man'

In Southern Wu dialects, nasal codas are in the process of losing their nasal
features and nasalizing the vowels. In Jinhua dialect, it's common to have alternations
between nasalized vowels and vowels with nasal codas:

(11). kuɤ-uəŋ^{334} === kuɤ-ue)^{334}(Cao 2002:150)

歌 儿   歌

ge er   *ge*

'song'   'song'

In a later process of the development, the nasal feature is completely lost, but its
tone is kept and becomes a floating tone. Because *er* itself in Southern Wu dialects is
often a high tone[6], the high feature is left floating when the segment carrying this tone is
deleted. It then re-associates to the closest segment and changes the tone of that segment.
That explains why the falling tones in Longyou dialect change to a rising tone. And the
falling tone of *xiao* 'small' is in turn affected and assimilates to the adjacent tone. It
becomes a mid-high even tone.

4.3 An example in Longyou dialect: purely tonal change

(12) /ɕia^{52} + dao^{434} + ni^{5}/   >   [ɕia^{33} dao^{45}]

小   桃   儿   小 桃

xiao   *tao*   *er*   *xiao tao*

'small' 'peach' 'son'   'small peach

The changing process:

I. /dao^{434} + ni^{5} /   > /dao^{434} + ni^{5}/ >

桃   儿   桃   儿

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[6] The high tone contour for the morpheme *er* varies across the Southern Wu dialects. For
illustration purpose, I just define it as a high tone contour and use one case in Longyou dialect to
exemplify the process.

tao	*er*	*tao*	*er*
'peach'	'son'	'little'	peach'

$$/dao^{434} + n^5/ > /dao^{434} + [+nas] + {}^{5/} > [dao^{45}]$$

桃　　儿　桃　　儿　　　桃儿

tao'r *tao'r* *tao'r*

'little peach' 'little peach' 'little peach'

II. $/ \varsigma ia^{52} + dao^{45} / \longrightarrow [\varsigma ia^{33} dao^{45}]$

　小　　桃 儿　　　小 桃 儿

xiao *tao'r* *xiao tao'r*

'small' 'little peach' 'little peach'

Diminutive meanings are then realized by a tonal change plus a preceding word *xiao* 'small'. Many other Southern Wu dialects share the same high even or high rising diminutive tone (Cao 2002: 158). It shows that a high tone is the main feature of the diminutive tonal change in Southern Wu dialects. Once this tone is formed, it becomes a semantic unit that carries the diminutive meaning. The tone itself is widely used to express the diminutive. In this step, no suffixation is necessary.

4. Conclusion

In summary, the changing process of the diminutive tonal change in Southern Wu dialect can be drawn as follows:

a. Word [ni/nie/ɲi] 'son'
⇩
b. Diminutive suffix [ni/nie/ɲi]
⇩
c Diminutive nasal [n/ŋ]
⇩
d. Nasal coda [n/N] / diminutive tonal change
⇩
e. Nasalization / diminutive tonal change
⇩
f. Diminutive tonal change

The diminutive tonal change in Longyou dialect itself presents no corresponding relationship between the citation tone and the diminutive tone. It is hard to decide which word/morpheme is the trigger of the sound change and why both of them change. Arbitrary rules cannot explain the motivation for this type of change.

From looking at similar diminutives in other Southern Wu dialects, I find that they are closely related. All the diminutive forms presented above are actually derived from one historical changing process. The diminutive forms found in Longyou dialect can be seen as an evidence of one of the last steps of the change, in which the tonal change is triggered by a specific local tonal context that creates a floating tone, reattaches it to the base form and changes the citation tone to a diminutive tone. Thus, from a different perspective, this changing process can be explained with autosegmental representations. Also, geographic distribution of dialects may provide insights for the interactions of phonological features in these dialects.

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Xin [ʋen] *Lianbo?*
Language Attitudes to V-type Phonetic Variation in *Putonghua*[1]

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In *Putonghua,* /w/-initial syllables such as *wen* have two phonetic variations: labial-velar approximant [w] and labiodental approximant [ʋ], known as W-type and V-type variation, respectively (Shen 1987, Zhou 2003). This study uses matched guise tasks and a survey to explore native speakers' perceptions of phonetic variations in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*. This study shows that W/V-type variation in /w/-initial syllables affects native speakers' perceptions of a talker's friendliness but does not affect native speakers' perception of a talker's education level, accent, or urban background.

1. Introduction

    Putonghua is the official language in China. Continuous efforts have been made to promote *Putonghua* nationwide. Speech in news programs from China Central Television (CCTV) and national broadcasting stations are considered to represent the standard *Putonghua* pronunciation in China. Using news programs and weather forecasts from CCTV, Zhou (2003) conducted a quantitative study of the phonetic variation among /w/-initial syllables in 15 broadcasters' speech. Both labial-velar approximant [w] and labiodental fricative [v][2] were observed from the news broadcasters' speech. It was found that [v] were more often articulated than [w] in /w/-initial syllables.

    According to *Hanyu Pingyin Fang'an* "Scheme of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet", [w] is the standard pronunciation and [v] is reserved to describe foreign and minority languages. Given such regulations, [v] could potentially be treated as a type of mispronunciation of /w/ in /w/-initial syllables. However, the mispronunciation hypothesis was refuted by Zhou 2003 and many other studies (e.g., Lin 1982, Shen 1987, Ying 2011, etc.). The consensus in the literature is that phonetic variation in /w/-initial

[2] The research did not have access to the research material Zhou used in his 2003 study. But the researcher, a native Mandarin speaker, speculates that [ʋ], the labiodental approximant might be the more proper way to describe the phonetic variation. See also Hu (1991) and Wiener and Shih (2011, 2012, 2013).

syllables is a widespread phenomenon and should not simply be considered as a type of mispronunciation. The shared language ideology is that language, as a dynamic system, should be used according to well-established rules but at the same time remains sensitive to many other factors, such as individual differences.

There have been speech production and/or recognition studies devoted to examining the phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*. But there is no study examining native Chinese[3] speakers' language attitudes towards such phonetic variation. To fill this gap, this study used matched guise tasks to examine native Chinese speakers' attitudes to speech samples involving phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables.

2. Literature review

This section reviewed previous studies on speech production and/or speech recognition of the phonetic variation in Chinese /w/-initial syllables. In addition, this section justified this study by pointing out the gap in literature, i.e., the lack of studies addressing native speakers' language attitudes to the phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*.

2.1 The V-type/W-type production studies

This subsection reviewed studies that shared the common interests in speech production involving phonetic variation in syllables with /w/ as the initial consonant. Lin's (1982) study was the first study pointing out the phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua* as well as in Beijing dialect. Lin suggested that different degrees of lip-rounding led to phonetic variation and Shen (1987) spelled out the variation, i.e., [u w β ʊ v] using IPA. Shen further grouped those five phones into three major categories: W-type (including bilabial phones), V-type (including labiodental phones), and L-type (including phones that could not be categorized to W-type or V-type). Shen's (1987) sociolinguistic study of over 400 participants' production of /w/-initial disyllabic words in Beijing dialect reported that V-type production was more likely to be observed among young female participants and among syllables with less rounded vowel nucleus. Shen's study tested eight eligible /w/-initial syllables, i.e., *wa* /wa/, *wang* /wɑŋ/, *wan* /wɑn/, *wai* wai/, *wei* /wei/, *wen* /wən/, *wo* /wo/, *wu* /wu/, leaving out the ninth possible /w/-initial syllable, i.e., weng /wəŋ/ because of its rare use in Beijing dialect.

Shen's (1987) observation was confirmed and expanded in Wiener and Shih's (2011, 2013) sociophonetic studies of [ʊ]/ [w] phonetic variation in *Putonghua*. Wiener and Shih (2011, 2013) reported that [ʊ]/ [w] phonetic variation extended beyond Beijing and the surrounding areas and such variation was observed in participants from both northern and southern part of China (also see Chen 2010). Same with Shen (1987), Wiener and Shih (2011, 2013) reported that [ʊ] tended to co-occur with less rounded vowels and [w] tended to be coarticulated with rounded vowels.

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[3] In this study, "Chinese" was used as the cover term for languages/dialects spoken in China.

The practice of using only labiodental approximant [ʋ] and labial-velar approximant [w] to describe the phonetic variation in Chinese /w/-initial syllables can be traced back to Hu's (1991) study. Hu suggested that there were only two kinds of phonetic variation in Beijing dialect, i.e., labiodental approximant [ʋ] and labial-velar approximant [w]. Hu also summarized the coarticulation conditions of [ʋ] and [w] in Beijing dialect as reported in (1). Hu suggested that the phoneme /w/ would be phonetically realized as [w] if coarticulated with low vowels and [ʋ] will be triggered if the syllable nucleus is a high vowel. In addition, Hu also pointed out that the openness in pronouncing *a* [ɑ] as in *wan* [wɑn] was subject to individual variation and stress alternation. [w] was more likely to co-occur with [ɑ] with wider openness and [ʋ] was more likely to be companied with [ɑ] with narrower openness.

(1) Coarticulation conditions for [ʋ] and [w] in Beijing dialect   (Hu, 1991, p. 244)

    [w][4]: *wa* 瓦, *wai* 喂, *wang* 王, *wo* 我

    [ʋ]: *wei* 为, *wen* 文, *weng* 翁

    [w]/ [ʋ]: *wan* 晚

Other studies such as J. Wang's (2011) study on initial consonant [ʋ] variation in Harbin dialect, a northern speech, emphasized social factors' influence on [ʋ] production. J. Wang reported that family prestige, growth areas, professional prestige, and age were the factors that had the greatest impact on [ʋ] production.

In summary, this subsection reviewed several studies about /w/-initial syllable production. The consensus was reported as follows: first, there were two major types of phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables, i.e., involving lips (bilabial) or lip and teeth (labiodental); second, W-type phonetic variation such as [w] tended to co-occur with rounded vowels and V-type variation such as [ʋ] tended to be coarticulated with less rounded vowels; last, W-type and V-type variation could be observed in native Chinese speakers from both southern and northern part of China.

2.2 The V-type/W-type recognition studies

Besides production studies, there were also speech recognition studies addressing V-type/W-type variation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*. Wiener and Shih's (2012) study reported that there was a significant difference in participants' accuracy in recognizing the female [ʋ] production than male [ʋ] production in /w/-initial syllables. Participants were better at recognizing the former than the latter. Wiener and Shih used 48 target syllables from five speakers' (2 male, 3 female) recordings to form AXB discrimination tasks. The results indicated that participants were better at perceiving

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[4] Hu (1991) used the vowel [u] to describe the approximant [w]. The author changes [u] into [w] to be consistent with the phonetic representation used in the rest of this paper.

female [ʊ] production, regardless of whether the female speakers were originally from the north part of China or not.

2.3 The V-type/W-type production + recognition studies

Chen's study in 2010 investigated both V-type/W-type speech production and recognition among native Chinese speakers from various dialect groups. In Chen's study, participants were first asked to read a word list containing 69 disyllabic words with /w/-initials. Participants then listened to 18 words chosen from the word list, twice (one in W-type reading, one in V-type), and reported whether they thought the pronunciations were acceptable in *Putonghua* speech. The results indicated that participants from the northern group (including speakers of various northern Mandarin[5] dialects), the central group (including *Xiang* and *Wu* dialect speakers), and the southern group (including Cantonese and *Min* dialect speakers) differed significantly in [v] usage frequency, but did not differ significantly in the tendency of accepting [v] in *Putonghua*.

To be specific, in terms of usage frequency, the northern group differed significantly from both the central and southern group, but there was no significant difference found between the central and southern group. Such results indicated that V-type production was primarily associated with northern speech, though the feature had been gradually adopted by speakers from the central and southern dialect groups. In addition, the fact that speakers from all three dialect groups showed no significant difference in accepting V-type pronunciation demonstrated that [v] had become an acceptable acoustic feature associated with *Putonghua*.

As discussed above, previous studies either examined V-type production and/or V-type recognition in /w/-initial syllables. No study has been conducted to specifically address native Chinese speakers' language attitudes towards W-type/V-type phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables. This study used matched guise tasks and structured interview questions to explore participants' language attitudes to W-type/V-type variation in spoken Chinese. This study aimed to examine the relationship between W-type/V-type variation and the resulting influence on people's judgment of talkers' traits.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

This study had 14 subjects, aged from 22 to 35. All of them were adult native Chinese speakers though their dialectal background varied. They were all undergraduate or graduate students enrolled in two major Mid-west universities. The informant pool included one *Yue* dialect speaker, five *Wu* dialect speakers, and eight Mandarin speakers. 13 of them finished undergraduate study in mainland China before coming to the U.S.

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[5] "Mandarin" in this study was used to refer to one of the ten major dialect groups in China, i.e., *guan hua* (Li 1989).

One informant left China after finishing high school. Their length of staying in the U.S. varied from four months to five and a half years. All participants volunteered for this study.

3.2 Instrument

An online Google form survey was used to collect data in this study. It included a background information questionnaire, followed by matched guise tasks based on six pre-prepared recordings, and four interview questions. To be specific, the language background questionnaire was used to collect participants' dialectal background and self-evaluation of their *Putonghua* speech. See Appendix A for details. In addition, recordings of an excerpt of the written passage in Wiener and Shih's (2011, 2013) sociophonetic study of [ʊ] were used as the audio stimuli. The original passage was about ***Weilian Wangzi*** "Prince William" written in news report style. The entire passage included 41 tokens of /w/-initial syllables. [6] The excerpt used in this study contained 21 target syllables. See Appendix B for details.

In this study, two native Mandarin speakers (one male and one female) were recruited by the researcher to read the excerpt. V-type/W-type variation in /w/-initial syllables existed in both speakers' natural speech. [7] They tended to use W-type pronunciation of /w/ when /w/ was followed by rounded vowels and to use V-type pronunciation in other cases. Therefore, in the two speakers' natural speech, both W-type and V-type pronunciations of /w/-initial syllables existed. This pattern was categorized as W/V-mixed type in this study.

