

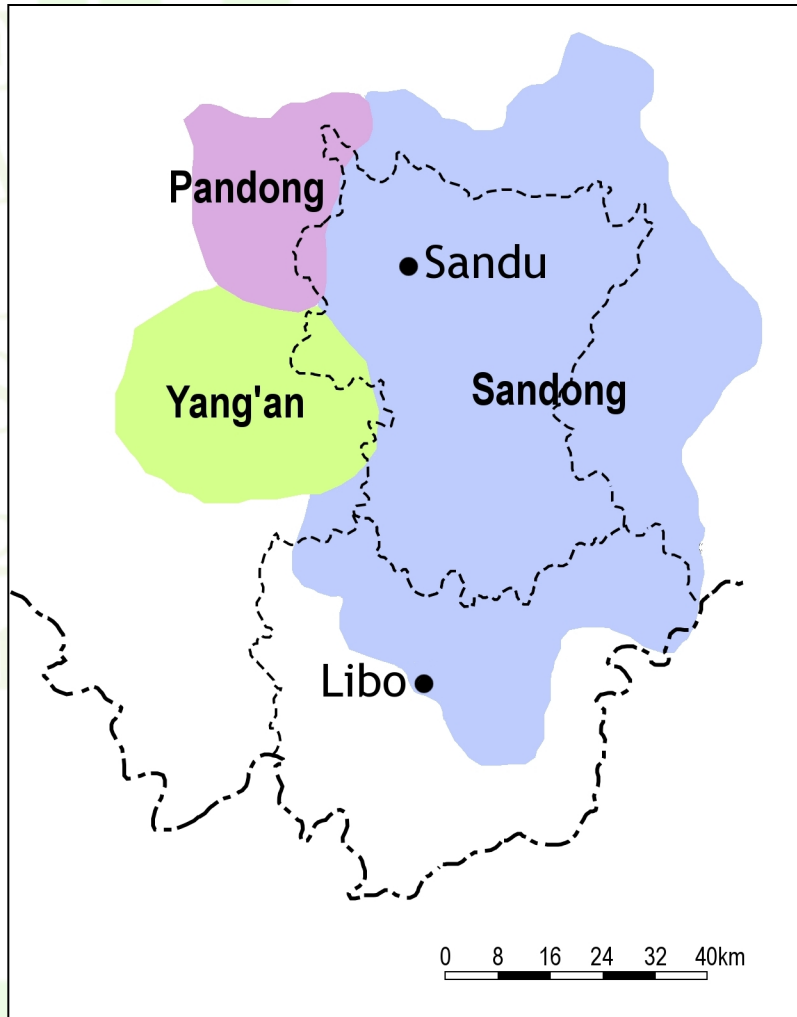
Southern Sui: A fourth Sui dialect?

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1. Current classification



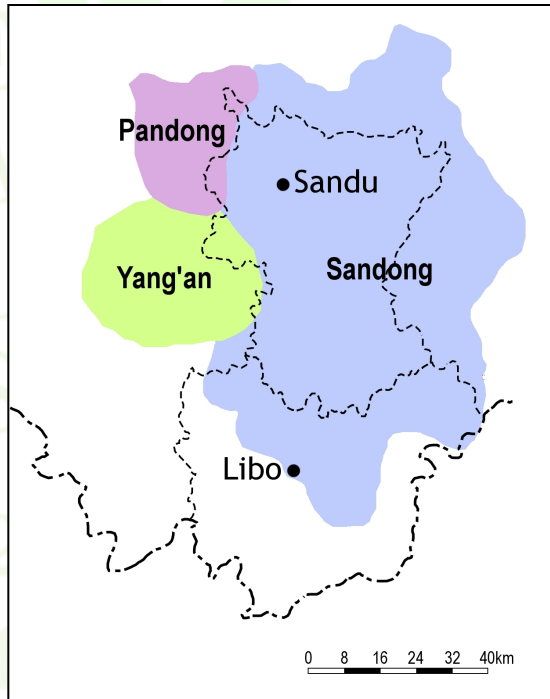
Sui < Kam-Sui < Kam-Tai < Kadai

6 (open syllables) + 2 (closed syllables) lexical tones

Rich inventory of around 70 initials and over 50 finals

Pandong & Yang'an have smaller inventories

Current classification



Stanford (forthcoming)

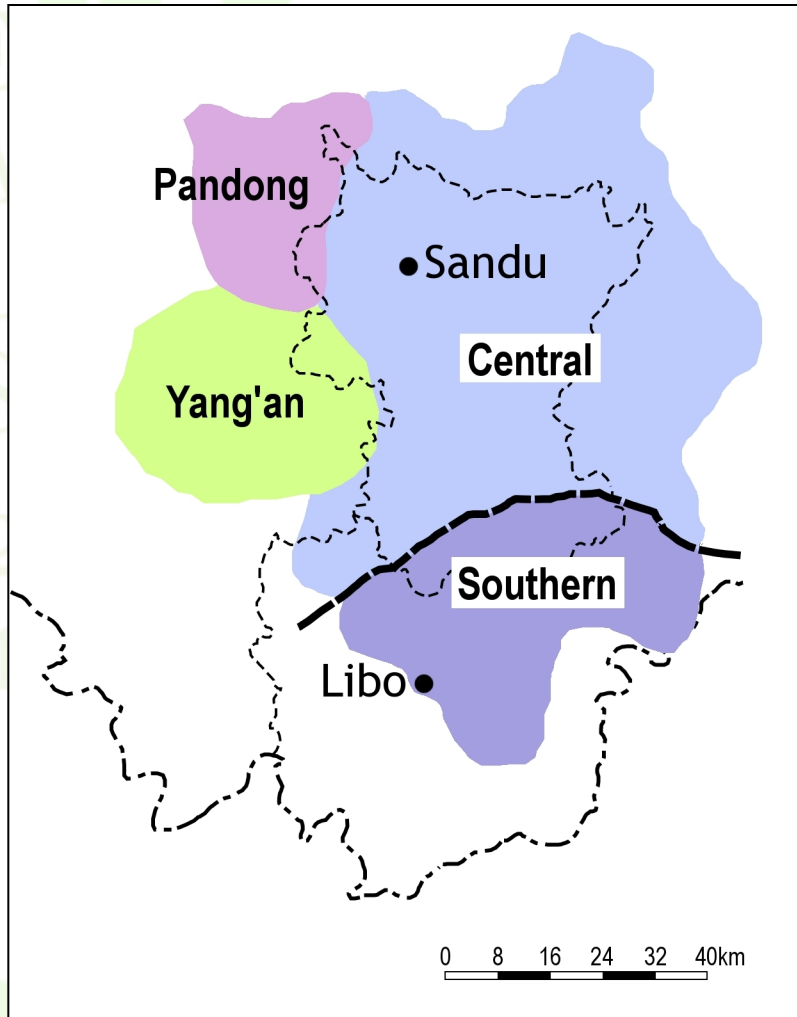
“Dialect geography in rural China”

Study of 33 speakers from 17 locations

“These results confirm a stable three-way distinction of major Sui dialects, as found in prior literature.”

- preglottalised onsets (Sandong) v. none (Pandong & Yang'an)
- voiceless nasals (Sandong & Pandong) v. hw + \tilde{V} (Yang'an)
- x^w (Pandong, cf. Zhang 1980:82) v. f (all other lects)
- l (Yang'an) v. x, h or f (all other lects)
- Tone 6: ⁵⁵ (south-eastern Sandong lects) v. ²⁴ (all other lects)
- ua, ia (east) v. uə, iə (west)