In total, six recordings were contributed by the two speakers. They were asked to read the excerpt three times. On the first reading, the two speakers were asked to read in their natural speech to yield the W/V-mixed type recording. Then they were asked to read every /w/-initial syllable in standard *Putonghua* pronunciation, i.e., as [w], the labial-velar approximant to generate the W-type recording. The last time, the two speakers were asked to phonetically "replace" /w/ in every target syllable with [ʊ], the labiodental

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[6] If the target syllable was at the second syllable position in a disyllabic word, it would still be counted as a /w/-initial syllable since /w/ was at the initial position of the second syllable. In addition, the original passage in Wiener and Shih's (2013) was designed in a way that the possible influences of the preceding syllable were controlled. In the original passage, all /w/-initial syllables were preceded by either a vowel or an /n/-coda. Therefore, Wiener and Shih's short passage remained a valid research instrument for examining syllables with /w/-initial.

[7] The researcher used a question in a friendly environment to determine whether [ʊ]/[w] variation was present or not. The researcher asked the two speakers the name of the news program on air at 7:00 p.m. on CCTV-1. If their reply was *xin* [v]*en lianbo* instead of *xin* [w]*en lianbo*, the researcher would then draw the speakers' attention to the character 文 *wen*'s *pinyin* romanization and asked them to pronounce it again. If they reply with *xin* [w]*en lianbo*, then the researcher concluded that the [ʊ]/[w] variation was present in the speakers' natural speech and [ʊ] would be the more "natural" way to pronounce certain /w/-initial syllables.

approximant to yield the V-type recording. In the meantime, the two speakers were directed to retain as much natural speech features as they could. The researcher audio-recorded the process and later edited the recordings. In total, six recordings were used as phonetic input for the matched guise tasks.

Another questionnaire designed as matched guise tasks was used to collect data on participants' language attitudes on W/V-mixed type variation, W-type speech, and V-type speech in *Putonghua*. It asked participant to rate the speaker in each recording on the following aspects: the speaker's education level, friendliness, accent, urbanization level of the speaker's hometown, and resemblance to *Putonghua* pronunciation. The six recordings were placed in the questionnaire in the following order: W-type recording (first female, then male), then V-type recording (first female, then male), and last W/V-mixed type recording (first female, then male). See Appendix C for details.

Last, four interview questions were also included to elicit participants' understandings of V-type/W-type phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables, and their attitudes towards language standards and dynamic changes. See Appendix D for details.

3.3 Procedure

First, participants were asked to fill out the language background questionnaire. Then they were asked to do the matched guise tasks based on six pre-prepared recordings. Last, participants were asked to respond to four pre-structured interview questions about V-type/ W-type phonetic variations in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*.

4. Results and Analyses

This section reported and analyzed results of the matched guise tasks and the follow-up interview questions using quantitative and qualitative methods, respectively. The results indicated that female recordings of all three types, i.e., W-type, V-type, and W/V-mixed type were consistently rated as friendlier than the corresponding male recording. In addition, the female and male recordings of each type were not perceived significantly different in education, accentedness, urbanness, and resemblance to *Putonghua* pronunciation as rated by the 14 participants in this study.

4.1 The matched guise tasks

This subsection reported and analyzed results of the matched guise tasks. In the matched guises tasks, all 14 participants rated their judgment towards each pre-prepared recording along five traits on a 5-point scale. Quantitative analyses of W-type, V-type, and W/V-mixed type recordings were given in this subsection.

W-type recording: Paired t-tests reported the following results. First, there was no significant difference among the 14 participants' judgment of female and male W-type recordings in terms of education level, accent, urbanization of the speaker's hometown, and resemblance to *Putonghua* pronunciation. But there was a significant difference in friendliness, $t(13) = 2.69$, $p < .05$, with female W-type recording ($M = 4.0$, $SD = 0.78$)

receiving a higher score than the corresponding male W-type recording (*M* = 3.6, *SD* = 0.84). It indicated that female W-type recording was consistently rated as friendlier than male W-type recording, and such difference was statistically reliable.

       V-type reading: Paired t-tests were conducted to compare whether the 14 participants made significantly different choices in the five traits pertaining to language attitudes towards both female and male V-type recordings. The results indicated the same conclusion as found in participants' language attitudes to female and male W-type recordings. The result suggested that "friendliness" was the only trait which led participants to give significantly different ratings on the female (*M* = 4.5, *SD* = 0.52) and male V-type recording (*M* = 3.9, *SD* = 0.92), *t*(13) =3.80, *p* < .05.

       W/V-mixed type reading: Paired t-tests were conducted on participants' ratings of speakers' education level, friendliness, accent, urbanization of the speaker's hometown, and the degree of resemblance to standard *Putonghua* pronunciation. The results reported the same conclusion as the results derived from quantitative analyses of female and male W and V-type recordings. The 14 participants made similar choices in grading the female and male W/V-mixed type recordings in terms of all four traits, except in friendliness, *t*(13) = 2.83, *p* < .05. Female W/V-mixed type recording (*M* = 4.5, *SD* = 0.52) was rated friendlier than the corresponding male recording (*M* = 3.9, *SD* = 0.92).

       In summary, quantitative analysis of the 14 participants' judgment of female and male recordings of all three types reported that participants did not perceive female and male recordings of each type significantly different in education level, accentedness, urbanization of the speaker's hometown, and resemblance to *Putonghua* pronunciation. The only significant difference lied in the guise "friendliness". All 14 participants judged the female recording of each type as friendlier than the corresponding male recording. The above results indicated that native Chinese speakers tended to associate a female voice with friendly personal characteristics.

4.2 Qualitative analysis of the interview questions

       The four interview questions asked participants to reflect on their own language practice in pronouncing /w/-initial syllables, whether they had noticed phonetic variation in syllables with /w/-initial consonant before, and their attitudes towards W-type/V-type variation in pronouncing /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*.

       Qualitative analyses of the interview questions reported the following results. First, V-type variation existed in speech of participants from both northern and southern China, and was observed in both male and female informants. Such results lent support to Wiener and Shih 2013 and Chen 2010. Second, all 14 participants agreed that W-type pronunciation in /w/-initial syllables represented the standard pronunciation in *Putonghua*. Third, informants differed in the sensitivity of perceiving W-type/V-type variation in previous linguistic experiences. The result reported that half of participants (seven out of 14) had noticed W-type/V-type variation before, five participants reported that they did not notice such phenomenon until they participated in this study, and two participants did

not clearly answer the interview question. Fourth, there might be a regional denotation associated with labiodental approximant [ʋ]. [ʋ] was specifically noted as a feature of northern speech by two southern participants, while no participant from northern China expressed such opinion. Such a result echoed with Chen's (2010) conclusion that V-type variation was primarily associated with northern speech.

Last, informants differed in their tolerance of W-type/V-type variation in /w/-initial syllables. Most participants (eight out of 14), regardless of whether they were from the northern or southern part of China or whether they used W-type or V-type pronunciation in their own speech, insisted that W-type/V-type phonetic variation should be tolerated in daily life if such variation did not impact on understanding. Only two participants expressed strong opinion of enforcing strict regulations on pronouncing /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*, since both participants reported that *Putonghua* was the language they primarily used (besides English) and dialects were reserved for families and/or friends who were originally from the same region. Therefore, the two informants' insistence on standard pronunciation in *Putonghua* indicated their idea of the proper language practice in daily life. Interestingly, the two participants (one from south, one from north China) used V-type variation in their own speech, while all participants who used W-type, regardless of the regional differences, voted for the more tolerate language attitudes to W-type/V-type variation in daily conversation. Such a result indicated that native speakers' language attitudes did not necessarily correlate with their language practice.

5. Conclusion

This study used matched guise tasks and interview questions to explore native Chinese speakers' language attitudes towards W-type/V-type phonetic variation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*. The result indicated that participants did not judge female and male recordings of each type, i.e., W-type, V-type, W/V-mixed type, significantly different in terms of the speakers' education level, accent, urbanization of the speakers' hometown, and resemblance to *Putonghua* pronunciation. The only significant difference in the 14 participants' ratings lied in the "friendliness" trait. Participants systematically rated the female recording of each type as friendlier than the corresponding male recording. In addition, the qualitative analysis of the interview questions reported that native Chinese speakers generally tended to accept both W-type and V-type pronunciation in /w/-initial syllables in *Putonghua*.

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Appendix A
Language background questionnaire (the Chinese version)

姓名：   出生地：
年龄：   受教育水平：
旅美时间：
你的普通话发音的标准程度：
你的家乡话：
你平时都和谁说家乡话：
你父亲所说的方言：
你母亲所说的方言：

Language background questionnaire (the English version)

Gender: Birth place:
Age: Education level:
Length of staying in the U.S.:
The degree of your speech resembling standard *Putonghua* pronunciation:
Your dialect:
People do you speak dialect with:
Dialect spoken by your father:
Dialect spoken by your mother:
Any speech or hearing disorders:

An excerpt from the research instrument in Wiener and Shih (2011, 2013)
The recorded excerpt (the Chinese version)

英国的威廉王子今年五月到北欧的瑞典进行访问。瑞典因为纬度较高，因此即使是五月，天气还是很冷，不仅屋子里需要开暖气，早上外面的雾气也很浓。威廉王子魅力无穷，他穿上正式服装，看起来相当威风。沿途上很多民众争相跟他握手，他还顽皮地抱起路旁在玩挖土游戏的娃娃，他亲切的态度与他已故的母亲黛安娜王妃一样使人感觉很温暖，我们都很喜欢他。

The recorded excerpt (the English version)

Prince William of the United Kingdom visited Sweden this May. Because of the high latitude of Sweden, even though it was already May, it was still cold. People there still needed a heater in the house and there was also a heavy fog outside. Prince William looks very charming, especially when he dresses up in formal attire. Many Swedes like him and they all wanted to shake hands with him. Prince William also mischievously picked up a child playing and digging on the playground. Prince William is very down-to-earth and nice. His warm attitude is just like his mother, Princess Diana. We all like him a lot.

说话者（X）					
	低 ⟷ 高				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
受教育程度	1	2	3	4	5
友善程度	1	2	3	4	5
口音轻重 （1=没有口音；5=口音很重）	1	2	3	4	5
说话者所在地域的城市化程度	1	2	3	4	5
发音的标准性（与普通话相比）	1	2	3	4	5

Speaker（X）					
	low ⟷ high				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
education level	1	2	3	4	5
friendliness	1	2	3	4	5
accent (1=accent-free; 5=heavy accent)	1	2	3	4	5
urbanization of the speaker's hometown	1	2	3	4	5
resemblance of *Putonghua* pronunciation	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D
Interview questions (the Chinese version)
1. 请您先回答一个问题：中央一套晚上 7 点钟播放的节目叫什么名字？是新 wen 联播还是新 ven 联播？您是发的唇齿音还是双唇音？
2. 您认为哪一种发音是标准普通话发音？您使用的是哪一种发音？
3. 在所有 w 开头的汉语音节中，您的发音习惯是怎样的？您之前注意到 w 开头的汉语音节有唇齿还有双唇的区别了吗？是怎么注意到的？
4. 关于 w 开头的汉语音节在实际发音中的异读现象，您作为汉语母语使用者持什么态度？

Interview questions (the English version)
1. What is the name of the news program that is on air at 7:00 p.m. on CCTV-1? Is it *XinWen LianBo* or *XinVen LianBo*? Are you pronouncing a labiodental sound or bilabial sound?
2. Which way do you think is the standard pronunciation in *Putonghua*? Which sound do you use?
3. What is your way of pronouncing syllables that begins with "w" in Chinese? Did you notice the bilabial V.S. labiodental variation in /w/-initial syllables before this study? How did you notice it?
4. What is your attitude towards the [w]/ [ʊ] phonetic variation in native Chinese speakers' natural speech?

马来西亚华语的历时考察

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早期马来西亚华人移民按所操方言聚居，形成了五大基本方言族群。19 世纪末 20 世纪初，华人方言群逐渐融合为华族，并趋于以通用华语为共同语。马来西亚通用华语的形成以华语方言为基础，经历了萌芽期、成长期和成熟期等阶段。本文从马来西亚华人社会的发展、中马两国时局的影响等方面，深入探讨马来西亚华语的形成和发展过程、历史背景及影响因素。

1. 引言

目前，学界对于"华语"概念的界定还没有达成共识，"客观上造成了概念的纠葛、表述的困难和研究理念的局限"[1]。从历史和源流上看，华语和汉语是同义词，即狭义的"华语"指全球华人的共同语，而广义的"华语"则指全球华人的语言。（赵世举，2017）因此，为了表述清晰，本文将马来西亚华人使用的方言称为华语方言，将马来西亚华人使用的共同语称为通用华语。

目前，对于马来西亚华语形成和发展的研究主要有以下一些成果：潘碧丝（2007）通过对马来西亚通用华语词汇与普通话词汇的对比分析，将马来西亚通用华语的发展分为四个阶段：19 世纪末的文言文阶段、20 世纪初的白话文阶段、1966 至 1982 年的向台湾趋同和 1982 年至今的向普通话趋同时期。徐威雄（2012）通过对史料的整理和分析，将新马华语演变分为三个阶段：清末"官话"到民初"国语"的过渡期、华语教育的普及阶段和华语的转变与发展阶段。王彩云（2016）通过分析马来西亚通用华语虚词的变异情况，将马来西亚通用华语的形成分为方言时期及华语的产生和发展时期。本文在上述学者的研究和观点的基础上，将马来西亚通用华语的形成和发展历程分为四个阶段，即华语方言期（18 世纪末—19 世纪末）、通用华语的萌芽期（19 世纪末—1919 年）、通用华语的成长期（1920—1947 年）和通用华语的成熟期（1948 年—今）。

2. 华语方言期（18 世纪末—19 世纪末）

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[1] 赵世举. 华语的历时流变和共时格局及其概念试说. 第十届海峡两岸现代汉语问题学术研讨会大会发言

　　华人移居马来西亚的历史十分悠久，但却没有在一开始就形成整齐划一的族群，而是形成了以方言为分野的亚族群。早期东南亚华人移民大多为亲属移民或契约移民，而马来西亚的早期华人移民则以亲属移民为主，他们彼此之间多为为宗族亲属或同乡关系。在移民的过程中，由于强烈的地域观念以及安全、情感等因素，操同一方言的移民就更容易聚合在一起，从而形成了不同的华语方言群（Dialect Group）。

　　根据英国殖民政府的统计数据[2]和马来西亚 2000 年官方统计数据[3]，自 1881 年至 2000 年，马来半岛的华语方言主要有五个，即闽南话（Hokkien）、客家话（Hakka）、广东话（Cantonese）、潮州话（Teochew）和海南话（Hainanese）。其中，闽南话一直都是马来半岛使用人数最多的华语方言，其通行地区相对集中，主要包括雪兰莪巴生、柔佛昔加末与南部地区、槟城等地；广东话主要在雪兰莪巴生河流域、霹雳州怡宝、吉隆坡和柔佛丰盛港等地使用；客家话的通行地比较分散，主要包括雪兰莪、砂拉越、沙巴和柔佛居銮等地；潮州话的通行地主要包括槟城、柔佛新山、雪兰莪和吉打部分地区；海南话主要通行于柔佛州。[4]（具体分布见图1）除了这五个主要的华语方言，福州话（Foochow）和莆仙话（Puxian Dialect）等方言也有部分华人使用。这些方言群成员多集中聚居于某一州内，且人数较少，因此，

图 1：马来西亚主要汉语方言通行区域分布

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[2] Purcell, Victor. 1965. The Chinese In Southeast Asia (Second Edition). Oxford University Press. 223-230.