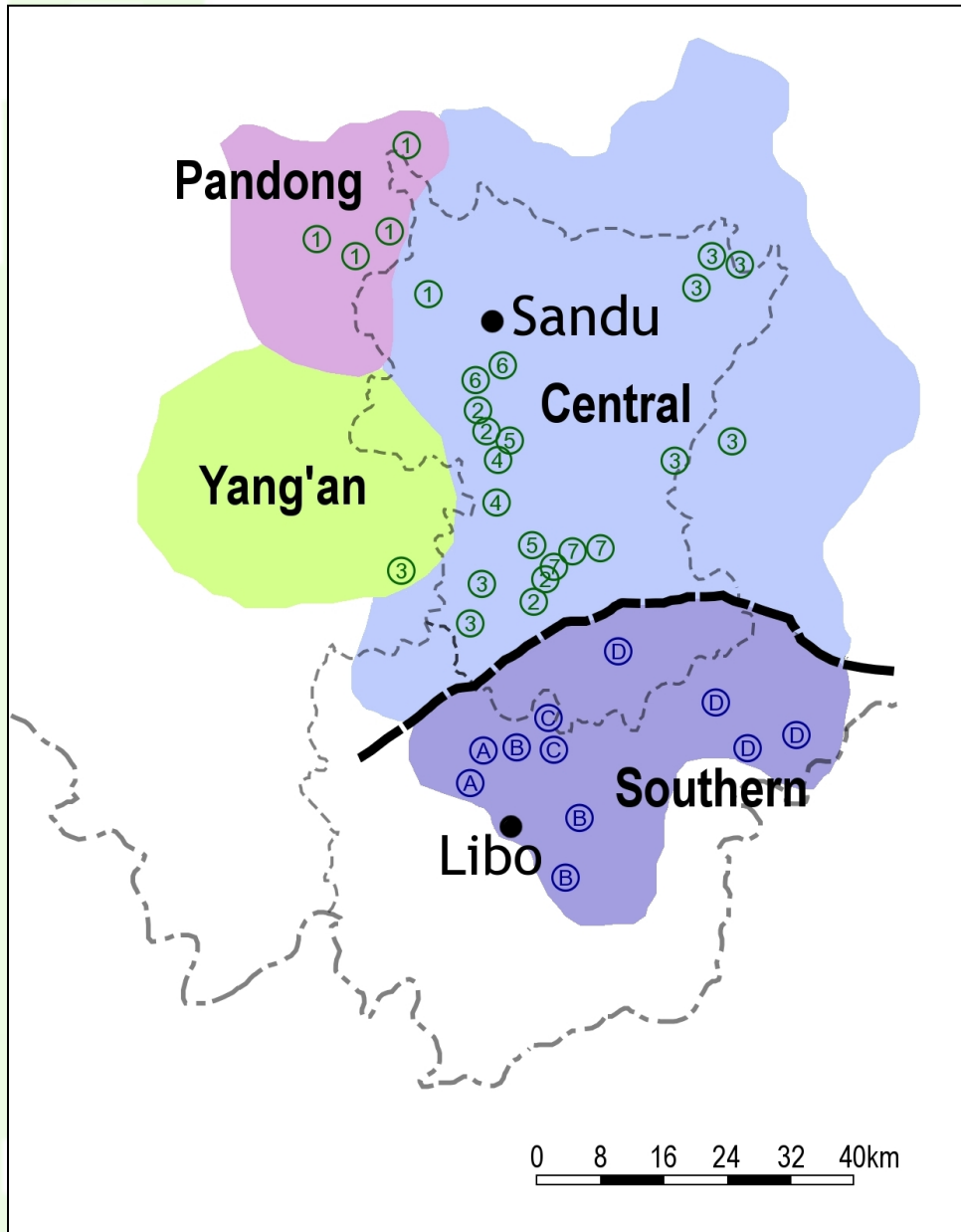
Proposed classification



Based upon:

1. Anecdotal reported intelligibility
2. Shared phonemic innovations
3. Lexical similarity
4. Cultural traditions

Festivals: Duan and Mao



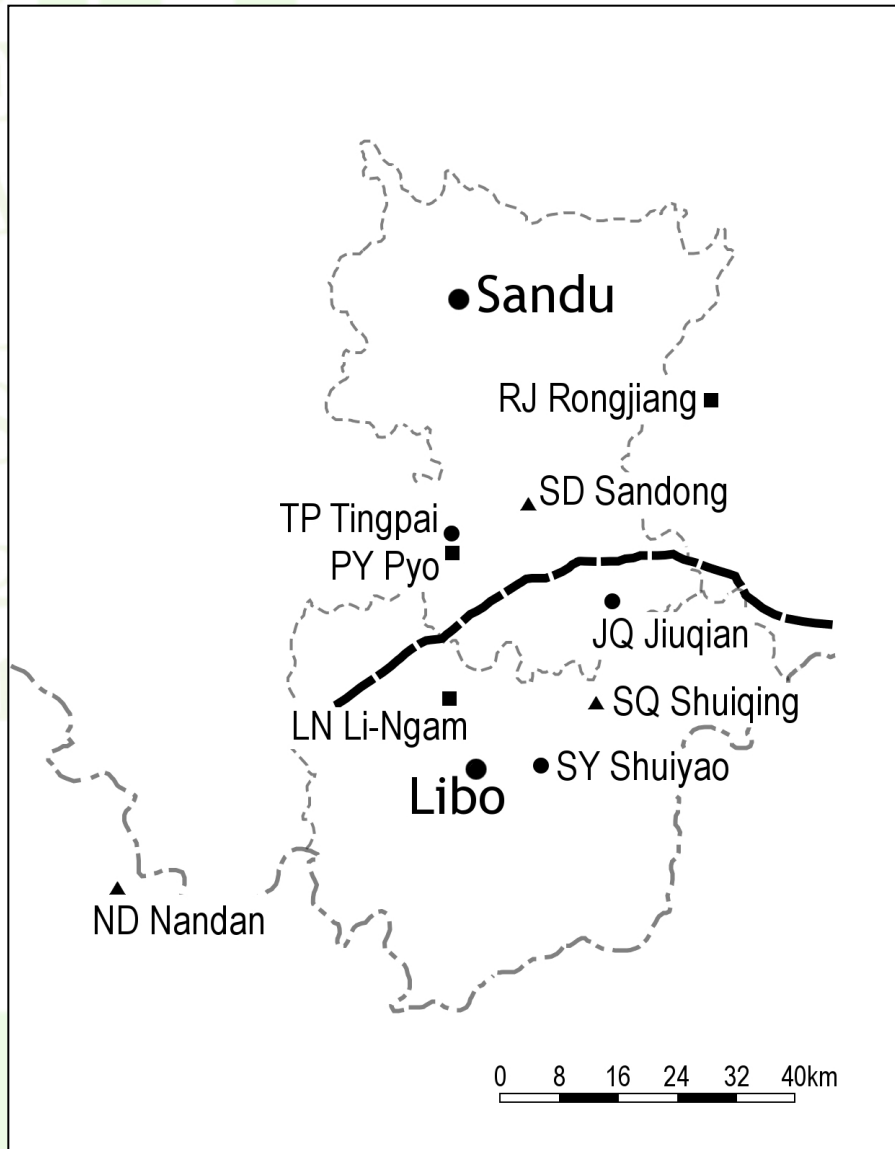
① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦

7 “Duan”s,
October-
November

Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

4 “Mao”s,
June-July

Data sources



PKS: Thurgood (1988)