[3] 文平强. 2007. 马来西亚华裔人口与方言群分布. 华研通讯，第一期. 27-35.

[4] 根据麦留芳（1985）、文平强（2007）的方言群人口分布整理得出，图中区域分布没能做到十足精确，只是显示了各方言大致的通行区域。

方言的使用范围也集中于方言群聚居的州府内，如福州话多用于砂拉越的诗巫和民都鲁。华人方言群的形成使得马来亚华人社会成为了一个自足的语言社会，为通用华语的形成提供了坚实的基础。

3. 通用华语的萌芽期（19世纪末-1919年）

长期以来，马来西亚的华人社会都是一个方言社会，各方言群固守自己的华语方言。虽然，一些方言较强势，如闽南话、广东话等，但是，并没有哪一种华语方言可以替代其他的方言，也没有统一的通用语。在早期的南洋社会，"华语"（Chinese）并不是用来指华人社会的通用语，而是指各种华语方言。（徐威雄，2012）当时的华人社会"同侨往来，时而巫语，时而英语，时而闽广土语，他省初到人往往对之如木偶"。（李钟钰，1887，载余定邦、黄重言，2002:190）。在这样一个方言社会中，马来西亚华语通用语的萌芽和初步发展主要受到以下一些因素的影响。

1、内部因素

当时的马来西亚华人方言群虽然在语言和文化上存在较大的差异，但是，各方言群之间也不是完全隔离的，而是"在分化中转向集合"[5]。首先，相较于国内各方言群的分布情况，马来西亚地区的华人方言群可以说是混居在一起的，"彼此间其实都比邻接踵，近在咫尺"（麦留芳，1985）。这样的地域分布特点使得各方言群成员在日常生活中不可避免的相互接触，增进了不同方言群间的了解和沟通。其次，除华人外，当地还有马来人、英国人和印度人等其他族群。在这种多族群多文化的社会背景下，华人的民族意识逐渐增强。同时，清朝末期，清政府认识到了侨民资源的重要性，采取一系列措施争取侨民的认同，这些措施激发了华族共同体意识的觉醒，促使华人突破畛域观念。（李勇，2012）因此，华人不再仅将自己视为福建人、广东人、海南人等，而将自己视为中国人。再次，随着华人社会的发展，人们在医疗、丧葬、教育等方面的需求越来越高，单一方言群所掌握的社会资源已经无法满足，这使得跨帮合作成为一种趋势。早在17世纪，马来西亚就有了跨帮参与的华人帮群组织，如马六甲的青云亭和槟城的广富宫。19世纪中期开始，跨帮的华人方言群组织开始大量出现，如槟城的南华医院和平章会馆、新山的柔佛古庙等。到了19世纪末20世纪初期，还出现了广惠肇碧山亭、中华总商会这类同时跨地缘和帮群的方言群组织。

到了19世纪末期，随着马来西亚华人方言群逐步融合为华族，各方言群间的交流日益频繁。可是，华人社会却没有统一的通用语，这给方言群间的交流和融合造成了很大的阻碍，正如《南洋华侨教育调查报告》所提到的：[6]

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[5] 陈育崧. 1983. 椰阴馆文存（第二卷）.新加坡：南洋学会. 378.
[6] 林之光，朱化雨.1936.南洋华侨教育调查.48.

　　……当时用普通话演讲，须请一人翻译粤语，一人翻译闽语，殊觉不便，遂感国语之重要"。

为了满足各方言群间沟通和交流的需要，华社需要一个所有人都认同的通用语。华社的这一需求正是华语通用语开始在马来西亚华社萌芽并初步发展起来的内部动因。

　　2、外部因素

　　19 世纪末 20 世纪初，中国社会在政治、经济、文化和教育等方面都发生了许多重大的变革。由于一直同中国保持着密切的联系，马来西亚的华人社会受到了中国时局变化的直接影响。其中，清末民初新式教育的建立和发展、国语运动和白话文运动等都对马来西亚华语通用语的萌芽产生了很大的影响，是促进马来西亚通用华语萌芽和发展的外部因素。下面逐一进行分析：

　　第一、近代中国新式教育的发展。

　　鸦片战争失败后，清政府开始推行维新变法，对教育进行了重大的改革。虽然维新变法只维持了 103 天就失败了，但教育方面的改革仍然延续下来。1904 年，清政府颁布《奏定学堂章程》，这是中国近代第一个以教育法令公布在全国实行的学制，标志着中国近代新式教育制度的确立，其中《学务纲要》规定：

　　各学堂皆学官音。……兹拟以官音统一天下之语言，故自师范以及高等小学堂，均于中国文一科内，附入官话一门。各学堂皆应用圣谕广训宜解一书为准，将来各省各学堂教员，凡授科学均以官音讲解，虽不能遽如生长京师者之圆熟，但必须读字清真，音韵朗畅。[7]

这是首次将"官音"正式纳入教育体系，使官话（国语）成为高等小学及师范学校的必修科目，又将官话（国语）定为全国统一的教学语言。这一重大改革不仅推动了中国近代新式教育的发展和国家语言的调整和统一，同时也对马来西亚的华文教育和华社语言生态的转变产生了很大的影响。

　　1904 年 5 月 15 日，时任新加坡总领事的张弼士联合当地华商在槟城建立了中华学堂，其各项章程均以《奏定章程》为依据，课程设置中有"国文"一项，分作文和读文两科，每周还有两小时国语课，并设夜课速成班。中华学堂速成班章程规定：学生"不拘籍贯"，"教习现暂不定人数，以能正音、课蒙学……，皆可来堂互相讨论"。[8]夜校只授六门课程，其中两科便是国文和国语。[9]可见，中华学堂

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[7] 奏定章程学务纲要 http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=166616&remap=gb

[8]《槟城新报》西历一千九百零五年五月九号

http://libapps2.nus.edu.sg/sea_chinese/documents/Penang%20sin%20poe/1904/1904_05_09.pdf

[9] 转引自徐威雄. 2012. 马新华语的历史考察：从 19 世纪末到 1919 年. 马来西亚华人研究学

不仅教授国语，同时也使用国语作为教学媒介语。此后，马来半岛各地的新式学校纷纷开授国语课程，并用国语作为教学语言。

1906 年，在清政府学部南洋巡视员董鸿祎、钱恂、两江总督端方等的推动下，清政府为南洋各地期望回国接受教育的华人子弟建立了暨南学堂，最初只设中学，开设国文课。到了民国时代，暨南学堂更名为国立暨南大学，成为了当时唯一的华侨大学。据南洋华侨教育调查报告记载：[10]

当民国七年（1918 年），教育部规复南京暨南学校，专收华侨学生，英属各侨校，选派侨生归国就学者，络绎不绝，遂开侨生归国就学之先锋。

第二、国语运动和白话文运动的影响。

清朝末年（1892-1911），由民间兴起了一场文字改革运动，主张简易字画、字话一律、语言统一，被后人称为"切音字运动"。[11]这一运动为后来的国语运动、白话文运动奠定了基础。在切音字运动的影响下，1910 年，官话被正式改称国语。1915 年，陈独秀在上海创办《新青年》杂志，开启白话文运动。1916 年 8 月，为解决国语统一问题，北京教育界人士组成了中华民国国语研究会，国语运动也正式拉开帷幕。 1918 年，胡适发表了《建设的文学革命论》，提出新文学的创作宗旨为"国语的文学，文学的国语"。1919 年 4 月 21 日，国语统一筹备会成立，会议通过了《国语统一进行方法》，国语运动也随之走向高潮。此后，五四运动更加速了国语和白话文的推广和普及。

随着五四运动的风潮，白话文和国语运动也影响了马来西亚华社，适时地推动了国语在当时的马来西亚华社的推广。据《南洋华侨教育调查报告》记载：[12]

民国六年（1917 年），教育部曾派黄培炎、林鼎华二君，前往调查南侨教育，……其初仅各校聘一教师，专教国语，迨五四运动之后，新文化之怒潮澎湃，南洋亦受其影响，而国语之推行，更为普遍，至今英属各侨校，几乎全用国语了。

新式学校的建立和国语课程极大地推动了国语在马来西亚华社的传播。但是，这一时期，马来西亚华语通用语还处于萌芽时期。华校的国语课在课程设置、教学语言、教材和教法的使用等方面都各不相同，还没有统一的标准和完善的教学体系。根据侯鸿鉴在《南洋旅行记》中的记载，当时的马来西亚华校中，大约有六成左右

刊 （15）．107.

[10] 林之光，朱化雨．1936.南洋华侨教育调查.48.

[11] 李宇明．2003.清末文字改革家论语言统一. 语言教学与研究 （2）. 1.

[12] 林之光，朱化雨．1936.南洋华侨教育调查.48.

的学校开设了国语课程。（徐威雄，2012）一些学校的低年级的课程仍使用方言教学，如育才学校"一年二年级用闽语教授，三年四年级用国语教授"，同善学校"一年级以客话讲解，以普通音读"。[13]

4. 通用华语的成长期（1919–1941 年）

在五四运动的推动下，国内的国语运动和白话文运动取得了很好的成绩。受此影响，马来西亚华社也进入了通用华语的全面推广和普及阶段。

1920 年 1 月，民国教育部通令全国："自本年秋季起，凡国民学校一二年级，先改国文为语体文，以期收言文一致之效。"同年 4 月，教育部又规定截至1922 年止，凡用文言文编的教科书一律废止，采用语体文。[14]

根据这一条令，马来西亚华校也逐步改为白话文教育。但是，白话文教育的推广之初还是存在争议的。例如：1920 年 11 月 23 日，《槟城新报》刊登了《白话文字之商榷》一文，说道：

> ……不知白话语最浅显，学甚容易。在国民校四年，即可毕业，再进高少数年，即绰绰有裕余。中大学校，须在经史子集用功。白话非所宜也。仍以白话使之演习，是阻学子之进步，终无以窥周秦汉魏晋唐文字之派别，以入其门径矣。仅以白话尽教育之能事，又何必再设中学大学耶。……

1922 年 5 月 31 日，《槟城新报》刊登了一篇题为《统一语言的研究》的时评文章，其中提到：[15]

> 同是一国之人，竟相视如秦越，这是什么缘故呢？就是语言不通的毛病。语言不通，感情不能联络，人心因之涣散……国民要感情融洽，畛域无分，一定要把语言统一起来，……我国读音统一会，应着这种要求，就新定一种国音，来做国语的标准。……但是槟岛侨胞，会说国语的人，还是很少，……还要组织国语传习所，专门教授国音，……

1927 年 7 月 12 日，《叻报》刊登了《敬告教育界》一文，其中说到：[16]

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[13] 侯鸿鉴. 1920. 《南洋旅行记·海峡殖民地及马来半岛记. 无锡竞志女学校. 31, 37.