TP, JQ, SY: author's field notes

LN, PY, RJ:
Li Fang-kuei (1965)

SD: Zhang (1980)

ND: Guangxi etc. (2008)

SQ: ILCRD (1996)

Kam: Guangxi etc. (2008)
and Lin & Strange (2003)

2. Phonemic innovations

2.1 PKS Labialised velars

*gw-, *kw-

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'to sharpen'	*gwan ²	pan ²	pan ²	-	-	pən ²	pən ²	pan ²	pan ²
'dove'	*gwau ²	-	pau ²	pɔu ²	qau ²	qɔu ²	qɔu ²	qau ²	pau ²
'horn'	*m-kwa:u ¹	pa:u ¹	pa:u ¹	pa:u ¹	-	qa:u ¹	qa:u ¹	qau ¹	pa:u ¹
'leg'	*kwa ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	pa ¹	-	qa ¹	qa ¹	qa ¹	pa ¹
'to sell'	*kwe ¹	pe ¹	pe ¹	pɛ ¹	qe ¹	qe ¹	qe ¹	qe ¹	pe ¹

Two different mergers

PKS	Central Sui		Southern Sui	
*kr-	k-	ka ³ 'to wait'	k-	ka ³ 'to wait'
*k-	q-	qa ¹ 'crow'	q-	qa ¹ 'crow'
*gw-, *kw-, *m-kw-	p-	pa ¹ 'leg'	q-	qa ¹ 'leg'
*p-	p-	pa ³ 'aunt'	p-	pa ³ 'aunt'

2.1 PKS Labialised velars cont.

*khw-, *xw-

	PKS	Central Sui				Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	PY	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'tired'	*khwe ³	-	fe ³	fe ³	-	we ³ , fe ³	we ³	wɛ ³	-	-
'late, delayed'	*khwe ¹	-	fe ¹	ve ¹	we ¹	fe ¹	fe ¹	fe ¹	fe ¹	we ¹
'sweet'	*khwa:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fan ¹	fa:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fan ¹	k ^h wa:n ¹
'cloud'	*m-xwa ³	fa ³	fa ³	fa ³	fa ³	wa ³	wa ³	wa ³	wa ³ , fa ³	ma ³
'rain'	*xwin ¹	fən ¹	fən ¹	fən ¹	fən ¹	wən ¹	wən ¹	wən ¹	fən ¹ , wən ¹	pjan ¹
'bamboo'	*xwan ¹	fan ¹	fan ¹	fən ¹	-	wən ¹	wən ¹	(kwi ¹)	-	pan ¹
'bean pod'	*pwak ⁷	-	-	-	fək ⁷	-	-	-	wək ⁷	-

Two different mergers

PKS	Central Sui		Southern Sui	
*hw-, *yw-	f-	fa ¹ 'right'	f-	fa ¹ 'right'
*khw-, *m-xw-, *xw-	f-	fa ³ 'cloud'	w-	wa ³ 'cloud'
*pw-	v-	va ⁵ 'wing'	w-	wa ⁵ 'wing'

2.2 PKS bilabial clusters with *-w- medial

*pw-, *phw-

	PKS	Central Sui					Southern Sui			
		ND	SD	TP	PY	RJ	SQ	JQ	SY	LN
'wing'	*pwa ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	wa ⁵	va ⁵	wa ⁵	wa ⁵
'seed'	*pwan ¹	van ¹	van ¹	vɛn ¹	wan ¹	wan ¹	wan ¹	vɛn ¹	wɛn ¹	wɛn ¹
'leaf'	*pwa ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	va ⁵	wa ⁵	-	va ⁵	wa ⁵	wa ⁵
'dream'	*pwjan ¹	jan ¹	vjan ¹	-	va ⁵	wa ⁵	wjan ¹	vjen ¹	vjen ¹	-
'palm (of hand)'	*phwa ³	fa ³	-	-	-	-	wa ³	va ³	wa ³	wa ³
'ashes'	*phwu:k ⁷	vuk ⁷	vuk ⁷	vuk ⁷	-	-	wuk ⁷	vuk ⁷	ɣuk ⁷	-

- Shuiyao younger generation:
all prenasalised bilabial stops (from PKS *mp-)
> v- (or v- or w-)

2.3 PKS alveolar lateral clusters

*tl-, *ʔdl-

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'bone'	*tla:k ⁷	la:k ⁷	la:k ⁷	la:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔdak ⁷	la:k ⁹
'lightning'	*ʔdla:p ⁷	la:p ⁸	la:p ⁷	-	ʔda:p ⁷	ʔda:p ⁷	ʔda:p ⁷	-	la:p ⁹
'boat'	-	lwə ¹	lwa ¹	lua ¹	-	ʔda ¹	ʔda ¹	-	lo ¹
'to turn inside out'	-	lin ³	-	ln ³	-	ʔdin ³	ʔdin ³	-	ljin ³
'wild boar'	*ʔdla:i ⁵	lai ⁵	-	-	-	ʔdai ⁵	ʔdai ⁵	-	lai ⁵
'hornet'	*ʔdlu ¹	-	lu ¹	lu ¹	-	ʔdu ¹	ʔdu ¹	-	la:u ¹
'to wake up'	-	lju ¹	lju ¹	lju ¹	-	ʔdju ¹	ʔdjo ¹	-	lhjo ¹
'fingernail'	*ʔdlyap ⁷	ljap ⁷	ljap ⁷	ljəp ⁷	ʔdjap ⁷	ʔdjəp ⁷	ʔmjəp ⁷	ʔdjəp ⁷	nəp ⁷
'to drag'	*ʔdla:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔdak ⁷	qa:k ⁷	qa:k ⁷	qa:k ⁷		kwa:k ⁹