[14] 李娜. 明国教科书在普及白话文中的历史作用[N]. 中华读书报 2014 年 12 月 31 日第 19 版 http://epaper.gmw.cn/zhdsb/html/2014-12/31/nw.D110000zhdsb_20141231_1-19.htm

[15] 杨墨霞. 1922. 统一语言的研究. 5 月 31 日第十三版 http://libapps2.nus.edu.sg/sea_chinese/documents/Penang%20sin%20poe/1922/1922_05_31.pdf

[16] 《叻报》1927 年 7 月 12 日，第二十页。 http://www.lib.nus.edu.sg/LEBAO/1927/LP0013377.PDF

> 近年来，我国教育界入了文言*的迷魂阵，大开其倒车，觉得国语教育的前途很有些危险，所以大声疾呼要大众觉悟。我以为一个民族如果是进步的一定跟着世界潮流往前直进，……国语教育，就是适应世界潮流为民众教育大必须改进的一件事。

从上述材料可以看出，20 世纪 20 年代，马来西亚华社会说国语的华人仍在少数，对于国语和白话文教育的推广也还存在一些反对的声音。但是，这时的华社已经认识到国语的重要性，推广和普及国语教育已成为马来西亚华文教育发展的必然趋势和教育界的共识。

这一时期，国语推广的方式仍以开设国语课程、国语传习所的方式为主，同时在华校使用国语作为教学语言。正如麦留芳（1985）提到的：白话文普及教育在 1919 年的五四运动之后便开始推行，星马的华人学校随后亦采取中国国语教学。根据《南洋华侨教育调查研究》的记载，民国十六年至十八年（1927-1929）间，南洋华校无论是幼儿园、中小学还是师范院校均开设了国语、国文或国音课，其中以开设国语课的学校最多，多为每周 5-6 个课时，使用的教材大多来自商务印书馆、中华书局、世界书局和开明书店。[17]

1929 和 1930 年，民国教育部通令马来亚各使馆鼓励国语的推广，并规定在学校中不再使用方言和文言教科书。1930 年，柯文达赴新加坡宣传国语，掀起了一场国语推广热潮。柯文达的国语推广活动由新加坡开始，得到了新加坡总领事和华教工作者的大力支持，随后迅速扩展到当时的马来西亚各地。

据海峡殖民地年度教育报告（Straits Settlements Annual Education Reports）和联邦报告（Federation Report）的记载，1929 年，虽然许多华文学校开始使用国语作为教学语言，但是大部分学校仍使用方言；1932 年，由于国语运动，旧式学校（或者说教授传统经典的世俗学校）慢慢消失了；到了 1935 年，国语已成为华文学校的普遍教学用语。[18]可见，20 世纪 30 年代中期，国语已基本成为马来亚华社的通用语，白话文教育也已基本在马来西亚华社普及了。此外，随着抗日战争的爆发，马来西亚华人也积极参与抗日活动，各方言群间的交流合作增强，这也使得通用华语越来越成为华人社会的顶层语言（王彩云，2016）。

5. 通用华语的成熟期（1947 年–今）

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[17] 林之光，朱化雨. 1936. 南洋华侨教育调查. 211-232.

[18] 转写自 Lee Ting Hui. 2006. *Chinese schools in British Malaya: policies and politics*. Singapore: South Seas Society.135. 资料来源：Straits Settlements Annual Education Reports. 1929. P.910；Straits Settlements Annual Education Reports. 1932. P.763-764; Federal Malay States Annual Education Report. 1929. P.14; Federal Malay States Annual Education Report. 1935. P.34.

在日本占领马来西亚之前，马来西亚华社与中国一直都保持着密切的联系，马来西亚华社通用华语的推广和华文教育的发展都受到了直接的影响。因此，华社使用的通用华语与中国通行的国语联系也十分紧密。1941 年，日本占领马来西亚后，华文教育遭到了严重的破坏，直到 1947 年才开始逐渐恢复发展。

二战后，英国重新接管当时的马来西亚地区。随着国共内战的爆发，英国政府开始逐渐限制马来西亚华人与国内的联系。1948 年，由于马共开始组织武装斗争反抗英国的殖民统治，殖民当局全面禁止了华人与祖国的联系。马来西亚独立后，其政府拒绝承认中华人民共和国，而与台湾国民党政府建交，这种情况一直持续到 1974 年中马两国正式建立外交关系。在这样的政治历史背景下，马来西亚华社与港台的联系较大陆更为紧密。受此影响，马来西亚华社所使用的通用华语也就更多地受到来自港台地区华语的影响。这一时期，马来西亚通用华语与普通话在两种相对独立的不同环境中沿着各自的轨道发展，普通话逐渐走向受行政力干预的、不断"规范"的道路，而马来西亚通用华语则走向无行政力干预的、"自由"式的发展道路。（王彩云，2016）

1949 年，新中国成立后，中国政府在对待海外华人国籍的问题上，实行单一国籍的政策，即：[19]

（一）取消华侨（华人）的"双重国籍"：应该在各国华侨、华人中作一清楚的分类：何者为华侨，即是为中国国籍者；何者为华人，即已认同当于地，并已取得当地新兴国或当地自治体（如马来亚、新加坡，甚至尚为英国殖民地的砂勝越、北婆罗洲、沙巴、文莱等）的国籍或公民权者。换言之，海外华侨此后应分为两类：一为华侨（具中国国籍者），一为华人（具当地国或当地自治体的国籍与公民权者）；

这一政策鼓励海外华侨放弃中国国籍而取得居住国国籍，这在一定程度上可以保障海外华人能够更好的享有居住国的公民权益，同时，也促进了华人身份认同的转变。随着时间的推移，移民代际发生了更替，华人的主体已经变为在马来西亚出生成长的年轻一代。相较于与过去受华文教育、讲方言和国语的年长一代，年轻一代的华人变得更加"本土化"。他们已经不再认为自己是中国人，而将自己视为马来西亚华人，亦或是马来西亚人。随着华人身份认同的转变，他们更趋向于认同当地国的语言文化，而对于华语方言和通用华语的认同度和忠诚度都逐渐减弱，华语也更加容易受到当地社会文化因素的影响而产生一些变化。

1957 年，马来西亚独立后，其政府一直在推行单语政策，将马来语规定为官方语言和教学语言，边缘化华语，并打压华文教育。对于华人子女来说，在马来西亚，他们必须首先掌握马来语，其次是英语，然后才是华语或方言。这样的语言政

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[19] 转引自 En-han Lee. 2004. 近代中国外交史事新研. 台湾商务印书馆. 422.

策和教育政策使得年轻一代华人对于华语的忠诚度和认同度变得更低了。在马来西亚多语多文化的背景下，语言间的接触本就较为频繁。这样频繁的语言接触和华人对于方言和华语的较低的忠诚度，使得华语更容易在与其他语言的接触中产生一些变化。

在上述因素的综合作用下，自 1947 年，马来西亚华社所使用的通用华语开始与大陆地区的普通话产生了一些差异和不同，逐步形成了一种基于普通话而又与普通话有一定差异的马来西亚华人共同语。

6. 结语

马来西亚的华人社会一直以来都是方言社会，方言群间没有统一的通用语。通用华语作为共同语，是从 19 世纪末开始萌芽并逐渐推广和发展起来的。20 世纪初至 20 世纪 40 年代，马来西亚通用华语与当时中国通行的国语联系很紧密。到了 20 世纪 50 年代，由于当时的政治历史等因素，马来西亚的通用华语开始走上独立发展的道路，并逐步发展为现在的基于普通话而又与普通话有一定差异的马来西亚华人共同语。通用华语在马来西亚华社的推广和普及首先由华校等教育领域开始，逐步扩大到整个华人社会。在这一过程中，华人身份认同的转变是影响马来西亚通用华语推广和发展的内部动因，而近现代中国时局和中马两国关系的变化也是马来西亚通用华语形成和发展的重要影响因素。

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An Introductory Study
on the Pronunciation and the Tone Pattern of Chinese Characters
in the Recitation of *Panwang dage* in the Mien Language

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In this study we introduce the pronunciation and tone patterns of the Chinese character pronunciations borrowed from Sinitic languages into the Mien language used for reciting *Panwang dage* in a Mien dialect. *Panwang dage* consists of written sutras recited for religious reasons by Mien priests. Most Chinese characters appearing in it are recited using Chinese character pronunciations borrowed from Sinitic languages into the Mien language.

0. Introduction

It is widely known that Chinese loanwords are found in the oral vocabularies of many East Asian and Southeast Asian languages. In some ethnic groups heavily influenced by Chinese culture, such as the Zhuang people 壯族, priests recite Chinese-language Buddhist sutras using the pronunciation of their own language. Most Chinese characters in the sutras are recited using pronunciations borrowed from the Sinitic languages, but some are recited using the pronunciation of native Zhuang words. The Iu-Mien 優勉 people, who currently live scattered throughout the mountainous areas between southern China and northern parts of Southeast Asia, also practice this kind of Chinese character pronunciation. This ethnic group is referred to as the "Yao" (瑤) people in China. Traditionally, they have used only Chinese characters for their written language, and their priests use Chinese character pronunciation to recite a sutra generally known as *Panwang dage* 盤王大歌 in religious ceremonies. The meaning of *Panwang dage* is approximately "great song of/for King Pan," as the Iu-Mien people classify the sutra as a song, which indicates that they have a distinctive concept of songs.

Shi (1928) was a pioneer of the research of the folksongs transmitted among the Mien peoples. Later, Chao (1930) provided the first record of 197 Mien folksongs using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), referring to them as "Han-Chinese songs" (漢歌), because most syllables were recited using borrowed Chinese character pronunciations. He did not specify which dialects were used in reciting the folksongs or his informant's hometown. However, from Pang's (1932:46) statement of "the great Yao village located in the region which is surrounded by the seven counties, Pingnan 平南,

Xiuren 修仁, Xiangxian 象縣, Guiping 桂平, Mengshan 蒙山, Zhaoping 昭平, and Wuxuan 武宣," we can deduce that the village in question was located in the Luoxiang 羅香 township in the Jinxiu Yao Autonomous County 金秀瑤族自治縣 of Guangxi in the current administrative subdivision of Zhuang Autonomous Region. Zhao (2010b:389) also mentioned that this village was in Luoxiang. According to Mao (2004:12-13), the dialects spoken in Jinxiu County can be classified into the Guangtian 廣滇, Changping 長坪, and Luoxiang 羅香 sub-dialect groups (土語) of the Mien language 勉語; the latter is spoken in Luoxiang township. Li (2001) ordered the Chinese character pronunciations recorded in Chao (1930) according to initial, rhyme, and tone to identify their features and make a list of syllables. Unfortunately, Li (2001:253) misidentified the Chinese character pronunciations in Chao (1930) as belonging to the Guangxi dialect of Cantonese. In Chao's IPA transcription, there are several features that are inconsistent with the basic features of Cantonese[1]. Furthermore, some consonant clusters, such as [pl] and [kl], are also found in his transcription, suggesting that the syllables are native sounds of the Mien language (hereinafter referred to as NM), rather than from Chinese characters borrowed by the Mien language. This means that not all characters in the recorded folksongs were recited using Mien pronunciation of Chinese characters. Similarly, most Chinese characters appearing in *Panwang dage*, which is the focus of this study, are recited using Chinese character pronunciations borrowed from Sinitic languages into the Mien language (hereinafter referred to as CPM), but some Chinese characters are recited using NM pronunciation.

Panwang dage is often thought of as a type of song, but it is recited for religious reasons in the Mien community. It is a different kind of song from the folksongs recorded by Chao (1930). Zhao (2010b:389 etc.) called *Panwang dage* the "song of the Yao people" (瑤歌). However, *Panwang dage* consists of written sutras recited for religious reasons by Mien priests, serving a different function than normal folksongs. Although a two-volume book of *Panwang dage* recorded with both Chinese characters and IPA was published by Yuelu Publishing House in 1987 and 1988, it offers no explanation of the dialect the IPA is based upon. We can hypothesize that the dialect belongs to the Guangtian sub-dialect group because of the appearance of three kinds of stops, [-p, -t, -k], and the similarity in tone contour, but there is no conclusive evidence one way or the other.

In this study, we introduce the pronunciation and tone pattern of the CPM used for reciting *Panwang dage* in the Mien dialect of the Xianglan settlement 湘藍村 in Huiyuan village 匯源鄉 in Lanshan County 藍山縣 of the Chinese province of Hunan,

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[1] Features inconsistent with the basic features of Cantonese are also found in the Chinese character pronunciations of *Panwang dage*.

according to the record in Yoshikawa (2016)[2]. In section 3.2, we invoke data on the pronunciation of Sino-Mien vocabulary (hereinafter referred to as PSM) belonging to the same dialect that the author recorded in the settlement in 2014 for comparison. Part of this data was published in Yoshikawa (2015)[3]. In this study, we only use data relevant to CPM, PSM, and NM, unless otherwise noted. The dialect in question belongs to the Xiangnan 湘南 sub-dialect group of the Mien language[4].

1. The CPM sound system of *Dageshu shangce*

In this section, we provide information on the initial, rhyme, and tone of the CPM found in *Dageshu shangce* from Yoshikawa (2016:74-80).

1.1 Initial

The CPM initial system of *Dageshu shangce* is as follows. The initial j and w often follow a glottal stop [ʔ] and appear as [ʔj] and [ʔw], respectively.

p	pʰ	b	f	m			
pj	pʰj	bj	fj	mj			
pw	pʰw	bw	fw	mw			
t	tʰ	d		n	n̥	l	l̥
tj						lj	
tw	tʰw			nw		lw	
ts	tsʰ	dz	s				
tsj	tsʰj	dzj	sj				
tsw	tsʰw	dzw	sw				
tɕ	tɕʰ	dʑ	ɕ	ɳ̥			
tɕw	tɕʰw	dʑw		ɳw			
k	kʰ	g	ŋ̥				
kw	kʰw	gw	ŋw				
ʔ			h				
j			hj				
w			hw				
jw			hjw				

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[2] The book title of the *Panwang dage* whose pronunciation Yoshikawa (2016) recorded is *Dageshu shangce* 大歌書上册, meaning "Great song book, volume I."

[3] Although the informant for Yoshikawa (2015) and the one for Yoshikawa (2016) were not the same person, they were neighbors in the same settlement.

[4] We conducted field research in Xianglan settlement to record basic oral vocabulary in 2014, and recorded the phonetic value of reading *Panwang dage* at Kanagawa University in 2015 in the collaborative study "A linguistic study on the knowledge on ceremony of Iu-Mien people in Lanshan county, Hunan province, China" by the Center for Asian Studies at Kanagawa University.

In comparison with the NM/PSM initial system (Yoshikawa 2015:101), we find that many unvoiced nasals, such as [m̥], do not appear in this volume's CPM system.

1.2 Rhyme

The CPM rhyme system of *Dageshu shangce* is as follows. The parenthesized forms are probably allophones of other rhymes. Because the rhymes aŋ, əu, and əŋ are preceded by [ĭ] with a short duration when combined with pre-palatal initials, in this study we describe them as [(ĭ)aŋ], [(ĭ)əu], and [(ĭ)əŋ], respectively.

Rhymes accompanied with a glottal stop [ʔ], that is to say aʔ, ɛʔ, iʔ, əʔ, ʌʔ, oʔ, and uʔ, are the checked tone rhyme, appearing only with tones 7a and 7b. The other rhymes appear only with the other tones.

a	ai	au	(ĭ)aŋ	aʔ
ɛ			ɛŋ	ɛʔ
	ei		eŋ	
	(ʐi)		(ʐ̩əŋ)	
i			iŋ	iʔ
			(e̯ŋ)	
ə		(ĭ)əu	(ĭ)əŋ	əʔ
			ʌŋ	ʌʔ
ɔ			ɔŋ	oʔ
u			ʊŋ	uʔ
			ŋ̍	

This rhyme system is basically same as the NM/PSM system (Yoshikawa 2015:102). Rhymes iu and ui in Yoshikawa (2015:102) are described as jəu and wi in Yoshikawa (2016) and are interpreted as əu and i, respectively.

1.3 Tone

The CPM tone system of *Dageshu shangce* is presented in Table 1 below. Tone 4 is unused in this dialect. Because no evidence for tone 4 as an independent tone was found, and the Chinese characters belonging to the rising tone with a voiced initial (*zhuóshàng* 濁上) in Middle Chinese (hereinafter referred to as MC) have the contour of tone 1, we assume that the tone 4 syllables have merged into tone 1. Tone 8 is also unused in this dialect. Because no evidence for Tone 8 as an independent tone was found, and the Chinese characters belonging to the entering tone with a voiced initial (*zhuórù* 濁入) in MC are read with the contour of tone 6, we assume that the tone 8 syllables have merged into tone 6.

The distinctive feature of tones 3a and 3b is the short duration of the syllable. It is worthy of special mention that these syllables are accompanied by laryngealization, that

is to say, laryngeal tension, in their latter half. In this study, we do not describe this feature using IPA or other marks. Tones 7a and 7b are so-called checked tones, peculiar to rhymes accompanied by a glottal stop [ʔ]. No other tones appear with rhymes of this kind.

Table 1. CPM tone system of *Dageshu shangce*

Tone Number	Tone Name	Tone Contour	Feature of Syllable
1	*yīnpíng* 陰平 level tone of upper register	[33]	
2	*yángpíng* 陽平 level tone of lower register	[31]	
3a	*yīnshàng A* 陰上 A rising tone of upper register	[45]	laryngealization in latter half of syllable
3b	*yīnshàng B* 陰上 B rising tone of upper register	[24]	laryngealization in latter half of syllable
5	*yīnqù* 陰去 departing tone of upper register	[13]	
6	*yángqù* 陽去 departing tone of lower register	[21]	
7a	*yīnrù A* 陰入 A entering tone of upper register	[44]	glottal stop at the end of syllable
7b	*yīnrù B* 陰入 B entering tone of upper register	[34]	glottal stop at the end of syllable

This tone system is basically same as the NM/PSM system (Yoshikawa 2015:102).

In the recitation of *Dageshu shangce*, Chinese characters using tones other than 2 are frequently read with tone contour [31], the same contour as tone 2. For example, the Chinese character 第, which belongs to the departing tone in MC, is read with contour [21] in many lines. However, in the word 第一, it is read with contour [31]. Hence, we assume that there is a tone sandhi rule whereby any tone changes into the same contour as that of tone 2 in this dialect.

2. The tone pattern of *Dageshu shangce*

A previous study pointed out that sutras and songs conform to certain metrical patterns. Purnell (1998) not only elucidated that the pattern differs depending on the type of song or poem, but also showed that most of the patterns are conducted in two lines, or four half-lines. The recitation of *Dageshu shangce* is also conducted according to a certain pattern. A clear relationship is observed between position in the couplet and the tone for each Chinese character.

Here we cite the recorded Chinese characters and their pronunciations in the passage of *Shenshan-zhumu* 深山竹木 in *Dageshu shangce* from Yoshikawa (2016:139-141). Information on the folio number, front/back of the folio, and line number is found on the left side of the record. *x* indicates the front side of the folio, and *y* the back side; *a* indicates the first half-line, *b* the second half-line. The two Chinese characters whose pronunciations are separated by a slash indicate two characters written in the same position of the folio. These characters are recited once each, that is to say, the line is recited twice. The black circle indicates a position with no Chinese character written in the folio.

All parts of this passage are couplets, consisting of a pair of lines. Each line consists of two half-lines, *a* and *b*. All half-lines consist of seven Chinese characters. Therefore, the tone pattern is conducted in four half-lines, with twenty-eight Chinese characters in total.

25y1	a	深	山	竹	木	劉	王	種
		sjəŋ³¹	sjəŋ³³	tuʔ$\underline{44}$	mu²¹	ljəu³¹	hʊŋ³¹	tswʌŋ¹³
	b	深	潭	曲	凹	是	龍	開
		sjəŋ³¹	tɔŋ³¹	tɕʰuʔ$\underline{44}$	n̩i¹³	tsei³³	lwʌŋ³¹	gwai³³
25y2	a	南	安	水	族	是	龍	較
		naŋ³¹	waŋ³³	swi$\underline{45}$	tsu²¹	tsei³³	lwʌŋ³¹	tɕʰ(ĭ)au¹³
	b	水	底	龍	門	入/日	后/夜	開
		swi$\underline{45}$	di²⁴	lwʌŋ³¹	mwʌŋ³¹	pi²¹/jəʔ$\underline{44}$	hu³³/ji¹³	gwai³³
25y3	a	深	山	竹	木	劉	王	種
		sjəŋ³¹	sjəŋ³³	tuʔ$\underline{44}$	mu²¹	ljəu³¹	hʊŋ³¹	tswʌŋ¹³
	b	巷	邊	楊	柳	聖	人	栽
		hʌŋ²¹	piŋ³³	ljaŋ³¹	ljəu³³	siŋ¹³	ŋ̍(ĭ)əŋ³¹	tswai³¹
25y4	a	珍	珠	糯	米	凡	人	宝
		tsjəŋ³¹	tsəu³³	nɔ²¹	mai³³	paŋ³¹	ŋ̍(ĭ)əŋ³¹	pu$\underline{45}$
	b	伏	前	書	卷[sic]	僧	家	開/篇
		pu²¹	tsiŋ³¹	səu³³	hɔŋ²¹	dzaŋ²¹	tɕa³³	gwai³³/ pʰiŋ³³
25y5	a	深	山	竹	木	劉	王	種
		sjəŋ³¹	sjəŋ³¹	tuʔ$\underline{44}$	mu²¹	ljəu³¹	hʊŋ³¹	tswʌŋ¹³
	b	巷	邊	楊	柳	聖	人	爭/栽
		hʌŋ²¹	piŋ³³	ljaŋ³¹	ljəu³³	siŋ¹³	ŋ̍(ĭ)əŋ³¹	dzɛŋ³³/ tswai³¹
25y6	a	珍	珠	糯	米	凡	人	宝
		tsjəŋ³¹	tsəu³³	nɔ²¹	mai³³	paŋ³¹	ŋ̍(ĭ)əŋ³¹	pu$\underline{45}$
	b	香	爐	水	碗	僧	家	行/添
		hjaŋ³¹	ləu³¹	swi$\underline{45}$	jwəŋ$\underline{45}$	dzaŋ³³	tɕa³³	heŋ³¹/

							tʰiŋ33
25y7	a	深 sjəŋ31	山 sjəŋ33	竹 tuʔ44	木 mu21	劉 ljəu31	王 hʊŋ31	種 tswʌŋ13
	b	巷 hʌŋ21	邊 piŋ33	楊 ljwaŋ31	柳 ljəu33	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	栽/爭 tswai31/dzɛŋ33
25y8	a	州 tsjəu33	庭 tiŋ31	花 kʰwa33	發 fa44	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	摘 dzɛʔ34
	b	四 fei13	門 mwʌŋ31	八 pəʔ44	面 miŋ21	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	開/行 gwai33/heŋ31
25y9	a	深 sjəŋ31	山 sjəŋ33	竹 tuʔ44	木 mu21	劉 ljəu31	王 hʊŋ31	種 tswʌŋ13
	b	井 tsiŋ45	邊 piŋ33	容 jwəŋ31	杵 tsəu21	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	栽/連 tswai31/liŋ31
26x1	a	那 hai13	岸 ŋaŋ21	平 peŋ31	田 tiŋ31	凡 paŋ31	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	作 tsoʔ44
	b	牯 kəu45	牛 ŋau31	鹿 lu21	馬 ma33	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	財/戔[sic] tswai31/tsiŋ31
26x2	a	深 sjəŋ31	山 sjəŋ33	竹 tuʔ44	木 mu21	劉 ljəu31	王 hʊŋ31	種 tswʌŋ13
	b	井 tsiŋ45	邊 piŋ33	容 jwəŋ31	杵 tsəu21	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	連/爭 liŋ31/dzɛŋ33
26x3	a	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	種 tswʌŋ13	得 tuʔ44	太 tʰai31	陰 jəŋ33	木 mu21
	b	正 tsiŋ13	是 tsei33	● •	羅 lɔ31	下 dzi21	地 tei21	財/錢 tswai31/tsiŋ31
26x4	a	深 sjəŋ31	山 sjəŋ33	竹 tuʔ44	木 mu21	劉 ljəu31	王 hʊŋ31	種 tswʌŋ13
	b	井 tsiŋ45	邊 piŋ33	容 jwəŋ31	杵 tsəu21	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	爭/連 dzɛŋ33/liŋ31
26x5	a	聖 siŋ13	人 ŋ(ĭ)əŋ31	栽 tswai31	得 tuʔ44	太 tʰai13	陰 jəŋ33	木 mu21
	b	拋	上	太	陽	隨/千	月/萬	行/年

bei^{33} tswaŋ^{21} tʰai^{13} jwaŋ^{31} dzwei^{31}/   ɳ̩u^{21}/   heŋ^{31}/
                                                              tsʰiŋ^{33} maŋ^{21} niŋ^{33}

The tone pattern is composed of two metrical groups, one referred to as "level tone" (平聲) and the other as "oblique tone" (仄聲). In the Mien dialect of the Xianglan settlement, the former includes tone 1 and 2, and the latter includes the other tones. In Table 2 below, L indicates level tone and O oblique tone. In this dialect, however, tone 4 has merged into tone 1, which is independent in other conservative dialects. The Chinese characters belonging to it are 馬, 米, 柳, 是, and 后. Although they derive from the rising tone with a voiced initial (*zhuóshàng* 濁上) in MC, they are recited using tone 1 [33] here. In the following table, we use O to indicate these characters. The information on the left side of the table indicates the upper and lower half-line of the first line (Ia and Ib) and the upper and lower half-line of the second line (IIa and IIb).

Table 2. Level/oblique features in the tones of *Shenshan-zhumu* in *Dageshu shangce*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The first couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	L	L	O	O	O	L	L
	IIa	L	L	O	O	O	L	O
	IIb	O	O	L	L	O / O	O / O	L
The second couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L
	IIa	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	IIb	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
The third couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
	IIa	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	IIb	L	L	O	O	L	L	L / L
The fourth couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
	IIa	L	L	L	O	O	L	O
	IIb	O	L	O	O	O	L	L / L
The fifth couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
	IIa	O	O	L	L	L	L	O
	IIb	O	L	O	O	O	L	L / L
The sixth couplet	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
	IIa	O	L	O	O	L	L	O
	IIb	O	O	?	L	O	O	L / L
The seventh	Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O

couplet								
	Ib	O	L	L	O	O	L	L / L
	IIa	O	L	L	O	O	L	O
	IIb	L	O	O	L	L / L	O / O	L / L

The following features are found in this table:

(1) The first Chinese character on the half-line: In the upper half-line of the first line (Ia), characters are recited with level tone.

(2) The second Chinese character on the half-line: In the first line (Ia and Ib), characters are recited with level tone.

(3) The third Chinese character on the half-line: In the upper half-line of the first line (Ia), characters are recited with oblique tone.

(4) The fourth Chinese character on the half-line: In the first line (Ia and Ib), characters are recited with oblique tone.

(5) The fifth Chinese character on the half-line: In the upper half-line of the first line (Ia), characters are recited with level tone, and in the lower half-line of the first line (Ib), they are recited with oblique tone.

(6) The sixth Chinese character on the half-line: In all half-lines except the lower half-line of the second line (IIb), characters are recited with level tone.

(7) The seventh Chinese character on the half-line: In the upper half-line (Ia and IIa), characters are recited with oblique tone. In the lower half-line (Ib and IIb), characters are recited with level tone.

The rule formulated from these features is presented in Table 3. L/O indicates that either level tone or oblique tone might appear in the position. X and $\neg$X are paired opposites; for example, in every couplet, if the first Chinese character on the lower half-line of the first line (Ib) is read with level tone, the third Chinese character on the same half-line should be recited with oblique tone. Likewise, if the second Chinese character on the upper half-line of the second line (IIa) is read with oblique tone, the fourth Chinese character on the same half-line should be read with level tone.

Table 3. Tone pattern in *Shenshan-zhumu* in *Dageshu shangce*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ia	L	L	O	O	L	L	O
Ib	X_1	L	$\neg X_1$	O	O	L	L
IIa	L/O	X_2	L/O	$\neg X_2$	L/O	L	O
IIb	X_3	X_4	L/O	$\neg X_4$	$\neg X_3$	X_4	L

Purnell (1991, 1998) explained the tone patterns of songs and poems by analyzing the second, fourth, and sixth syllables of each half-line according to his research carried out in Thailand and Laos. Unfortunately, precisely the same tone pattern as in *Shenshan-zhumu* was not observed there. Furthermore, in this passage, the number of half-lines that

use the same tone pattern as Han-Chinese seven-syllable quatrains (七言絶句) is only almost half. However, one of the essential rules, *ersi butong erliu dui* 二四不同二六對, was generally observed there; the rule states that a level/oblique opposition is required in the second and fourth Chinese characters on each line, and a correspondence is required for the second and sixth.