Two different mergers

PKS	Central Sui		Southern Sui	
*ɖ-	ʔd-	ʔdai ¹ 'good'	ʔd-	ʔdai ¹ 'good'
*tl-, *ʔdl-	l-	lai ⁵ 'wild boar'	ʔd-	ʔdai ⁵ 'wild boar'
*hl-, *l-	l-	lai ¹ 'back(-bone)'	l-	lai ¹ 'back(-bone)'

Shuiyao: nd > l e.g. 'field' ndai⁵ > lai⁵

2.4 PKS Velar lateral clusters

*kl-, **kr-

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam (SJ)
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'far'	*kla:i ³	ʔdi ¹	ʔdi ¹	-	qa:i ¹	-	qa:i ¹	-	ljai ¹
'left over'	*kla ¹	ʔdje ⁵	ʔdja ¹	-	-	-	-	ka ¹	ka ¹
'seedling'	*kla ³	ʔdje ³	-	ʔdi:e ³	ka ³ , tɕa ³	tɕa ³	ka ³	ka ³	ka ³
'clothes'	-	ʔduk ⁷	ʔduk ⁷	ʔdøk ⁷	kuk ⁷	qok ⁷	køk ⁷	-	quk ⁹
'salt'	-	ʔdwə ¹	ʔdwa ¹	ʔdua ¹	kwa ¹	kwa ¹	kwa ¹	-	-
'hard'	**kra ³	ʔda ³	ʔda ³	-	qa ³	-	qa ³	-	kwa ³
'(fish) scales'	**krin ⁵	-	ʔdjən ⁵	-	kin ⁵	tɕm ⁵	kən ⁵	kən ⁵	kwan ⁵
'bright'	**kra:ŋ ¹	ʔda:ŋ ¹	ʔda:ŋ ¹	-	qa:ŋ ¹ , kwa:ŋ ¹	qa:ŋ ¹	qa:ŋ ¹	-	kwa:ŋ ¹
'to drag'	*ʔdla:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔda:k ⁷	ʔdak ⁷	qa:k ⁷	qa:k ⁷	qa:k ⁷	-	kwa:k ⁹
'often'	-	ʔnam ³	ʔnam ³	ʔnəm ³	kəm ³	kəm ³	-	-	-

Two different mergers

PKS	Central Sui		Southern Sui	
*d-	ʔd-	ʔdai ¹ 'good'	ʔd-	ʔdai ¹ 'good'
*kl-, **kr-	ʔd-	ʔdje ³ 'seedling', ʔda ³ 'hard'	q-, k-	ka ³ 'seedling', qa ³ 'hard'
*kr-	k-	ka ³ 'to wait'	k-	ka ³ 'to wait'
*k-	q-	qa ¹ 'crow'	q-	qa ¹ 'crow'

2.4 PKS Velar lateral clusters cont.

*khl-, *khr-

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'iron'	*khlit ⁷	hjet ⁷	ɕət ⁷	ɕet ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	tɕ ^h ət ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	k ^h wət ⁷
'liquor'	*khla:u ³	ha:u ³	ha:u ³	ha:u ³	q ^h a:u ³	q ^h au ³	q ^h a:u ³	k ^h au ³	k ^h wa:u ³
'to fear'	-	ho ¹	ho ¹	hɔ ¹	q ^h o ¹	q ^h o ¹	q ^h ɔ ¹	k ^h o ¹	-
'lazy'	*khlut ⁷	hat ⁷	hət ⁷	hət ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	q ^h ət ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	k ^h ət ⁷	k ^h ut ⁷
'earth'	*khlum ⁵	hum ⁵	hum ⁵	hom ⁵	k ^h əm ⁵	q ^h om ⁵	k ^h əm ⁵	k ^h um ⁵	-
'grandchild'	*khla:n ¹	ha:n ¹	ha:n ¹	-	q ^h a:n ¹	q ^h a:n ¹	q ^h a:n ¹	k ^h an ¹	k ^h wan ¹
'river snail'	*khrui ¹	q ^h ui ¹	q ^h ui ¹	q ^h ui ¹	q ^h ui ¹	q ^h o:i ¹	k ^h ui ¹	-	-
'ear'	*khra ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	q ^h a ¹	k ^h a ¹
'to bark'	*khrau ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h Λu ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h Λu ⁵	k ^h ɔu ⁵	k ^h au ⁵	k ^h au ⁵
'centipede'	*khyap ⁷	k ^h up ⁷	k ^h up ⁷	kup ⁷	kəp ⁷	k ^h ɔp ⁸	kəp ⁷	-	k ^h əp ⁷

Two different mergers

PKS	Central Sui		Southern Sui	
*khr-	q ^h -, k ^h -	q ^h a ¹ 'ear'	q ^h -, k ^h -	q ^h a ¹ 'ear'
*khl-	h-	ha:n ¹ 'grandchild'	q ^h -, k ^h -	q ^h a:n ¹ 'grandchild'
*khj-	h-	ha:n ³ 'red'	h-	ha:n ³ 'red'

2.5 Voiceless velar fricatives

Southern Sui:

ɕa:ŋ¹ “heat of the sun”

xa:ŋ¹ “to roast (sticks of meat over a fire)”

χa:ŋ¹ (or ha:ŋ¹) “root (of a tree)”

t^ha:ŋ¹ “handsome”

k^ha:ŋ¹ “to fry (lightly in oil)”

q^ha:ŋ¹ “rafter”

Correspondences:

	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
	ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'crispy'	k ^h im ⁵	-	k ^h im ¹	-	xim ¹	xim ¹	-	jim ¹
'net (for catching fish)'	-	-	k ^h ɛ ¹	xə ¹	xe ¹	xe ¹	xe ¹	je ¹
'diligent'	ʔyak ⁷	k ^h ak ⁷	-	xak ⁷	xək ⁷	xək ⁷	-	jak ⁷
'maple tree'	fu ¹	k ^h a:u ¹	-			xo ¹		ja:u ¹
to roast (meat sticks over a fire)'	-	-	k ^h a:ŋ ¹	-	xa:ŋ ¹	xa:ŋ ¹	-	-

k^h (Sui, Kam) < *khr- (PKS)

2.5 Voiceless velar fricatives

cont.

other instances of /x/: conditioning

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'tail'	*khjut ⁷	hət ⁷	hət ⁸	hət ⁸	hət ⁸	xət ⁸	xət ⁸	zət ⁸	sət ⁷
'sour'	*khjum ³	hum ³	hum ³	hom ³	xəm ³	χom ³	xəm ³	fum ⁴	səm ³
'intestines'	*khja:i ³	ha:i ⁴	ha:i ⁴	ha:i ⁴	ha:i ⁴	χa:i ⁴	ha:i ⁴	hai ⁴	sa:i ³
'to give'	*khja:i ¹	ha:i ¹	ha:i ¹	ha:i ¹	ha:i ¹	χa:i ¹	ha:i ¹	-	sa:i ¹
'to blow'	*dzup ⁸	hup ⁸	hup ⁸	hop ⁸	xəp ⁸	χop ⁸	xəp ⁸	fup ⁸	səp ⁸
'worm'	*dzan ⁴	han ⁴	-	hən ⁴	han ⁴	χən ⁴	hən ⁴	-	san ⁴
'snake'	*dzu:i ²	hui ²	hu:i ²	hui ²	fui ²	χu:i ²	hui ²	fui ²	sui ²
'to sit'	*dzu:i ⁶ -t	hui ⁶	hui ⁶	hu:i ⁶	fui ⁶	χui ⁶	hui ⁶	fui ⁶	sui ⁵

/xj/ (Yang'an, Pandong)