In addition, the following tendencies were found through our survey throughout the entirety of *Dageshu shangce*.
(1) Tone 1 appears frequently on the second, fourth, sixth, and seventh syllables of the half-line.
(2) Tone 2 can appear in the all positions, but it tends to appear on the first syllable of the half-line.
(3) Tone 5 most frequently appears on the fifth syllable of the half-line.
(4) Tone 6 frequently appears on the first, third, fifth, and sixth syllables of the half-line.
(5) Short duration tones such as 3a, 3b, 7a, and 7b appear less frequently than the other tones.

3. The CPM features of *Dageshu shangce*
3.1 Multi-layered structure

When it comes to CPM, we discovered the interesting phenomenon of different pronunciations being used for the same Chinese characters written on different lines of *Dageshu shangce*. This difference might be explained by the pronunciations having been borrowed from different historical periods or sources. In other words, the different pronunciations should be expected to belong to different historical strata. The most notable sets of different pronunciations are as follows.
(1) *Fēi*-series 非組 initials and their change into labiodental consonants

Some characters with *Fēi*-series initials appear with both bilabial consonants and labiodental consonants in CPM. The former do not reflect the historical change from bilabials into labiodentals in MC, while the latter do. For example, the CPM of 非 appears with both initial [pʰw] and initial [f].

	bilabial initial	labiodental initial
非	pʰwi 2*[5]	fei 2*

The same feature can be observed in different Chinese characters with the same rhyme in MC. For example, while both 峯 and 奉 have a *Zhōng* rhyme 鍾韻 in MC, the former does not reflect the historical change from bilabials into labiodentals in MC, while the latter does.

	bilabial initial	labiodental initial

---

[5] In this study, IPA followed by an asterisk means the tone takes this form after tone sandhi.

峯	pwʌŋ 2*	——
奉	——	fʊŋ 6

(2) *Zhī*-series 知組 initials and their change into affricates

Some characters with *Zhī*-series initials and the same rhyme in MC appear with both alveolar stop consonants and alveolar affricate consonants in CPM. The former do not reflect the historical change from the alveolar stop to the alveolar affricate in MC, while the latter do. For example, the CPM of 中 appears with both initial [tw] and initial [ts].

	alveolar stop	alveolar affricate
中	twʌŋ 1	tsʌŋ 1

(3) Merging division-I and division-II rhyme in MC

Some characters with division-I rhyme in MC appear with the same rhyme as characters with division-II rhyme of the same rhyme group (*shè* 攝), while others do not in CPM. The former indicates that the historical change in the merging of the rhymes of these two divisions occurred after the MC period. For example, the CPM of 在, which had division-I rhyme in MC, occurs with both pronunciation [tswai[13]], a different rhyme from the CPM of division-II rhyme in MC, and [tsai[13]], which is the same rhyme as the CPM of division-II rhyme in MC.

	differs from division-II rhyme	same as division-II rhyme
在	tswai 5	tsai 5

(4) Departing tone with a voiced initial and its change into departing tone in the upper register

Some characters with departing tones with a voiced initial in MC occur with both the departing tone of upper register (*yīnqù*, tone 5) and the departing tone of lower register (*yángqù*, tone 6) in CPM. In general, tone 5 derives from the departing tone with an unvoiced initial in MC, and tone 6 from the departing tone with a voiced initial. Therefore, the former reflects the feature of non-divergence, or the merger of the upper and lower register versions of the departing tone, while the latter does not. For example, the CPM of 浪, which had a departing tone with a voiced initial in MC, appears with both tones 5 and 6.

	departing tone of upper register	departing tone of lower register
浪	laŋ 5	lwaŋ 6

577

(5) Rising tone with a voiced initial and its change into a level or departing tone of upper register

Some characters with rising tones with voiced initials in MC appear with level tone of upper register (*yīnpíng*, tone 1) or departing tone (tone 5 or 6) in CPM. In the conservative dialects of Mien, these characters have an independent tone, that is, a rising tone of lower register (*yángshàng*, tone 4). Because in the dialect of Xianglan settlement this tone has been merged into the level tone of upper register, the CPM appearing with this tone represents the value of the original tone (*yángshàng*). Likewise, the CPM appearing with the departing tone of lower register reflects the merger of lower register rising tone and lower register departing tone. The CPM appearing with departing tone of upper register reflects the feature of non-divergence, or the merger of upper and lower register departing tone. For example, the CPM of 了, 兩, and 盡, which had a rising tone with voiced initial in MC, appear with tones 1, 5, and 6.

	level tone of upper register	departing tone of upper register	departing tone of lower register
了	li 1	li 5	——
兩	lɔŋ 1	——	ljaŋ 6
盡	——	tsjəŋ 5	tsiŋ 6

The difference in pronunciation of the same Chinese character may be due to a difference in the relevant passage in *Dageshu*, and not due to any semantic reason, with the exception of homophonous NM usage for Chinese characters with no meaning relationship or synonymous usage with no relationship in sound. For example, 座, which has a *Gē* rhyme 戈韻 in MC, appears with both [tswei³³] and [tsɔ¹³]. The former appears only before the passage of *Yeshenge* 夜深歌 in the beginning of the sutra, while the latter appears only in the passage of *Erduan-sanfengqu* 二段三峰曲 in the middle stage of the sutra and afterwards. Another Chinese character, 綫, appears with both [sjəŋ¹³] and [fiŋ¹³]. The former appears only before the passage of *Yeshenge*, while the latter appears only in this passage and afterwards. If our estimate is correct, the difference in the CPM pronunciation shall express the difference of the historical period or source in which these passages of *Dageshu* were established.

3.2 The relationship between CPM and PSM

For reciting *Dageshu shangce*, priests use CPM to read most of the Chinese characters in the sutra, and use NM to read the rest, such as [bjʊŋ²¹] for 雨, [mai³¹] for 有, [pi²¹] for 入 and 進, and [jaŋ²¹] for 不. Moreover, the expression of synonymous Chinese characters with no relationship in sound is used in the sutra, such as [di²⁴] for 下, [mwi²¹] for 姐, and [hu²¹] for 習. In fact, the correct Chinese characters for them are 底,

妹, and 學, respectively. The expression of homophones between NM and CPM with no relationship in meaning is also used in the sutra, such as the Chinese character 姑 [ku^{33}], which is used to express the cry of a pigeon in NM.

From this, we can see the diverse relationship between CPM and PSM, as each can have different pronunciations for each character. We identified the following five types of the inclusive relationship between them.

(i) The phonetic values found in CPM are identical to those of PSM, such as in the Chinese character 筆.

	CPM	PSM
筆	paʔ 3a	paʔ 3a

(ii) Not all of the phonetic values found in CPM are the same as those in PSM. That is to say, one or some of the phonetic values found in CPM are the same as one or some of those in PSM, such as the values of the Chinese character 心. One of its values, [fiŋ^{33}], has been found in both the CPM used to recite *Dageshu shangce*, and in PSM through our field research carried out in Xianglan settlement.

	CPM	PSM
心	fiŋ 1, fjəŋ 1	siŋ 1, fiŋ 1

(iii) The phonetic values found in CPM are included in PSM. That is to say, CPM is a subset of PSM, such as with the values of the Chinese character 東. Two values for it have been found in PSM through our field research, but only one, [tʌŋ^{33}], is found in the CPM used to recite *Dageshu shangce*.

	CPM	PSM
東	tʌŋ 1	tuŋ 1, tʌŋ 1

(iv) The phonetic values found in PSM are included in CPM. That is to say, PSM is a subset of CPM, such as with the values of the Chinese character 晏. Two values for it are found in the CPM of *Dageshu shangce*, but only one, [ʔaŋ^{13}], has been found in PSM through our field research.

	CPM	PSM
晏	ʔaŋ 5, waŋ 5	ʔaŋ 5

(v) None of the phonetic values found in CPM are the same as those in PSM, such as the values of the Chinese character 冷. No value for this character is shared between the CPM of *Dageshu shangce* and the PSM in our field research.

	CPM	PSM
冷	l̥eŋ 1	naŋ 5

In light of the differences between CPM and PSM, we think that PSM information should be used carefully and appropriately for investigating the strata of CPM because, in some cases, there is the possibility of mismatching the number of strata in CPM and PSM. In fact, (v) shows that there is sometimes no common stratum between CPM and PSM.

4. On the history of CPM

Arguably, the pioneer study on the CPM of *Panwang dage* was Zhao (2010b), a comparative study using the CPM of the Tuoshan 柘山 dialect (belonging to the Guangtian sub-group) in Jinxiu County, the CPM found in Zhao (1930) (belonging to the Luoxiang sub-group), and *Panwang dage* texts with IPA based on the Hexian 賀縣 dialect of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Zhao (2010b) identified some common features of the CPM in these three materials. On a related note, Zhao (2010a) tried dividing the PSM into the three strata of Modern Chinese, Early Mandarin, and MC by identifying the features of initial, rhyme, and tone for each stratum. However, the reasons for why the pronunciations represent entire eras of loan strata are not satisfactorily explained. For example, Zhao (2010a:252) recognized that, if a Chinese character had division-II rhyme in MC and the PSM had [e] as a nucleus in the modern Mien language, this value is a reflection of MC. This was based on the work of Lan (1999), who insisted that the phenomenon of some characters with division-II rhymes in MC having the vowel [e] in the loan Chinese word within Zhuang, Vietnamese, and Japanese reflects the fact that these characters had the vowel *e in the spoken Chinese of old southern China. However, because pronunciation evolves with time, we cannot be confident in confirming the era of a stratum based solely on the fact that the PSM or CPM has the same phonetic value as the reconstructed form of a historical era. Rather, it is the primary task of linguists to determine the sequence between the various historical strata.

We believe that it is acceptable to some degree in estimating historical strata to refer to knowledge on historical Chinese phonology that has become the prevailing view. However, it goes without saying that both the Sinitic languages and the Mien languages have experienced changes over time. Therefore, it is not advisable to determine the loan period based solely on the prevailing view of the Sinitic languages.

In addition, the correspondences between the ancient Chinese and the CPM are rather unclear on many rhymes. In Table 4, we present the locations of Chinese characters with the CPM rhymes of [(w)ai] in the phonological system of MC.

Table 4. Correspondence of the CPM rhymes [(w)ai] with positions in the rhyme system of MC

shè / division	Guǒ-shè 果攝		Jiǎ-shè 假攝	Yù-shè 遇攝	Xiè-shè 蟹攝		Zhǐ-shè 止攝
open/closed	open 開	closed 合	open 開	closed 合	open 開	closed 合	open 開
division-I	ai	ai			ai/wai	wai	
division-II			ai/wai		ai	wai	
division-III				wai			ai/wai
division-IV					ai/wai		

In the MC system, the rhymes [ai], [wai], [ei], and [i] are the main values of the CPM rhymes for *Xiè-shè* 蟹攝 (open-mouthed 開口): [ai] for division-I, II, and IV; [wai] for division-I (*Hāi* rhyme 咍韻 only) and IV; [ei] for division-III and IV; and [i] for division-IV rhyme. Most of the characters with [wai] belong to the division-I rhyme of *Xiè-shè* (open-mouthed). However, some belong to other MC rhymes; for example, 差 [tsʰwai³³] belongs to the *Má* rhyme 麻韻, division-II of *Jiǎ-shè* 假攝. The relationship seems somewhat complex. It seems difficult to understand the exact historical changes in the phonology of the CPM only from the relationship between them and their phonological positions in MC.

Nonetheless, when the rhyme of a character has the same value in both CPM and PSM, that is to say, when the CPM stratum is identical to the PSM stratum, it may be possible to use information from the latter to estimate the sequence of the former. If we rest on the premise that the establishment of the borrowing relationship from the Sinitic language into the oral Mien language historically preceded the establishment of the custom of reading Chinese characters in Mien communities, the appearance of PSM shows an inclination toward an older stratum, while the appearance of CPM shows an inclination toward a newer stratum. That is, older stratum values will be found more often in PSM. For example, we classified the rhymes of CPM and PSM as to the Chinese characters that have *Gē* rhyme 歌韻, the division-I rhyme of *Guǒ-shè* 果攝 (open-mouthed) in MC, presented in Table 5. The rhyme [ɔ] appears more in CPM than in PSM, but the rhyme [ai] appears more in PSM than in CPM. Therefore, it may be possible to make an assumption that the stratum of rhyme [ɔ] is a newer one, and that of [ai] is an older one. Supposing the rhyme of the Chinese character 大 derives from *Tài* rhyme 泰韻, the division-I rhyme of *Xiè-shè* 蟹攝 (open-mouthed), which is an alternative to *Gē* rhyme, there would be no Chinese character with *Gē* rhyme appearing with rhyme [ai] in *Dageshu shangce*.

Table 5. The rhyme values of the CPM in *Dageshu shangce* and PSM as to *Gē* rhyme, the division-I rhyme of *Guǒ-shè* (open-mouthed) in MC

Stratum	Rhyme	CPM	PSM
newer	-ɔ	多拖羅歌哥個可鵝我河何荷	鑼哥可

	-a	羅歌	
	-i	鵝	鵝
older	-ai	(大)	籮左

5. Conclusion

In this study we introduced the pronunciation and tone patterns of the CPM used for reciting *Panwang dage* in a Mien dialect. We aim to further explore these in the future. There are still very few dialects from which we can obtain useful data on CPM, PSM, and NM; hence, we were limited in the data we can use to those recorded in Zhao (1930) and Zhao (2010b). This leaves us unable to analyze many MC initials or rhymes at the present moment. We hope that we will be able to further trace the historical changes in more dialects in future studies, once more data on CPM, PSM, and NM have been published.

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Language Attitude and Linguistic Practice of Northeastern Migrants in Beijing, China

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Recent years, sociolinguistic studies in China began to pay attention to language variation and change progress in the community of urban immigrants. The increasing amount of urban immigrants is, to a great extent, due to the opening-up policy of China at the end of the 1970s. Accompanied by unprecedentedly amount of people moving into metropolia such as Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Beijing, different linguistic varieties contact with each other intensively in a short period. Other than research discuss sociolinguistic changes happening in the southern part of China, this study aims at immigrants in Beijing from the northeast area of China. Through observing language attitude and phonetic and phonological choice of them when facing specific variables, this study demonstrates the relationship between linguistic practice and social variants of the immigrants. This paper demonstrates language attitude and language choice of the northeast immigrants of Beijing based on questionnaire and sociolinguistic interview.

1. Introduction

China has been carrying out the reform and opening-up policy for more than thirty years starting from the late 1970s. Accompanied by economic development, from the 1990s, China begins the process of rapid urbanization. A large amount of migrant influx into metropolis as a way to promote living standards of their own and their offspring. Consequently, different language varieties contact with each other intensively in such cities.

Beijing, which is the capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC), as its political, economic and cultural center, attracts migrants from every corner of the country. According to official statistics[1] by the end of 2009, there are 5.09 million migrants who have been living in Beijing for more than half a year, while the registered permanent population is 12.45 million.

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[1] Announced by Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics on Beijing Statistical Information Net. The Net is a classified, panoramic and professional information network system, which is created by sub-statistics departments of Beijing municipal government.

The linguistic market of Beijing presents a complex structure: the official language, Standard Mandarin Chinese (AKA Putonghua, hereafter PTH) co-exists with the local variety, Beijing Mandarin (hereafter BM) and different dialects brought by migrants from all over the country. Dialect contact in Beijing appeals my interest to explore in this paper that, what migrants' attitude is toward BM and their dialect.

Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) classified studies of language attitude into three major categories: (i) language-oriented or language-directed attitudes; (ii) community-wide stereotyped impressions toward particular language or language varieties (in some cases, their speakers, functions, etc.); (iii) the implementation of different types of language attitudes. Although these three major categories of studies are not necessarily mutually exclusive, this paper pays attention to the second one: the social significance of language varieties. To be more specific: This paper aims at language attitude toward PTH, BM and North-eastern Mandarin (hereafter NM) of migrants in Beijing from Changchun (the provincial capital of Jilin province in the Northeast part of China).

The organization of this paper is as follows. First, I will give a brief introduction of PTH, BM, and NM, as well as the relationship of these three linguistic varieties. Then previous research regarding language attitude is provided. After that, information about participants of the study and methodology are presented. Finally, results of the study will be discussed with explanation explored on it.

2. Putonghua, Beijing Mandarin, and Northeast Mandarin

Since this study involves language attitude and language variation between PTH, BM and NM, a brief introduction of the three and the relationship between them is necessary.

The official definition of Putonghua is:

Putonghua takes northern Mandarin as its basis, the Beijing Mandarin phonological system as its norm of pronunciation, and exemplary modern baihua (vernacular) literary language (referred to as classic Chinese) as its norm of grammar. (Huang & Liao 2002)

PTH is the standard variety of spoken Mandarin in Main Land China. BM is a variety in the northern Mandarin dialect group (Zhang 2005). The standard form of BM is spoken by people who live in the downtown area of Beijing. NM subordinates to north dialect group, which is one of the seven dialect regions in China. It is also a variety of Mandarin Chinese, commonly known as 'Dongbei Hua'. As its name reveals, NM is used by people in the Northeast part of Mainland China, in provinces like Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning.

From the perspective of their language attitude, both Pekinese and northeast people thought they could speak PTH correctly, fluently, and some may even express the view that they are using it every day. However, either from the description of PTH or of

the dialect group of BM and NM, although PTH and BM share the same phonetic inventory, it is certainly not the case that all Pekinese use PTH in their daily life. Moreover, although NM is similar with PTH on phonology, lexicon, and syntax, it has its characters as well. In the following paragraphs, I list some of the specific examples to demonstrate the differences between the three linguistic varieties.

Discussed in the research carried out by Hu Mingyang (Hu 1987), BM and Putonghua have differences in both phonetic and lexicon.

Table 1 below shows some examples of which the same Chinese characters have only one pronunciation in BM, while two kinds of pronunciation in PTH:

Table 1. Phonetic difference between PTH & BM of the same character

Chinese character	Beijing Mandarin	Putonghua
剥	bāo [bɑo55]	bāo [bɑo55], bō [bo55]
薄	báo [bɑo35]	báo [bɑo35], bó [bo35]
嚼	jiáo [tɕiɑo35]	jiáo[tɕiɑo35], jué [tɕyɛ35]
绿	lǜ [ly51]	lǜ[ly51], lù [lu51]
色	shǎi [ʂ'ai214]	shǎi [ʂ'ai214], sè [sɤ51]

Another notable difference lies in Rhotacization. Rhotacization or commonly called "er-hua" in Mandarin Chinese, is a phonological process in which the sub-syllabic retroflex [-ɹ] is added to the final, and causes the final to become rhotacized (Chao 1968). This feature is especially prominent in Beijing Mandarin (Chao 1968). Many words in BM must be rhotacized while in Putonghua they are usually not. In table 2 I list some words of this kind.

Table 2. Rhotacization difference between PTH & BM of the same word

Beijing Mandarin	Putonghua
盆儿 [b'ənɹ35]	盆 [b'ən35]
事儿 [ʂ'iɹ51]	事 [ʂ'i51]
树叶儿 [ʂ'u51 jɛɹ41]	树叶 [ʂ'u51 jɛ41]
茶几儿 [tʂA̠35 tɕiɹ55]	茶几 [tʂA̠35 tɕi55]
干劲儿 [kan51 tɕinɹ51]	干劲 [kan51 tɕin51]

The neutral tone is also a phonetic difference between BM and PTH. The general picture is that there are more neutral tones in BM than in PTH. Table 3 shows some words having this kind of difference.

Table 3. Difference in neutral tone between PTH & BM of the same word

Word	Beijing Mandarin	Putonghua
明白	míngbai [miŋ35 bai]	míngbái [miŋ35 bai35]
知道	zhīdao [tʂʅ55 tɑu]	zhīdào [tʂʅ55 tɑu51]

学生	xuésheng [ɕyɛ35 ʂ' əŋ]	xuéshēng [ɕyɛ35 ʂ'əŋ55]
西瓜	xīgua [ɕi55 kuɑ]	xīguā [ɕi55 kuɑ55]
天气	tiānqi [t'iæn55 tɕ'i]	tiānqì [t'iæn55 tɕ'i51]

The most obvious difference between BM and PTH lies in the lexicon (Hu 1987). Although many words of BM were absorbed into PTH, still a lot more, especially some commonly used expressions, are different between the two (Hu 1987). Table 4 is examples of some expression differences between BM and PTH.

Table 4. Difference in lexicon between PTH & BM of the same meaning

Beijing Mandarin	Putonghua	Englijh Translation
没辙	没办法	have no idea
赶明儿	以后	afterwards
伍的	什么的	and so forth
头里	前面	in front
抠	吝啬	stingy

From those examples, we can take a clear view of the difference between BM and PTH. However, none of the research has been done to discuss the relationship between PTH, BM and NM, especially to compare specific linguistic variables of the three varieties. Table 5, 6 and 7 showed the differences in phonetic and lexicon of the three linguistic varieties which are chosen by me6 using "Janming Dongbei Fangyan Cidian1 (Xu & Zhang 1998), "Xiandai Beijing Kouyu Cidian2" (Chen, Song & Zhang 1997) and 'Beijing Kouyu Yuliao Chaxun Xitong3', and with the help of two native Pekinese who have been living in Beijing since they were born as well as their parents.

Table 5. Difference in lexicon between PTH-BM and NM

BM & Putonghua	Northeast Mandarin	English Translation
恶 心	咯 影	nausea
吹 牛	白 话	brag
不 好	不咋地	not good
什么时候	啥时候	when
脏	埋汰	dirty

Table 6. Tone differences between PTH-BM and NM of the same word

Word	BM & Putonghua	Northeast Mandarin	English Translation
扔	rēng [zəŋ55]	lēng [ləŋ55]	throw away
菠菜	bōcài [bo55 tsʻai51]	bēcài [bɣ55 tsʻai51]	spinach
七个	qīge [tɕʻi55 kɣ]	qíge [tɕʻi35 kɣ]	seven
这个	zhèige [tʂei51 kɣ]	zèige [tsei51 kɣ]	this
破玩意	pòwányìr [bʻo51 wan35 iɹ51]	pèwánrʻreng [bʻɣ51 wanɹ35 zəŋ]	worn out things

Table 7. Difference in lexicon between PTH, BM and NM

Putonghua	Beijing Mandarin	Northeast Mandarin	English Translation
白费功夫	瞎耽误功夫	白 扯	waste of time
胡 说	瞎 掰	扯	talk nonsense
早着呢	且 呢	早和儿呢	too early to
可 能	横 是	背不住	possibly
唠 叨	嘚 吧	墨 迹	nagging

In the discussion above, I have listed some linguistic variables to make a distinction between PTH, BM, and NM, which was commonly considered as varieties without many differences. These variables are recognized by users of each linguistic variety as speech features associated with social and personal characteristics. In the following part, I will make an introduction to the participants and methodology of this paper.

3. Previous Research

The study of language attitude emerges in the field of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, when Lambert and his colleagues developed matched guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960) to measure evaluation reactions to English and French by English Canadians (EC) and French Canadians (FC). A series of studies were made (e.g., Anisfeld et al. 1964; Lambert et al. 1965, 1966; see Ryan & Giles 1982 for an overview of such studies) applying the technique or refined version of the technique in some bilingual settings.

The following studies concentrated on language attitude of immigrants toward their native languages and language varieties of the places where they moved into: Puerto Rican immigrants in New York City (Attinasi 1983); immigrants of five nationality groups (Central Americans, Cubans, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and South Americans) in New York City (Garcia 1988); Italian immigrants in Sydney (Bettoni & Gibbons 1988) and Canada (Bourhis & Sachdev 1984). These studies focused on Western countries and Western languages. So what about studies concerning language attitude in China and Chinese?

From 1956, China begins its language planning policy to promote the nationwide use of Putonghua2 (SMC). Since the late 1970s, the economic development lead to dialect contact in Chinese metropolis, which gave rise to a series of language attitude studies in Guangzhou (Canton)3 and Shanghai (Kalmar, Yong & Hong 1987; Gao, Su & Zhou 2000; Zhou 2001; Wang, Ladegaard 2008; Xu 2008) where were in the leading positions of China's economic development.

Hong Kong appeals scholar's attention when it facing the change of sovereignty in 1997 from Britain to China. Studies were trying to track the language attitudes' change toward Cantonese, English, and SMC in Hong Kong after it entered a new post-colonial era (Gabbert 1996; Hyland 1997; Lai 2002, 2005; 2011). Studies can also be seen to examine language attitude between ethnic minority languages and SMC (Wan & Wang 1997; Zhou 1999, 2000).

Previous language attitude studies inside China mainly focused on the relationship between local dialect and SMC. From the 1980s, industrialization, commercialization and greater demographic mobility have changed what used to be homogenous speech communities (Zhou 2001). Large cities attracted domestic migrants seeking a better education and employment. However, none of the previous studies discussed language attitude toward migrants' native dialect and the local dialect in a metropolis where they move into. Furthermore, all the previous studies concentrated on the geographic area of the Southern part of China, for instance, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong.

In this paper, I will focus on migrants' attitude (migrant from Changchun in Beijing) toward their local dialect (NM) and dialect of the place they move into (BM) and trying to find answers to these questions:

> 1. What is the language attitude of northeastern migrants toward PTH, Beijing Mandarin (BM), and Northeastern dialect (ND)?
>
> 2. How are gender and age influencing northeastern migrants' language attitude and language practice?

4. Methodology

In what follows, I will first introduce the 20 participants, mainly on how I recruited them and their social backgrounds. Second, I will introduce how the questionnaire and interview were designed, and what I am looking for from them.

4.1 Participants

Considering the aim and dimension of this investigation, random sampling is not employed, because this study aims at northeast immigrants who are living in Beijing. Those NIBs share residential area with native Pekinese, not having stand-alone living area. The mixed living status decides that random sampling is not appropriate for this

study. Specifically speaking, subjects were selected by two methods. In places like school libraries, for example, I take chance sampling which categorized to non-random sampling method by Chen (Chen 1999); and the other subjects were chosen through the method of 'a friend of a friend', by which the subjects will not be concentrated in schools confined by my personal contact ranges, so as to ensure the subjects' quantity and most importantly, diversify the social stratum of the investigation. In all the 20 participants, female and male subjects each have an equal number of 10. They are all northeast immigrants either work or study in Beijing for more than one year. Their age is between 12 and 40.

4.2 Questionnaire

The structure of the questionnaire takes Lei's investigation of immigrants in Shanghai (Lei 2008) as a reference.

Personal background information. The first part is to ask about subjects' personal background information, including date of birth, gender, educational background, and occupation. Sociolinguistics research found that language variation is not only influenced by inner factors of language system itself but also affected by many social variables such as age, gender, and social status. If we just study language from its inner structure, not consider outside social factors, then we cannot reveal language's psychological characters and its' social structure (Schilling-Estes 2002).

Language use. This part is about NIB's language use by asking directly what kind of language variety they may choose. Phonetic and phonological variables were selected from PTH, BM and NM:

I select eight phonetic and phonological variables which are different between PTH, BM and NM, including: three items of (o) variation; one items of (ʐ) variation; one item of (tʂ) variation; three items of tone variation: from first tone in PTH and BM, change into third tone in NM. In the list below, the first variant is the standard form of PTH and BM, and the latter is of NM:

> (1) variable (o): [o] and [ɣ]
>   'neck' bózi [bo35 tsʅ], bézi [bɣ35 tsʅ]
>   'spinach' bōcài [bo55 ts'ai51], bēcài [bɣ55 ts'ai41]

> (2) variable (ʐ): [ʐ] and [l]
>   'throwaway' rēng [ʐ̩əŋ55], lēng [ləŋ55]

> (3) variable (tʂ): [tʂ] and [ts]
>   'this one' zhèige [tʂei41 kɣ], zèige [tsei41 kɣ]

I also select a tone variable which is considered as a remarkable symbol to distinguish NM from PTH and BM:

(4) variable (55): [55] and [35]
   'seven' qīge [tɕʻi55 kɣ], qíge[tɕʻi35 kɣ]

By this investigation, I want to observe NIB's language choice when facing specific phonetic and phonological variables of each language varieties. Through quantitative analysis of their language choice and the association with their social background, I made discussions upon social variables' influence on language variation and choice.