'to know' çəu³ > xjəu³, çjəu³, hjəu³

2.6 Tone innovation: tone assignment timing

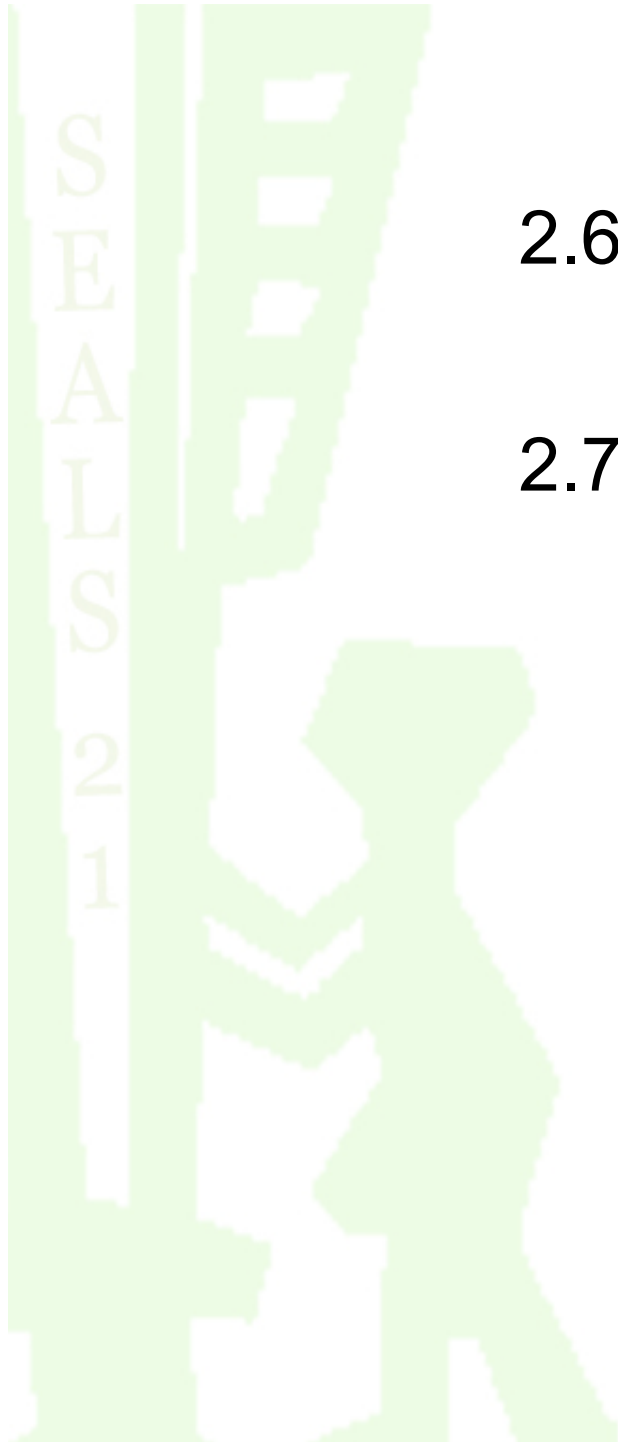
*hr-

	PKS	Central Sui			Southern Sui				Kam
		ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY	LN	
'house, home'	*hra:n ¹	ɣa:n ²	ɣa:n ²	ɣa:n ²	ɣa:n ¹	ɣæn ¹	ɣa:n ¹	ɣan ¹	ja:n ²
'two'	*hra ¹	ɣa ²	ɣa ²	ɣa ²	ɣa ¹	ɣa ¹	ɣa ¹	ɣa ¹	-
'pear'	-	ɣai ²	ɣai ²	ɣei ²	ɣai ¹	ɣei ¹	ɣei ¹	-	jai ²
'to drink'	-	-	ɣum ⁴	ɣom ⁴	ɣəm ³	ɣum ³	ɣum ³	-	hum ⁴
'trace, footprint'	*hru:i ¹	ɣui ²	-	ɣui ²	-	-	-	ɣi ¹	-
'to swim'	-	-	-	lu:i ²	ɣi ¹	ɣi ¹	ɣi ¹	-	-
'sharp'	*hrai ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	jai ⁶

*mpr-

TP+ND: Tone 2

other Sui: Tone 1



2.6 Other diachronic variation

2.7 Divergence between TP and JQ

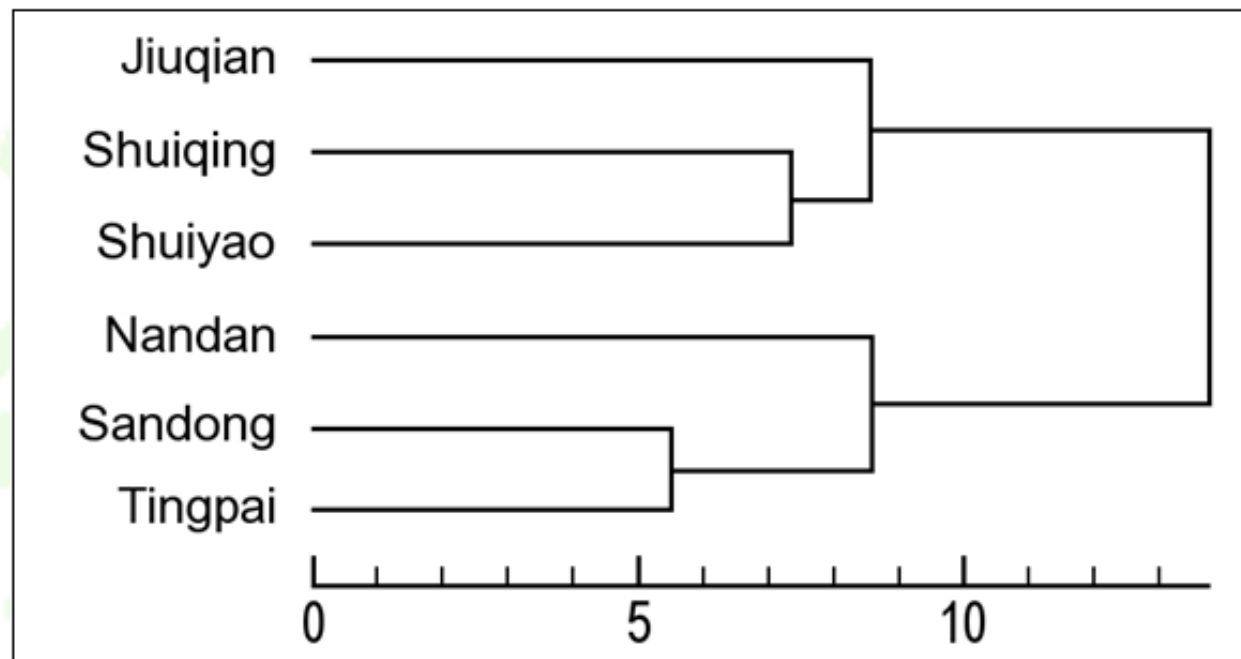
3. Lexical similarity

Lexicostatistical-type cognate counts can give us “measures of divergence ... between different languages.” (Heggarty 2010)

Nandan						
91.4	Tingpai					
91.4	94.5	Sandong				
85.8	89.9	90.6	Jiuqian			
84.5	86.5	89.4	91.6	Shuiqing		
81.5	83.2	84.8	91.3	92.6	Shuiyao	

3. Lexical similarity

Lexicostatistical-type cognate counts can give us “measures of divergence ... between different languages.” (Heggarty 2010)



Internal lexical consistency: Central v. Southern

	Central Sui			Southern Sui		
	ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY
'insect'	ta ¹ , nui ²	nui ²	nui ²	ta ¹	ta ¹	ta ¹
'tooth (human)'	vjan ¹ , heu ³	vjan ¹	vjen ¹	ɕu ³	ɕju ³	ɕju ³
'to cook (general)'	-	-	ɕoŋ ¹	sa:u ³	sa:u ³	sa:u ³
'to boil'	tjuŋ ¹	ɕuŋ ¹	ɕoŋ ¹	ɕoŋ ¹	ljɔɔŋ ¹	ljɔ:ŋ ¹
'to fry'	tsa:u ³	sa:u ³	sa:u ³	k ^h a:ŋ ¹	k ^h a:ŋ ¹	k ^h a:ŋ ¹
'silly, stupid'	tshun ⁴ (loan)	pən ¹ (loan)	nɛŋ ⁴ , ɕen ²	ʔwa ³	ʔwa ³	ʔwa ³
'beautiful'	ʔda:i ¹ ɣak ⁸	kiŋ ³	kiŋ ³	q ^h an ⁵	q ^h en ⁵	q ^h en ⁵
'clever'	tshuŋ ³ min ² (loan)	ɕai ¹	kin ¹	kiŋ ³	kiŋ ³	kiŋ ³
'smelly'	ŋu ¹	ŋu ¹	ŋu ¹	ʔŋin ¹	ʔŋen ¹	ʔŋin ¹
'narrow'	ʔŋap ⁷	ʔŋjap ⁷	ʔŋjɛp ⁷	ɤɛp ⁷	ɣɛp ⁷	ɤɛ:p ⁷
particle (completed action)	-	ʔɛu ²	ʔɛu ²	-	ɣa:ŋ ³	ɣa:ŋ ³
'mountain or stone mountain'	tin ²	nu ²	nu ² tin ²	pja ¹	pja ¹	pja ¹
'bark (of a tree)'	pi ² mai ⁴	-	pi ² mzi ⁴	ɤa ¹ mai ⁴	ɤa ¹ mɛi ⁴	ɤa ¹ mɛi ⁴
'to chat with friends for fun'	fjen ³	-	fien ³	qɛu ⁶	qɛ:u ⁶	qɛ:u ⁶

Other lexical differences

	Central Sui			Southern Sui		
	ND	SD	TP	SQ	JQ	SY
'hat'	ɲon ⁴	-	ɲɔn ⁴	ma:u ⁶	ɲoɛn ⁴	ma:u ⁶
'table'	hi ³	çi ³	hi ³	tjəm ⁶	çi ³	tjəm ⁶
'to vomit'	ku:n ⁵	kun ⁵	ku:n ⁵	da:k ⁷ tɕe ²	ku:n ⁵	nda:k ⁷
'round (spherical)'	ku ² lu ¹	qa ⁰ lu ⁵	qɔ ³ lu ⁶	qon ²	qɔ ³ lɔm ⁶	qɔn ²
'far'	ʔdi ¹	ʔdi ¹	-	qai ¹	χa:n ⁴	qai ¹
'near'	p ^h jai ⁵	p ^h jai ⁵	p ^h ei ⁵	ɣau ³	p ^h jei ⁵	ɣɔu ³
'slowly'	fu:n ¹	fa:n ¹	fæen ¹	ma:n ⁶ , ɣai ¹	fæn ¹	ma:n ⁶ , ɣei ¹
'fine hair on body'	tsən ¹ ɲik ⁷	-	tsən ¹ ɲa:ŋ ³	tsən ¹ ɲon ⁵	tsən ¹ ɲa:ŋ ³	tsən ¹ ɲon ⁵
'knee'	qam ⁴ qu ⁵	qam ⁴ qu ⁵	qok ⁷ qu ⁵	qam ⁴ qu ⁵	ku ³ tsoeŋ ⁵	qa ³ tɕɔ:ŋ ⁵
'key'	mai ⁴ fuŋ ³	mai ⁴ fu ⁶ fuŋ ³	mei ⁴ foŋ ³	mai ⁴ fuŋ ³	mei ⁴ si ²	hei ³ si ²

4. Conclusion

Based upon

- a) regular diachronic sound changes,
- b) reported comprehension difficulties,
- c) lexical similarity,
- d) shared cultural traditions (Mao festival),

Southern Sui

constitutes a distinct dialect cluster.