Social contact. The last part of the questionnaire asks about subjects' social contact, such as, people from what area do subjects like to associate with, and how much time each day do subjects get in touch with the mass media. Since communicating with different linguistic variety users would exert influence on people's linguistic practice and choice, it is necessary to make an investigation of subjects' social contact.

4.3 Sociolinguistic interview

In the interview, I want to observe participants' language attitude by asking them questions directly. Language attitude is people's attitude toward different languages, dialects, accents and its users. It can be revealed from evaluations of users' personal character, and can also be demonstrated by subjects' evaluation of varieties' characters, exactness, function (Trudgill 2003).

The interviews were conducted after participants finished their questionnaires, and for each participant, the interview was conducted in his/her workplace or school environment where they used to work or study in. The reason I did not take the interview in a place which might be quieter and has fewer people around is that, to put participants into an unfamiliar environment may affect their language use into an unnatural status. There is two general topics in the interview: (1) Attitude toward PTH, BM, NM, and the usage of these three varieties. (2) The reason they choose to use one kind of variant, such as the reason of using [ʐ] between [ʐ] and [l] in which the latter is the phonetic form of NM. Each interview lasted for 20 to 30 minutes.

5. Results

Limited by the length of this paper, I choose one part of the investigation in the questionnaire to make a discussion: NIB's language choice of specific phonetic and phonological variables. Based on participants' gender, age and motivation move to Beijing, I analyze the different language choices between them.

5.1 Gender

Gender disparity is one of the most active social variables in today's sociolinguistic research. Studies have shown that females use more prestigious standard variant than male language users do (Trdugill 1972).

As shown in Figure 1 in percentage, for variable (o) and (ʐ), all the female subjects choose to use the standard variant of PTH and BM, instead of [ɣ] and [l], both of which are the typical phonetics of NM; for variable (tʂ) and (55), 90% of female choose the standard form.
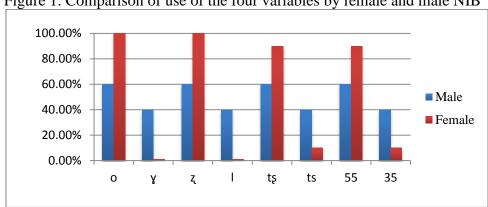
Figure 1. Comparison of use of the four variables by female and male NIB

Analyzing the social-economic and cultural status of Beijing and northeast area of China, I try to make an explanation of female participants' language choice. Compared to Beijing, it is the fact that northeast area of China is less developed, and consequently, was considered less cultivated. The bias was emphasized by recent years' mass media, in video programs such as television series and movies. The effect is more prominent in TV short sketches which are acted by performers using laughable NM as a way to please the audience; especially those live telecasted in each year's evening party on the Spring Festival, the audience of which may cover 80% of the population of China. It is indispensable to watch the party on television with all the family members to spend that festival for most Chinese people. The imitations of dialects in the Spring Festival party, on the one hand, help to spread NM in China, but on the other hand, it also negatively deepens the funny, vulgar impression of NM in Chinese people. It is a plausible explanation for female participants' comparatively identical linguistic choice to use a standard variant, rather than NM variant: because the association with northeast native when using NM may damage a woman's character to the extent of rustic and uncultivated.

This type of disparity corresponds with the research on social status and power of female language users that, compared with men, women are mostly endowed with lower social status and power in the society. The outcome is that women have to use a more prestigious linguistic variant to emphasize their social status and power, to be respected (Labov 2001: 275~279). It is confirmed by women participants in the sociolinguistic interview on the attitude they have toward these variables. NM variants were commented to be:

'tài tǔqi le, méirén yòng' (It is too rustic, no one will use it), or

'shuo zhege yin hui beiren xiaohua' (I would be laughed at if use that kind of pronunciation)

We could summarize from these attitudes that, NM variants have a stigmatized local character type in NIB's language ideology.

In the study of American English, researchers (e.g., Shuy, Wolfram & Riley 1967, Wolfram 1969, Fasold 1968) also found that males used a higher percentage of non-standard forms than females did. Figure 2 shows that the pattern in the studies of English is also the case for this study. For six male participants out of 10 take the standard variant, and the rest 4 of them still choose to use a variant of NM. Male Participants in this study who choose NM variant are those who evaluate NM as having higher prestige compared to PTH and BM. As discussed above, NM was considered rustic and uncultivated by women participates. Contrarily, during the interview, some men convey that NM is a kind of dialect which can reveal one's masculinity.
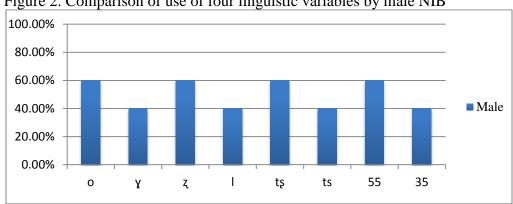
Figure 2. Comparison of use of four linguistic variables by male NIB

As one of the male participants said:

'...*Shūo dōngběihuà xiǎnde rén hěn zhíshuài, bùxiàng běijīnghuà nàme tuōla*'
(It appears direct to speak NM, not like someone speaks BM who seems sluggish)

Compared to those who choose to use [ʐ] variant, those who use [l] variant expressed their attitude that using NM can promote their impression left on others because the northeast man represents the character of courageous, straightforward and trustworthy. At this point, we have therefore been able to argue that NM has prestige in

some NIBs because using NM reveals one's masculinity. This explains the different language choice between female and male participants.
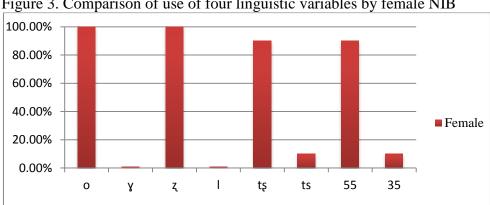
Figure 3. Comparison of use of four linguistic variables by female NIB

By Figure 3, we also noticed that among the four variables chosen by female participants, two subjects have different language choice compared to others: one of them chooses to use the NM variant of [ts] and the other choose [35]. Search for their personal information, I find out that the woman who uses [ts] variant has been living in Beijing for 20 years. The only possible reason she has not changed her language choice is that, she was from Heilongjiang Province, since all the other male participants from the same place has the same choice of [ts], we infer that variant [ts] of Heilongjiang Province dialect is an obstinate dialect attribute which may stick in one's language use for even 20 years when the use of other variables have changed to standard form. The similar phenomenon lies in (55) variable: all the male participants from Liaoning Province choose the [35] variant, which explains the only woman participants who are also from Liaoning Province has the same choice. We can conclude based on this point that, although variant [ts] and [35] both belong to NM, however, each has its' own regional character compared to other variants. More research are needed to focus on language choices of NIB from different areas to see whether there is any disparity of language variation and choice between immigrants from different regions of the northeast area. In the following section, I will discuss NIB's language choice by their age and motivation to immigrate.

5.2 Age

The standard model of linguistic change related to age is that, in the oldest generation, a small number of one kind of variant emerges; of the middle age, the appearing frequency of this variant increases; in the youngest generation, this variant are used most frequently (Chambers et al. 2002:355). This is the model of a newly emerging variant contacting with a stable linguistic variety. However, this study emphasizes urban

immigrants move into a city where two kinds of varieties are stably used, PTH and BM. My assumption of NIB's language variation and change is that the change will be more evident with the longer time span living in Beijing of each age group. The initial consideration to design this part of the investigation is aimed at depicting NIB's language changing in progress by their differential language choice distributed among each age group. However, limited by the number of participants of the investigation, not enough and a proportional number of subjects is taken for each age group: four participants of 10 to 20 years old; eleven of 20 to 30 years old; and five of 30 to 40 years old.
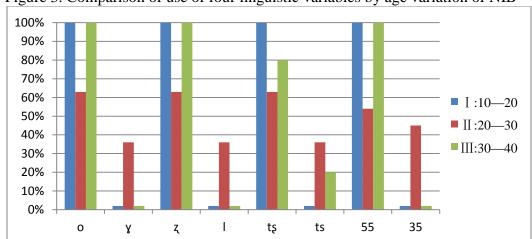
Figure 3. Comparison of use of four linguistic variables by age variation of NIB

As we can see in Figure 3, in group Ⅰ, all of the four participants choose to use the standard form, while they are in the group with shortest time span living in Beijing, all of them have lived in Beijing for less than two years. Group Ⅲ shows almost the same language choice with group Ⅰ, except for the choice of (ts) variable, one of them choose variant [ʐ]. For group Ⅱ, for the variable (o), (ʐ) and (tʂ), seven compared to 4 of them use NM variant [ɣ], [l] and [ts]. While for the variable (55), six compared to 5 of them use standard variant [55]. (Despite) As the aim to observe NIB's language choice on the view of age variation cannot be achieved, I try to explain it by coalition with their motivation to move to Beijing.

All of the four participants in Group Ⅰ are elementary school students who move to Beijing with their parents for the education of higher quality than that of their hometown. Moreover, particularly, by studying in Beijing as a registered permanent residence, they can attend university more easily by taking University Entrance Examination of Beijing district where the attendance rate is much higher; instead of competing with students all over the country. Because of this benefit, as well as Beijing's various cultural and recreational activities, one participant said that:

> 'wǒxǐhuān Běijīng, zài zhèr bǐzài lǎojiāyǒuyìsi duōle'
> (I like Beijing, it is more enjoyable to live here than my hometown.)

The sub-consciously but actively participates in the life of Beijing explains why all of the four subjects aged 10 to 20 choose to use a standard variant. They want to be part of their classmates and appear to be a real Pekinese who can speak PTH and BM without NM accent.

Group Ⅱ consists of college students and young graduates who work in Beijing. The two kinds of participants' present different language choices: college students are more inclined to use NM variants than those who work in Beijing. The following discussion is largely speculative because of the lack of concrete evidence.

Firstly, students spend their time mainly in the school environment, to use NM variant will not have much influence on their study, because the grade of each course largely relies on written work. Secondly, those students have just been away from their parents for less than three years; compared to NIB students in elementary school; college students can find friends and fellow-villagers more easily, the homesick make them spend more time with them. It also leads to the slow change of their language choice. As for students of Group Ⅰ, their motivation to use a standard form of the variant is much more intensive than the college students do.

As for those who work in Beijing, to get a job related to their value, except for their professional skills and diploma, their language attribute is also combined as part of their capacity for a job. Job applicants are competitors and commodities in the market, and they have to sell themselves (Zhang 2005). It urges these NIBs to use the standard form variant of PTH, or the variant of local characters, BM, to be accepted by the local market. In conclusion, the powerful position of PTH and BM in Beijing's linguistic market determines NIB working people's language choice. However, more investigations of language attitude need to be done to confirm it.

Participants in group Ⅲ all work in Beijing, but the time span they move in varies from just one year to almost 20 years. The lack of participants varied in their background (more participants who have lived in Beijing for reasons other than study or work are needed) cause this part of investigation cannot be analyzed as my initial objective to design this part of the question. However, language choice of group Ⅲ of all the four variables shows similar though less dramatic pattern. Just on a variable (tʂ), one of the five participants choose to use NM variant; the reason was discussed in the above, as a firm regional phonetic character of Heilongjiang Province. The comparatively unanimous language choice of group Ⅲ demonstrates again that in the linguistic market of Beijing, PTH and BM has the most powerful position. Anyone who wants to find a position in this linguistic market has to accommodate with language use of the market, which is to adopt the use of PTH and BM.

6. Conclusion

The investigation of the language variation and choice of the Northeast Immigrants in Beijing indicates that in the linguistic market of Beijing, PTH and BM as either Standard Mainland Mandarin or highly prestigious local dialect enjoy the most valuable linguistic capital. Possession of these two kinds of linguistic capital helps NIB to become competitively participant in Beijing. The relatively consistent language changing tendency is a lively illustration: 90% of female participants choose to use the standard form variants; as for male, there are also 60% of them choose the standard form. I explain the disparity of female and male participants' language choice as socio-culture factors underlying the linguistic variety. NM has the prominent masculine character of straightforward and outright, such features would be admired by men participants and on the other hand, avoided intentionally by women. Since in the society, women are more status-conscious than men (Martin 1954) and are therefore more inclined to get their social status and power using using a variety of high prestige than men did. By observing NIB's language choice by their motivation to move to Beijing, this study finds that for immigrants who are seeking better education in Beijing, younger elementary students are more likely to change their using of NM into PTH and BM. For college students, the less intensive aspiration for involving into Beijing linguistic market causes different language choice compared with younger NIB students'. However, working NIB has the most frequent social contact with Pekinese and people from all over the country, their language choice is at one hand unconsciously influenced by their colleges, and on the other hand, the convenient and benefit it has to use PTH and BM is the main reason of their choice to use the standard form variants.

Through the investigation of immigrants' varied participation in the linguistic market, this study explores explanations for the immigrants' distinct linguistic practices. The findings reveal the sociocultural implications of immigrants' language attitude and linguistic practices and could serve as valuable references for language policies. As I have discussed at the beginning, studies upon the immigrants in the southern part of China focus solely on language attitude, this study takes language attitude as a basis to the analysis of the Northeast immigrants' language choice of phonological variants, and it attempts to shed light on the socio-culture implication beneath the surface of language attitude. At the same time, for practical nature, my study may help with language planning in the standardization of speech.

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